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The Auckland Liberal Association, January, 1893

It is a wise and useful custom, sanctioned by time and accepted by experience, that at the beginning of a new year a review of the past should be taken, in order that our steps should be guided in the preparing of our future course. In sending forth this Circular we believe it is safe to say that, never since the introduction of Constitutional Government into New Zealand, has there been so much good done in so short a time as has been wrought during the past two years by our Parliament.

At the time this Association was founded, two years ago, the colony had been reduced to a state of depression, unparalleled for its severity and long continuance. Many thousands of our people were brought to poverty, and in despair they broke up their home and quitted our shores, in order to find that employment in other colonies which they could not obtain here. The Tory Government was paralysed; they made no attempt to stem the torrent of the exodus, or give our people any hope for the future.

Just at that time a general election took place, and for the first time in our history we exercised the franchise upon the basis of manhood suffrage, or *one man one vote*. Prior to this election the number of votes each man claimed was governed by the possession of landed property. Somewhat similar conditions once existed in America, when the celebrated Benjamin Franklin asked on a memorable occasion "whether his vote had been cast by himself or by his donkey." That state of things is now past and gone, thanks, to our grand old man, Sir George Grey, He has stood by us in all our trials, disappointments, sorrows, and bondage, and he has led us through the Red Sea of our darkness into the light of liberty. The result of that election in 1890 was the complete overthrow of the Tory Party, and the advent to power of a Liberal Government, headed by Mr. John Ballance.

During the past two years our Tory opponents have been furious at the loss of their power. They have used their wealth and press to slander and vilify the Ballance Government. They said our leaders were bent upon *class legislation* and robbery. One of their leading men in Auckland publicly prophesied the formation of a special rifle corps to shoot us down! Evidently these men judged us by their own inequitable and selfish standard—by the maxims which have influenced their own public career during the last twenty-five years.

At length a new era has dawned upon New Zealand; our freedom is broader and more secure to-day than ever before; our Parliament reflects the will of the vast majority of the people; our land laws are more comprehensive, and at the same time our Native land laws will soon be brought into accordance with a liberal and enlightened public opinion; our system of taxation, though not perfect, is greatly improved; our people are rapidly settling upon the lands; employment is plentiful everywhere; capital is abundant; confidence and contentment reign all over the land; and, best of all, our people are coming back to "Home, sweet Home." We welcome them with joy. Where necessary the labour bureau will direct them where to find employment. The sweater's doom is announced; strikes will soon give place to arbitration; co-operative labour (which will aid so much in the solution of the great labour problem), is now the order of the day, and finds work for the weak as well as the strong; and New Zealand is to be congratulated upon the courage of the Ballance Government, which has determined to initiate the system of State Farms.

Here children are blessings, and he who bath most

Hath and for his fortune, and riches to boast;
Here a man is a man, if he's willing to toil,
And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil.

For the first time in the world's history Labour has taken her place of honour, and is crowned. Working men sit in both Houses of our Legislature; working men sit upon the magisterial Bench to administer justice, and working men are included in the Ministry. Thus New Zealand possesses in its Legislature, its Executive and its Administration of Justice true representatives of the working and industrial classes.

Our progress as a community is solid. We have peace at home and honour abroad. Great statesmen and great political parties in other lands are watching our career with interest.

We enter upon the coming year with the confidence which comes from having a just cause. We know that the spirit of the age, and of justice, is in our favour; the tide of human affairs is rapidly advancing on our lines. Our opponents may try to hinder our progress, but it is too late. *Democracy has come to stay*. The Tories may adopt many devices to divide our ranks, and destroy our solidarity; but in spite of their efforts we shall remember that our cause is *the cause of the whole people*. Thus we shall go forward to the conflict of the next election with the fullest assurance of victory. We have not the slightest doubt of "victory" if our people arouse themselves, place their names on the rolls, and thereby enable us to send back the present Liberal Government to power, and so complete the policy which they have inaugurated.

We are firm supporters of the Ballance Government, and candidates who wish to secure our support at the next general election must declare themselves accordingly.

The future labours of the Liberal party will be directed to solving those social and economic problems with which civilisation is now confronted in all lands, and to secure political machinery as perfect as possible whereby the will of the people shall be absolutely supreme in the councils of the State. The country shall no longer be governed and the settlers plundered by rings of banks, land monopolists, or wealthy financiers.

The first steps in the perfecting of our Constitution are to secure the supremacy of the representative branch of the Legislature, and the election of our Governor by the direct voice of the people. As to the necessity of our having the right to elect our Governor, there will, we apprehend, be found few who will venture to affirm that the present system should be continued, whereby an English politician selects some unsophisticated peer, a stranger to our country, to be our supreme ruler. We will also work for the complete recognition in our law of the absolute political equality of every adult, by abolishing all qualifications for the right to vote, except the sole fact of residence in the colony. Our Parliament, too, should have its duration shortened, so as to keep it effectually under the control of the people.

When we shall have put our constitutional and electoral machinery in order, there will be a great work to be done so as to ensure a speedy settlement of the land, good and cheap communication, the re-adjustment of taxation so as to relieve the farmers and producing classes from unjust imposts; while educational reform, regulation of the hours of labour in cities, old-age pensions, protection of seamen, simplifying the law, and a host of other matters calculated to raise the masses of the people materially, morally, and intellectually, will afford scope for the exertions and wisdom of those true and loyal friends of the masses whom we must use our utmost exertions to secure as representatives in Parliament.

[P.T.O.]

We now appeal to all amongst us who wish to see New [unclear: Zealand] at once free and prosperous to join THE AUCKLAND LIBERAL ASSOCIATION. Our rooms, situated in High Street, are open daily. Books, publications, and the Electoral Rolls may be seen there, Forms may be had, and your name placed upon the Roll free. We earnestly advise all to place *their names upon the Electoral Roll*, so that when the day of battle comes our grand army shall be ready to march triumphantly to the poll, and thus secure the ground we have won already, and advance to further achievements for the happiness of our people.

The Auckland Liberal Association,
HIGH STREET, AUCKLAND.

vignette

H. Brett. Printer, Star and Graphics Offices, Shokland and Fort Streets.

Front Cover

View of Mansion overlooking Plantation,

Homestead Paddocks, Woolshed etc.

From Hill on Seaward Range.

The Cheviot Estate. Particulars, Terms, and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 33, 474 Acres Open on 13TH AND 17TH NOVEMBER, 1893.

With Maps and Illustration from Surveys made by Messrs. Montgomerie, McClure, Mathias, Taylor, and Cunningham, and Photographs by Messrs. Sinclair and Ward of Cheviot.

crest with two lions

Issued under the instruction of the Minister of Lands.

Wellington: BY AUTHORITY: SAMUEL, COSTALL, GOVERNMENT PRINTER. 1893.

Photo of the Cheviot Estate

The Cheviot Estate.

THIS estate, comprising about 84,000 acres, was purchased from the Nelson Government by the late Hon. William Robinson many years ago. It is bounded on the north by the Waiau-ua River, on the east by the sea, on the south by the Hurunui, and on the west by the Kaiwara Stream and a right line along the eastern slope of the Lowry Peaks to the Waiau-ua.

The estate is about twelve miles square, and very compact. The distance from Christchurch is forty-one miles by rail to the Waipara Railway-station; thence by a fairly good road to a bridge over the Hurunui, a distance of about twenty-three miles; thence to the homestead on the Jed Stream is about eleven miles: or about seventy-five miles by rail and road. The distance by sea from Lyttelton is about sixty-five miles.

That it is a good block of country was first proved in 1818, when Mr. J. S. Caverhill, after looking well over the Nelson and Marlborough districts, saw the country which is now comprised within the Cheviot Estate, and at once determined to take it up as a pastoral run. Mr. Caverhill selected the site for the homestead, and built there early in 1849.

It was in the year 1853 that the late Hon. William Robinson, having visited Cheviot, was so pleased with what he saw, that he made application at the Provincial Land office, Nelson, to purchase a portion of the block, and succeeded gradually in acquiring the whole. Mr. Caverhill's tenure of the land ceased when the fee-simple was purchased. The new owner of Cheviot, as soon as he had taken possession, set to work to build, fence, and make extensive improvements, and there are few properties in the colony equal to Cheviot for substantial buildings, excellent gardens and orchards, extensive plantations, and secure fencing.

The estate possesses in Port Robinson a small natural port, well sheltered, except from the north-east, and easterly winds and seas. This arises from the fact that a headland and two reefs project into the sea, so as to partly enclose and form a harbour. Vessels are brought to an anchorage in six fathoms of water, within about a quarter of a mile from the shore. The port is well equipped with an excellent surf-boat service, and provided with all necessary facilities for receiving supplies or exporting produce. A slip was erected some years ago, together with a large and well-built store. There is also a large steel cargo-boat, 36ft. by 9ft., capable of carrying ten tons. The boat is worked by a cable and stationery engine of twenty horsepower. The whole of the plant is in good working order. Freight to and from Lyttelton is at present from 10s. to 12s. per ton.

The Government acquired the estate under the Land and Income Assessment Act. The property was assessed at £304,826, the improvements being valued at £54,300, with an unimproved value of £250,526. It was returned by the Trustees of the estate as of the value of £260,220. The improvements were valued at £60,150, and the unimproved value at £200,070. The Trustees objected to the assessed value; but the Commissioner of Taxes disallowed the objection, and referred the question to the Board of Reviewers, who upheld the assessed value.

The Trustees then addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Taxes, calling upon him to reduce the valuation to their value—namely, £260,220, or else to take the property at that price, in terms of the Land and Income Assessment Act.

The Commissioner declined to make any reduction, and recommended that the estate should be acquired by the Government. Special valuations were made with the following result:—

After these valuations had been made, and considered by [*unclear*: the] Government, it was determined to

acquire the property at the [*unclear*: Trustees] valuation of £260,220, and on the 9th December, 1892, an Order [*unclear*: in] Council was passed giving effect to the same. The transaction [*unclear*: with] completed on the 19th April, 1893, when the conveyance was [*unclear*: signed] and payment made. The estate then became vested in the [*unclear*: Crown] and was placed under the administration of the Minister of Lands.

Arrangements were at once made to subdivide the property, [*unclear*: and] lease the grazing-rights to the agricultural lauds for a period of [*unclear*: sin]

Post and Telegraph Office.

Sheep.

General view of Homestead.

Port Robinson Landing Slip.

months, and to the pastoral lands for a period of eleven months, with the following results:—

Or, at the rate of $3\frac{2}{5}$ per cent, on the purchase-money.

It was also decided that the agricultural portion of the estate, some 30,000 acres, should be at once subdivided into convenient' sized farms, and offered to the public at an early date.

A township has been laid out not far from the homestead, and about 2,000 acres in the vicinity have been cut up into suburban and small-farm lots.

Areas for future disposal have been left at all junctions and key-points for village-sites, and these will be placed in the market from time to time.

A railway-line has been surveyed from the Hurunui Flats to the Waiau, but, although the line is laid off, no liability to construct the railway is involved. It has been laid off thus early in order that the Government may not have to acquire land should it be determined in the future to construct it.

Special care has been taken in laying out the roads. The ruling grade on the main line is 1 in 25; on secondary roads, 1 in 15. The formation width will be from 10ft. to 20ft. Gravel has been found in many places on the estate, and the work of forming and gravelling the roads is being pushed forward as fast as possible. On the flats the whole of the roads will be gravelled at least 10ft. wide, and it is intended to construct a passable road to each property. The road to the Port is being taken through a bluff of rock, at large expense, in order to avoid the heavy grades on the road which has hitherto been ill use. The roads giving access to the pastoral country will not all be gravelled, but they will all be formed sufficient to provide proper facilities for residence and occupation. For some time to come water-carriage will probably be the chief means of communication, the rates being lower than by rail and road. The distance from the Port to the principal township is seven miles, and it is the same distance from the Port to the Hurunui Flats, where there will be a village settlement. The Homestead Flats are distant nine miles from the Port, and the Waiau Flats twelve miles.

The general character of the country is as follows:—

Wart and Tormore Blocks (Pastoral).—The whole of the country to the northward of Benmore along the western boundary is comprised in the Wart and Tormore Blocks. The area is about 21,200 [*unclear*: acres,] and consists of low hills and downs, separated generally by easy-faced gullies or valleys. The Gower, and two other large streams, [*unclear*: however], divide the table-lands, with the advantage that permanent [*unclear*: water] will in all probability be retained therein. The formation, with [*unclear*: the] exception of a small area of sandstone and slate, is of limestone [*unclear*: and] blue-clay (papa). The soil is deep and rich, a large extent [*unclear*: being] ploughable, and the growth of native and English grasses [*unclear*: excellent] The whole area is well adapted for occupation by farmers [*unclear*: and] graziers.

Central Plains (Agricultural).—To the east of the foregoing [*unclear*: hill] blocks are situated the Waiau, Homestead, and Hurunui Flats [*unclear*: and] contiguous downs, comprising in all about 30,000 acres of [*unclear*: arable] lands, standing about 100ft. to 400ft. above sea-level, and already splendidly grassed. The formation consists of blue and sandy [*unclear*: clay] yellow sandstone, and shelly limestone. This magnificent tract [*unclear*: on] country is made up in part of alluvial areas, which were [*unclear*: formerly] swamps,

impregnated with washings from the limestone and papa (*[unclear: mar]*) formations. In others the soil appears to be of superior *[unclear: character]* resting on a good clay subsoil; whilst over a limited area it is *[unclear: of]* more clayey nature, but apparently only requiring to be *[unclear: judicious]* worked to prove good cropping land. There are also small *[unclear: area]* of stony flats and slopes, which, nevertheless, will work in *[unclear: advance]* tagesously with the wetter and low-lying lands. An estimated *[unclear: area]* about 5,000 acres in the Homestead Block has been laid *[unclear: down]* English grasses, furnishing proof, notwithstanding the lack of *[unclear: drain]* age, of the splendid quality and capabilities of this portion of the estate.

This is the country which will be offered to the public at the first sale in November, 1893.

Seaward Range (Pastoral).—The north-eastern portion of the property consists of a chain of hills, known as the Seaward Range, comprising about 11,450 acres, which extend from the Waiau to the Jed Stream, This chain of hills varies in height from 500ft. to 1,400ft. above sea-level. The tops are fairly broad and even; the western slopes are steep. Towards the eastward the spurs descend and terminate in abrupt faces on the sea-shore, being separated by deep and, in some cases, rough gullies. The formation is sandstone and slate, with a strip of argillaceous limestone. As a rule there is a fair depth of soil on the ridges, but the slopes are more or less rocky or stony. The vegetation consists of tussock and other native grasses, with an occasional admixture of English grasses, with scrub and fern in the gullies, and some bush in the watercourses, but constituting excellent healthy sheep country. This block is well watered.

Port Hills (Pastoral-agricultural).—In the south-eastern part of the estate are the Port Hills, which front the Jed, the sea, and the Hurunui. The block comprises about 8,174 acres of low hills and downs, ranging from 500ft. to 800ft. above sea-level. The formation is principally limestone and blue-clay, with sandstone in places. The tops of the ridges and spurs are mostly flat or rounded, but arc stony on the central area which is intersected by deep valleys and gullies at the head of the Buxton stream. Along the sea, the Hurunui, and Jed are numerous flats and table-lands, generally of good quality, carrying a splendid growth of English and native grasses, affording good sites for homesteads, and every facility for profitable settlement. The central bills of this area comprise fair and good soil, carrying native and English grasses, with fern and scrub in the gullies. The block, as a whole, is fairly well watered, is well suited in some parts for grazing cattle, and a considerable portion of it could be ploughed. Much has already been done in this respect, and in the laying-down of excellent English grass paddocks.

Benmore Block (Pastoral-agricultural).—The south-western part of the estate comprises the Benmore Hills and spurs; the area is about 12,450 acres, the general elevation above sea-level varies from 400ft. to about 1,750ft. The hills fall rapidly from the vicinity of Benmore, and merge, as a rule, into easy slopes, or flat and round-topped hills towards the east and north; but fall more rapidly by rocky and stony faces into small flats of good quality on the Hurunui and Kaiwara Stream. With the exception of a few narrow spurs and steep and rocky gullies of sandstone and slate formation, not exceeding probably 3,000 acres in area, the block is of limestone or papa formation, the soil deep and of good quality, and the native and English grasses are *[unclear: generally]* superior, The Hurunui flats and downs *[unclear: are]* also generally of good quality and well grassed. Some of the rougher gullies are is scrubby in the bottoms and on the sides, and fern grows on the southern face of the hills. A large percentage of the whole area *[unclear: is]* capable of being ploughed. The block is fairly well watered.

Climate.—The climate is mild, the rainfall more copious than *[unclear: in]* many parts of North Canterbury. The falls of snow are light, *[unclear: even]* on the highest hills.

General Remarks.—As previously stated, the whole property *[unclear: is]* in first-class order. The plantations on the flats are reserved by *[unclear: the]* Crown, and will not be disposed of with the adjacent lands. *[unclear: Any]* clumps of trees situated within any property are not reserved, but *[unclear: g]* with the property. Buildings and fencing now on the land pass *[unclear: with]* the land on which they are situated, or, in the case of fencing *[unclear: with]* the land of which it is the boundary, subject to the rights of *[unclear: adjacent]* owners, at the price or rent stated.

A detailed description of every section to be offered will be *[unclear: found]* on pages 37 to 51.

Geological Report by Sir James Hector, F.R.G.S., Etc.

SIR,
— Wellington,

4th September, 1893.

As directed by the Surveyor-General's letter of the [unclear: 1880] August, I recently visited Cheviot with the view of ascertaining [unclear: in] there is any value in a reported find of coal there.

I was kindly assisted by Mr. F. Stephenson Smith, District [unclear: Surveyor], and the other officers of the department, so that in a few [unclear: days] was enabled to obtain a fair knowledge of the geological structure [unclear: of] the eastern part of the district, comprising the Seaward Range and [unclear: the] Port Hills. I did not traverse the Western Hills or Lowry [unclear: Peat] but a large series of rock specimens carefully located on the map [unclear: we] obtained for me by Mr. Marchant, Chief Surveyor, so that I [unclear: have] also been able to fill in on the map approximately the areas [unclear: occupie] by the different formations in that part of the estate.

The general structure of the district is that of a trough-[unclear: shape] depression, the sides being formed of hills of from 1,000ft. [unclear: the] 1,700ft, above the sea-level, formed of the older framework [unclear: rock] of the country, and enclosing a variety of newer formations, [unclear: which] form rolling downs and rich bottoms. The axis of this trough [unclear: lie] north and south, and it extends from the Waiau to the Hurunui.

Map of the Cheviot Estate

The accompanying maps and sections will serve to illustrate the structure of the country, the following formations being present:—

I.—Recent or Terrace Formation.

Extensive gravel terraces bound the Hurunui River and rise in successive steps to a height of 150ft. above the river from the Greta Bridge to the mouth. Similar terraces are also found along the Wainu River, but not to the same height, and in this part of the district the drainage appears to have been checked by the river fringe, so that a very extensive area of swampy and valuable alluvial land has been formed, which is also to be included under this heading.

A third deposit, also so included, is that which forms the terraces of grey-sand, clay, and gravel, containing recent sea-shells, which has evidently been a shore deposit that has been elevated 70ft. to 100ft. above the sea, and has been preserved as raised beaches in favourable situations.

II.—Pleiocene.

At Gore Bay remarkable cliffs, 280ft, in height, formed of hard, dark red conglomerate, containing much iron oxide, extend for three-quarters of a mile along the beach. The cliffs are weathered into fantastic forms, and the streams cut their way back into the hills, leaving lofty pinnacles and ridges that have been termed the "Cathedral Rocks." The gravel of the formation is rounded and dispersed in irregular layers interbedded with sand. It contains no fossils, and is evidently an old river-bed that has been filled up by a deposit similar to the older gravels of the Canterbury Plains, The Stratification of this conglomerate dips eastward, or toward the sea, and this probably indicates the direction in which the ancient river flowed. It was not traced to the westward, as no exposures are there bound, the Port Hills being well covered with grass and soil.

The base of the formation rests quite unconformably in a trough excavated in the grey marl, which will be afterwards mentioned.

Nothing of economic importance is likely to be found in this [unclear: information] except that it affords an unlimited supply of the very best [unclear: Road]-metal, as the ferruginous sand mixed with the gravel will cause [unclear: it] to bind strongly under traffic. In conglomerates of the same age [unclear: in] other parts of New Zealand, beds of pure hydrous haematite are [unclear: round], and used as iron-ores, and the same may be yet found in this district.

III,—Miocene.

This is an extensive formation in this district, and it consists of [unclear: blue]-clay containing large irregular-shaped concretions, or cement stones, and occasional bands of conglomerate composed of fine sea-worn gravel and frequently of broken shells. This formation is about 700ft. in thickness, and forms rolling downs with soil of good quality. It only shows at the surface where there are outcrops of the shell-conglomerate or cement-stones, as, for instance, on the sloping spurs from the Port Hills toward the Hurunui. The shell and gravel beds form an impure limestone that will make fair road-metal. The cement-stones are very tough, but can be broken into excellent rubble adapted for culverts, retaining-walls, and foundations. Some of the clay-bands will afford excellent brick clay.

IV., V., and VI.

These are subdivisions which have been distinguished on the map of the Cretaceo-tertiary formation, which includes in one sequence all the strata from the lowest Tertiary to the Middle Chalk.

The formation indicates a gradual but extensive subsidence of the land, from the earliest to the latest-formed members of the sequence.

The upper division (IV.) contains:—

- *Grey Marls.*—These are strata of fine gravel sand, clay with beds of pure sand, and layers of indurated sandstone. This passes into
- *Ototara Stone.*—This is also known locally as the Weka Pass sandstone, and consists of a calcareous sand sometimes extremely pure and even-grained, and having the particles cemented with infiltrated lime. This stratum affords the well-known Oamaru stone that is so extensively used both in New Zealand and Australia for ornamental building purposes.
- At the base of the Ototara stone there is a concretionary [unclear: bed] containing inclusions of pure limestone, and nodules of lime [unclear: phosphate], varying from lin. to 5in. in diameter and of very [unclear: irregular] form. The matrix of this strata is a light-green calcareous sand. [unclear: It] has been observed occupying the same position at many [unclear: distance] localities, but can be nowhere better studied than at the foot of [unclear: the] Big Bluff in Gore Bay. This bluff is 270ft. high, nearly [unclear: vertical,] and from top to bottom composed of the grey-marls, 170ft.; [unclear: Ototara] stone, 90ft.; nodule layer, 10ft. This is not the total [unclear: thickness] however, as a measurement I made some years ago of the same [unclear: bed] in the Kaikoura Peninsula gave a thickness of 1,250ft.

In the grey-marls, towards the upper part of the section, [unclear: several] strata, from a few inches to 2ft. thick, of pure sand occur, one [unclear: in] particular being of very even grain and rich brown colour, that [unclear: would] probably answer well for moulding purposes.

The reported coal proved to be merely a few blocks of [unclear: drift] wood cemented into lignite and imbedded in one of the sand-layers, but not form Lug anything like a regular or workable seam, being in irregular masses like compressed timber, and having the woody structure preserved.

Two of the best samples were gathered for analysis, and gave the following results:—

Laboratory No. 6381 (A) and (B)—Lignite: Colour black and lustrous, but showing woody structure. Powder brown-black; ash red, being nearly pure iron sesquioxide.

1lb. of (A) evaporates 4.65lb. of boiling water; 1lb. of (B) evaporates 4.61lb. of boiling water.

If a solid seam over 6ft. thick of this lignite could be found it would afford a fairly useful fuel, but under the circumstances such a discovery is not probable. The phosphatic nodules could not be profitably mined at the locality where they are exposed on account of the mass of the cliff; but the outcrop of the stratum could be traced into a more favourable position for working, as, for instance, along the south side of the Jed Valley from the Dingle to the homestead.

An average nodule was analysed, with the following results:—

Laboratory No. 6382.—A nodule of the mass afforded 24.70 per cent, of phosphate of lime, while the average sample gave the following results:—

These results show that the proportion of phosphoric acid is nearly uniform through the mass, and that the mineral would have a certain value for agricultural purposes when finely pulverised.

V.—Amuri Limestone.

This is a very characteristic stratum, and very easily recognised from one end of New Zealand to the other. It is well known as the hydraulic-cement stone, and is largely used for the manufacture of cement at Mahurangi and Whangarei, in the north of Auckland. In the Cheviot Hills this limestone varies from 60ft. to 150ft. in.

thickness, The upper part is indurated, and breaks up into splinters that lie about on the surface as pure white fragments, which clearly mark the range of this formation,

In its lower part it becomes more chalky, and develops masses of chert or flint, and the lowest stratum is often a marly greensand.

Two samples of the limestone taken for analysis proved to be rather too rich in lime for hydraulic cement, which requires to have 22 per cent. of clay matter, but would make excellent roche-lime for mortar and manuring purposes; but, no doubt a stratum having the proper composition could easily be found.

These are fairly hard and of considerable purity; colour light grey, weathering white. They are also well adapted for burning into lime, and for building, if they can be obtained in massive blocks.

VI.—Lower Greensand Group.

Where fully developed, as at the Amuri Bluff, this group [unclear: of] strata comprises: 1. Black grit; a very hard stratum of [unclear: gravel] stone, the pebbles being of minute size. 2. Dark marly clays [unclear: and] sands, 3. Sulphur-sands, being fairly laminated sands of [unclear: bright] colours, often hardly consolidated, but containing large [unclear: concretion] of glance sandstone. 4. Greensands of intensely dark colour, [unclear: being] composed of glauconite, or iron silicate, and containing irregular [unclear: cm] concretions of ironstone that formed round masses of fossil wood, [unclear: on] portions of the skeletons of huge Saurian reptiles. In some parts [unclear: of]. New Zealand this greensand is underlaid or replaced by sharp [unclear: gric] sands that form the cover of valuable coal-seams, but, as a rule, [unclear: when] the reptilian remains are found, the coal is either absent, or [unclear: very] poorly developed, as if the whole deposit had been formed [unclear: contemp]

Photograph of houses on the Cheviot Estate

aneously in an estuary in the Upper and fresh-water lagoons, in which dead vegetable matter accumulates to form coal-beds, while, at the same period, in the deeper seaward part, the marine reptiles disported themselves, and became entombed in the muddy bottom.

There are four localities where this group of strata (VI.) is exposed in the Cheviot Hills, and where coal might be found. At the Port, in the new road-cutting north of the landing-slip, the sulphur-sands and concretionary greensands containing silicified wood are present; but there is hardly any solid ground to be found, as the hill-side is a succession of gigantic steps from top to bottom. In consequence of this, the base of the formation, where it is possible coal might occur, cannot be examined.

At "the Brothers," two isolated sandstone rocks in the lower part of the Valley of the Jed, the section from the sulphur-sands to the base of the formation is clearly exposed in the banks of the river, and the dark greensands are seen to rest on a denuded surface of the older rocks, without the interposition of sandstone, or fire-clays, or any other indication of the presence of coal-seams.

The greensands at this place contain irregular-shaped concretions, and it was here that the very fine specimen of *Cimoliosaurius (Mauiosaurus) haastii* was found, which was a marine reptile, having the dimensions of a small whale.

On the north slope of the Valley of the Jed, at Marchlaw, a short way below the homestead, the section, though obscure, shows the presence of the concretionary greensands and conglomerates; and at this place they appear to overlie clay-beds that give rise to an extensive landslip, which has affected the surface just above where a quarry has been opened in the green sandstone, which is here associated with coarse conglomerates.

In the creek from this slip large masses of highly-indurated carbonaceous shale have been found, with streaks and films of bright coal adhering to them. Also, Mr. Sinclair, a very old resident in the [unclear: district], gave me a fragment from a large block of mica sandstone, of [unclear: exactly] the same mineral appearance as the cover of the Greymouth [unclear: coal]. This is the first time I have heard of a sandstone of this kind [unclear: occurring] on the eastern side of the mountains; and it was [unclear: unfortunate] that, owing to the *débris* from the slip, I had not a chance of [unclear: verifying] this important discovery. However, it may be noted that in [unclear: the] greensands mica is of far more frequent occurrence than in the [unclear: same] beds at Waipara, or in the Malvern Hill coalfield. I strongly [unclear: advise] that a search should be made in the hill-face above Marchlaw [unclear: by] driving or trenching, or, still better, by boring on the flat ground [unclear: immediately] eastward of the outcrop of the Amuri limestone.

On the leading spur that runs north from Mount Caverhill I [unclear: found] a very full development of the concretionary greensands and [unclear: sulph] sands, the former containing fossil reptilian remains. These [unclear: stra] dip from an altitude of 800ft. under the upper greensands to the [unclear: we] ward, the outcrop of the latter being marked by several copious [unclear: sprin] of pure cold water at 400ft. above the flats,

The Amuri limestone then follows, and can be traced four [unclear: mid] towards the Waiau River.

Towards the east from the saddle [*unclear*: when] the large concretionary boulders of greensand cover the surface, [*unclear*: i] ground drops rapidly into the bush gully, from which timber [*unclear*: used] be sledged to the station. Mr. Smith informed me that from a [*unclear*: dis] tance, when on the sea coast, he observed very much slipped [*unclear*: ground] exposing what he took to be variegated clays; but I did not [*unclear*: success] in finding the locality. If there are any such beds, they must [*unclear*: be] expansion of the lower part of the formation, in which case [*unclear*: the] should be a fair prospect of finding coal.

VII.—Indurated and Sub-metamorphic Sandstones and Shales, Hornstoneas, and Cherty Slates.

These rocks form the mass of the mountains which constitute [*unclear*: the] rocky framework of the district. The Lowry Peaks are [*unclear*: probable] composed of older rocks than the Seaward Range or Cheviot Hills, [*unclear*: the] former being of Permian age and the latter of lower Jurassic; [*unclear*: be] this conjecture is merely founded on the mineral character of [*unclear*: the] rocks, as no fossils were found. No minerals [*unclear*: of] value are likely occur in these rocks.

North of Wart Hill, on the west boundary of the estate, I [*unclear*: was] informed that a lode of hæmatite extends for several miles, and [*unclear*: is] obvious as to have given the name to the creek where it occurs; [*unclear*: b] whether it belongs to the older or newer formations was not [*unclear*: astt] tained. Its analysis is as follows (Laboratory No. 6386): [*unclear*: The] samples of hæmatite:—

No. 1, the darkest sample, contains only 1.10 per cent. of [*unclear*: water] and 3.61 per cent. of siliceous matter; iron, per cent., 65.89.

No. 2 is a mixture of a pure hæmatite with an argillaceous [*unclear*: hæmatite]; iron, per cent., 37.14.

The first sample is, therefore, an excellent iron-ore.

Mr. Sinclair presented me with several specimens he had [*unclear*: pick] up on the beach north from the mouth of the Jed, and [*unclear*: among] them, besides copper pyrites of good quality, there was a [*unclear*: fragment] of the rare mineral "alipite," or silicate of nickel-oxide, which is [*unclear*: the] same ore that is worked by the French Government in New [*unclear*: Cab]

Store and Cart-shed.

On the Jed.

Geological sections of Cheviot

A Bridge on the [*unclear*: Buxton].

Waterfall on Buxton Creek.

donia. By analysis, this specimen was found to have the following composition (Laboratory No. 6382):—

Most probably this specimen, and many others that were shown to [*unclear*: me], are foreign to the Cheviot District, and have come down the [*unclear*: Hurunui] River attached to driftwood.

The distribution of the formations is shown, on the accompanying [*unclear*: map] on the 80 chains scale. The boundaries shown for the [*unclear*: formatious] on the eastern side were sketched in from personal inspection. The Cretaceo-tertiary group, which is of chief interest, rests against the western or inland slope of the Cheviot Hills, from the Waiau to the Jed, and then sweeps to the eastward, the latter river escaping over the limestone at the Homestead Ford, and following the outcrop of the sulphur-sands to its mouth. From this point, the lower beds of the formation have been removed by marine denudation, and from the mouth of Buxton's Creek the limestone makes out to seaward, and curving round to the south appears again in the reef, which

extends half a mile off shore from the Bluff. It is owing to this reef that the soft marly strata that form the Bluff have escaped denudation. Still, the amount of destruction must have been very great, as, computing by the dip of the strata, at least 60ft. of the limestones, and the whole of the superincumbent sandstones and marls, must have been removed. Behind the landing-slip and engine-house, the green-sands and limestones pass through the hill and re-appear at the north end of Manuka Bay. The older rocks which form the south headland of Gore Bay are chiefly serpentinous slates and hornstones, the latter breaking away in large subspherical masses.

The geological mapping of the central flats and western ranges of the district is only a very rough sketch, founded on information and specimens which were given to me. The existence of the band of greensands and limestone appears to be supported by the general birds'-eye view I obtained from the summits of Mount Caverhill and other trig. stations; and Mr. Marchant observed the limestone among the specimens brought from Benmore and the range northward to Wart Hill. All specimens are from the old Permian formation, with the exception of one specimen of Amuri limestone, which is marked "West Wart Trig.—Palm track," so that the newer formations probably sweep round the base of the ranges as represented.

This specimen is a cherty limestone, having the following [*unclear*: composition]:—

The stone, is, therefore, of no value, as it contains too much [*unclear*: silica]

At Mr. Marchant's request I considered the question of [*unclear*: artes] water-supply, and from the indications afforded by the trough-*[unclear: shar]* arrangement of the strata, and the existence of powerful [*unclear*: spring] altitudes up to 400ft. above the plains, where the laminated [*unclear*: saw] crop out from beneath the cover of greensands, I conclude [*unclear*: there] fair prospect of getting artesian water from the deep-seated [*unclear*: strati]

In addition to these, shallow artesian wells should be [*unclear*: obtain] over the area marked "Formation I.," especially in the northern [*unclear*: p] of the district, as there must be a considerable leakage [*unclear*: from] Waiau River into deeper alluvial deposits in a southerly [*unclear*: distion].

Combined with the search for coal-seams, a systematic [*unclear*: search] water-supply would afford profitable employment of an [*unclear*: equg] diamond-drill for a considerable time. Mr. Marchant also [*unclear*: asked] to give special attention to the nature of the cliff at the [*unclear*: Bluff,] whether the lofty road-cuttings are likely to stand well.

So far as the marl formation or papa rock of the Bluff [*unclear*: itself] concerned, the dip of the strata being westward, at from 12° [*unclear*: to] and, there being no vertical faults of cross cleavage observable, [*unclear*: I the] cuttings should be quite safe with the batter that is being [*unclear*: given] them. There may, for some time, be small shoots from [*unclear*: the] owing to the weather acting on the less coherent beds, and [*unclear*: the] of these will have to be overcome by constant [*unclear*: supervision,] immediate removal of any material that falls.

With regard to the first half-mile, between the engine-*[unclear: house]* Limestone Gully, the ease is very different, the hill-side [*unclear*: be] gigantic land-slip, which must always be expected to creep [*unclear*: sew] As there is no room at the present landing-place for the [*unclear*: erecti] stores and sheds, and any extensive excavation would, owing [*unclear*: to] treacherous nature of the ground, imperil the safety of the [*unclear*: slip] machinery, it might be worth considering whether it would [*unclear*: now] profitable to lay light rails along the new road from the [*unclear*: landing] to the flat ground north of the Bluff, and to erect the [*unclear*: sheds]

Port Cutting looking North.

Photograph of house near the sea

where delivery of both import and export goods could be made. This, by avoiding all wheel-traffic on the cut road, would greatly lessen the cost of maintenance, and in the event of a slip would facilitate the removal of the *débris*. It would also afford a cheap arrangement for conveying heavy blocks from the Point along the road for the purpose of forming a footing, to protect the talus from erosion by the surf. Some such protection is absolutely required at once for the first part of the road, where it breasts the big land-slip.

In conclusion, the result of my examination of the district has been to show that the reported discovery of coal is of no economic value but that further search for coal-seams in the lower greensands, by boring or excavating in certain localities, is warranted by the geological structure of the country.

I have, &c.,

JAMES HECTOR.

The Hon. the Minister of Lands.

ENCLOSURES.

Geological sketch-map of Cheviot, So chains = 1 inch.

Geological sections, natural proportions—scale, 4 chains vertical and horizontal.

- Landing-place, north, to the Hut.
- Hut, north, to the Jed River.
- Flats to Leading Spur, from Mt. Caverhill.
- Cow pasture across Jed River to hill north of Marchlaw.

Directions to Applicants.

IN accordance with the Act, the land has been divided into—

First-and second-class agricultural lands;

First-and second-class pastoral lands;

Village-settlement lands;

Town lands.

Nearly the whole of the first-and second-class agricultural [unclear: land] will be offered for selection on and after the 13th November, 1893.

The block of 5,000 acres around and including the [unclear: Mansion] House will be offered in one lot on the 17th November.

Only three small grazing-farms will be offered on the [unclear: 13th] November, as the other pastoral leases will not expire until the [unclear: 18th] March next.

The village-settlement lands open on the 13th November [unclear: vary] area from 4½ acres to 77 acres. Many of the 40-acre and 50-[unclear: acre] sections include the richest of the agricultural flats, and are [unclear: eminent] suitable for small farms, while the smaller areas suit the [unclear: means]; men who do not intend to devote their whole time to tillage.

The town lands, to be offered on the 17th November, [unclear: include] small portion of the best situated lots in the new Township [unclear: of] Mackenzie. Other lots will be offered from time to time as [unclear: demand] arise.

Applications for leases in perpetuity will be received up to 4 [unclear: p.m.] on Monday, the 13th November. Forms and maps may be [unclear: obtain] at the principal Land Office, Christchurch, and at the local [unclear: Land] Offices at Timaru and Cheviot.

Applications may be left at the local Land Offices at Timaru [unclear: and] Cheviot up to 4 p.m. of the 11th November, or may be [unclear: posted] as to arrive at Christchurch not later than 4 p.m. on the 13th.

The ballot for sections for which there are more than one [unclear: cant] cant will be held on Wednesday, the 15th.

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

Selectors who may not find it convenient to appear [unclear: personally] the ballot should appoint an agent to select for them, or [unclear: they]

image of countryside with powerlines

send with their application a draft or post-office order in favour of the Receiver of Land Revenue for the first half-year's rent, which will be returned, less exchange, in case of in on-success.

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

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

The rural and town lands for sale for cash will be disposed of in the usual way by auction; no applications for them are required, and any person can bid who is prepared to comply with the conditions of sale.

Agricultural Lands Open for Selection on

Lease in Perpetuity.

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, 13TH NOVEMBER, 1893.

Canterbury Land District.—Cheviot County.

[For description of each section see pages 37 to 42.]

Sec- Block. Area, Capital Value. Rent per Acre per Annum. Total Half-yearly Rent. Lion.! Per Acre, Total Value. FIRST-AND SECOND-CLASS AGRICULTURAL LAND. Cheviot Survey District.

CANTERBURY LAND DISTRICT.—CHEVIOT COUXTY—continued. SeeCapital ValueRentperTot
tion.Block.Area.AcreperHaf-ye Per Acre.Total

Value!.Annum.RentFIRST-ANDSECOND-CLASSAGRICULTURAL LAND.Lawry PeaksSurvey
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1501,427 1175935 17"287005 00 1,435 005035 19"209005 1261,175 12657.52913"149004 0059G
0040144XII103004 00412 0040105"93004 00372 004098"226007 301,615 18071.84011 "146207 1261,117
1377.52713"1050010 801,092 00104.82715"105008 176931 176810.52313"338006 1402,264
12068.45620"1340010 1701,453 1801010.23622"137209 301,253 2691.8312XVI.296006 1101,938
16066.6436"192007 401,382 8072.4348"300006 601,890 0063.64716"444005 262,275 10051.55618"279005
001,395 00 5034SECOND-CLAss LAND,Cheviot Survey District.29IV29300 4 201.172 00 402930"32000 3
20992 0031.22431"194003 20601 8031.21532"138003 20427 16031.2107*IX.302002 150830
10029201XI.485003 1601,844 18039.6466"281003 80955 8034.8237"370103 1001,295 176363210"460003
001,380 00303411"131102 00! 262 100206Lawry PeaksSurvey District.2IV.1271303 126461
19337.5115VIII.1500292 100375 9426911"320004 1001,440 00463615"243004 201,004 10041.22516"283004
001,132 0040282XII.335005 10 01,812 10056463XVI.331004 201,562 2041.23911"118004 30489 14041.81
121XIX.291003 20902 2031.2226"305004 261,258 261 41.531* Possession of 46 acres of this section will not
be given until 18th March, 18th

East Waiau Downs.

Up the Valley of the Froghall.

Home-view Saddle, looking South and towards Post Office.

On Road from Port to Station via Ella Bay.

Terms and Conditions of Lease in Perpetuity.

First-and Second-Class Agricultural Lands.

1. The lease shall be for a term of 999 years, to be reckoned from the next 1st day of January or July

following the date thereof, and shall in addition include the period between the date of lease and such day.

2. The yearly rental in respect of such lease shall be the amount equal to 5 per cent. on the capital value of such land, and shall be payable in equal parts, half-yearly in advance, on the 1st day of January and 1st day of July in each year, to the Receiver of Land Revenue, Christchurch.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Within one year from the date of his lease to a value equal to 2½ per cent. of the price of the land;
- Within two years from the date of his lease to a value equal to another 2½ per cent. of the price of the land;
- And within six years from the date of his lease to a value equal to another 2½ per cent. of the price of the land; and in addition thereto shall, within six years from the date of his lease, put substantial improvements of a permanent character to the value of £1 for every acre of first-class land, and 10s. per acre on second-class land.

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

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

9. The lessee must once a year properly cut and trim all live fences now on the land, or which may be planted upon the land during the term, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom, [unclear: sweet] briar, and other noxious plants.

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

11. The lessee must not cut the cultivated grass for hay or seed [unclear: the] first year of the course.

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

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

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

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

16. All buildings erected upon the land shall be kept in good [unclear: order] and repair.

17. The lessee shall be liable for all rates, taxes, and [unclear: assessment] during the term.

18. The Government reserves a right of ingress and egress to the [unclear: telegraph] line which passes through some of the lands to be disposed of.

19. A right to search for and take gravel for making or [unclear: maintaining] roads from any of the lands

disposed of is reserved. Payment to be [unclear: made] for surface damage only.

20. The lease shall contain a clause providing that the lessee [unclear: shall] hold the land comprised in his lease subject to the provisions of "[unclear: The] Land Act, 1893," and "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893; unless otherwise provided by these regulations.

Declaration on applying for a Lease under "The Land Act, 1892," [unclear: an] "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893."

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

- That I am of the age of seventeen years and upwards.
- That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "The [unclear: Land] Act, 1892," am applying for a lease of land forming part of the [unclear: Cheviot] Estate.
- That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use and [unclear: benefit] and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person [unclear: or] persons whomsoever.
- That, including the lands now applied for, I am not the [unclear: owner] tenant, or occupier, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person or persons, of any lands anywhere in the colony [unclear: exceeding] in the whole 640
320 acres in case of a married woman.
acres of first-class land.

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

A.B.

Declared at, ___ this ___ day of ___, 189, before

me,

C.D.,

A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand.

Village Homestead Settlements.

OPEN FOR SELECTION AT (CHRISTCHURCH ON AND AFTER MONDAY, THE 13TH NOVEMBER, 1893, ON LEASE IN PERPETUITY.

APPLICATIONS will also be received, for transmission by post, at Clieviot and at Timaru Land Offices, up to Saturday, the 11th November, at 4 p.m.

FIRST-CLASS AGRICULTURAL, LANDS.

Capital Value. Lease in Perpetuity: Rent, 5 per Cent. on Capital Value. Section. Block. Area. Per Acre. Total Value, Rent per Acre per Annu. Half-yearly Rent. SPOTS WOOD VILLAGE. Cheviot Survey District. A.R.p.£s.d.s.d.s.d.£S.d.3IV. i 7400 8005920080141604" 5000910047500 9611176HOMEVIEW VILLAGE.1 ... 10001200120001203002... 10001200 1200012030031000120012000120300410001200120001203005... 10001200120001203006...10001200120001203007...10001200120001203008...10001200120001203009 ...100012001200012030010...100012001200012030011...100012001200012030012...100012001200012030013 ... 100012001200012030014... 4201200540012017015...42012005400120170

VILLAGE HOMESTEAD SETTLEMENTS—continued. Capital Value.

Image of the countryside

VILLAGE HOMESTEAD SETTLEMENTS—continued. Capital Value. Lease in Perpetuity: Rent, 5 per Cent. on Capital Value. Section. Block, A r ea. PER Acre. Total Value. Rent per Acre per Annum. Half-yearly Rent. DOMETT VILLAGE. Lowry Peaks Survey District.A.R.P.£ s. d.£ S.d.S.d.£ s. d.20 XVI.54007 3 0386

2071.89 13 121"50006 1 0302 10060.67 11 322"50006 1 0302 10060.67 11 323"75006 0 0450 006011 5
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00705 15 628"40006 10 0260 00666 10 029"27006 10 0175 100664 7 92XIX.14004 0 056 00401 8 03"27003 0
081 00302 0 64"77003 15 0288 150397 4 423XII.500011 3 0557 100111.813 18 924"400011 2 0444
00111.211 2 025"400011 2 0444 00111.211 2 010XVI.50004 12 0230 0047.25 15 0

Village Homestead Settlement Lands.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF LEASE.

1. THE: lands to be dealt with under these conditions are first-class lauda and are divided into village-homestead allotments, open for selection on lease in perpetuity, under the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892" (here inafter referred to as "the said Act"), and "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Art, 1893."

2. The day on which the lands shall be open for selection shall be Monday, the thirteenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three.

3. The rental stated opposite the description of each allotment of land shall be the price at which such land shall be open for selection.

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

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

6. Each applicant shall state his or her residence, occupation, [*unclear: and*] condition in life (namely, whether warned or single), and shall make [*unclear: the*] declaration prescribed.

7. Each applicant shall also undertake to pay the first half-*[unclear: year]* rent, together with the lease and registration fee of £1 1s., [*unclear: immediately*] upon being declared the successful applicant.

8. All rents must be paid half-yearly, in advance, on the first days [*unclear: of*] January and July in each year; and the first half-year's rent, payable [*unclear: at*] before provided, shall be in satisfaction of the rent due on the 1st day January or the 1st day [*unclear: of*] July following the date of application.

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

10. The lessee shall put on the land comprised in his lease [*unclear: substantion*] improvements as under:—

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

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

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

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

11. The lessee must once a year properly cut and trim all live [*unclear: fermed*] now on the land, or which may be planted upon the land during the [*unclear: ten*] and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom, [*unclear: sweet*] briar, and other noxious plants.

12. The lessee must take alternately white-and root-crops; [*unclear: and*] the removal of the third crop the land must be sown down with [*unclear: great*] permanent cultivated grasses and clovers, and be allowed to

unclear: remain] pasture for at least two years from the harvesting of last crop, [*unclear: before*] being again cropped.

13. The lessee must not cut the cultivated grass for hay [*unclear: or*] the first year of the course.

14. At all times during the lease the land must be so farmed [*unclear: that*] than one-third of the farm be maintained in permanent pasture. [*unclear: He*] these conditions as to cropping shall not apply to sections of five [*unclear: acres*] under.

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

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

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

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

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

20. No lessee shall subdivide, sublet, or transfer the land held by him under these regulations, except under and subject to the provisions of Part 1. of the said Act.

21. No lessee shall hold more than one allotment, and such allotment shall he held for his sole use and benefit, and not for the use or benefit of any other person whomsoever.

22. All the provisions of the said Act, so far as applicable, shall extend and apply to the lands affected by these regulations, and to the applications and leases to be made and issued thereunder, and generally to the interests created, and the persons whose rights, liabilities, or interests are thereby affected; and the mention of any particular provision of the said Act shall not be deemed to exclude any other provision of the said Act applicable to the particular case.

Declaration on applying for a Village. Homestead Lease under uThe Land Act, 1892," and "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893."

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

- That I am of the age of seventeen years and upwards.
- That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," am applying for a lease of land forming part of the Cheviot Estate.
- That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use and benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever,
- That including the lands now applied for, I am not the owner, tenant, or occupier, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person or persons, of any lands anywhere in the colony exceeding in the whole 640 acres (in case of a married woman, 320 acres) of first-class land.

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

Declared at____, this____day of____, 18____, before me,—

C.D.,

A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand.

[For a description of each section see pages 42 to 45.]

Grazing-Farms, Open for Lease on Application.

AT THE DISTRICT LAND AND SURVEY OFFICE, CHRISTCHURCH, ON AND AFTER MONDAY, THE 13TH NOVEMBER, 1893,

AT the half-yearly rental noted opposite each farm. Applications will also be received, for transmission by post, at Cheviot and at Timaru Land Offices, up to Saturday, the 11th November, at 4 p.m.

Cheviot County,

Section. Block. Area. Capital Value. Rent per Acre. Half-yearly Per Acre. Total Value. Rent. FIRST-CLASS
GRAZING LAND. Cheviot Survey District. 2 and 3 XI. Acres. 1,136 £ s. d. £ s. d. 2 15 0 3,124 0 0 s. d. £ s. d.
2 9 78 2 0 Lowry Peaks Survey District, 4 XVI. XVIII. 720 6503 16 0 2,736 0 0 4 1 0 2,632 10 03 9.6 4 0.668 8
65 16

Grazing Farms.

Conditions of Lease.

FIRST-AND SECOND-CLASS SMALL GKAZIXG-FAIIMS.

1. The term of lease is twenty-one years.
2. Every applicant shall make the declaration prescribed, and [unclear: shall] immediately after the application has been approved, deposit a sum [unclear: equal] to one half-year's rent of the land applied for. Such payment shall be [unclear: in] discharge of the half-year's rent due on the 1st day of March or [unclear: Sep]tember following. He shall also pay the sum of £1 1s. for the [unclear: preparation] of the lease and the registration thereof.
3. In case of more than one application beingt lodged on the same [unclear: due] for the same farm, priority of selection shall be decided by ballot.
4. No person can lease more than one farm.
5. Residence on the farm is compulsory, and shall commence [unclear: with] one year, unless the lessee obtain the consent of the Land Board reside on other land in his occupation.
6. Permanent improvements must be effected equal to one [unclear: year] rental by the end of the first year, to two years' rental by the end of [unclear: the] second year, and to four years' rental at the end of the sixth year. [unclear: The] improvements which have been already made upon the land shall reckoned as improvements under this clause.
7. The lessee must once a year property clean, clear from [unclear: week] and keep open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses [unclear: which] are or may be upon the land, and the Commissioner of Crown [unclear: Land] shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make any [unclear: drain] road through the land that he may deem necessary.

Seaward Range from Road to Port below "Cathedral," lookig N.E.

8. The lessee must once a year properly cut and trim all live fences now on the land, or which may be planted upon the land during the term, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom, sweet-briar and other noxious plants,
9. In the event of the lessee cultivating any of the land included in his leases he must take alternately white and root or green crops; and on the removal of the third crop the land must be sown with good permanent grasses and clovers, and be allowed to remain as pasture for at least two years from the harvesting of the last crop before being again cropped; and he must not cut the cultivated grass for hay or seed the first year of the course.
10. in the event of the lessee failing to comply with any of the covenants hereinbefore mentioned relating to the trimming of live fences and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar, and to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, and keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it shall be lawful for the Commissioner of Crown Lands to have such work done, and to recover the cost of the same from the lessee.
11. All buildings erected upon the laud shall be kept in good order and repair.
12. The lessee shall be liable for all rates, taxes, and assessments during the term.
13. One half-year's rent and £1 1s. for the lease must be paid immediately after the application has been approved; rent shall be payable half-yearly in advance dining the term of the lease.

14. The lessee shall have no right to purchase any part of the land.

15. On the expiration or other determination of the lease the former lessee shall not have any right of renewal, but shall be entitled to full valuation from the incoming lessee for improvements of a substantial character, appropriate to the lease, effected on the land.

16. In any case where it is determined that any lands included in any lease shall not again be offered for further lease, then the amount of the valuation of the improvements as aforesaid shall be paid to the outgoing lessee or occupier, less any arrears of money due to the Crown by him in respect of such lands, and such amount shall be paid out of the Cheviot Estate Fund.

17. Such improvements shall mean and include reclamation from swamps, clearing of bush, gorse, broom, sweetbriar, or scrub, fencing, draining, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing water-races, sheep-dips, making embankments or protective works of any kind, and in addition to the foregoing the erection of any building requisite or necessary for the purpose of working the land as a grazing-farm; and the value of all such improvements shall be ascertained one month at least before the expiry of the existing lease, in such manner as the Minister may direct.

18. If a lease is forfeited for breach of conditions, such valuation shall be made on recovering possession of the land.

19. Payment of any valuation for improvements shall be made to the Receiver of Land Revenue by the new lessee of such land before he is admitted into possession, and moneys so paid to the Receiver shall not be deemed part of the Cheviot Estate Fund.

20. The amount of the valuation for such improvements, in case of the land being relet, when paid by the new lessee, shall be paid by the Receiver of Land Revenue to the original lessee or other person entitled, and, in case of forfeiture, less any rent which may be due to the Crown at the date of such forfeiture, and the cost of recovering possession of [unclear: the] land, and also the charges and expenses of reletting such land, [unclear: and] making, issuing, and completing any fresh lease.

Declaration.

I, _____, of

Place of abode or occupation.

_____, do solemnly and sincerely declare,—

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

2. That I am applying for a lease of grazing-farm No.

Here specify.

3. That I am applying for such lease solely for my own use [unclear: and] benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use of any other person [unclear: to] persons whatever.

4. That I am not the holder of any run under Part VI. of "The [unclear: Land] Act, 1892," nor have I any interest in any such run.

5. That I do not own any freehold land or land held by lease or [unclear: licences] of any kind whatever anywhere in the colony, either by myself or [unclear: join the] with any other person, which, exclusive of the land I am now applying [unclear: for] the lease of, will exceed in area 5,000 acres.

6. That I am applying for the said land subject to the provisions "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893," and "The Land Act, 1892"

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the [unclear: same] to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of [unclear: New] Zealand intitled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1882," (Signature.)

Declared at _____, this _____ day of _____, 18_____, [unclear: befor] me,

A.B., A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand.

[For a description of each farm see page 45.]

Image of the countryside

Rural Lands for Sale for Cash by Public Auction

AT THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL CHAMBER, ON FRIDAY,

THE 17TH NOVEMBER, 1893, AT 11 A.M.

Upset Price. Section. Block. Area. Per Acre. Total Price. FIRST-CLASS LAND. Cheviot Survey District. A. R. P. £ S. d. £ s. d. 1 iV. 117 0 05 50614 5 05" 100 0 09 100950 0 07" 100 0 09 100950 0 09" 100 0 09 100950 0 012" 100 0 010 001,000 0 014" 200 0 08 001,600 0 016" 200 0 08 001,600 0 018" 148 0 07 001,036 0 019 " 227 0 06 1201,498 4 021" 220 0 06 501,375 0 023" 179 2 06 001,077 0 027" 201 0 05 001,005 0 09 VII. 50 0 05 00250 0 013 XI. 31 0 012 00372 0 0 Lowry Peaks Survey District. 1 VIII. 225 0 0* 7 40 1,620 8 04" 248 1 65 1001,365 11 98" 290 0 05 1001,595 0 010" 280 0 04 1261,295 0 012" 313 0 0 † † † † † 4 1001,408 10 016" 360 0 04 1101,638 0 017" 294 0 04 1501,396 10 03 XII. 340 0 06 1202,244 0 07" 228 0 06 1401,527 12 09" 129 0 0 ‡ ‡ ‡ 7 1601,006 4 012" 100 0 09 40920 0 016" 100 0 09 00900 0 019" 91 0 09 40837 4 021" 120 0 011 801,338 0 05 XVI. 269 0 08 1802,394 2 07" 240 0 06 1001,560 0 017 " 491 0 04 1102,234 1 019" 285 0 05 170 1,667 5 0 • Possession of 9 acres in Wart lease will not be given until 18th. March, 1894. † Possession of 99 acres in Wart lease will not be given until 13th March, 1894. ‡ Possession of 110 acres in Wart and Tormore leases will not be given until 18th March, 1894

RURAL LANDS FOR SALE FOR CASH—continued, Upset Price. Section. Block. Area. Per Acre. Total Price SECOND-CLASS LAND. Cheviot Survey District. A. R. P. £ s. d. £ S 28 IV. 406 0 04 101,644 62 VII. 97 0 05 0 0485 05 XI. 457 2 03 0 01,372 108" 573 0 04 0 02,292 0 Lowry Peaks Survey District. 1 IV. 245 1 133 15 0920 03" 99 1 224 2 6410 06 VIII. 301 1 134 0 01,220 014" 333 0 04 10 01,498 101 XII. 361 0 04 0 01,444 02 XV. 411 0 03 11 01,459 11 XVI. 339 0 06 7 02,152 1312 " 462 0 05 12 02,587 4 1,192 214" 262 0 04 11 0 15" 329 0 05 12 01,842 83 XVIII. 460 0 04 1 01,863 07" 223 0 04 0 0892 05 XIX. 200 0 05 2 61,025 0 [For a description of each Section see pages 46 to 50.]

Town Lands for Sale for Cash, by Auction, ON FRIDAY, THE 17TH NOVEMBER, 1893, AT 11 A.M.

Section. Block. Area. Upset Price per Section. TOWN OF MACKENZIE. A. R. P. £ S. d. 8 XX. 0 1 415 0 09" 0 0 3512 0 012" 0 0 2810 0 013" 0 0 2112 0 014" 0 0 2110 0 01 XXI. 0 1 915 0 03" 0 0 2425 0 01 XXII. 0 1 012 0 03" 0 1 012 0 06" 0 1 07 10 07" 0 1 015 0 010 " 0 1 07 10 0

Wart Hill Country from the Gower.

The Seaward Range.

Image of the countryside

TOWN LANDS FOR SALE FOR CASH, BY AUCTION—continued. Section. Block. Area. Upset Price per Section, TOWN OF MACKENZIE—continued. 11 14 15 17 10 14 16 18 19 1 3 4 C 7 10 11 14 15 16 18 20 A. n.p. £ s. d. XXII. 0 1015 0 0" 0 107 10 0" 0 1015 0 0" 0 107 10 0" 0 107 10 0 XXIV. 0 1010 0 0" 0 1030 0 0" 0 1012 0 0" 0 1012 0 0 XXV. 0 10 30 0 0" 0 1012 0 0" 0 1012 0 0" 0 1015 0 0" 0 107 10 0" 0 1015 0 0" 0 107 10 0" 0 1015 0 0" 0 107 10 0" 0 1020 0 0" 0 1010 0 0 " 0 1010 0 0

TERMS OF SALE.

1. Each purchaser of rural land must make the following declaration:—

I, _____ of _____, _____, do solemnly and sincerely declare—

(1.) That I am purchasing Section _____, Block _____, Survey District, solely for my own use and benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever.

(2.) That, including the land now applied for, I am not the holder, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person, of any land anywhere in the colony exceeding in the whole 640 acres of first-class land.

(3.) That I am purchasing the said land subject to the provisions of "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893," and "The Land Act. 1882."

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

(Signature)

Declared at____, this____day of____, 189____, before me,____a Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand.

2. In the case of town lands, one-fifth of the purchase-money must be paid on the fall of the hammer, and the balance, with Crown-grant fee,

£1, within thirty days thereafter, otherwise the part of the [unclear: purchase] money paid by way of deposit will be forfeited, and the contraction for [unclear: the] sale of the land be null and void.

3. In the case of rural lands, one-fourth of the purchase-money [unclear: must] be paid on the fall of the hammer, and the balance, with Crown-grant [unclear: few] £1, within thirty days thereafter; or, at the option of the applicant, to [unclear: be] declared in writing at the close of the auction, one-fourth part of the [unclear: pur-]chase-money may be paid in cash on the fall of the hammer, one-[unclear: fourth] part thereof within thirty days next after the date of sale, and one-half [unclear: part] thereof together with Crown-grant fee (£1) in five years from the [unclear: date] sale, such part to bear interest at the rate of £5 per centum per annum [unclear: und] payment, such interest to be paid by the purchaser at the expiration [unclear: of] every half-year following the date of sale.

No certificate of title shall issue to any purchaser for cash until [unclear: for] payment of his purchase-money, interest (if any), and fees, and in case [unclear: as] purchaser shall make default in payment of such purchase-money [unclear: to] interest or any part thereof respectively for a period of sixty days after [unclear: this] same has become due, as the case may be, the Minister may cause [unclear: possession] of such land and of all improvements thereon to be recovered on [unclear: be] half of the Crown, as provided by "The Land Act, 1892," and [unclear: thereafter] may sell or dispose of such land and improvements by public auction [unclear: on] such terms and conditions as he thinks fit, and either for cash or part for cash and [unclear: partly] upon like terms as the same was originally [unclear: sold.] the original purchaser has paid any part of the purchase-money [unclear: before] default the Minister may repay the same to such purchaser with the [unclear: value] of any improvements made on the land, or such part of such [unclear: purchase] money or value as the Minister thinks fit, and less any loss [unclear: occasioned] the Crown by such resale, together with the costs and expenses the [unclear: Crown] may have been put to in recovering possession and reselling such land.

Cheviot House Block.

The block proposed to be disposed of along with the [unclear: Mansion] House consists of about 5,000 acres. Of this area, about 1,800 [unclear: acre] are situated to the north of the Jed, on the south-western faces [unclear: of] the Seaward Range Block, and to within about 30 chains of [unclear: the] sea. The remaining 3,200 acres comprise that portion of the [unclear: Post] Hills Block situated east of the Huruni Main Road, and is [unclear: bounds] on the north by the Jed Stream, and on the east and south by [unclear: go] fencing lines across the Buxton Stream and along the [unclear: Hurui] watershed. The block of 5,000 acres includes the whole of [unclear: the] Mansion House grounds, Pine Walk, Horse Paddock, Cow [unclear: Pastu] Walnut Paddock, Rickfield, Colt Paddock, eastern part of [unclear: South] Deer Park, and the flats and slopes along the Hurunui—[unclear: Homeste] Road. The plantations comprise about 117 acres. The area of [unclear: culther] vated land is about 500 acres, situated near the mansion, and [unclear: alone] the Jed and Hurunui Roads. The western part of the block [unclear: cosil] of flats and downs, and the eastern part of easy slopes, with a [unclear: few]

Slip Engine House and Store.

Sheep Sale at Cheviot.

broken gullies at the head of the Buxton. The Seaward Range portion consists of bold flat-topped spurs with generally even faces, intersected by a few deep gullies. The soil throughout is generally good, varying from fair to superior quality; and, with the exception of some scrub and fern faces on the south side of the hills along the Jed and Buxton, the whole is covered with good Native pasture with an admixture of cultivated grasses and clover. The southern part of the block is already partly surrounded and subdivided by good fences.

The block is compact, well situated with reference to the Port and the proposed township. It is intersected by one main road and bounded by another. It is immediately available for grazing and fanning, and is readily

capable of subdivision and cultivation in small areas.

Within this area are situated the Mansion House, stables, manager's house, Marchlaw (the men's quarters), and fourteen other houses and buildings. The mansion, which contains about forty rooms stands on massive stone and concrete foundations. It is built of totara and kauri of extra strength, the studs being placed only twelve inches apart in floors, walls and roof, and strongly braced throughout. The structure was faithfully built under special supervision: and no expense was spared to render it comfortable, strong, and durable. It is roofed with slate, is fitted with every convenience, and has a water-supply from the hills. To erect this building in the style in which it exists would cost at least £7,000 at the present time.

The whole of the buildings are insured for a total sum of £9, 875.

The plantations which surround the mansion possess a present and future value, which from a practical and aesthetical point of view-it is very difficult to estimate.

The lawns and gardens were laid out under the supervision of a professional gardener, who, with an efficient staff, has been engaged for years in bringing them to their present state of cultivation. The upset price of the 5,000 acres, including the buildings and fencing has been fixed at £25,000, which is considerably under the valuation made by two competent valuers, as the Government does not expect full value for the buildings. Terms of payment: Cash, or one-half cash and balance within five years, at 5 per cent. interest.

Last year over 3,000 bales of wool were shipped from the Cheviot Estate, of which this forms a portion.

The block of 5,000 acres as a whole will be first offered on the 17th November, and in case of no sale, then the portion south of the Jed River will be offered for sale in sections on the following day, [unclear: of] the same terms.

Possession of that part of the block north of the Jed will [unclear: not] given until 18th March, 1894.

Terms and Conditions for the Sale of the [unclear: Cheviot] Mansion-House and the Lands and [unclear: Building] Adjacent Thereto.

IN pursuance and in exercise of the powers and authorities conferred [unclear: up] me by "The Cheviot Estate Disposition Act, 1893," I, John [unclear: McKenzie] Minister of Lands for the time being, appointed under "The Land [unclear: and] 1892," do hereby declare and determine that the 5,000 acres [unclear: of] described in the First Schedule hereto, together with the mansion-[unclear: house] on the Cheviot Estate, and other buildings specified in the said [unclear: Schedule] will be offered for sale by public auction at Christchurch on the 17th[unclear: day] of November, 1893, at the upset price of £25,000, and upon the [unclear: term] stated in the said First Schedule.

And I do further declare that if the said land, mansion-house, [unclear: and] other buildings are not sold at the public auction on the day [unclear: afores] the portions thereof enumerated in the Second Schedule hereto [unclear: shall] open for sale on application upon the terms and conditions and at [unclear: the] prices stated in the Second Schedule hereto.

First Schedule.

ALL that area in the Land District of Canterbury, containing by [unclear: ad] surement 5,000 acres, more or less, situated in Blocks VII. and [unclear: II] Cheviot Survey District, and Block XVI., Lowry Peaks Survey [unclear: Distr] and bounded generally towards the east by the summit of the [unclear: Seaw] Range to Mount Maccormick, thence by the summit of a spur to the [unclear: Range] Jed at a point about 26 chains from its mouth, by that river to a [unclear: po] about 1 chain above the "Brothers," by a right line across the Jed [unclear: to] dray-track at its nearest part, by that track in a north-westerly [unclear: direct;] to a fence which forms the eastern boundary of the Dingle [unclear: padded] thence by that fence in a north-westerly direction to the Jed River, [unclear: the] by the right bank of that river to a point north-west of where the [unclear: west] boundary-line of Section 7, Block IX., Cheviot Survey District, [unclear: meets] Jed Road, thence by Section 7 aforesaid, and by Section 2, [unclear: Block] Cheviot Survey District; towards the south-west generally by [unclear: Section] Block XI., Cheviot Survey District, Sections 17, 16, 15, and 13, [unclear: Block] XVI., Lowry Peaks Survey District; towards the west generally [unclear: by] Homestead Road; and towards the north generally by the River [unclear: Jed,] fence forming the north-west boundary of the Pine Walk by the [unclear:

Well] shed Stream, again by the Jed River to and across the main road, by: [*unclear*: the] road, by the South Deer Park to where the south-east boundary [*unclear*: of] said park crosses a spur of the Seaward Range near McQueen's [*unclear*: cott] and thence by the summit of the said spur to the summit of the [*unclear*: Seaward] Range first mentioned: be all the aforesaid distances more or [*unclear*: less] excluding from the above-described area all lands which may be [*unclear*: require] for public purposes, together with the buildings thereon known [*unclear*: as]

Over Marchlaw, from hills behind, looking West.

Cheviot Station Buildings.

Image of the countryside

mansion-house, and the stables, water-supply, dairy, apple-house, woodshed, store, strawberry-house, manager's house, Marchlaw buildings, Sinclair's cottage, the blacksmith's and carpenter's workshops, the laundry, cowsheds and yards, cart-shed, colt-house, and all other buildings and creations of what nature soever upon the said land. Price for the whole, £25,000.

TERMS OF SALE.

One-fourth of the purchase-money must be paid on the fall of the hammer, and the balance, with Crown-grant fee £1, within thirty days thereafter; or, at the option of the purchaser, to be declared in writing at the close of the auction, one-fourth part of the purchase-money may be paid on the fall of the hammer, one-fourth part thereof within thirty days next after the date of sale, and one-half part thereof, together with Crown-grant fee, £1, in five years from the date of sale, such part to bear interest at the rate of £5 per centum per annum until payment, such interest to be paid by the purchaser at the expiration of every half-year following the date of sale.

The certificate of title shall not issue to the purchaser until full payment of his purchase-money, interest, if any, and fees; and in case the purchaser shall make default in payment of such purchase-money or interest any part thereof respectively, for a period of sixty days after the same has become due, as the case may be, the Minister may cause possession of such land and of all improvements thereon to be recovered on behalf of the Crown, as provided by "The Land Act, 1892," and thereafter may sell or dispose of such land and improvements by public auction on such terms and conditions as he thinks fit, and either for cash or partly for cash and partly upon like terms as the same was originally sold. If the original purchaser has paid any part of the purchase-money before default, the Minister may repay the same to the purchaser with the value of any improvements made on the land, or such part of such purchase-money or value as the Minister thinks fit, and less any loss occasioned to the Crown by such resale, together with the costs and expenses the Crown may have been put to in recovering possession and reselling such land.

Should the purchaser elect to allow one-half of the purchase-money to remain unpaid for five years, then he must insure the buildings on the said land against destruction by fire for the sum of not less than £6,000.

Second Schedule.

FIRST AND SECOND-CLASS LAND.

For description of each Section see pages 50 to 51

Block. Survey District. Area. Price per Total Price IX. IX. IX. IX. XVI. Cheviot Cheviot Cheviot Cheviot
Lowry Peaks A. R. P. 397 0 0 355 0 0 268 0 0 982 0 0 591 0 0 300 0 0 £ s. d. 5 12 0 5 2 6 4 13 0 2 15 0 3 0 0 5 7
6£ s. d. 2,223 4 0 1,819 7 6 1,216 4 0 2,700 10 0 1,782 0 0 1,612 10 0

TEEMS OF SALE.

One-fourth of the purchase-money must be paid on the fall of [*unclear*: and] hammer, and the balance, with Crown-grant fee, £1, within [*unclear*: than] days thereafter; or, at the option of the applicant, declared in [*unclear*: write] one-fourth part of the purchase-money shall be paid in cash [*unclear*: immediate] on the close of the sale, one-fourth part thereof within thirty days [*unclear*: near] after the date of sale, and one-half part thereof, together with [*unclear*: Crown] grant fee, £1, in five years from the date of sale, such part to bear [*unclear*: interest] at the rate of £5 per centum per annum until payment, such interest [*unclear*: to] paid by the

purchaser at the expiration of every half-year following [unclear: at] date of sale.

No certificate of title shall issue to any purchaser until full [unclear: payment] his purchase-money, interest, if any, and fees; and in case any [unclear: purchase] shall make default in payment of such purchase-money [unclear: or] interest, on part thereof respectively, for a period of sixty days after the [unclear: same] become due, as the case may be, the Minister may cause [unclear: possession] such land and of all improvements thereon to be recovered on [unclear: behalf] the Crown, as provided by "The Land Act, 1892," and [unclear: thereafter] sell or dispose of such land and improvements by public [unclear: auction] such terms and conditions as he thinks fit, and either for cash or pa for cash and partly upon like terms as the same was [unclear: originally] If the original purchaser-[unclear: money] has paid any part of the purchase-money before default, the Minister may repay the same to such [unclear: purchase] with the value of any improvements made on the land, or such of such purchase-money or value as the Minister thinks fit, [unclear: and] any loss occasioned to the Crown by any such resale, [unclear: together] the costs and expenses the Crown may have been put to in [unclear: recoved] possession and reselling such land.

Given under my hand, at Wellington, this tenth day of [unclear: October,] the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [unclear: ninty] three.

John McKenzie,
Minister of Lands.

Cheviot House and Plantation.

Detailed Descriptions.

THE following detailed description of the soil and character of each section to be offered for sale and lease in November, 1893, is furnished for the general information of intending purchasers, who are recom mended, nevertheless, to visit the land and inspect it for themselves, the Crown not being in any way responsible for the absolute accuracy of every description:—

Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity.

13TH NOVEMBER, 1893.

First-class Agricultural Land.

Cheviot Survey District.

Section 2, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Agricultural flat land, with good black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 6, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Situated on Waiiau Flat; rich deep black soil, clay subsoil, watered by permanent springs; 10 acres swampy, easily drained; all ploughable; good English grasses; about eight miles from Homestead.

Section 8, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Rich, deep, black soil, situated on Waiiau Flat, clay subsoil; watered by permanent springs; 20 acres swampy, easily drained; all ploughable; good English grasses, surface-sown; about eight miles from Homestead.

Section 10, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Situated on Waiau Flat; rich deep black soil, clay subsoil; watered by permanent springs; all ploughable; good English grass, surface-sown; about eight and a half miles from Homestead.

Section 11, Block IV.; 83 acres.

Rich flat, deep black soil, on clay, 25 acres; 15 acres swampy; balance very good flat-topped downs, well grassed with surface-sown English grasses; about seven miles from Cheviot Homestead.

Section 13, Block IV.; 100 acres.

About 80 acres of rich deep swampy flat, easily drained; and 20 acres of very good downs, black soil and clay; well watered by stream; about seven miles from Homestead.

Section 15, Block IV.: 200 acres.

About 80 acres rich, deep, swampy flat, easily drained; balance good flat, rolling downs, intersected by gullies; well watered, surface-sown; about seven miles from Homestead.

Section 17, Block IV.; 270 acres.

About 90 acres very good flat; 50 acres fair flat and table-land; balance good downs, nearly all ploughable, well grassed, and watered; about six miles from Homestead.

Section 20, Block IV.; 110 acres.

Consists of good, well-grassed, flat-topped downs, well watered; [unclear: will] exception of gullies, easily ploughable; deep black soil and clay; [unclear: about] six miles from Homestead.

Section 22, Block IV.; 210 acres.

Good flat downs, well grassed, surface-sown; black soil on [unclear: clame] watered by shingle-gully; the whole easily ploughable; from five [unclear: to] miles from Homestead,

Section 24, Block IV.; 128 acres.

Good flat downs, well grassed, surface-sown; black soil on [unclear: class] easily ploughable, except small gully; about five miles from [unclear: Homestea]

Section 25, Block IV.; 303 acres.

About 90 acres good flat downs; 110 acres wet and broken [unclear: flat] balance steep sidings; the whole is well grassed and watered; [unclear: surface] sown; about four miles from Homestead.

Section 26, Block IV.; 350 acres.

Situated on downs, about four miles from Homestead; [unclear: black] clay subsoil; broken by steep terrace and streams; 250 acres [unclear: eas] ploughable, watered by large stream; remainder good [unclear: pastoral] surface-sown.

Section 1, Block VII.; 184 acres.

Well-grassed downs, flat topped, all ploughable; surface-[unclear: sown] English grasses; broken by gullies; two miles by dray-track from [unclear: House] stead.

Section 3, Block VII.; 293 acres.

Good rolling downs; 145 acres easily ploughable, 5 acres [unclear: swam] remainder steeper and broken by gullies; well grassed with [unclear: Eng] grasses, black soil on clay; one mile by dray track from Homestead.

Section 4, Block VII.; 235 acres.

Well-grassed rolling downs, black soil on clay; 115 acres [*unclear: east*] ploughable, 30 acres swampy, remainder steeper; well [*unclear: grassed*] English grass; two miles by dray track from Homestead.

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 4, Block IV.; 99 acres 1 rood 28 perches.

The whole section is good flat agricultural land, carrying [*unclear: Native*] English grasses.

Section 2, Block VIII.; 184 acres 1 rood 33 perches.

About one-half flat, good agricultural land, black soil; [*unclear: remaind*] shingly light soil, suitable for grazing; all carrying good Native [*unclear: of*] English grasses.

Section 3, Block VIII.; 248 acres 1 rood 4 perches.

Fair and flat agricultural land, black soil, carrying good [*unclear: Native*] English grasses.

Section 7, Block VIII.; 287 acres.

All flat agricultural land, with black soil, carrying good Native English grasses; wet ground along the northern boundary.

Section 9, Block VIII.; 209 acres.

All flat agricultural land, with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 13, Block VIII.; 149 acres.

Flat and undulating agricultural land, with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 4, Block XII.; 103 acres.

Well-grassed downs; good black soil; nearly all easily ploughable; surface-sown with English grasses; about three miles and a half by dray-track from Homestead.

Section 5, Block XII.; 93 acres.

Well-grassed downs, good black soil, nearly all easily ploughable, surface-sown with English grasses; a few acres rich flat, swampy; three miles by dray-track from Homestead.

Section 8, Block XII.; 226 acres.

Between 250ft. and 400ft. above the sea-level; 90 acres flat, balance undulating, agricultural land, in good English grass; has been down eight years; watered at this season; Tin. to 9in. good soil; 18 chains quick-hedge boundary; 110 chains 6-wire boundary.

Section 11, Block XII.; 146 acres 2 roods.

Between 200ft. and 300ft. above sea-level; 50 acres fiat, balance undulating, 9in. of good soil, in good English grass; has been down eighteen years; watered; 78 chains 6-wire boundary.

Section 13, Block XII.; 105 acres.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. of good soil very good English grass, has been down twelve years; not watered; 71 chains quick-hedge boundary, 20 chains 7-wire boundary; bounded on the south for 20 chains by good plantation.

Section 15, Block XII.; 105 acres.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. rich soil in stubble, watered; 49 chains 7-wire boundary.

Section 18, Block XII.; 338 acres.

Between 200ft. and 300ft. above sea-level; 75 acres flat, balance undulating agricultural land, 7in. to 9in. good soil; good English grass, has been down eight years; well watered at this season; 180 chains 6-wire boundary, 70 chains 6-wire subdivision.

Section 20, Block XII.; 134 acres.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. rich soil very good English grass; well watered; 113 chains boundary 7-wire fence; bounded on the north-east for 67 chains by Spring Creek plantation.

Section 22, Block XII.; 137 acres 2 roods.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 7in. to 12in. rich Boil, English grass, some rushes, well watered; 116 chains 7-wire boundary.

Section 2, Block XVI.; 296 acres.

Between 200ft. and 450ft. above sea-level; undulating agricultural land, 7in. to 9in. good soil in English grass, been down fifteen years; watered at this season; about one mile boundary 6-wire fence.

Section 6, Block XVI.; 192 acres.

Between 200ft. and 400ft. above sea-level, 50 acres flat, [unclear: balance] lating agricultural land, Tin. to 12in. rich soil; good English grass, [unclear: be] down four years; well watered; 75 chains 7-wire subdivision; [unclear: two] roomed hut.

Section 8, Block XVI.; 300 acres.

Between 200ft. and 450ft. above sea-level; undulating [unclear: agriculture] land, Tin. to 9in. good soil, good English grass, been down four [unclear: year] watered at this season; 78 chains fencing, 7-wire boundary.

Section 16, Block XVI.; 444 acres.

About 40 acres rich, swampy flat, about half ploughed and in [unclear: stubble] 200 acres low, rich downs, in stubble; remainder well-grassed [unclear: paste] downs in tussock, good clay bottom; permanent water; fencing, 105 [unclear: chain] subdivision, 20 chains boundary.

Section 18, Block XVI.; 279 acres.

About 70 acres rich terrace at foot of Mount Gerard, ploughed [unclear: and] turnips last season; remainder rich high pastoral downs in tussock, [unclear: grass] clay bottom; no fencing.

Second-class Agricultural Lands.

Cheviot Survey District.

Section 20, Block IV.; 203 acres.

Good downs, black soil, clay subsoil; 10 acres swampy, 200 [unclear: acres] easily ploughable, 63 acres steeper, but well-grassed with English [unclear: grass] watered by swamp stream; broken by gullies; about four miles [unclear: from] Homestead.

Section 30, Block IV.; 320 acres.

Well-grassed downs, good soil; about 80 acres ploughable; [unclear: remain] broken by deep gullies, and steep; permanent water in gullies; [unclear: about] six miles by dray-track from Homestead.

Section 31, Block IV.; 194 acres.

Well-grassed downs, good black soil; about 100 acres [unclear: ploughal] remainder broken by gullies; permanent water; about six miles [unclear: and] half by dray-track from Homestead.

Section 32, Block IV.; 138 acres.

Well-grassed downs, rich soil, with clay; 15 acres swampy [unclear: flat;] acres ploughable; remainder broken by gullies; permanent [unclear: water] swamp stream.

Section 7, Block IX.; 302 acres.

All open broken agricultural and pastoral land; soil good, some [unclear: lime] stone formation; about 15 acres in English grass; 50 acres [unclear: tussock] English grass; balance steep faces, with fern and a little [unclear: scrub;] watered; north and south aspect; accessible by good road, [unclear: three] and a half from Port Robinson. Improvements: wire subdivision [unclear: few]

Note.—About 46 acres of this section is in Seaward [unclear: Range] Possession will not be given until 18th March, 1894.

Section 1, Block XI.; 485 acres.

70 acres rich swampy flat; 80 acres low rich downs, clay [unclear: bottom] turnips last season; remainder fair tussock hills, few shingly [unclear: sidings] gullies; permanent water; fencing, 63 chains subdivision.

Image of a wharf being constructed with ships in the background

Section 6, Block XI; 281. acres.

About 185 acres light clay soil, gravel on surface, in turnips last sown; remainder light river-flat, rich loamy soil, gravel bottom, well-grassed tussock; permanent water; fencing, 50 chains boundary, 5S chains subdivision.

Section 7, Block XI.; 370 acres 1 rood.

All open agricultural and pastoral land, soil very good, limestone formation; about 70 acres rich flats, some 15 acres of which is covered on surface only with drift stones, soil on ridges very good; 15 acres of which have been ploughed and sown with English grasses, balance covered with tussock and Native grasses; 270 acres ploughable; watered by Hurunui River; aspect south-west; accessible by easily-formed road. Improve ment, subdivision fence.

Section 10, Block XI.; 400 acres.

All open except about 5 acres bush; about 50 acres rich flats, mostly onvered on surface with drift stones; about 20 acres rich swampy flats; balance hilly and broken, good limestone soil; about 20 acres of ridges have been ploughed and sown in English grass; vegetation, tussock, English grass with fern in gullies; accessible by easily-formed roads, well Watered; aspect east and south, fronting the ocean. No improvements.

Section 11, Block XI.; 131 acres 1 rood.

All open, broken, agricultural and pastoral land, soil very good; [unclear: some] hepally limestone formation; well watered; about 70 acres ploughable vegetation consists of tussock and fern; eastern aspect; accessible by good road; two miles from Port Robinson. No improvements,

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 2, Block IV.; 127 acres 1 rood 30 perches.

The whole section is flat, carrying Native and English grasses; about one-third is good agricultural land, the balance consists of light soil with shingle.

Section 5, Block VIII.; 150 acres and 29 perches.

All flat tussock-land, with admixture of English grasses; about one-half fair agricultural land, with black soil; the balance comprises sandy and shingly soil.

Section 11, Block VIII.; 320 acres.

About one-fourth agricultural flat land, with black soil; the balance of pastoral undulating downs, land carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 15, Block VIII.; 245 acres.

About one-fourth flat agricultural land, with firm close black soil; the balance pastoral land, undulating downs with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 18, Block VIII.; 283 acres.

About one-ninth flat agricultural land, with black soil; the balance pastoral land, downs with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 2, Block XII.; 335 acres.

About one-fifth flat agricultural land, with good black soil; about 8 [unclear: arnps] swampy land, deep rich soil; the balance pastoral land, downs with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 3, Block XVI.; 381 acres.

Undulating agricultural land, Tin. to 9in. good soil.

Section 11, Block XVI.; 118 acres.

About 30 acres good ploughable downs, remainder pastoral; all tussock; good clay bottom; fencing, 98 chains boundary.

Section 1, Block XIX.; 291 acres.

River flat, all in tussock; one-third light sandy soil, with [unclear: gravel] to surface, poorly grassed; one-third good light sandy soil, well [unclear: grass] gravel bottom; one-third rich loamy soil, well grassed, clay [unclear: bottom] permanent water; fencing on north boundary, 60 chains.

Section 6, Block XIX.; 305 acres.

About 60 acres rich flat, clay bottom, in turnips last season; 150 [unclear: and] deep rich loam, gravel bottom, good tussock; remainder, stream and [unclear: rich] flat, good light soil, gravel bottom, good tussock; permanent water; [unclear: fernd] 58 chains boundary, 55 chains subdivision.

NOTE.

The lands comprised in the East Waiiau Block range in [unclear: elevat] above sea-level from about 100ft. on the Waiiau Flats to about [unclear: 40] on the downs near the Homestead.

The elevation of the West Waiiau lands ranges from about 100ft. [unclear: also] sea-level on the flats to about 200ft. on the downs. The sections [unclear: at] season are fairly well watered by the main streams and lagoons; [unclear: but] the summer recourse must be had to well-sinking, or boring for [unclear: artest] water, and storing water by means of dams. The sections in [unclear: the] Waiiau Block are distant from two to seven miles from the [unclear: township] the Homestead.

The general elevation of the Hurunui sections ranges from about [unclear: 10] on the flats to about 500ft. on the hills.

The sections on the Homestead Block are distant from Port [unclear: Robin] from seven miles to ten miles.

Village Homestead Settlements. OPEN FOR APPLICATION, 13th November, 1893.

First-class Lands.

Cheviot Survey District.

SPOTS WOOD VILLAGE.

Section 3, Block IV.; 74 acres.

Flat agricultural land, deep soil, well covered with [unclear: surface]-English grasses, all ploughable, subsoil part clay and part sand; [unclear: situation] on Waiau Flat, about seven miles from Cheviot homestead.

Section 4, Block IV.; 50 acres.

Flat agricultural land, rich deep black soil, clay subsoil; well [unclear: grass] with surface-sown English grasses; all ploughable; watered [unclear: by] situated on Waiau Flat, about seven miles from homestead.

Homeview Village.

Sections 1 to 13, 21, and 22, inclusive; 10 acres each.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. to 18 in. black [unclear: soil;] good English grass; bounded in parts by plantation and quick-[unclear: hedge;] no water visible.

Sections 23 and 24; 16 acres each.

Flat agricultural land, about 200ft. above sea-level; 12in. to 18in. rich black soil; good English grass; bounded in parts by plantation and quick-hedge; water at present, but dry in summer.

Section 25; 10 acres.

Same description as Sections 23 and 24.

Sections 26 to 30, inclusive; 5 acres each.

About 200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 9in. to 15in. of rich soil, in good English grass; no water at present.

Section 31, 5 acres; and Section 32, 10 acres.

Same description as above, with small permanent spring.

Section 33, 10 acres.

Flat agricultural land, 9in. to 15in. of rich soil; in good English grass; 0ft. above sea level; water at present.

Section 34; 10 acres.

Same description as Section 33, with the addition that there is a spring on this section.

Section 35, 10 acres; and Sections 36 to 39, 5 acres each.

Same description as Section 33.

Note.—This flat has never been tested for water, but there is every indication that permanent wells could be had with sinking from 8ft. to 0ft. Sir James Hector is of opinion that artesian water could be obtained. The sections are well adapted for village settlements; the situation is good, and the soil in every way suitable for the purpose. On tedious 9 to 17 and 29 to 39, inclusive, if well-water could not be obtained, water could be supplied by a race brought down the road from Crystal Hook.

CHEVIOT SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 5, Block VII.; 40 acres.

Well-grassed downs, three-fourths easily ploughable; black soil, with clay subsoil, broken by gully; good surface-sown English grasses; about one mile from homestead.

Section 6, Block VII.; 40 acres.

Three-fourths easily ploughable, well-grassed downs; black soil, with clay subsoil, broken by gully; good surface-sown English grasses; about one mile from homestead.

Section 7, Block VII.; 50 acres.

Nearly all ploughable; well-grassed rolling downs; good black soil, with clay subsoil, limestone showing in places on top of spurs; surface-sown with English grasses; one half-mile from township.

Section 8, Block VII.; 50 acres.

Well-grassed rolling downs; good black soil, nearly all ploughable, clay subsoil limestone showing in places on top of spurs; surface-sown with English grasses; about one half-mile from township.

Port Robinson Village.

CHEVIOT SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 4, Block XI; 23 acres.

Agricultural land, splendid soil, sandy loam; sunny eastern [*unclear*: as] overlooking the ocean; good English and Native grasses; not well [*unclear*: water] all ploughable, about half the area is steep; western boundary [*unclear*: feet] accessible by good road, one mile from Port Robinson.

Section 9, Block XI; 53 acres.

All open, hilly, and broken pastoral and agricultural land; [*unclear*: soil] good sandy loam, well watered, covered with tussock and English [*unclear*: grass] accessible by good road one mile from Port Robinson. [*unclear*: Improvement] wire-fence, western boundary.

Section 12, Block XI; 35 acres.

All open, broken, agricultural and pastoral land; soil very good [*unclear*: same] loam, watered; about 20 acres ploughable, 10 acres of which have [*unclear*: in] ploughed and sown in English grasses; about 25 acres good [*unclear*: tussock] English grasses; eastern aspect; accessible by good road one mile [*unclear*: as] half from Port Robinson. Improvements: wire-fencing, western [*unclear*: be] ary.

Section 14, Block XI; 32 acres.

All open, broken, agricultural and pastoral land; soil, very [unclear: goods] loam, well watered; about 10 acres in English grass, balance good [unclear: tust]; and English grass; accessible by good road, three-quarters of a [unclear: mile] Port Robinson.

Domett Village.

LOWRY PEAKS SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 20, Block XVI.; 54 acres.

15 acres rich swamps, uncultivated; northern portion of [unclear: set] good clay bottom; south portion, gravel bottom; all good flat, [unclear: instable] fencing, 24 chain road boundary.

Section 21. Block XVI.; 50 acres.

10 acres rich swamp, uncultivated; remainder good flat, in [unclear: sta] good clay bottom; fencing, 12 [unclear: chains] road boundary.

Section 22, Block XVI.; 50 acres.

All good flat, in stubble, good clay subsoil; fencing, 12 chains boundary.

Section 23, Block XVI.; 75 acres.

All good flat, in stubble, good clay bottom; no fencing.

Section 24, Block XVI.; 50 acres.

20 acres rich swampy flat, uncultivated; remainder good flat in [unclear: std] gravel, no fencing.

Section 25, Block XVI.; 57 acres.

20 acres rich swampy flat, uncultivated; remainder good flat, in [unclear: sta] gravel bottom; no fencing.

Section 26, Block XVI.; 53 acres.

All good flat, in stubble, good clay bottom; no fencing.

Section 27, Block XVI.; 33 acres.

5 acres rich swampy flat, in stubble; rest good flat, gravel [unclear: bottom] no fencing.

Section 28, Block XVI.; 40 acres.

5 acres rich swamps, uncultivated; remainder good flat, in stubble rich clay bottom; no fencing.

Section 29, Block XVI.; 27 acres.

10 acres rich swamps, uncultivated: remainder good flat, in stubble; good clay bottom; no fencing.

Section 2, Block XIX.; 14 acres.

Rich light soil, gravel bottom; all in stubbie.

Section 3, Block XIX.; 27 acres.

Rich light soil, gravel bottom; all in stubble.

Section 4, Block XIX.; 77 acres.

Rich light soil, gravel bottom; all in stubble.

Section 23, Block XII.; 50 acres.

200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. to 20in. rich soil, in English grass; some rushes; well watered; 24 chains boundary, 7-wire; 18 chains 7-wire subdivision.

Section 24, Block XII.; 40 acres.

200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. to 20in. rich soil, in English grass; some rushes; well watered.

Section 25, Block XII.; 40 acres.

200ft. above sea-level; flat agricultural land, 12in. to 20in. rich soil, in English grass; some rushes; well watered.

Section 10, Block XVI.; 50 acres.

About 15 acres rich agricultural flat; remainder good ploughable downs, with the exception of about 2 acres hill-side and shingle-top; all in tussock, good clay bottom; fencing, 21 chains boundary.

Grazing Farms,

FOR LEASE FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS.

Cheviot County.

Section 2, Block XI.; 935 acres.

Pastoral land, all open, broken by gullies, with fern and scrub in one gully; good tussock and other Native grasses on the ridges; soil, good sandy loam; about 300 acres of ploughable spurs; well watered; north-eastern aspect; accessible by good road, two miles and a half from Port Robinson. No improvements.

Section 3, Block XI.; 201 acres.

Open pastoral and agricultural land, broken by gullies; 120 acres ploughable soil, good sandy loam; good tussock and other Native grasses throughout; well watered; north-eastern aspect; accessible by good road Port Robinson, distant two miles. Improvements: fencing on eastern boundary.

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 4, Block XVI.; 720 acres.

About 50 acres rich agricultural flat land; remainder good pastoral downs, all in tussock; good clay bottom; fencing, 168 chains boundary.

Section 4, Block XVIII.; 650 acres.

About 70 acres rich agricultural flat land; remainder good pastoral downs, all in tussock; good clay bottom; fencing, 118 chains boundary.

For Sale for Cash by Public Auction.

17TH NOVEMBER, 1893.

First-Class Agricultural Land.

Cheviot Survey District.

Section 1, Block IV.; 117 acres.

Agricultural flat land, with good black soil, carrying good [unclear: Native] English grasses.

Section 5, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Situated on Waiau Flat, rich, deep, black soil, clay subsoil, [unclear: water] by permanent springs; a few acres wet, easily drained; surface-[unclear: sown] English grasses, ploughable; about seven miles from Homestead.

Section 7, Block IV.; 100 Acres.

Situated on Waiau Flat, rich, deep, black soil, clay subsoil, [unclear: water] by permanent springs; 15 acres swampy, easily drained; all [unclear: plough] good English grass, surface-sown; about eight miles from [unclear: Homestead]

Section 9, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Situated on Waiau Flat, rich, deep, black soil, clay subsoil; [unclear: water] permanent springs; 10 acres swampy, easily drained; all [unclear: plough] surface-sown; eight miles from Homestead.

Section 12, Block IV.; 100 acres.

Consists of 50 acres of rich, deep flats; 40 acres very good [unclear: swamp] acres very good downs, well grassed, surface-sown; about seven [unclear: in] from Homestead.

Section 14, Block IV.; 200 acres.

About 90 acres rich, deep, swampy flat, easily drained; [unclear: balance] good downs, flat topped, with broken gullies, surface-sown; [unclear: about] miles and a quarter from Homestead.

Section 16, Block IV.; 200 acres.

About 85 acres rich, deep, swampy flat, easily drained; [unclear: balance] good downs, well-grassed and surface-sown, permanent water; [unclear: about] miles from Homestead.

Section 18, Block IV.; 148 acres.

About 70 acres rich, deep flat, remainder very good flat downs, [unclear: will] few acres of steep siding, well grassed and watered; about [unclear: seven] from Homestead.

Section 19, Block IV.; 227 acres.

About 20 acres good swamp, balance good, flat, rolling, well-[unclear: gun] downs, intersected by shingle gully; good black soil on clay; [unclear: about] miles from Homestead.

Section 21, Block IV.; 220 acres.

Good flat downs, well grassed, surface-sown, black soil on clay, [unclear: water] by shingle gully, surface-sown; the whole easily ploughable; frag] to six miles [unclear: from] Homestead.

Section 23, Block IV.; 179½ acres.

Good flat downs, well grassed, surface-sown, black soil on clay, [unclear: water] by shingle gully, surface-sown; the whole easily ploughable; from [unclear: the] six miles from Homestead.

Section 27, Block IV.; 201 acres.

Open flat-topped downs, well grassed, but a little broken by gullies; 190 acres ploughable; four miles from Homestead; good deep black soil, with 'lay subsoil. No permanent water.

Section 9, Block VII.; 50 acres.

Nearly all ploughable, well grassed rolling downs, good black soil, with clay subsoil, limestone showing in places on top of spurs, surface-sown with English grasses; within one half-mile of township.

Section 13, Block XI.; 31 acres.

All open, undulating, agricultural land; soil very good sandy loam; about 25 acres in good English grass; balance fern and tussock, watered; accessible by good road, three-quarters of a mile from Port Robinson.

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 1, Block VIII.; 225 acres.

Good flat and undulating agricultural land, with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 4, Block VIII.; 248 acres 1 rood 6 perches.

All flat, carrying Native and English grasses; about two-thirds of area of fair agricultural land with black soil, wet ground along south boundary; al out 40 acres of fair agricultural land, black soil, lighter than the above had the balance comprises sandy and stony land.

Section 8, Block VIII.; 200 acres.

All flat agricultural land with black soil, carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 10, Block VIII.; 280 acres.

About half the area of flat and undulating agricultural land, with Kiek soil; the balance consists of undulating pastoral land with light soil, the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 12, Block VIII.; 313 acres.

About one-third agricultural flat land, with black soil; the balance postoral undulating downs; the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 16, Block VIII.; 360 acres.

Well-grassed, flat-topped rolling downs, about 100 acres steep terrace and broken by gullies, remainder flat; good black soil with clay subsoil, watered by stream; about four miles from Homestead; dray track.

Section 17. Block VIII.; 294 acres.

Part agricultural land, with black soil, balance pastoral, the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 3, Block XII.; 340 acres.

About one-third flat agricultural land with good black soil; about 50 acres swampy land with deep rich soil;

the balance pastoral land, downs with black soil, the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 7, Block XII.; 228 acres.

Between 250ft. and 750ft. above sea-level; 60 acres flat, balance undulating agricultural land; Tin. to 9in. good soil, in English grass, has been down for eight years; watered at present season; 18 chains quick-hedge hedge boundary, 123 chains 6-wire boundary.

Section 9, Block XII.; 129 acres.

Between 200ft. and 300ft. above sea-level; 50 acres flat, [*unclear*: balance] undulating agricultural land; 9in. good soil, in good English grass, been laid down eighteen years; watered at this season; 33 chains [*unclear*: quit] hedge boundary, 85 chains 6-wire boundary.

Section 12, Block XII.; 100 acres.

200ft. above sea-level, flat agricultural land; 12in. rich soil, in [*unclear*: stubbel] not watered; 65 chains quick-hedge [*unclear*: boundary], 24 chains 6-wire bounds

Section 16, Block XII.; 100 acres.

200ft. above sea-level, flat agricultural land; 12in. rich soil, in [*unclear*: stubble] not watered; 41 chains quick-hedge boundary.

Section 10, Block XII.; 91 acres.

200ft. above sea-level, flat agricultural land; 9in. to 12in. good [*unclear*: in] English grass, well watered at this season; 80 chains 7-wire boundary

Section 21, Block XII.; 120 acres.

200ft. above sea-level, flat agricultural land; 12in. to 15in. rich soil acres good English grass, balance stubble, not watered; 64 chains [*unclear*: quit] hedge boundary, 40 chains 7-wire boundary; 38 chains 5-wire, [*unclear*: mate] only. Bounded on the south-west for 64 chains by Spring [*unclear*: Creek] tation.

Section 5, Block XVI.; 269 acres.

About 200ft. above sea-level, agricultural land; 9in. to 20in. [*unclear*: rich] English grass with rushes in parts, well watered at this season; 50 [*unclear*: chain] 7-wire boundary; 120 chains 7-wire, material only.

Section 7, Block XVI.; 240 acres.

Between 200ft. and 400ft. above sea-level, undulating [*unclear*: agricultural] 7in. to 9in. good soil, good English grass, been down four years, [*unclear*: water] at this season.

Section 17, Block XVI.; 491 acres.

50 acres rich swampy flat, partly ploughed; 190 acres rich [*unclear*: low] in turnips last season, remainder high downs fairly well [*unclear*: grassed;] shingle terraces, good clay bottom, agricultural and pastoral land [*unclear*: suit] divided by fence; fencing, 45 chains subdivision; permanent water.

Section 19, Block XVI.; 2S5 acres.

180 acres rich terrace at foot of Mount Gerard, ploughed, [*unclear*: and] turnips last season; remainder good pastoral downs in tussock; good bottom; fencing, 70 chains boundary, 35 chains subdivision

Second-class Agricultural Land.

Cheviot Survey District.

Section 28, Block IV.; 406 acres.

Good downs, black soil, clay subsoil; 30 acres swampy; [unclear: 220] easily ploughable; 156 acres steeper, but well grassed with [unclear: English] grasses; watered by swamp stream; about four miles from [unclear: Homes] broken by gullies.

Section 2, Block VII.; 97 acres.

Well-grassed downs, undulating, mostly ploughable, broken by [unclear: grass] good black soil, surface-sown; two miles by dray-track from [unclear: Homes]

Section 5, Block XL; 457½ acres.

All open land, 160 acres broken and steep, good soil covered with fern; 170 acres limestone formation, 20 acres of which is very steep and covered with fern, the balance covered with tussock; about 124 acres flat, very superior soil, but broken by gullies, and covered with tussock and English passes, all well watered, south-western aspect; accessible by good road, three and a half miles from Port Robinson. Improvements: fencing on western boundary, also on southern portion.

Section 8, Block XL; 573 acres.

All open, broken, agricultural and pastoral land, soil very good; principally limestone formation, well watered; about 40 acres have been ploughed and sown with English grass; balance tussock, and good Native [grasses, aspect good; accessible by good road, one mile from Port Robinson. Improvements: subdivision wire fence.

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 1, Block IV.; 245 acres 1 rood 13 perches.

The whole section is flat, carrying Native and English grasses; about one-fourth of the area is fair agricultural land; the balance consists of light soil with shingle.

Section 3, Block IV.; 99 acres 1 rood 22 perches.

The whole section comprises fair agricultural land carrying Native and English grasses.

Section 6, Block VIII.; 301 acres 1 rood 13 perches.

All flat, carrying good Native and English grasses; about half the [area of fair agricultural land with black soil, about one-third of fair agricultural land with black soil, lighter than the above land; the remainder sandy soil.

Section 14, Block VIII.; 333 acres.

About one-eighth flat agricultural land, with firm close black soil; the balance undulating pastoral land with black soil; the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 1, Block XII.; 361 acres.

About one-eighth agricultural flat land, with good black soil; the balance pastoral land, downs; the whole carrying good Native and English grasses.

Section 2, Block XV.; 411 acres.

All good downs in tussock, best soil on hill-tops, and bottom of gullies; clay bottom; fencing, 152 chains boundary.

Section 2, Block XVI.; 339 acres.

Between 200ft. and 450ft. above sea-level, undulating agricultural land; 7in. to 9in. good soil; in English grass, been down fifteen years; watered at this season; about two miles boundary, 6-wire fence.

Section 12, Block XVI.; 462 acres.

80 acres rich agricultural flat in stubble; 20 acres of the same description swampy, not yet ploughed; remainder rich agricultural downs, laid down in grass last season; fencing, 80 chains boundary, 25 chains sub-division, and 40 chains road boundary.

Section 14, Block XVI.; 262 acres.

About 20 acres low downs, was in turnips last season; [unclear: remaind] good pastoral downs in tussock, good clay bottom; fencing, 40 [unclear: chain] boundary, 32 chains subdivision.

Section 15, Block XVI.; 329 acres.

About 210 acres rich agricultural downs, in English grass; 10 [unclear: as] rich swampy flat, uncultivated; remainder good pastoral [unclear: downs] tussock, good clay bottom; permanent water; fencing, 10 chains [unclear: on] and 95 chains subdivision.

Section 3, Block XVIII.; 460 acres.

100 acres rich agricultural flats, part swampy, clay subsoil; 70 [unclear: and] good agricultural terrace, broken by deep gullies, clay bottom; [unclear: remaind] good pastoral hills; the whole section in good tussock; fencing, 115 [unclear: chain] boundary.

Section 7, Block XVIII.; 223 acres.

River-flat, all in tussock; 50 acres light sandy soil, thinly [unclear: grass] gravel close to surface; 100 acres rich loam, gravel bottom; [unclear: remaind] good soil, clay bottom, well grassed; permanent water; no fencing.

Section 5, Block XIX.; 200 acres.

Good flat, mostly clay bottom, rest gravel; all in stubble [unclear: excep] about 15 acres light river-flat, below high terrace, in tussock; [unclear: permany] water; fencing, 58 chains boundary, 35 chains subdivision.

Cheviot House and Grounds.

Cheviot Survey District.

Section 1, Block IX.; 397 acres.

Between 200ft. and 350ft. above sea-level; undulating [unclear: agricultural] 7in. to 9in. good soil, in tussock, with surface-sown cultivated [unclear: grass;] watered at this season; 150 chains 8-wire boundary.

Section 3, Block IX.; 355 acres.

Between 200ft. and 400ft. above sea-level, undulating; 235 [unclear: acres] cultural land, balance pastoral; 7in. to 9in. good soil; 104 acres [unclear: in] cultivated grass, been down four years, balance in tussock; well [unclear: water] 74 chains 8-wire boundary, 33 chains 8-wire subdivision.

Section 4, Block IX.; 268 acres.

All open, undulating, agricultural and pastoral land, limestone [unclear: for] soil good; well watered by Jed Stream; about 14 acres [unclear: flat] cultivated grass, balance in tussock and cultivated grass; northern

unclear: as] accessible by good road, two miles from proposed township, [*unclear*: Impments]: wire fencing, boundary and subdivision.

Section 5, Block IX.; 9S2 acres.

All open, broken, pastoral land, soil very good, principally [*unclear*: limestone] formation; well watered; about 16 acres fronting the Jed to [*unclear*: Port] in sown grass; balance tussock and fern and good Native [*unclear*: grasses], section can be highly improved by surface-sowing, and [*unclear*: ploughing] ridges; well watered; aspect principally towards the north; [*unclear*: access]

Manager's and Gardener's Cottages, and Water of the Jed

Cheviot Mansion from the West Drive.

Manager's House and Store.

by good road, distant from Port Robinson about five miles. Improvements, wire fencing.

Section 6, Block IX.; 594 acres.

All open, broken, agricultural and pastoral land, soil very good; some limestone; about 20 acres in sown grass; 150 acres tussock and cultivated grass, balance fern and tussock with a little scrub; well watered; accessible by good road, four miles from Port Robinson. Improvements, subdivision wire fence.

Lowry Peaks Survey District.

Section 9, Block XVI.; 300 acres.

Between 200ft. and 500ft. above sea-level; undulating agricultural land, 7in. to 9in. good soil; 130 acres in good sown grass, been down four years, balance in good tussock; watered; 40 chains 7-wire boundary, 43 chains 8-wire subdivision.

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Front Cover

Waterfall on Buxton Creek.

Cheviot Mansion from the West Drive.

Manager's House and Store.

Marchlaw Carpenter's and Blacksmith's Shop from Plantation Hill.

Store and Cart-shed.

Telegraph Ford on Jed and Flax Paddock (Township Site).

On the Jed.

Sheep

Slip Engine-house.

Port Robinson Landing Slip.

Port Cutting looking North.

Cottage at Gore Bay

Committee of Synod,

Diocese of Dunedin.

Control of Liquor Traffic, 1893.

The Committee was appointed at the Synod of the Diocese of Dunedin in 1892.

The Committee as appointed consisted of—Archdeacon Edwards, Revs. Dr. Belcher, W.A. Diggins, E. T. Howell, Messrs. R. Maris Clark and James Allen, M.H.R.

Mr. Allen having been named *in absentia* seems to have declined service, as he was not present at any meeting of the Committee.

The Committee appointed Dr. Belcher as Chairman and Mr. Howell as Secretary.

Report.

Your Committee have met five times, and have communicated with such persons and bodies as it seemed profitable to approach. The matter appended to this Report indicates the general scope and range of the inquiry and of its sources. In view of the Act recently placed on the Statute Book by the Parliament of New Zealand, your Committee do not at present make any suggestions for immediate discussion. They are of opinion that it is now best to leave the new regulations for the control of the Liquor Traffic to work out by practical experience their own lesson. (N.Z. Act, Appendix I.)

Your Committee desire, however, to submit opinions they have been led to form in the course of their

inquiries and deliberations:

(A) As regards the Gothenburg system, or the Bishop of Chester's scheme, or any schemes of a like or parallel nature, they consider that, however desirable in themselves, the propositions embodied in the schemes should be much more familiar to the public of New Zealand before submission for approval. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury has pronounced against the Gothenburg scheme on the ground that the sobriety of the least sober English town is greater than the sobriety of the most sober Scandinavian town that submits to the system. (See Appendix II., Sec. ii.)

The House of Lords rejected the Bishop of Chester's scheme without a division, on the ground that there were five separate schemes before the House and the country awaiting decision, and on the further ground that the existing law in England is better than any of the schemes proposed in replacement, and that with comparatively few improvements the existing law would be quite satisfactory.

State regulation of the retail trade by placing every house under the control of a state-appointed manager, and by absorbing all profits on the invested capital over five per cent., would undoubtedly tend to give the State an increased vested interest in the maintenance, if not the development, of the liquor traffic. The capital invested for the satisfaction of our national drinking habits, the number of persons employed in the manufacture of drink, and the national and municipal revenue accruing from the sale of drink, already present a combination of obstacles almost insuperable for schemes of moderate re-adjustment. It is clear that under the Gothenburg system, or any colourable imitation of it, these vested interests and obstacles would be much augmented. For instance, were Dunedin placed under such a system, the profit, to the municipality, calculated on the Gothenburg scale, would be £10,000 a year—a sum that no municipal body would ever be likely to abandon should it have once controlled so large an item of revenue. Your Committee do not offer any opinion as to the advantages or disadvantages of the partial adaptation of the Gothenburg system to the wants of New Zealand. The general and widespread deficiency of information on the subject seems to render it a fruitless task to enlarge further at present on such schemes of control.

Your Committee call attention to Appendices on the Bishop of Chester's [unclear: Bill] of 1893, and on the Gothenburg System. (Appendices III. and IV.)

(B) Your Committee are unable to convince themselves that a policy of [unclear: total] prohibition is either practicable or desirable. They do not think that by [unclear: merely] taking a temptation out of a people's way very much is done to strengthen the [unclear: morality] of the community. It is necessary that men should learn to use the good things [unclear: of] life without abusing them. They do not think that an endeavour to stop [unclear: drunkenness] should be entangled by the endeavour to stop drinking. No competent [unclear: teacher] has ever succeeded in maintaining that within the Christian scheme of life [unclear: drink] is wrong in itself; while the tendency to create what may be called artificial [unclear: seen] should in every way be discouraged.

The practical difficulties in the way of *Prohibition* seem to be [unclear: insuperable] The main objection to Prohibition is that it does not prohibit, while it also [unclear: has] tendency to intensify the most deplorable results of immoderate drinking, [unclear: The] chief charges laid against prohibitory legislation are—

- It tends to substitute ardent spirits for every kind of drink.
- It takes no steps to control the quality of the spirits consumed.
- It bears hard upon the poor man, by driving him to drink the [unclear: work] and vilest concoctions.
- It promotes perjury.
- It induces evasions of the law and contempt of law.
- It causes a degradation of character by weakening the discipline of [unclear: life]

With these objections your Committee, after a very careful review of a [unclear: grass] deal of evidence gathered from all sides, generally concur. While they admit [unclear: that] it is the duty of every Christian to assist the general progress of humanity [unclear: by] strong self-restraint, even in cases where the matter is indifferent, yet they [unclear: consider] that agreeably to the Christian spirit, all such restraint in matters that [unclear: are] indifferent should be self-imposed and self-controlled. They also think [unclear: that] prohibition, as understood by its extreme advocates, trenches on the elementary liberties of mankind. While they yield to none in their desire to promote temperance, they are unable to consider total prohibition an efficient means of [unclear: more] improvement; while of the great moral and physical problem that awaits [unclear: solving] they consider the solution must be brought about by persuasive, and not by [unclear: coercive] means. It seems to them that with a more exact knowledge of what were [unclear: the] drinking customs of society at the commencement of this century, what were these the facilities for drinking and the quality of the drink sold as compared with the actual condition of these matters at this hour, moderate reformers would be inclined to trust to the operation of the same causes to bring about further result in the same direction.

They append Reports on the present condition of Drink legislation in the United States of America, with Professor Goldwin Smith's opinion on the working of the Scott Act in Canada. (Appendices V., VI., VII.)

They recommend that the Committee should be re-appointed, if members are willing to act, as a Vigilance

Committee, seeing that the whole question seems to be in process of partial settlement.

(Signed)

Henry Belcher, M.A., &c., *Chairman*

E. G. Edwards, M.A.

W. A. Diggins, B.A.

R. Maris Clark.

E. T. Howell, M.A., *Secretary*.

DUNEDIN,

20th October, 1893.

Appendix I.

Abstract of the Licensing Acts (1881, 1889, 1893) of New Zealand.

1.—The electoral districts are ordinary licensing districts.

2.—No person shall be qualified to be elected or to act as a member of a licensing committee, who is a brewer, wine or spirit merchant, maltster, distiller, importer for sale of or a dealer in liquors, or in partnership with any such person, or who acts as the agent or auctioneer for any such person; or who is interested in any such business; or who has within four years been bankrupt or insolvent, and has paid a less dividend than ten shillings in the pound upon his debts.

3.—The committee shall consist of eight persons, residents within the district, to be elected annually by the electors of the district in manner provided by "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," and of the Resident Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the licensing district lies, and he shall be the *Chairman* of the Committee, with an original and a casting vote. Each elector shall only have one Tote within any district. Every elector in any such district shall, notwithstanding his name appears on several of the separate rolls, have one vote and no more, in respect of each member of a licensing committee to be elected at any election. Every member of a licensing committee shall come into office on his election, and shall hold office for three years. The members of a licensing committee retiring at the end of their term of office may be re-elected or re-appointed. No elector is disqualified from sitting or acting on a committee because he has given pledges or expressed opinions as to the liquor traffic.

4.—A publican's license shall authorise the licensee to sell and dispose of, on the premises therein specified, any liquor in any quantity between the hours of *six* in the morning and *ten* at night.

5.—The licensing committee may, at any annual or quarterly licensing meeting, grant to any holder of a publican's license, on payment of an additional fee of ten pounds, an extension of the time hereinbefore prescribed for the sale of liquors, until *eleven* o'clock at night, on being satisfied of its being for the benefit and convenience of the public. Such extension of license shall be granted by an indorsement on the certificate and license respectively.

6.—No publican's license shall be granted in respect of any house in any borough unless such house shall have a front or principal entrance separate from and in addition to the entrance to the bar or to the place where liquors not to be drunk on the premises are sold, and shall contain, for public accommodation, not less than six rooms, besides the billiard room (if any) and the rooms occupied by the family of the applicant; nor unless such house is furnished with sufficient doors or facilities for escape therefrom in case of fire.

7.—The annual fees which shall be paid for licenses under this Act shall be respectively as follow:—

For a publican's license within the limits of any borough—£40

Outside the aforesaid limits £25

For a wholesale license £20

8.—The fees for all licenses granted in respect of premises situated in each borough and county as herein defined, and each road district outside of such boroughs and counties, shall respectively be paid to the person acting as Treasurer for such borough, county, or road district, and shall form part of the borough, county, or road board fund.

9.—No woman, whether married or unmarried, may hold a license (except under provisos of the Licensing Act of 1889); and no woman other than the licensee or the wife or daughter of the licensee, as the case may be, shall be [*unclear: employed*] in the bar of any licensed house for more than ten hours in each day of twenty-[*unclear: four*] hours; and no woman, except as aforesaid, shall, with or without her [*unclear: consent*], employed in the bar of any licensed house after the hour of eleven p.m.

10.—No innkeeper shall recover any debt or demand on account of [unclear: and] liquor supplied by him to any person for consumption on the [unclear: premise] but such person may sue for and recover the value of any liquor [unclear: supplied] moderate quantity with meals to any person *bona fide* lodging in the house.

11.—If any innkeeper shall receive in payment or as a pledge for [unclear: any] liquor or entertainment supplied in or from his licensed premises [unclear: anything] except current money, or cheques, or bankers' orders for payment of [unclear: money] he shall for each such offence pay a penalty not exceeding £10

12.—All licensed premises shall be closed from Saturday night at 11 [unclear: p.m.] until the following Monday morning at 6 a. m.

13.—Nothing in this Act shall preclude an innkeeper who is [unclear: licens] to sell liquor to be consumed on the premises from selling such [unclear: liquor] any time to *bona fide* travellers or persons lodging in his house. [unclear: Nothing] in this Act contained as to hours of closing shall preclude the sale at any [unclear: this] at a railway station, of liquors to persons arriving at or departing from [unclear: station] by railroad by any person duly licensed in that respect.

14.—Any licensed person who allows to be supplied by purchase or [unclear: otherwise] to be consumed on the premises, any description whatever of spirits, or of [unclear: wash]ale, beer, or porter to any person apparently under the age of sixteen years, 1 being resident on the premises or a *bona fide* guest, lodger, or traveller, [unclear: shall] well as the person who actually gives or supplies the spirits, wine, ale, beer, or [unclear: porved] be liable to pay a penalty not exceeding £10 for every such offence.

15.—No liquor shall be sold for consumption off the premises to any [unclear: peapparently] under the age of thirteen years, under a penalty not exceeding £5 1 every such offence.

16.—There shall be no increase of licenses until after the next census, and the only on a three-fifths majority of the electors, of whom at least one-half must be recorded their votes. In the case of renewals of licenses, the electors in [unclear: March] 1894, are to determine (a) whether the number of publicans' licenses continue i at present; (b) whether the number be reduced; or (c) whether no licenses) granted. In the last case if the proposal is shown to be maintained by three-[unclear: fifth] of the electors, of whom one-half have voted, then total prohibition is adopted [unclear: for] that licensing district. In the case of the preceding propositions (a), (b), a [unclear: bases] majority settles the question.

17.—The affirmation of any proposals shall in no case render it [unclear: imperation] upon the licensing committee to issue any such new licenses.

18. Every club shall be subject to inspection by an inspector, appointed by [unclear: the] Colonial Secretary and no proceedings shall be taken against any club except [unclear: by] direction of the Colonial Secretary.

Appendix II.

Report on Temperance, Convocation of Canterbury, May, 1893.

(Archdeacon Farrar presented the Report of the Committee on [unclear: Intemperance])

This is a very elaborate report, reviewing the whole subject in great [unclear: detail] Sunday closing is claimed to have diminished temptation in Scotland, Ireland, [unclear: and] Wales, and it is noticed that Sunday closing is also the rule in the Channel [unclear: Island] and the Isle of Man, in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, [unclear: Prime] Edward Island, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, South and West Australia. Working-class populations are stated to show especial eagerness in the direction of increasing restrictions on the sale of alcohol. The celebrated decision in the House of Lords in "*Sharp v. Wakefield*" is referred to with favour, and the right of compensation, where a license is taken away, is not distinctly affirmed or denied by the Committee, but the actual legal claim for compensation is held to be untenable. Compensation must be left to the Legislature to do what "may be deemed just, equitable, and possible."

The following reference is made to the proposals with which the name of the Bishop of Chester is closely associated in this country:—"Whatever may be thought of the scheme propounded by the Bishop of Chester for making the State, directly or indirectly, the proprietor and controller of all houses where intoxicating liquors are sold, no one who has given careful observation to the subject can deny the justness of his observation, that 'the evils of the present public-house system paralyse and poison the life of the nation.'"

Attention is drawn to increasing intemperance among women, and it is said to be only the bare truth that "hundreds of English children are sacrificed year by year to the drinking habits of their parents." The National Drink Bill is said to have risen from £105,000,000 in 1865 to £140,866,262 in 1892. The report, *inter alia*, states: "It has been estimated that the entire revenues of all Christian communities, and of all benevolent institutions, do not exceed £18,000,000 yearly, which is but 12½ per cent. of the amount paid annually by the people of the United Kingdom for the intoxicating drinks which bring upon them evils so great and so

continuous."

Common justice requires that the absolute control of the liquor traffic should be in the hands of those who are most deeply and directly affected by it. The people of England have an indefeasible right to diminish or do away with a traffic if they come to the conclusion that it has no legal or moral ground of existence, and in cases when, so far from being demanded by them for the supply of their needs, they consider its abnormal development to be the most fruitful source of the misery and ruin of themselves and their homes. It would be better to place all clubs under legal supervision than to allow the continuance of those which abuse the name, and place temptation in the way of those who are least able to resist them. In France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway, the drift of legislation has often been to favour the production of strong drink, and reduce or entirely remove restrictions to its sale. In our own colonies no difficulty has been found in supplying restrictive legislation, even to the point of prohibition, in accordance with the will of the people. We hold it impossible to exaggerate the importance of energetic action on the part of the Church of England to stem the tide of demoralisation and ruin caused by the abuse of drink. It is a terrible fact, to our shame and sorrow be it spoken, in almost every quarter of the globe we have partially neutralised the other blessings which our rule confers by causing the decimation, the degradation, and, in some instances, the all but total destruction of uncivilised races. In the language of the late Archbishop Thomson—language capable of proof only too rigid—"We have girdled the world with a zone of drunkenness." It remains for us to glance at the remedies which we would suggest:—

- First we would mention the formation of temperance associations.
- Next we would speak on the subject of total abstinence. The question of total abstinence is purely one for the decision of the individual conscience. The use of fermented liquors, or the voluntary abstinence from them is left open to Christian liberty, to be settled in accordance with many varying conditions of health, expediency, and example. But while on the one hand we reprobate the condemnation of all use of intoxicants as though such use were sinful—a condemnation which in the face of Scripture is unpermissible and uncharitable—we reprobate no less distinctly the attempt to brand total abstinence as [unclear: though] were simply due to weak onesidedness, fanatical folly, or [unclear: Maniches] opinions. We would recommend all Christians to avoid in both [unclear: dis-]tions the falsehood of extremes. It is significant that in this view [unclear: the] greatest prelates and theologians of the Roman Church are [unclear: at] with us.

There is one class of the community on which we think that total [unclear: abstina] may, as a rule, be definitely urged—we mean the children of the nation.

We would add the suggestion that the clergy should more frequently [unclear: impre] on their parishioners that drunkenness is *a sin*, as well *as* a disease and a curse,

We cannot venture to recommend the adoption of the Gothenburg or [unclear: Berg] systems, or the scheme which is proposed in the Bill of the Bishop of [unclear: Chester] for the following reasons:—

- It is true that Sweden and Norway, once the most intemperate [unclear: counts] in Europe, have become among the foremost for temperance and [unclear: thrit] but much of the improvement is not due to those particular [unclear: method] but to antecedent legislation, by which, forty years ago, farm-distillk was prohibited, power given to the people to prevent the local sale intoxicants, and the number of rural public-houses so much [unclear: reduce] (without any compensation) that often not one may be seen in a [unclear: day] journey.
- In spite of either system, the arrests for drunkenness in [unclear: proportion] population have not been reduced to the standard of our towns in [unclear: when] intemperance is most rife.
- The introduction of either system, or any modification of them, [unclear: could] be carried out except at overwhelming cost.
- Either system would involve the placing of the local drink trade in [unclear: the] hands of municipal bodies, and such a proposal would, for very difference reasons, be opposed alike by the present licensed dealers and by a [unclear: very] large proportion of temperance reformers.
- We consider it doubtful whether, under the present conditions of [unclear: most] opinion and practice in the poorest districts of town and country, [unclear: it] really desirable to add Dew attractions to places where drink is [unclear: sold]. We are specially apprehensive of the effects of such [unclear: attractions] multitudes of young persons who have been trained in habits [unclear: of] abstinence.
- Many of the most active promoters of temperance reform would [unclear: seriously] object to any scheme which would give to the community a [unclear: dirk] pecuniary interest in the profits gained by the sale of drink.
- We fear that the adoption of the experiment would involve the [unclear: ruin] many temperance taverns, coffee and cocoa houses, which [unclear: are] doing excellent work.

We do, however, strongly recommend the following legislative remedies, [unclear: which] with a few

omissions and modifications, are identical with those approved [unclear: by] your Committee in 1869, namely:—

- The closing of public-houses on Sunday, except for the [unclear: accommodation] *bonâ-fide* travellers.
- The earlier closing of public-houses on week-day evenings; and [unclear: espec] on Saturday.
- A great reduction in the number of public-houses throughout [unclear: the] kingdom.
- The rigid enforcement of the penalties now attached to drunkenness, especially in the case of licensed persons who allow drunkenness to occur on their premises.
- The compulsory registration and stringent control of clubs.
- The prohibition of all music, dancing, or billiard licenses in conjunction with a license for the sale of intoxicating drinks.
- The closing of public-houses on the days of all Parliamentary elections.
- The appointment of a distinct class of inspectors of public-houses.
- Your Committee, in conclusion, are of opinion that as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licenses should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system.

To these suggestions of the Committee we would add two others, namely:—

- That no intoxicating liquors should be sold or supplied on licensed premises to young persons under the age of sixteen for consumption by themselves or others.
- That all publicans should be, as it was always intended that they should be, licensed victuallers—i.e., that they should be compelled by law to sell provisions as well as drink.
- That Government should regulate the system of "tied houses."
- That the deleterious adulteration of all kinds of intoxicating drink should be punished with the utmost severity.

Archdeacon Farrar offered no comments in presenting the report of the Committee.

Appendix III.

Précis of a Bill intituled "An Act for Establishing a System of Retail Sale of Intoxicating Liquor by an Authorised Company" (Bishop of Chester's Bill).

- It provides for a system of retail sale of liquor by an authorised company, which may be submitted for approval by any ten qualified voters in the district, and, if approved, the company shall be an authorised company under the Act.
- No new license shall be granted in any district except to the company, and after five years from date of establishment of said company, any license not held by company shall not be renewed, and shall expire at close of the period for which granted.
- The company in any district may, after giving reasonable notice to the holder of a license, require surrender of his license, and a holder of a license may require the company to accept surrender of license.
- The company shall pay to persons surrendering a license the value of their interest therein.
- The value of license to be taken to be the amount by which the value of the premises when used as licensed premises exceeds the value of premises when not so used, and such amount to be settled by agreement between the company and persons interested in the license, or in default of agreement by arbitration under Arbitration Act, 1889.
- Amount of value having been settled, the amount of value of each interest in the license shall be settled by agreement, or in default by arbitration.
- Any person having carried on business in licensed premises for his [unclear: own] benefit may require the company to purchase his interest in the license, [unclear: and] price to be paid to be agreed on as before stated.
- The licensing authority to grant the company a license for every [unclear: surrendered] license, and also, though no license is surrendered, in same manner as granted to any person under the Licensing Acts.
- A license may be granted to a company although it is a corporate [unclear: body]. Renewal of licenses to company not to be refused unless the house has not [unclear: been] conducted in an orderly manner, or that the house or any adjacent house owned [unclear: by] the company is of a disorderly character or frequented by persons of [unclear: had] character.
- In an urban district the proportion of one license shall be for every [unclear: thousand] of population, and in a rural district one license for every six hundred of [unclear: populatios] Districts for purpose of this

- Act shall be any [*unclear*: borough;] or any ward of a borough any urban sanitary district other than a borough; any parish or any [*unclear*: combination] of parishes not in an urban sanitary district.
- County council may combine any parishes, with assent of such parishes testified by a resolution of the vestry.
 - An authorised company may be incorporated under the Companies Act e 1862 to 1890 as a limited company, or by Royal Charter, or by special Act of Parliament.
 - No company shall be an authorised company unless approved by the Local Government Board.
 - The capital of the company shall be of such amount as in the opinion of the Local Government Board shall be sufficient to carry out the objects for which formed.
 - The local authority of the district can nominate at least one-third of the directors of a company in their district, and fill any vacancies which occur amongst the directors so nominated.
 - No director of the company shall otherwise be interested personally, or as partner with any person, or as a director of a company in the production of any intoxicating liquor. Accounts of the company to be audited once every two years, one auditor to be appointed by the company and another by the local authority.
 - Before being approved as an authorised company two-thirds of the [*unclear*: whole] nominal capital shall have been *bona fide* subscribed and one-half of the [*unclear*: amount] of each share subscribed shall have been fully paid-up. Such company shall [*unclear*: be] granted a certificate of establishment by Local Government Board.
 - The profits of the company may in any year be applied to pay a dividend to holders of the capital of the company not exceeding five per cent. on the paid-up capital.
 - Provision is also made for any surplus profits after paying such dividends
 - Licenses may be granted to refreshment rooms and hotels, although an authorised company has license in same district Intoxicating liquors cannot be sold retail without a license in any club, unless registered under this Act, whereas' authorised company is established.
 - *Bona fide* clubs may be registered by licensing authority, and such registration may be cancelled on application of any person after such application has been notified to the club.
 - Any member of a club may appeal to Quarter Sessions against the [*unclear*: decision] of the licensing committee.

Appendix IV.

Report of the Working of the Gothenburg System since the year 1876.

The scheme for regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, widely known under the name of the Gothenburg system, originated in Sweden in the year 1865. The object aimed at by its founders was the decrease of the widespread poverty of the working classes, in so far as it was caused by the abuse of intoxicating liquors. With these ends in view, the authorities agreed to transfer the public-house licenses then existing in Gothenburg to a company, who consented to undertake the business on the understanding that neither the shareholders nor the persons engaged as managers should derive any profits from the sales beyond a fixed percentage on the capital invested.

It is important to notice that in the first year of operation of the new system—viz., 1866—the convictions for drunkenness in Gothenburg dropped from 2070 (at which figure they stood in the previous year) to 1424. Since 1876 there has been a steady diminution—

- In the consumption of spirit per head of the population.
- In the convictions for drunkenness (proportionally to the population).
- In the number of cases of delirium tremens.

The following tabular statement, extracted from the annual reports of the company, will show the gradual progress made during the thirteen years included between the abovementioned dates:—

A tabular statement of the number of cases occurring in every year since [*unclear*: 18] is given below:—

From a commercial point of view the affairs of the Gothenburg [*unclear*: Licensing] Company are very prosperous. In 1889, after paying the six per cent, to the shareholders, defraying all expenses of management, and handing [*unclear*: over] £4022 4s. 5d. as compensation to publicans and merchants for the loss of [*unclear*: their] licenses, it was able to pay £37,901 14s. 5d. into the municipal and [*unclear*: provincial] treasuries.

The sums paid into the public treasuries are used for bettering the condition [*unclear*: of] the poorer classes and furthering works of general utility.

In order to make the evidence with regard to the working of the [*unclear*: Gothenburg] system as complete

as possible, Her Majesty's consuls at Stockholm and [unclear: Gothen]burg were requested to obtain returns from the vice-consuls within their respective districts.

Replies have been received from twenty-two vice-consuls in all, [unclear: and] without exception favourable to the new system. In every case, except one, [unclear: where] statistical information has been supplied, the figures show a decrease in [unclear: the] quantity of spirits consumed and in the number of fines for drunkenness, never [unclear: less] and often greater than is the case for Gothenburg. This seems to be of [unclear: importance] in showing that the scheme works quite as well when applied on a small scale as [unclear: it] does for such considerable towns as Stockholm or Gotten burg. The single [unclear: exception] above named is in the case of Umea, which was partially destroyed by fire [unclear: two] years ago. The large influx of working men, brought into the district for [unclear: the] rebuilding of the town, seems a quite sufficient explanation of the increase of [unclear: crime] and drunkenness which appears to have recently taken place there.

Another unanimously favourable expression of opinion was obtained from the governors of provinces in Sweden in the year 1877. A committee of the [unclear: Diet] appointed by the King, had submitted a series of questions to these officials, [unclear: of] which the fourth stood as follows:—"What results have been found to accrue from the transfer of the liquor trade to companies in different communes, in the way of promoting order and morality?" From the *résumé* of the replies [unclear: received] published by Dr. Wieselgren in his account of the Gothenburg system, the [unclear: governors] appear to have borne unbroken and unvarying testimony as to the beneficial [unclear: effects] which had followed the application of the system.

Appendix V.

Prohibition in the United States.

(Bryce I., 547; II., 24, 41, 205, 445.)

The prohibitionist party is more active than numerous. It can rarely secure many members in a State legislature; it acts chiefly by influencing the existing parties, and frightening them into pretending to meet its wishes.

One should, however, distinguish between the prohibitionists proper and the temperance men, who are very numerous among Republicans in the north, and Democrats in the south, and who, while ready to vote for local option and a [unclear: high] license law, disapprove the attempt to impose absolute prohibition by [unclear: general] legislation. This is a case where change of country discloses a new meaning for a word. The temperance men in America are not teetotallers or [unclear: prohibitionists].

Prohibitionists are very warm advocates of women's suffrage. The enemies of the liquor traffic think their voting power would be enormously increased should women get the franchise: hence prohibitionist conventions are nearly always in favour of the enfranchisement of women.

New York (population 5,082,871 at date of report).

In the State of New York the local option law is in force. Under it excise matters are regulated by the people of each town and municipality. Any city, town, or village can, by a majority, vote for local prohibition, but there are no statistics available to show to what extent the option has been exercised in the direction of prohibition. On the whole the prohibition party in this State cannot be held to be largely on the increase. The tendency is rather in favour of the high license system, which, while not injuring the revenue, is looked upon as the surer means of diminishing the evils of the liquor traffic. Under the auspices of the high license party, the "Crosby Bill" was introduced into the Legislature last January, and after undergoing certain amendments was passed by both houses.

The text of salient parts of the Bill is here given *in extenso*, as being a very good specimen of a high license Bill:—

An Act to further amend chapter 628 of the Laws of 1857, entitled "An Act to Suppress Intemperance, and to Regulate the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors"

The people of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows:—

Section 1.—Section 4 of chapter 628 of the Laws of 1857 is hereby further amended so as to read as follows:—

Section 4.—The Board of Excise in any city, town, or village shall have the power to grant license to any person or persons of good moral character who shall be approved by them, permitting him or them to sell and dispose of at any one named place within such city, town, or village strong or spirituous liquors, wines, ale, and beer, in quantities less than five gallons at a time, upon receiving a license fee, to be fixed in their discretion, and which shall not be less than £6 nor more than £30 in any town or village; and not less than £6 nor more

than £50 in any city of less than 400,000 inhabitants. In cities containing 400,000 inhabitants or more, such license shall be of the following five classes:—

- Liquor license.—To sell liquors of any kind, to be drunk on the premises
- Wine and beer license.—To sell malt liquors and wine, to be drunk on the premises.
- Storekeeper's liquor license.—To sell liquors of any kind, not to be drunk on the premises.
- Storekeeper's beer license.—To sell malt liquors and wine, not to be drunk on the premises.
- Druggist's license.—Licenses to druggists and apothecaries to sell liquors of any kind for medicinal, mechanical, and chemical purposes only to such persons as may certify in writing for what use they want it.

The fees for said licenses shall be as follows:—

- For a license of the first class, not less than £200.
- For a license of the second class, not less than £20.
- For a license of the third class, not less than £20.
- For a license of the fourth class, not less than £20.
- For a license of the fifth class, not less than £20.

Such licenses shall only be granted on written application to the said Board, signed by the applicant or applicants, specifying the place for which license is asked, and the name or names of the applicant or applicants, and of every person interested, or to be interested, in the business, to authorise which the license shall be used; and the license shall be kept posted by the person or persons licensed in a conspicuous position in the room or place where his or their sales are made, and shall be exhibited at all times by the person or persons so licensed, and by all persons acting under such license, on demand, to every sheriff, constable, or [unclear: officer], or member of police. Any omission so to display and exhibit such certificate shall be presumptive evidence that any person or persons so omitting to display and exhibit the same has and have no license.

The said Board of Excise shall keep a complete record of the names of all persons licensed as herein provided, with a statement of the place licensed and the license fee imposed and paid in each case, which record they shall at all time permit to be seen in a convenient place at their principal office in the city, or at the clerk's office in any town or village. Persons not licensed may keep, and is quantities not less than five gallons at a time, sell and dispose of strong and spirituous liquors, wines, ale, and beer, provided that no part thereof shall be drunk or used in the building, garden, or inclosure communicating with or in any [unclear: public] street or place contiguous to the building in which the same is to be kept, disposed of, or sold. If any person having a license in the 2nd or 4th class shall keep on hand on the premises licensed any intoxicating liquors other than those permitted in his license, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and his license shall be forfeited.

NOTE.—As will be seen, this Bill was intended to apply only to towns whose population was over 400,000—that is to say, only to the cities of New York and Brooklyn. The promoters of the Bill believed that Prohibition could only succeed [unclear: in] rural districts, and was impracticable in large towns and cities.

Favourable View of Prohibition as in the State of Maine (population 648,936).

An entirely opposite view is brought forward in Mr. Goldwin Smith's opinions on the working of the Scott Act in Canada, p. 17 of this Report.

The manufacture, sale, and keeping for sale of intoxicating liquors are forbidden in Maine by a law passed in 1851, and by the Constitution of 1884, the organic law being amended by the adoption of prohibition in that year by a large majority of the popular vote. The results of prohibition in this State are looked upon by prohibitionists as most satisfactory, and there is no movement in favour of a repeal of the law. All breweries and distilleries have been suppressed; the liquor traffic has been reduced to one-twentieth part of its former proportions. Grog shops are unknown in smaller towns and villages. It is said that £2,400,000 are saved yearly which would have been spent in drink. The extension of the industries in this State is attributed by some to prohibition. It is, however, still impossible to suppress entirely the liquor traffic in the larger towns; the penalties for keeping liquor for sale, and for other offences of the law being insufficient to prevent the traffic being carried on with profit.

Operation of the High License in Chicago.

In Chicago the operation of the High license system has increased the annual revenue from £40,000 to nearly £400,000. The fee before this system was £10 10s. per annum; it is now £100. Under the operation of the old rate there were in 1882 nearly 6000 drinking saloons in the city; there are now 3900. The diminution in number is apparently small, but it must be borne in mind that the city has enormously increased in population and business since 1883. It is held that the brewers, who largely control the saloon traffic, pay the license for nearly half the number of saloons. Were they to discontinue to do so, a large decrease in the number of drinking places might be looked for. In this city High license has doubtless considerably diminished the consumption of spirituous liquors. Its first effect was the disappearance of bars in groceries, which put temptation in the way of

the poorer classes. Small saloons in localities occupied by those classes have been done away with. Such places could pay their way under a £10 10s. license, but had to disappear under one of £100. Intemperance has, it is generally believed, diminished of late years in the city, and this decrease may certainly be attributed for the greater part to the High license system. The almost universal opinion of the citizens is that it has been most beneficial to the community, and as far as legislation can work in furtherance of temperance, it has done so.

Extreme Prohibition in Iowa.

This State passed a Prohibition law, which took effect on the 4th July, 1884. By it no person shall manufacture or sell, directly or indirectly, any intoxicating liquor, with certain exceptions. The sale by the importer of foreign intoxicating liquor imported under the authority of the United States law, and in accordance with such law is allowed, provided it remains in the original casks or packages, and liquor can be manufactured to be used for mechanical or medicinal purposes. The fines are £20 or thirty days for first offence, and £40 or sixty days for second offence against the law. Any citizen, except hotel or saloon keepers, may sell or buy liquor for mechanical, medicinal, culinary, or sacramental purposes, after having procured a certificate from a majority of electors, and having filed a bond of £400 with sureties. Record books of such sales must be kept. A limit of profit on such sales is fixed at 33 per cent. The law prohibits the sale or giving away of any liquor to minors or drunkards without order of guardian, parent, or family physician. No intoxicating liquor may be mixed with wine, beer, or cider for sale. No person shall own or keep with intent to sell, any intoxicating liquor. A warrant for search, on sworn information, will be issued, and all liquor found will be seized and destroyed. No liquor can be brought into the State by rail or otherwise without a copy of certificate of authorisation of sale. A further law of 1886 provides that a district or country attorney or any citizen may bring suit to abate a saloon or nuisance, and, if successful shall receive £4 to be collected from the defendant; and pending action a judge may issue temporary injunction against it, violation of which is subject to a fine of from £60 to £200, destruction of stock of liquor, closure of saloon, and forfeiture of chattels. The finding of liquor is presumptive evidence of intent illegally to sell. Persons under this Act who shall again engage in liquor traffic shall be subject to a term of imprisonment of from three to six months. All railway companies and other carriers carrying or delivering liquor shall be fined £20 and costs, unless provided with a certificate from the County Auditor for each package, and any shipper of liquor misleading such carrier shall be similarly fined. The strict enforcement of this prohibition law has been found to be a matter of great difficulty.

Difficulty of Securing Reliable Data (Extract from Mr. H. G. Edwardes' Report from Washington, November 4th, 1889).

Mr. H. G. Edwardes reports as Secretary of the British Legation at Washington.

"I should have been glad had I been able to report more directly on the practical working of the Liquor Laws in this country, that being the point to which much importance is evidently attached in His Lordship's despatch; but Her Majesty's consular officers have been, with a very few exceptions, *unable to supply me with reliable data which might show the results, successful or otherwise, of the several kinds of legislation adopted with the view to the promotion of temperance, such data being almost entirely unobtainable.* Any opinion on this point must be arrived at from hearsay and an appreciation of surrounding circumstances."

Opposition to Prohibitory Legislation in Pennsylvania.

While Mr. Edwardes' Report was in preparing, matters were in a ferment in Pennsylvania, and he says that "public sentiment has been astir in view of the approaching day for the vote by the people on the proposed amendment to the Constitution enacting absolute prohibition of the brewing, distilling, sale, and use of intoxicating beverages within the State. It would appear, however, that as the day for the vote draws nigh the tendency of public feeling is more and more against the adoption of prohibition. The strength of the prohibition party in Pennsylvania is in the farming districts, while in those districts where the larger cities are situated the vote will be against prohibition. Her Majesty's Consul is of opinion that, in view of the universal discussion of the question that has taken place, an adverse vote will crush for ever the idea of total prohibition in the State. Public sentiment has increased from day to day in opposition to all laws which may vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty of action, and it is predicted that the result of the election will be a majority of from 60,000 to 70,000 against prohibition." Actually, Prohibition was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

Operation of Stringent Legislation Illustrated.

A very stringent part of the law in Pennsylvania prohibits all persons, [*unclear: with*] or without a license, to furnish by sale, gift, or otherwise, to any person [*unclear: are*] spirituous, vinous, malt or brewed liquors on any day of elections, [*unclear: and*] a Sundays. A violation of this law is made a misdemeanour, subject to a

fine of [unclear: and] less than £10, or more than £100 and imprisonment of not less than [unclear: twenty] more than ninety days. This section is virtually a dead letter so far as [unclear: priva] residences are concerned; but all hotels, grocers, and other dealers in wines, [unclear: spirit] and malt liquors obey the law to the letter, fearful of the loss of their [unclear: license] well as the infliction of the fine and imprisonment. It is a curious fact [unclear: the] reports show an increased number of cases of delirium tremens and a [unclear: greatest] number of deaths therefrom in the prisons and houses of correction under this [unclear: law.] This is attributed to its rigid execution, thereby causing intemperate persons [unclear: and] habitual drunkards to resort to places where spirits are secretly sold of [unclear: very] inferior and far more dangerous character.

Appendix VI.

General Remarks on Schemes for the Control of the Liquor Traffic, [unclear: United] States of America, based upon Reports issued by Mr. H. G. [unclear: Edwards] in 1887 and 1890.

In certain States of the Union—Iowa, Kansas, Maine, and [unclear: Vermont-] general prohibition exists, and under local option the sale of [unclear: intoxicating] liquors is forbidden in districts in other States. The tax for licenses has [unclear: been] generally raised all over the country, the highest fee paid for a license to [unclear: sell] spirituous liquors, etc., being £240 in the Salt Lake city. On the [unclear: relative] advantages of the "prohibitory system" and the "high license system" *it is very difficult to arrive at any decided opinion.* The partisans of each system [unclear: maintain] that the one they uphold will prove to counter the greater benefits on the communities where it is carried out. When the cause of temperance is held in view, the system of prohibition must naturally present itself most favourably. Unfortunately, the proper and just enforcement of this system is surrounded with [unclear: as] many difficulties that it is, in the eyes of many who have earnestly and [unclear: impartially] studied the question, *a simple impossibility.* Total abstinence cannot be [unclear: legislated] into a nation. Men will obtain drink when they have an appetite for it, and [unclear: as] long as that appetite exists—and exist it will until the world has reached a [unclear: far] higher state of education than that of the present time—people will be found [unclear: to] supply them with drink, no matter what risks they may run of punishment [unclear: for] violation of the law: the greater the risk, the greater [unclear: will] be the profit they will look for from their illegal traffic, which is, moreover, carried on with a [unclear: greater] amount of adulteration than under all other systems.

Under nearly all prohibitory laws which obtain in the different States [unclear: and] districts of America, intoxicating liquors may be imported into such States [unclear: and] districts, but not sold, except by importers in the original packages. The meaning of this is that the rich man can obtain as much liquor as he may drink, where the poor man, however temperate he may be, cannot obtain a quantity small in accordance with his means without a violation of the law. This fact alone would tempt most people, with the exception of the authorities charged with the enforcement of the law, to assist in its violation, and, as is shown in many cases where a law is perpetually violated, it has become a dead letter. This must be prejudicial. If people are allowed to disregard one law they soon learn to have contempt and disregard for others. To quote the opinion of a high official in one of the principal cities in a Prohibition State, who is and always has been a total abstainer, and who has made every exertion steadily and without favour to enforce the law from the time it came into effect, Prohibition pure and simple is in this State and impossibility confessedly, for the Prohibition law itself gives to importers a right to sell liquors "in the original packages," and a rich man can buy liquor by the quantity, while a poor man cannot buy a drink. This, at least, seems unfair.

The revenue must naturally suffer from Prohibitory laws. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining statistics, it is difficult to show what is the sacrifice which has been made in this respect in States, &c., where Prohibition exists, with a view to further the cause of temperance; but it has been a very large one.

It is maintained—and with evident reason—that the "high license system" really advances that cause as much as and to a greater extent than Prohibition, and at the same time brings about a large increase of revenue. As far as they go, statistics show that the high license system has certainly reduced the number of drinking saloons in places where it has come into force, and naturally the opportunity for intemperance is lessened by this reduction. The enforcement of Prohibition is not only *not* assisted, but opposed by the general public, whereas those who pay a high license will naturally help the authorities in the conviction of breakers of the law under the fundamental principle of self-preservation. Under the high license system, it is shown that the smaller and more disreputable places where intoxicating liquors are sold are bound to disappear, and the worst temptation of all, the sale of drink at groceries, has been stopped. *It may be said that everyone wanting a drink has to go a greater distance to get it, and consequently may think twice before doing so.* In spite of the adverse views of the Prohibitionists, it is strongly maintained that the high license system has thrown the liquor traffic into the hands of a more respectable class of dealer. The brewers, etc., are reported in many cases to pay the high license for the dealers. This may be true. If it is, it can be very justly assumed that the brewers will take

care that the dealers, for whom they do pay, belong to at least as good a class of dealers as those who are well enough off to pay for themselves the increased license fees. In conclusion, it may be stated that to whatever influences it may be due, whether to Prohibition or to High license, the cause of temperance has made great strides within the last few years. This advance in the right direction should be attributed rather to the general enormous progress made in the country than to any special legislation on the matter.

The contest between High license and Prohibition has been carried on since 1887 with as great, if not greater, vigour as before that date. The popular vote has been taken, since 1887, in five States on the question of adopting an amendment to the State Constitution by which, if carried, Prohibition would have been established in the State. In each case the voters have declared themselves, by a large majority, against Prohibition. In the State of Rhode Island, where Prohibition had existed since 1886, an election was held during 1889 by which that system was voted against by considerably more than the required majority of three-fifths of the whole vote. An amendment to a State Constitution can only be made by *a majority of three-fifths of the popular vote*. In Rhode Island in 1886, Prohibition was carried by the necessary majority. In 1889 Prohibition, which had thus become a law of the State Constitution, was defeated by the necessary majority. This change of opinion on the part of such a large number of the population of one State, amounting to, as it must have done, at least one-fifth of the whole, having taken place, as it did, after less than three years' experience of the working of the prohibitory law, is a strong argument against the system. The theory of Prohibition may be worthy of consideration and praise, but the absolute impracticability of the working of such a system in most places where it has been tried has led a large number of those who earnestly desire to promote temperance to consider whether the object they have in view will not be better advanced by a change to a system of legislation which, although not so perfect in theory, can be practically worked. It is the business or advantage of none but authorised officials to help to carry out Prohibition, whereas such officials are sure to be materially aided in enforcing the law under the "high license" by those who have conformed to its provisions. Whatever statistics have been obtained, few and incomplete as they may be, tend to show that under High license the number of drinking saloons decreases, as well as the number of cases of intoxication brought before the local magistrate. The latter result is undoubtedly a consequence of the former.

Legislation can certainly help certain classes of the population to be [unclear: abstemio] and temperate, but with the others no amount of legislation on such a subject [unclear: can] have any influence. As the higher orders change so with the lower. The steps [unclear: is] the right direction which are being made, and there is no contesting the fact [unclear: that] they are being made, although perhaps not with that rapidity which [unclear: might] be desired or expected by some people, must be attributed solely to the [unclear: general] progress of the country. This progress will continue [unclear: and] an increasing rate, and with it the cause of temperance, independent of legislation, will advance.

Appendix VII.

Abstract of Mr. Goldwin Smith's Views on the Working of the Scott Act.

In 1878 the Canadian Parliament passed what is commonly known as [unclear: the] "Scott Act," which enables any county or city, through a majority of the [unclear: election] to prohibit the sale of any liquors within the district under a penalty of 50 dollar for the first, 100 dollars for the second, and two months' imprisonment for the thi offence. When adopted, the Act remains in force for three years, after which upon a petition signed by one-fourth of the electors being presented, it may aga be submitted to the vote, and if the majority wish it, repealed.

In Ontario, there are forty-two counties and eleven cities, out of which twenty eight counties and two cities adopted the Act. The other day, ten counties (nine them at once) repealed it, and' eighteen other counties and two cities have petitione or are preparing to do so, for repeal. In Ontario the Scott Act is regarded as dea and advocates of prohibitory legislation are turning their minds to other measure This is a *genuine* verdict of the people. Drukenness, instead of being diminishe appears to have increased, At Woodstock a memorial signed by 300 of the principal citizens, of whom none were connected with the liquor traffic, says, "The Scott Act in this town, has not diminished, but increased drunkenness. It be wholly prevented the use of light beverages, as *lager beer*, substituting therefor in large measure ardent spirits, and it has led to the opening of many drinking places where the sale of liquor is continued till hours after midnight." A leading physiciation of the same town says:—" From my own observation, the abuse of intoxicatin liquors is greatly on the increase here, and there is a lamentable increase of drinking among the younger men of the community." At Milton the effect was the same i at Woodstock, for in this place before the adoption of the Act, there were but fi places in which liquor

was sold; after the adoption of the Act there were no [unclear: fewer] than sixteen. The Mayor and Chief Constable of Milton signed a declaration the the Act had signally failed to reduce intemperance: and that instead of removing temptation from the young, it had a contrary effect, while cases of juvenil drunkenness had been shockingly frequent. There were scores of petitions t Parliament from County Councils or other municipal bodies declaring the failure c the Act. Wine, beer, and cider may or may not be injurious, but at all events the are not so injurious as ardent spirits; they stimulate less to criminal violence, the evil against which, in dealing with this subject, society is most concerned to guard A natural tendency of Prohibition however, as the evidence cited seems to show, i to substitute ardent spirits, which, containing a great amount of alcohol in a small bulk, are more easily smuggled, for the lighter drinks of which the bulk is greater It is well that the attention of philanthropy, of practical philanthropy at least should be specially called to this point. Not only does Prohibition appea practically to encourage the use of ardent spirits; but the spirits, being sold by the lowest dealers, are apt to be of the most pernicious kind; sometimes they and literally poison. It is true where Prohibition prevails the liquor shop no longe invites the passer by with open doors. But the illicit liquor seller is probably more active than the licensed publican in thrusting his temptation upon those who are most likely to yield to it, especially on the young. A clandestine drinker is sure to be a deep drinker. He is sure to drink, not with his meals, but in the specially pernicious form of drams. He is sure also to contract sneaking habits, and to lose respect for himself, as well as respect for the law.

Archdeacon Farrar himself, in his controversy with Baron Bramwell, brands as uncharitable and absurd the doctrine that there is anything morally wrong in the use of fermented liquor. He admits that moderate drinking is a perfectly lawful enjoyment, and that multitudes of men indulge in it who are wiser and better than himself. Have we not in the history of the poaching bred by tyrannical game laws and the smuggling bred by excessive customs duties, abundant proof of the danger of putting the moral sense of the people at variance with the law? The prohibitionists themselves never propose to punish a man for drinking a glass of ale, though the drinking and selling being parts of the same transaction both should be criminal or neither.

The results of coercive legislation in the United States are the same. Maine is the "banner state" of prohibition, yet Hamilton, who should know it well, said, in the *North American Review*, that after trying prohibition for thirty years, the actual result is that liquor is sold to all who wish to obtain it in nearly every town in the State. The *New York Sun*, after a careful investigation, also stated, "That in no part of the world is the spectacle of drunken men, reeling along the streets, more common than in the cities and larger towns of Maine. Nowhere in the world is the average quantity of liquor sold so bad, and consequently so dangerous to the health of the consumer and the peace of the public. Massachusetts also for a series of years tried Prohibition. The result is embodied in the report of a joint comnittedes of both Houses of the Legislature (1887), which ought to be in the hands of all those who wish to be guided by experience in this matter. The report, founded on the best evidences, states that the law, if by its operation it diminishes the number of open places for drinking, does so only to multiply the secret places; that more liquor and worse liquor was drunk; that drunkenness increased almost in the direct ratio to the closing of public places for sale; and there was more of it in Boston than there had been at any previous time in the history of the city. "The mere fact," says the report, in words to which we would call special attention, "the mere fact that the law seeks to prevent them from drinking rouses the determination to drink in many. The fact that the place is secret takes away the restraint which, in more public and respectable places would keep them within temperate bounds. The fact that the business is contraband and liable to interruption, and that its gains are hazardous, tends to drive honest men from it and to leave it under the control of dishonest men, who will not scruple to poison the community with Tile adulteration." In conclusion, the report submits that so long as there is a demand for liquor there will be a supply, licensed or illicit, and recommends regulated freedom as the best policy.

In Iowa again Prohibition has been on its trial. A correspondent of *Harper's Weekly* recommended as thoroughly trustworthy by a journal itself very careful of its statements, reported that Prohibition in the cities of Iowa meant free liquor. A correspondent of the *New York Nation* testified to much the same effect, adding that the local organ of Prohibition itself admitted the failure. Dr. Dio Lewis, the Cato of dietists, said that he had touched at several of the large cities on a tour to the Rocky Mountains, and among other things had inquired into the practical benefits reaped from Prohibition. In places where he had been assured that drink could not be procured for love or money he had seen drunkards reeling in the streets. In Iowa city, where prohibition was supposed to be enforced, he saw from 75 to 100 kegs of beer delivered on trucks from a brewery. His practical conclusion was that prohibition was a wild theory, "that as a preventive it had not met the claims of its supporters, and as an aid to the cause of temperance was a failure." In Kansas, the State of Governor St. John, the chief of Prohibitionism, where the post stringent prohibition has been enacted, the result, according to Dr. Gardener, was that the drug stores were little more than rum shops, and that their number was astonishing. In one town of four thousand people, fifteen of them were counted on the main street. It has been proclaimed from the Prohibition platform that there are seven, or even ten thousand deaths from drinking in this country every

year. This would be from a third to one-half of the total number of male adult deaths. But about the time when this fearful announcement was made [unclear: the] mortuary statistics gave the total number of deaths from alcoholic causes in [unclear: eight] of our principal cities and towns as two. In England likewise the evil habit [unclear: of] drinking has been greatly reduced without any restrictive laws or restraint of [unclear: any] kind, mainly by the increasing influence of medical science, and in connection [unclear: with] the general progress of physiological reform. It should be observed that [unclear: voluntary] effort will be weakened by coercive legislation. Prohibition, if universally [unclear: enforced,] would break up teetotal fraternities and Bands of Hope, and unless it was [unclear: itself] successful in extirpating the desire for drink, that desire might any day break [unclear: own] again on a large scale, and find no organisation on foot to resist its sway.

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Temperance & Prohibition.

An Address

By Mr. M. Davie.

Reprinted from the Christchurch Press. July 15th. 1893

[unclear: At] the Tuam street Hall, last night. Mr Davie delivered an address on "Temper[unclear: ance], from the moderate drinkers' and [unclear: makers'] points of view." There was a only Urge attendance. Mr Davie read a [unclear: after] of apology for absence from his [unclear: Word] the Mayor, who was to have presided, proceeded with his address without a [unclear: drman].

Mr. DAVIE, in his introductory remarks, that he was present at the request of any friends to deliver an address on Temperance. He stood there by the right [unclear: there] to accorded to every free man in this [unclear: be] country to express his sentiments or [unclear: ons] upon a public question, and he [unclear: limed] also the right of criticising the [unclear: public] remarks of previous speakers. But [unclear: above] all he stood before them as [unclear: be] small particle of that moderate mass mankind, which, perhaps fortunately for [unclear: self] and others was not fond of rushing to [unclear: stremes] a mass which had always been, [unclear: moreover], a zealous guardian both of its own [unclear: ities] and those of others. (Applause.) [unclear: having] said so much by way of introduction [unclear: be] would bring under their notice the wide [unclear: subject] of temperance. Perhaps moderation [unclear: was] the nearest word in the English language [unclear: quivalent] in meaning to temperance. Both [unclear: words] indicated a certain idea of restraint governing power. The moderate or [unclear: temperate] party applied the word to [unclear: dividual] restraint of self. The prohibi[unclear: tionist] or fanatic party seemed rather to consider the word as inviting ilium collectively to restrain others. In the English language there existed no word of more beautiful meaning than temperance. That it was which framed our laws, regulated our social relations, made life happy and pleasant, guided us from the cradle to the grave, and even after death the kindly voice of temperance while keeping our good qualities in remembrance had yet a word of pity for our many failings. (Applause.) Much more might be said of temperance, but the qualities just attributed to it were enough to give a keen sense of its opposite. Like many English words, it was often made to denote some meaning altogether foreign to its nature: and here Jet him express his joy that the prohibitionists had at last discarded a title to which they could never honestly lay claim, and had adopted one which lilted them like a glove. The opposites of temperance were nasty subjects. In some cases they became our masters, and were then more dangerous as social pests to their owners than the possession of the largest sheep run in New Zealand could ever be. (Laughter and applause.) For centuries he master minds of kings, emperors, statesmen and philosophers throughout the world had failed to devise any plan where by these evils might be abated. Some prohibitionist gentlemen in Chrishtchurch however, seemed to have settled the question in a few months. The chief object of attack with them was the demon of intemperate drink. He was also called by other names, such as the "Liquor Traffic," &c. Like most of his fellow opposites, he was a good servant but a bad master. He was bad enough in all conscience, but not so black as some of the others. He (Mr Davie) would mention a few of them, as he would have more to say about drink later on. Intemperate speech did more harm to the world than all the wines and spirits ever manufactured by man. (Applause and a voice—"No.") A pound of salt or a gallon of water swallowed quickly might kill one man; an intemperate word might ruin a nation. (Applause. He would here advise prohibitionists to train themselves to the use of temperate language before they ventured to instruct others. By the use of temperate language no trade would suffer, no families would be rendered homeless, and social life altogether would be made more pleasant. By its use hot only the intemperate section of the prohibitionists, but every reader of a newspaper would be a

great gainer. Intemperate deeds were more often than not the direct outcome of intemperate speech. They varied from the comparatively harmless to the blackest bad. The worst kind affected the persons, the next worst the liberties of others. The writers of the Bible and the experience of centuries concurred in placing intemperance in food almost at the head of the black list. It included food and drink of every description. The death of one of our English Kings by an over-feed of lampreys, and the recent death of the intemperate water drinkers in Paris were well known instances which at least "pointed a moral." (Laughter and applause.) A special note of warning was also intended to be sounded to those who might rill themselves to repletion, even with such apparently harmless articles as ginger beer or buns. (Renewed laughter.) Intemperance in truth was very deadly. It struck at the base of our national, political and social fabrics, and was strong enough to shatter all or any of them. It destroyed the natural grace of childhood. It blasted youth. It crowned the white hairs of the old with lasting dishonour. He thought he had mentioned enough opposites for his purpose. Though one he had forgotten, and it was intemperance in religion. King Solomon warned us against being too religious. (Laughter.) By this time they would probably guess what he was about to say, and that was that temperance or moderation was our only safe guide. Intemperance was not only faulty as regarded but even virtue over-cultivated [unclear: is] direction had much the same final [unclear: eff] vice. Those who had studied [unclear: lunacy] tell you that religious mania was as less as madness caused by any [unclear: other] (Applause.) Bright truth herself mi carried to such a pitch that she [unclear: beca] offence. Courage, another God-[unclear: given] bute, might by excessive cultivation [unclear: into] brutality; and a man might [unclear: so] charity that while helping others [unclear: his] children suffered. Intemperance [unclear: in] doing one reform had much [unclear: the] effect. Ralph Waldo Emerson s this subject. "Many a [unclear: reformer] in his removal of rubbish, and [unclear: that] the offensiveness of the class. [unclear: They] partial; they are not equal to [unclear: the] they pretend. They lose their way assault on the kingdom of [unclear: darkness] expend all their energy on [unclear: some] evil, and lose their sanity and [unclear: pove] benefit. It is of little moment [unclear: that] two, or twenty errors of our [unclear: social] be corrected, but of much that [unclear: the] in his senses. The criticism [unclear: and] institutions which we have [unclear: witness] made one thing plain, that [unclear: society] nothing, whilst a man, not [unclear: himself] vated, attempts to renovate [unclear: things] him. He has become [unclear: tediously] some one particular, but negligent or in the rest, and hypocrisy [unclear: and] often the disgusting result. It [unclear: is] somer to remain in the [unclear: establish] better than the establishment, [unclear: and] that in the best possible manner, [unclear: the] make a sally against evil by some [unclear: single] provement without supporting it by a regeneration. Do not be so vain [unclear: of] one objection. Do you think there one? Alas, my good friend, there is of society or of life better than any part. All our things are right and together. The wave of evil washes [unclear: all] institutions alike. When we see at assailant of one of these wrongs, [unclear: a] reformer, we feel like asking [unclear: him]—right have you, sir, to your one [unclear: virti!] virtue piecemeal? This is a jewel [unclear: amide] rags of a beggar." This writer was [unclear: a] study for the [unclear: prohibitionist] (Laughter.) He would give a [unclear: short] history taken from an authority [unclear: which] Isitt, as a minister of the gospel, [unclear: would] doubt acknowledge, though in [unclear: commo] other prohibitionists he would [unclear: probably] claim its teachings wherever it [unclear: venta] cross the sacred line of prohibition. [unclear: So] ture throughout affirmed the [unclear: desirab] [unclear: drink] though it warned us against excess [unclear: or] drink as well as in food. He might say [unclear: that] the Rev. A. Chodowski had, in the [unclear: public] press effectually disposed of the [unclear: probition] theory that the wines of Scripture [unclear: are] non-intoxicating. (Cries of "No.") [unclear: We] were told that Noah was the first who [unclear: planted] a vineyard and made wine. [unclear: Prohiionists] doubtless revelled in the fact [unclear: that] Noah got drunk. (Loud laughter). Many [unclear: cient] writers were of opinion that Noah's [unclear: stemperance] was caused by his previous total abstinence. (Renewed laughter). We [unclear: and] no reason to believe that after his first [unclear: experience] he became either a drunkard or a [unclear: rphibitionist]. The history of moderation with [unclear: occasional] excesses, flowed smoothly along [unclear: till] we came to the time of Sampson, who [unclear: was a] Nazarite. This sect neither cut their [unclear: hair] nor drank wine. A man joined the [unclear: seet] by his voluntary vow, which lasted in [unclear: some] few instances for life; in the greater [unclear: number] for short periods. When the time [unclear: originally] fixed by the vow had expired [unclear: the] Nazarite again lived like other men. [unclear: The] world rolled on its years with varying [unclear: periods] of sobriety and drunkenness, of [unclear: moderation] and excess. During all this a Jewish sect called Rechabites conentiously avoided liquor, and they had several Christian imitators. Some fifty or [unclear: sixty] years ago a crusade set in against the use of drink. The teetotallers, [unclear: so] called from one of their leaders who summered when pronouncing the [unclear: word] "t-t-t-total abstinence" were among the assailants of drink. After a while these [unclear: societies], while distinguished by many [unclear: different] names seemed to adopt by mutual [unclear: consent] the name of "temperance," a name wholly at variance with their practice. These men did much practical good in their time they made the Bible their standard, reclaimed the drunkard, helped the fallen, and generally set an example well worth limitation.

But this was too good to last, and he would now speak locally. Since the [*unclear: teetotallers*] became prohibitionists they [*unclear: seemed*] to have dropped their old practical work. The Salvation Army and the Magdalen Asylum had taken over the work of reformation. (Applause.) The prohibitionist's one idea seemed to be "Do away with drink, get into Parliament, and govern the country." (Laughter, and a VOICE—"A little more light.") The Prohibitionists had given their opinion of the drunkard; they had treated every moderate drinker as a potential drunkard, a view from which he strongly dissented. (Applause). He would present the prohibitionist with an estimate of his position from the moderate point of view. He would divide our population into three classes. The prohibitionists occupied one extreme, the drunkards the other; but the vast mass of temperate or moderate men tilled in the space between. (Hoar, hear). The great temperate party, bound together only *by* the rules of commonsense and the force of education, practically, though quietly, governed the world. Its views represented our religions, laws, trades, and customs; its energy kept our industries going, its moderation prevented (or ought to prevent) our being hampered with too many laws. This party the prohibitionist, with his usual assurance, put quietly on one side. He (the speaker), could take off his hat to the man who, from choice or conviction, touched no intoxicating liquor, who mingled freely with his fellow-men, and whose actions in other respects were marked by temperance. He could admire the moderate drinker, whose deeds, words and actions were in all respects temperate. He could feel sorrow and pity for the drunkard, who might, however, have fallen into more debasing sins than that of drink. He had very little respect for one who had fallen so low in his own estimation that he was compelled to join a society to keep himself sober—(applause)—or who entertained such a low opinion of his fellow-men that he imagined they could not keep sober without his help. (Laughter.) He placed such a man above the drunkard, but infinitely below him who could trust himself. Such was the prohibitionist of to-day. Elevated on the platform of his own self-sufficiency, he presumed to instruct temperate people. In some kinds of intemperance, he was more intemperate than the average drunkard, as could be seen. What right had the prohibitionist to his one virtue, if it be a virtue, cultivated so carefully to the exclusion of others? Who asked him to govern us, and from whence was the authority with which he spoke derived? Rudyard Kipling, in one of his prefaces, said—"The drawback of collecting dirt in one corner is that it gives a false notion of the filth of the room. Folk who understand and have knowledge of their own will be able to strike fair averages." He (the speaker) accused the prohibitionists of their collection of moral and physical filth. He accused them further of grossly exaggerating its amount as subsequent details would prove. Confining what he might say of their disadvantages to their own published utterances, he would first take their chief apostle, the Rev. L. M. Isitt. (Applause.) There was much to admire in this gentleman's public character. He had the courage of his opinions, which unfortunately were at times somewhat narrow. The young men of Sydenham were much indebted to the rev. gentleman for their gymnasium, and it was said that he taught them proficiency in the noble art of self-defence. (Laughter.) And they would give him credit for this and other good works but set Mr Isitt on his favourite hobby of prohibition, and they lose the man but find the fanatic. (Laughter.) Governments, Judges, Bishops were invited to cower beneath the lash of his sarcasm. Even the memory of the dead was not spared. (Hear, hear and hisses.) His statement that more drink was sold in the Christchurch hotels on Sunday than on a week-day was at least an intemperate statement. His sweeping denunciations of the drunkenness of England, Germany and France were general. How such ordinary mortals as Bismarck must wince when they saw of what fearful material that great, victorious German Army of 1870-71 was composed. He (Mr Davie) could pick out plenty of other instances, but had, he thought, shown that Mr Isitt was at least intemperate in speech, if not *in fact*. (Cries of "No.") The Rev. J. Hosking usually posed in the role of a Christian minister. (Laughter.) Several articles of his in the correspondence columns of the PRESS vouched alike for his scholarly training, broad views and intimate knowledge of the Hebrew language. (More laughter.) Certain detective instincts had induced him to pass the usual bounds of temperance in his attacks upon Mr A. B. Worthington. (Hear, hear.) Possibly he regarded that gentleman as the incarnation of his Satanic Majesty. He (the speaker) owed Mr Hosking a personal apology. He once answered one of Mr Hosking's letters in the PRESS. Never having seen that gentleman until Mr Collins' meeting, he was for the first time enabled to form his own opinion of his intellectual capacity as evidenced by the questions he asked. Permit him now formally to apologise for ever having taken the trouble to answer an effusion emanating from that gentleman. (Loud laughter.) Mr G. J. Smith appeared as a candidate for Parliament upon his own recommendation and that of his friend and co-prohibitionist Mr T. E. Taylor. It was the speaker's misfortune never to have met or heard Mr Smith. Mr Taylor, however, publicly refers to him as a square-headed man. [*unclear: K*] little about this subject he (Mr [*unclear: Davie*] down to the Museum and [*unclear: inspeai*] skulls. (Laughter.) One [*unclear: previous*] longing to a Flat-head Indian [*unclear: came*] Mr Taylor's description, and he kindly explained that the [*unclear: skull*] £ denote a high order of [*unclear: intelligence,*] laughter.) The owner of that [*unclear: skill*] ably passed his life in the [*unclear: pursuit of*] Mr Smith apparently spent a [*unclear: large*] of his in the chase after drink. He says nothing of Mr Smith's [*unclear: intempe*] except that he publicly [*unclear: app*] in the company of the [*unclear: geat*] he had mentioned. Mr T. E. [*unclear: Taying*] had prohibition

unclear: laughter—somewhat virulent. (Renewed *unclear: laughter*) was a practiced orator, and his words were said to be remarkable. From his published speeches, he (*unclear: Mr*) would insult Mr Taylor if he did *unclear: not* him with his full share of *unclear: intempe*. The prohibitionists as a body *unclear: were* placing themselves in positions *unclear: retraj* which was impossible save by *unclear: de* their own words or equivocation. *unclear: As* Sydenham licensing election *unclear: only* months' ago they were for absolute prohibition. Now they were only *unclear: and* to direct the matter, and to give *unclear: the* an opportunity of saying what was done. (Hear, hear.) Mr Isitt had published statements of his speeches Taylor had also denied them on beh Mr Isitt. If they really wished to public sympathy they should deal fairly squarely with those around them—hear—infuse a little more true liber into their views, and treat those differed from them more charitably. *unclear: The* plause.) They had restored, thought what soiled by their handling, the name of Temperance. Let them be how they borrowed the sacred name Liberty to cloak their one design, hear.) Mr T. E. Taylor has quoted the London *Weekly Times* concerning drink question, and he would quote tracts from the leading article of paper of May 19th, 1893, which might be taken as being fairly up to ("If the printing of Bills could solve 'Drink Question,' we ought to be soberest people on earth by the end of present session. Numerous remedies for excessive drinking have been laid before Parliament, and three of them have I introduced on high authority, and subject to a certain degree of discussion. Government have undertaken to deal *unclear: was* the matter in the drastic and oppressive fashion which commends itself to the more advanced apostles of freedom when they propose to operate at the cost of other people. That project, however, has been so completely riddled both inside and out-side the House, that very little more is likely to be heard about it from anybody, except the Opposition, who may be relied upon no doubt to keep its memory green in the minds of the masses whose comfort and convenience if so seriously menaced. The real evils of all plans of this kind were indicated in the short but sensible speech with which Lord Salisbury brought the debate to a close—'Everybody in these days is opposed to excessive drinking, and if any measure could be devised which held out a reasonable probability of exterminating or even of greatly diminishing this terrible plague, without inflicting injuries worse *unclear: i*se even than those caused by drink itself, such a measure would be eagerly welcomed by all classes, and carried out at all costs, But no such measure has been devised, or seems indeed to be possible. Schemes like those proposed by the Government are at once *unclear: mi* just and futile.' They are based on principles which, if logically pursued, would lead as they have led before to what Lord Salisbury called 'ethical persecution,' and all attempts to cram them down the throats of the people will surely lead to a reaction, dangerous to the cause of true temperance. That cause, as Lord Salisbury pointed out, has made very marked progress among the upper and middle classes of this country within the last hundred years. In the reign of George IV., and even later, hard drinking was no uncommon thing in good society. The barbaric vice has almost died out among the classes, with the progress of education and refinement. Refinement and education are spreading year after year among the masses in an ever-progressive ratio. Is it quite unreasonable to hope that, long before any amongst the various schools of temperance advocates have hit upon an acceptable and practicable plan for reforming the drink traffic, the people will have reformed it altogether themselves.'" That was from a leading article in a leading paper in the leading city in Mr Isitt's "Drunken England." (Applause.) Now for a few temperance figures with regard to New Zealand. The London *Times*, dated 26th May last, said, "Since 1878 the consumption of alcoholic spirits in New Zealand has decreased to the extent of 48 per cent., the consumption of imported ale has fallen off 60 per cent., and that of the local beer 22 per cent. In 1882 the population of New Zealand was 517,707, in 1892 it was 650,000. showing a gain of 132,726, which may be roughly stated as an increase of about 25 per cent. Amount of duties paid on liquors in 1882 amounted to £549,447, in 1892 this amount only reached £464,209, showing a decrease of £85,238." These figures went far to prove that New Zealand was even more temperate in the use of liquor than England. Lord Salisbury ascribed the improvement in England to education and refinement. Mr Collins ascribed the improvement in New Zealand to education and comfort. The "Prohibition Party" would doubtless with its usual modesty ascribe the improvement to its own efforts. (Laughter and applause.) In considering the duration of life of total abstainers and moderate drinkers the following extract from the Wellington *Evening Press* would be of interest:—"The British Medical Journal of the 23rd June contains the report of the Collective Investigation Committee appointed for this purpose, and it will, we are sure, be a surprise to the general public, and a shock to extreme Temperance advocates, to learn that the report is by no means favourable to the theory that total abstainers live longer than other people. The inquiry was conducted in this manner. No fewer than 187 members of the British Medical Association obtained particulars regarding the habits of 4234 persons, aged twenty-five years and upwards, recently deceased. These were divided into five classes, namely, total abstainers, habitually temperate, careless drinkers, tree drinkers, and decidedly intemperate. The age of death of those in each class was registered together with the cause of death, and the average age at death for each class was found to be as follows:—Total abstainers, 51.22 years; habitually temperate, 62.13 years; careless drinkers, 59.67 years; free drinkers, 57.59 years; decidedly intemperate, 52.03 years. According to this the total abstainers died at an earlier age than any other class, not

excepting habitual drunkards. It was quickly seen, however, that this was an error arising from the fact that total abstainers are on an average much younger than persons who use stimulants; which means in other words that few people carry the habit of total abstinence through life, by far the greater number of persons above the middle age coming under class B, namely, habitually temperate. In order to correct this error therefore the Committee set to work to prepare a second table, consisting of two columns, from one of which all persons who died under thirty were omitted, and from the other all who died under forty. This gave the following results:—Total abstainers under 30 57.51, under 40 62.74; habitually temperate under 30 64.48, under 40 67.71; careless drinkers under 30 61.52, under 40 64.65; free drinkers under 30 58.87, under 40 61.98; decidedly intemperate under 30 53.42, under 40 57.47. The effect of this is to show that as the younger lives are eliminated, the difference between the abstainers and the moderate drinkers becomes less marked, but that throughout the moderate drinkers have the advantage. It will be seen from the third column that, even when all lives under forty are eliminated—that is to say, shutting out of the calculation the great number of young people who died before the age when on an average the habit of using alcohol is contracted—the moderate drinkers were still found to live live years longer than the total abstainers, and the careless drinkers two years longer. The British Medical Association seems to have adopted these figures as conclusive, and the *Post Magazine and Insurance Monitor*, the recognised insurance organ, in an able article on the subject, endorses that view." The figures quoted afforded one more instance, if that were needed, in favour of moderation. It would hardly be fair on his part to dwell in detail on the difference in the physique of the average moderate drinker, when compared with that of the average prohibitionist in this city—(hear, hear)—but without offence he would mention the fact that as yet no total abstinence cricket or football team had here proved its superiority to those composed of moderate drinkers; no four-oared crews, no rifle shooting team, no other branch of athletics had here marked the total abstainer of Christchurch as possessing qualities of endurance or application superior to those of ordinary mortals. (Applause.) No building worthy of note marked the interest of the prohibition party in this city in which they live; no charitable institution wholly theirs distributed its benefits to those around them. Yet they could raise large sums of money to contest the law of the country. Could they say the same of the great temperance party, the real workers of the world, whose very existence they so contemptuously ignored. If prohibitionists had their way we could not but think they would be quite as intolerant as were the Protestants under Elizabeth, or the Catholics under Mary, both of which parties impartially burned their religious opponents at the stake. (Applause.) Looking at these events in the calm light of history, had we not good reason to make a stand against intolerance of any kind? Was it not an acknowledged fact that, even at the present day, tens of thousands of hypocrites used religion to cloak their swindles? Would any moderate thinker condemn religion as a whole, and endeavour to wipe it out altogether because a few thousand scoundrels had prostituted that which was in itself good? Why then compel every man to be an abstainer because the few drink to excess? The Rev. Mr Isitt had said that it was impossible to regulate the drink traffic. (A Voice—"So it is.") It had just occurred to him that the same drink traffic had been regulated in one instance at least since the time of Moses. (Laughter and cheers.) Take the Jewish people. Such a thing as a Jewish tetotalter was almost unknown; such a thing as a Jewish drunkard was almost equally unknown. (Applause.) What was the reason why we could not be as good as they were? His opinion was that the laws of Moses were and are the best sanitary and physical code that the world had ever possessed. With all our boasted civilisation we declined to take advantage of laws that were engraved for our use many thousands of years ago. (Applause.) It was only fair to conclude that being particular in their choice of meat, the Jews were equally particular in their choice of drink. He really thought that if ministers, who endeavoured to teach us the ways we should go, would look into these laws of Moses and put them before the people, the whole drink question and temperance would be settled in three months' time. (Hear, hear). With a certain degree of duplicity, the prohibitionists had two distinct ways of talking in public on the direct veto question. One way seemed to be their way of thinking, the other was apparently adopted to catch support from outside. If the great temperate body which, as he pointed out before, contained neither drunkard nor prohibitionist desired the direct veto it will become law. (Hear, hear.) He took it, however, that the prohibitionist party by their intemperate actions, intemperate speeches, and total disregard of the wishes of others have done more than perhaps they thought in killing their own pet measure. (Applause, "No, no," and interruption.) The statistics of the decrease of drink in New Zealand, previously quoted from official sources, were more reliable evidence as to the amount consumed than the verbal statements of men whose public utterances had been remarkable neither for accuracy nor straight forwardness. He took it also, that even had this not been the case the bulk of our "great temperate body" would be disinclined to trust all or any of its Liberties to the tender mercies of prohibition. The remarks made by Lord Salisbury on the subject represented as nearly as possible the average temperate view, for if his remarks were correct with regard to England, they were trebly true in regard to New Zealand, which statistics proved was a far more sober country. He took it that the Great Temperance Body would not move in the Direct Veto matter (except for the sake of stopping it) till better reasons than had yet been set forth were adduced in its support. Concerning the social evil, he said the question

afforded a worse illustration of badly attempted reform than the matter of drink, and more terrible evils lay in the wake of the hideous policy of repression than all the accumulated evils of all the drunkenness which had vet been under the sun. (Applause.) If he had shown that intolerance, intemperance, untruth, and extreme views were things to be avoided; if he had demonstrated that a general good average was a higher and better possession for any man than one virtue cultivated at the expense of others; if they harboured one more kindly thought, or did one more kindly action to the downtrodden; if any remark of his had led them more to appreciate the state of freedom in which we lived, and for which our forefathers bled; if, in short, temperance in its widest sense seemed fairer in their eyes than mere abstention from drink, that evening had not been spent in vain, (Loud applause. He concluded by leading an extract from Spinoza's works, Ethic IV., proposition 45, and said he was prepared to answer reasonable questions. (Appfause.)

In answer to questions, he said the betting was about level on drunkards coming from moderate drinkers and total abstainers. The same exercise of moderation which would cure intemperate speech and inculcates charity would not only cure drunkenness, but would prevent any man from getting drunk. (Loud applause.) He then returned his thanks to those who were present for listening to him, and especially did he thank those members of the prohibitionist party for the way they had treated him, for he expected they would have made it warm for him. (Applause, and a voice—" They'll deal tenderly with you"; laughter.) He imagined they did because he had let them down so lightly. (Renewed laughter.)

The proceedings then closed.

vignette

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Gisborne Validation Court. Tiffen's Case.

Judgments Nos. III. and IV.

By His Honor Judge Barton.

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Gisborne Validation Court.

Judgment No. III.

Tiffen's Case-Puhatikotiko

No. 1.

HIS HONOR JUDGE BARTON delivered the following judgment on Monday, May 15, 1893

The Court has now to decide which of Mr Tifen's purchases it will recommend for validation and which it will not recommend. The difficulties arising under this Act, [*unclear*: partially] explained in our former judgment, have compelled us to adopt a construction bold for any Court, but doubly so for a Court so constituted as the Native Land Court, Our only alternative course would have been to declare the Act unworkable and close our doors If Mr Rees had carried our judgment of 17th April, on the question of jurisdiction, to the Supreme Court, as Mr Day originally proposed to do, the decision of that Court would either have stopped our proceedings or else-cleared our path: for with the sanction of the highest Court we should no longer feel hesitation in compelling the words of the Act to tit purchases violating the statute of 1873 as well as other purchases. But Mr Rees' clients have altered their tactics. Instead of taking the question of our jurisdiction to deal with purchases illegal under the Act of 1873 before the Supreme Court, they force from as our decision upon the delicate points that arise upon Mr Tiffen's deeds and various purchases. The Supreme Court Judges, whose daily business it is to deal with such questions, are able to devote to the consideration of them the requisite time and thought. The Judges of the Native Land Court, to whose daily business this class of enquiry is entirely foreign (and who have this validation work thrust upon them in the [*unclear*: midst] of their usual work) have neither the leisure nor the facilities for considering abstruse questions and mastering legal authorities, as they must do if they are to give correct decisions under this Act. In this very judgment we shall have to deal with abstruse questions of English real property law—a law ruled by rigid precedent, the very antithesis of the "give and take "principle on which the Native Land Court acts in its ordinary work of apportioning land between Native tribes, or partitioning blocks between Native sellers and non-sellers. We therefore proposed that instead of giving our decision upon these points of real property law, we should state cases for the Supreme Court, but Mr Lysnar declined our proposal, and we have no right to force him to accept it. It must indeed be admitted that if the judges of the Native Land Court were entitled to shift all their difficulties into the Supreme Court, it would virtually turn the Supreme Court into a Validation Court, where as the Government and Legislature having placed these matters (proper only for the highest Court) in the hands of the Native Land

Court, and competent or incompetent, the Native Land Court must decide them.

When in our judgment of the 17th of April the Court declared that this peculiar statute required peculiar treatment, we assumed from the history of validation that the intention of the Legislature is that we shall recommend for validation all honest purchases, no matter what statute rendered them illegal. Mr Day has ever since the delivery of that judgment been endeavoring to prove to us that such a construction raises insuperable difficulties in our way, and that, if the Court gives Mr Tiffin a certificate, it must do so without the sanction of any clause in this Act, and even in actual violation of some of its clauses; and it may be asked us how under such circumstances we can possibly hold that the Act applies. But the Court must point out that Mr Day's argument is only the same in principle as Mr Rees' argument, founded on the general purview of the statute. If, as Mr Rees contended, the general words of the statute fail to include purchases illegal under the Act of 1873, then the particular words of the several clauses will also necessarily appear to exclude them. If Mr Rees' arguments be right, then we have no jurisdiction over such cases. If, on the other hand, we possess the jurisdiction we have declared ourselves to possess, then it follows that we must find the means of applying the statute to such cases, and Mr Day's arguments to show the impossibility of so applying it must be erroneous. Our construction may be a bold one, but everyone must see that if Mr Tiffin's cases are properly before the Court, our business is to find the means of relieving them by the language of the statute applicable to other classes of cases what it may. Mr Day complains that by taking this course we pass out of our province as interpreters, and become legislators. I admit that if this statute were an ordinary statute, enabling us to confer rights or give a *status*, we should not dare to step beyond its literal words. But when we now step beyond the words we still keep within the directions given by the Legislature. Those directions are that we shall "enquire and report" to the Legislature itself what illegal transactions have been honest and straightforward in themselves, and whether they have been carried out in an honest and straightforward manner; therefore, if we are right in holding these "transactions" under the Act of 1873 to be within the statute, it is our duty to bend its provisions to meet the circumstances of such transactions. With these observations on Mr Day's argument we will now proceed to the facts of the case.

Mr Tiffin has abandoned one of his purchases, and claims validation for the remaining 34. Mr Day's objection to these 34 are of two classes. One class includes the whole 34, the other class affects only 9 and does not affect the remaining 25.

Mr Day's first class is again divisible into two classes of objection. His first is—That as the Supreme Court decision of *Poaka v. Ward* has declared that purchases like these of Mr Tiffin of undivided shares held under the Act of 1873 are unlawful, this Court must hold them to be still unlawful, there being no statutory provision authorising their validation. This argument is only another form of Mr Rees' former argument, and would be just if it were this Court that had to validate the purchases, but this Court validates nothing; it is the Legislature, and not we, that will have to validate them, and in that fact lies the distinction. We simply recommend them as honest transactions which are therefore suitable for validation if the Legislature chooses to override *Poaka v. Ward*. It is urged that the Court should not ride roughshod over every sort of illegality and over all laws forbidding improper transactions, and I entirely concur in that. This judgment later on will show that we claim no such right.

The second division of Mr Day's first class of objections is more formidable. He has shown us that since Mr Tiffin's deeds of purchase were signed by the Maoris [unclear: to] have been altered in many material [unclear: pe] There is no doubt about this fact. [unclear: It] [unclear: i] mitted by Mr Tiffin's counsel, but [unclear: even] not admitted it is shown by the [unclear: attemp] copies lodged in Mr Justice Edwards' [unclear: C] that the condition of the deeds when [unclear: the] copies were so lodged differed very [unclear: materal] from their present condition. Mr Day tends that it is the settled policy of [unclear: Eq] Courts of Justice that if a suitor is [unclear: show] have altered in any material part a [unclear: deed] which he relies he cannot enforce, it [unclear: again] the opposing party, it being no longer contract of that party, and Mr Day that this law has been based on an [unclear: ob] ground of public policy to compel [unclear: person] possession of documents to refrain from [unclear: the] pering with them.

Mr Day insists that these deeds have [unclear: been] so seriously altered that no Court [unclear: could] otherwise than treat them as [unclear: void], showed that as they originally [unclear: stood] had no Maori translation certified [unclear: by] signature of the licensed [unclear: interpreter] dorsed upon them, others had no [unclear: translate] at all, none had any description of [unclear: the] sold, some had no consideration in [unclear: the] of the deed, some had no "[unclear: duplicate]," in scarcely any did the duplicates [unclear: agree] their text, as required by law, on [unclear: some] Frauds Commissioner's certificate [unclear: was] before the date when certain of [unclear: the] tures now appearing upon it were [unclear: affc] &c. On account of these things, [unclear: and] cause none of these deeds had been [unclear: sub] to a Judge of the Native Land Court [unclear: for] assent under sections 59 and 60 of [unclear: the] of 1873, Mr Day insisted that the [unclear: deeds] now be treated as absolutely void, [unclear: and] the Court ought to refuse to [unclear:

recommend] Parliament as proper for [unclear: validation] transactions on which such [unclear: deeds] founded.

We do not take this view. We [unclear: think] what this statute of 1892 requires us [unclear: to] vestigate is not the mere deeds but [unclear: the] "transactions" of sale and purchase [unclear: the] took place before those deeds. It we [unclear: for] that those transactions were without [unclear: from] wrong of any kind, we think we [unclear: ough] certify that fact to Parliament, for [unclear: however] improper it may have been to tamper [unclear: with] these deeds, it may by Parliament be [unclear: and] sidered that looking at all the [unclear: circumstance] of this case, the transactions on which [unclear: the] deeds were founded ought nevertheless [unclear: is] validated.

Mr Day called our attention to sec, [unclear: 3] applying to these improprieties in the [unclear: deed] But that section refers to "[unclear: formalities] complied with at the time of signing the deeds" and to "irregularities in the procedure prescribed in respect of the execution of the deeds," and it only authorizes the Court to recommend validation, notwithstanding such improprieties, "if they occurred through inadvertence or misapprehension and without any intention to evade the law." We think however that section 9 was not intended to apply to tampering with deeds after they were executed. It refers to formalities and irregularities not after but at the time of the execution of the deeds. Mr Day's complaint is not that these deeds were left informal and incomplete with a fraudulent intention, but that they were many years afterwards, tampered with in order to make them more formal and more complete, and section 9 does not touch much a matter at all. It is the common law and not this statute that deals with matters of that kind.

As we have already said, these deeds are [unclear: ex crttortisis] illegal and for that very reason the transactions they represent are brought before this Court, for ultimate validation by parliament. Whether the deeds be illegal for few reasons or for a multitude of reasons should make no difference in our estimate of the honesty of the original transaction of sale and purchase before the deeds except in so far as the conduct of the purchaser's agents in tampering with the deeds may throw back a light on the honesty of the, original transaction. If this Court were! giving Mr Tiffen a title, we should of course have to refuse to give effect to his illegal! deeds, but we are not required to give him any title whatever. That will be for Parliament.

We come now to the nine purchase transactions, objected to on the ground that they were unfair and invalid in themselves independent of the illegality of the deeds. In two of these transactions the Native vendors appeared in person to object. In the remaining seven Mr Day as counsel objected.

II.—PANOPA WAIHOPI'S CASE.

The question in this case was (1) whether Panopa was paid the consideration, £148, set out in a conveyance from him to his brother-in-law. Dan Jones; and (2), if not paid, then whether under the circumstances related he ought to be not bound by the alleged sale to his brother-in-law, and by the subsequent sale by his brother-in-law with his assent for £45. The Court believes that the alleged consideration to Panopa from his brother-in-law of £48 was colourable, and intended merely to enable Jones, who lived with the Maoris, to sell the share as agent for Panopa at a higher price than could otherwise have been obtained for it. Jones pur ports to have bought from Panopa for £148; then Jones re-sold to McPhail for £45, Panopa being a party to that resale. Afterwards McPhail sold to Tiffen for £60. Now Panopa's own evidence reveals the dishonesty of his present conduct and how impudent is his endeavor to get back the land by avoiding the sale to Jones, his brother-in-law. Before Jones completed his re-sale to McPhail, Panopa was required to attend at the office of Mr Finn, solicitor for McPhail, and satisfy Mr Finn that the sale to Jones was a *bona fide* sale. Panopa did so. Panopa also went before Mr Price, the Trust Commissioner, and swore-and signed the following statement:—"The price I sold for is £148. I received all the money with the exception of £20. I received £128 in cash, and the balance I now receive from Mr Jones, making in full £148—one cheque £10, one cheque £5, and five notes." Panopa now boldly declares in this Court that all this very circumstantial statement on oath before Mr Commissioner Price was "false."—"I did say before the Commissioner I had received the whole £148, but it was only to please the Commissioner," and he further declares that what he said before the Commissioner had been arranged outside the Commissioner's Court between him and his brother-in-law, and then he tells us that what he actually received from his brother-in-law, Dan Jones, was only £10 and two-horses.

Upon these facts Panopa's law point was that the 5th section of the Validation Act requires it to be shown that "each Native owner has received the purchase money to which he was entitled or other amount agreed upon" and that it had never been paid to him. The Court believes that Panopa never did get the £148, but that he got all the money he was entitled to receive, and we think that Panopa, having been a party to the resale to Mr McPhail for £45, and having sworn that he received the whole £148, is now estopped from denying that he did so receive it, and that whether he received that £148, or only £10 and two horses, he is equally bound by his sale to Jones, and by Jones' resale with his assent, and must stand by both sale and resale. We will therefore

certify that this transaction ought to be validated.

II.—Hohepa Waikori's Case.

Hohepa's dog worried and killed nine sheep on a station and Hohepa was threatened with legal proceedings and consequent imprisonment and his dog was confiscated. Hohepa went into Gisborne and arranged to give his share in this block, Puhatikotiko No. 1, "in payment for the crime of his dog" The value of the nine sheep was not proved to us, nor was it shown that any sum was agreed upon as the value of the share, but Hohepa suited that he was "satisfied his dog did the damage," and also satisfied that "his share should be given in payment for that damage," and "was quite satisfied with the transaction when it was completed," and he said that he signed a conveyance selling the share for £12, the price then current for shares in No. 1.

It is urged against this purchase that section 5 is not complied with because "the Native owner has not received the £12 stated in the deed as the consideration for the alienation intended to be effected." This transaction, however, appears to the Court just the same in effect as if the purchaser had spoken to the vendor as follows:—"Your dog worried nine sheep—our damage for that worrying is £12. We are buying shares in Puhatikotiko No. 1 for £12. If you sign a conveyance of your share for £12 it will square the transaction. When you sign the deed I will hand you £12 for the price of the share, and you will then immediately hand me back the same £12 as the price of the worried sheep." Now the parties do not appear to have gone through this pantomime, for they did not foresee in 1882 that in 1892 an Act of Parliament would be so worded that the omission of this empty pantomime could be raised as a fatal objection to an exceptionally honest and straight forward transaction.

We shall therefore certify that this transaction ought to be validated. It is certainly within the spirit and intent of this Act, although outside the words of section 5.

III.—Hemi Tutoko's Case.

HEMI TUTOKO owed William Cooper £45 15s 6d on a promissory note dated 30th July, 1880. He came down to Gisborne on 21st March, 1882, to sell his shares in this and another block to pay Cooper part of his debt then due. Cooper says that he and Hemi Tutoko went together to the office of Mr Goodie, who was purchasing these shares. Cooper waited outside while Hemi went inside for the purpose of selling, signing the deeds, and receiving his money. After a while Hemi came out and paid him (Cooper) £20 on account of his debt. Hemi Tutoko denies this statement, and his version is as follows:—He swears that his debt to Cooper was only £3 and not £47, and he says Cooper went in along with him to Good office, and that it was Cooper who received that £3 and not he (Hemi). Hemi's version of the facts appears to us to be untrue for following reasons:—Hemi knew at the time that the price of the shares was at least £10 for his wife signed her name next below! and he further admits that she received £10 in his presence, and that he again signed his name below her name to signify assent as her husband. His daughter sold her share at that time, and she [unclear: recti] £10 to his knowledge. Yet he now swears that at that time he did not know the price of his own share, and that what he paid for it was only £3 and that Cooper received that £3 from Goodie. Finally, on cross-examination, he falsified all the particulars by giving a different version of an "agreement with Cooper." He said his agreement was "that Cooper should receive £10 (not £3) and return him [unclear: (Has)] £7." "But," said he, "I won't stick to that agreement now. I now want my money back." Our conclusion from the evidence is that Hemi was paid his purchase money fairly and fully, and we shall certify this sale proper for validation.

IV.—Pera Tutoko's Case.

Mr Day, the counsel for the Native, [unclear: the] did not call our attention to any circumstance in this case as taking it out of the statute, he called no witnesses in respect of it. Charles D. Bennett, on the purchaser's behalf, swore positively as to the signing of deeds and also to the payment of the purchase money in these words:—"I [unclear: swore] that the money put in the column opposite their name (three names including Pera's name) as the consideration was paid in my presence—that is to say, £12 in each case.

We shall therefore certify this sale proper for validation.

V.—Rena Parewhai's Case

In this case a judgment was recovered by the Supreme Court against Rena Parwii and her individual share in this block under memorial of ownership under the [unclear: Act] of 1873, was seized and sold by the [unclear: sheriff] William Cooper in 1890. It was [unclear: admitted] that the judgment and sheriff's sale were in regular form, so that had the defendant been a European the property would have passed. But Mr Day argued that

inisai as this undivided share could not have be lawfully sold by Rena Parewhai hen without the assent of the other owners, [*unclear: &c.*] &c.; and as section 88 of the Act of [*unclear: 18*] prevented such a share being lawfully seized and sold by a sheriff under judgment of any Court, and as since the repeal of that section of the Act of 1873 the share would still be unsaleable by a sheriff, at all events without the like assent and compliance with requirements as on a sale by Rena herself; therefore the seizure and sale by the sheriff in this case must be treated as unlawful, and the sheriff's deed could pass no estate, and Parliament could not have intended that this kind of illegality should be validated.

Mr Day cited many cases decided in the Superme Court showing that Rena Parewhai's share would not have passed to her Assignee in Bankruptcy (a bankruptcy being & general execution for all creditors) and argued that these cases all applied as much to Sheriffs seizures and sales as to seizures and sales in bankruptcy. He cited the Interpretation Act of 1878 to show that the repeat of the Act of 1873 could not affect the nature and incidents of titles held under memorial of ownership, and that as no emotion under a judgment could during the lifetime of the statute affect such a title, neither could it after its repeat. He cited also cases in the Supreme Curt showing that land under restrictions is not seizeable and saleable by the Sheriff, and lastly he cited Poaka v. Ward to show that no subsequent legislation has altered the status of any title under the Act of 1873, and therefore, (in spite of section 1(3 of the Act of 1888) such title remains unsaleable by the owners and unseizable by the Sheriff.

It certainly appears to me that if this Court is to be guided in this matter by the divisions of the Supreme Court, then the secure and sale of Rena Parewhai's share by the Sheriff ought to be held unlawful, but we may he asked why we should follow these desisions (affecting only only one purchase in this block), while at the same time we consider ourselves entitled not to follow Poaka v. Ward, which decision avoids every [*unclear: sale*] of every share?

Our reply to these questions is:—That although we decided that this statute authorizes validation notwithstanding the case of Poaka v. Ward, or rather perhaps in ownsequence of that decision, it does not follow that the Legislature intended us to treat as proper for validation every kind of illegal transaction. The Sheriff is a public officer deriving his right of sale from the law-only. He is not an agent of the defendant Rena Parewhai to sell with her assent. The law gives him a power to convey estates compulsorily under certain circumstances to a purchaser against the owner's will. Such a power can only exist where the law gives it, and therefore if in Rena Parewhai's case the law gave no power to the Sheriff, we could not treat his sale as a transfer of her interest. The law gave no such power to the Sheriff. This Validation Act would apply to sales voluntarily made, by the parties themselves, unlawful, it is true, but made *bona fide* and in an honest and straight forward transaction agreed to by all the parties at the time it was made. Rena Parewhai's was not such a sale. It was an illegal compulsory sale by a person who was not her agent, nor in any way empowered by law to sign for her.

We now come to four shares claimed against Mr Tiffen on behalf of minors.

VI—Hoera Ranginui's Cask.

There are two Native owners in the Puhatikotiko blocks, both of whom claim the name and shares of Hoera Ranginui. One is a grown man named Ranginui Pero, but according to the evidence for Mr Tiffen, he also calls himself Hoera Ranginui. The other is an infant named Hoera Ranginui. The infantand the adult are both in the list of No. 7 block under their respective names of Ranganui Pero and Hoera Ranginui. Only one of them is in this block No. 1, and is called in the list Hoera Ranginui, and the question is whether the name in No. 1 belongs to the adult or the infant. Mr Woon, as agent for *J. G. Kinross*, bought these two shares standing in the name of Hoera Ranginui, one in No. 7 and one in No. 1, from the adult Ranginui Pero, but Mr Woon took Pero's signature to both deeds of sale in the name of Hoera Ranginui, and not in the name of Ranginui Pero. In the form of declaration, however, that was signed by that vendor when he was signing the said deeds of sale, Mr Woon describes him as "Hoera Ranginui, or Pero." It is therefore quite clear that Woon knew at the time of the transaction that the man selling to him was Pero, and that his signature in the No. 7 block was for the share owned in that block in the name of Ranginui Pero. It is likewise probable that Woon then also knew that there was an infant, "Hoera Ranginui," an owner in the same block No. 7 whose share Pero was not entitled to, for as purchase agent Woon must have supplied himself with a list of owners from the Court files, as all purchase agents necessarily do. But whether Mr Woon was deceived or not he could not buy from Pero what belonged to the infant Hoera Ranginui in No. 7; therefore the only question for the Court is whether the share in No. 1 in the name of Hoera Ranginui belonged to the infant or to the adult.

We have considered the voluminous evidence given on both sides as to the identity of this Hoera Ranginui, and we have no doubt whatever that the Hoera Ranginui who owned in No. 1 was the minor, and not Ranginui Pero. When he conveyed his share in that block as Hoera Ranginui, instead of the name in which his own share

stood, we believe he did it to give a colour to his sale in the other block, and to his pretence that the share in that block belonged to him. A number of small circumstances too numerous to be set out here have satisfied us that Hoera Ranginui in the No. 1 block was the infant, and therefore that Ranginui Pero when selling that share sold it without right to sell it.

We will therefore certify that the shares of Hoera Ranginui in both blocks belong to the infant Hoera Ranginui unsold, and we will certify in the No. 7 block that the share sold by Ranginui Pero in the name of Hoera Ranginui was the share of Ranginui Pero himself, held in his name of Ranginui Pero, and that the said share ought to pass to Mr Tiffen under the deed signed by Ranginui Pero in the name of Hoera Ranginui.

VII.—Mini Kerekere's Case.

Mini Kerekere, a married minor, 19 years of age, sold to Mr Ferris, as agent, a share then vested by order of the Governor-in-Council in his father, Peka Kerekere, as trustee. By the statutes then in force relating to the estates of Maori infants, the share of the infant Mini was, by virtue of such order, absolutely vested in the trustee, with full powers of management, and also full powers of sale. During the minority the infant had no right whatever left in him. The trustee was entitled out of the proceeds of the estate to pay what he pleased for the support or education of the minor, and the rest he was bound to invest in securities, but the minor had no right during his minority to interfere in any way, either in the management, or in the sale, or in the application of the proceeds of sale.

When Mr Ferris was negotiating with Mini Kerekere for the purchase, he had full notice from Mr Frederick Jones that Mini was under age: but, notwithstanding that notice, and although he (Mr Ferris) might have settled the question by stepping across the road from his own office to the Native Land Registry, he preferred to act on his own unassisted judgment concerning Mini's age.

He took Mini's signature and paid him the purchase money £12, but he also y, the very unusual precaution of putting clause in the statutory declaration signed the minor that he, the minor was of fuiti A few days after the sale Peka Keri the father and trustee, having heard of transaction went to Mr Ferris, up ba him for taking his son's signature a transfer, and he (Peka) as trustee verb repudiated it as a transfer of any inters the share. The deed of sale signed by minor was afterwards taken before a Fn Commissioner and is alleged to have i passed by him without any notice t trustee, Peka Kerekere, and thus i Kerekere did not attend and resist the missioner's certificate being given.

Mini is now of full age, but he has n during the interval between the end of minority and the sitting of the Validi Court (7 years) taken any steps to set i his deed of transfer or repudiate the His own statement is that he did not d because he was ignorant that he had right to do so.

Under these circumstances Mr Dana that Mini Kerekere's transfer *conm* nothing. Secondly that the transaction at once repudiated by the Trustee, and i such repudiation renders the transfer m that even without any repudiation s contract by a Maori minor is absoluta void and not (as was formerly the case n similar contracts under English law) n able only, and that to treat it only voidable and now confirmed, cause Mini has allowed seven years to e without repudiating it would be contran New Zealand public policy. That pi Mr Day contends is shewn all through legislation affecting the Maori race to be policy of protection to the Maori against own imprudence and his liability to I cheated by the more cunning, if not unscrupulous European. Mr Lysnar, co for the purchaser, insisted that the m could sell and did sell by a voidable a tract, and that not having avoided ui seven years it would be according to English law valid and beyond repudiation by b Numerous authorities, both English and the New Zealand Courts, were cited by Day and Mr Lysnar. The English ca showed that it was the law in England i to the year 1874 that if a minor sold n estate *then rested in himself* his contract u not void, but voidable only, and that sad contract, not repudiated by him within reasonable time after he came of ago, wa be treated thenceforth as binding upon him No case, however, was cited to show [*unclear: whethere*] a sale by a minor, whose whole estate, both legal and equitable, was at the time of the contract of sale vested in a trustee, would or would not avail to pass any estate or interest either present or prospective. There are no recent English authorities, because the English people overruled the previous decisions of English judges declared in 1874 through their Legislature by statute that all such contracts by minors are absolutely void, and no longer merely voidable—a fact which shews that the current of English thought is against allowing usurers and unscrupulous speculators any longer to tempt youths of fortune to part with their estate before they have reached years of discretion.

One colonial authority was relied on by Mr Lysnar: *Johnston v. McKay*, L.R. 2, Supreme Court 156 (year 1884, N.Z.), as showing that a sale by a Native whilst he was a minor was held to be only a voidable contract and therefore good against a purchase from the same Native after he came of age; hut that authority is not in point to the present case. The only point decided in that case was that the "Statute of pretended titles" (passed in the reign of Henry VIII) forbids and renders void any transfer of his interest by an owner whose land is out of

his possession and held by some person adversely to him, and the Chief Justice in that case held that the possession by the plaintiff Johnston, whether that possession was founded on a good title or not, was adverse to the Maori minor from the date of Johnston's purchase from him whether that purchase was lawful or not, and that such adverse possession rendered void the subsequent sale by that same Native to Mr McKay. The decision simply amounts to this—that even if the Maori might himself have ejected Johnston, which clearly he could do if he had done nothing to validate the voidable contract, purchaser McKay could not eject Johnston. That is all that the case decided. But even if it decided, as it is contended, that the contract of a Maori minor to sell his estate vested in himself was voidable and not void, such decision would still fall short of this case of Mini Kerekere; for his estate when he contracted to sell it was not vested in himself, but in his trustee. I see no words in the judgment of the Chief Justice in the above cited case of Johnston v. McKay, showing that if Johnston had purchased from the infant an estate then vested in his trustee, the contract so made would have passed any estate whatever to Johnston. Johnston v. McKay is therefore not an authority governing this case. We think also that to certify in favor of this sale would be to tear up by the roots all the statutable provisions for the protection of Maori minors. Even after Maoris arrive at man's estate they are, as Mr Day-urged upon us, looked upon as still under tutelage and protection. They are frequently restricted from selling at all. They can make no transfer, except in presence of special classes of witnesses selected as reliable persons, who will see that they are treated fairly. Even then the sale is not complete; for an examination has still to take place before a Frauds' Commissioner, whose very designation tells us what his duties are as to the protection of the Maori. If such be the provisions of the law as to adult Maoris parting with their estate, what a mockery it would be to hold that a Maori youth just arrived at the time of life when money is eagerly sought for for his pleasures and when he is most sure to listen to the voice of the tempter, may sell his estate even though that estate be then vested in a trustee for protection against that very contingency. Ferris bought from, Mini Kerekere knowing him to be a minor. He pretended to disbelieve Mr Jones' warning, but he took care to make Mini's declaration state that Mini was of full age, so that he could prosecute Mini for perjury in case Mini, when he reached majority, should repudiate the bargain.

A point was made by Mr Lysnar that the order-in-Council appointing Peka Kerekere as trustee was not in existence at the date of the sale by Mini. Mr Day, however, showed us that according to New Zealand decisions the estate was in anticipation of the order-in-Council, contingently vested in Peka Kerekere by the recommendation of the Native Land Court that an order-in-Council should be issued, and the subsequent issue of the order-in-Council confirmed that recommendation, and gives a title from its date just as a decree of a court of justice will defeat every attempt pending litigation to render such decree ineffectual when it comes.

VIII.—MUTU TE UA'S CASE.

Mutu te Ua was another minor whose estate was vested in a Trustee at the time when her signature was taken to a deed of sale. The reasons given in our decision upon Mini Kerekere's case apply to the facts in this case and must prevent our certifying

XI—WI KIHITU'S CASE.

Wi Kihitu was a minor whose estate was vested in We Mahuika as trustee. Wi Mahuika sold the share and the question is, was he ever paid for it?

The evidence *pro* and *con* is voluminous and contradictory and on the whole the Court believes the money never was paid and that literal fact would place the purchase outside the words of the 5th section of the statute. But the reason given by Mr Goudie" for postponing the payment was a satisfactory one. We therefore think notwithstanding that non-payment the case is within the relief intended by the Legislature and we shall therefore certify that the sale ought to be validated on condition that the purchase money be now paid with interest at 8 per cent.

This is one of the numerous instances in which the narrow wording of the statute operates to prevent justice from being done, But we hold that the duty which the Legislature has really committed to the Validating Court is to ascertain whether the transaction is fair and straightforward in itself. The draftsman of this Act appears to have been unable to imagine a transaction being fair and straightforward unless the consideration was given at the time of the sale. But there are many transactions in which the consideration cannot be given at the time. And this appears to be one of them, the law requiring that a judge's sanction to the contract made must be obtained before it shall operate as a bargain and sale.

If we were strictly to confine the relief of the statute to cases where the money is paid on the spot we should be shutting out a great number of honest everyday transactions. The only principle on which we can make the section apply to many ordinary transactions is to assume that by words such as those of the 5th section the

Legislature did not mean to confine us to those words, but meant merely to indicate a typical instance of the transactions intended to be relieved. This is the third purchase in this single block out of Mr Tiffen's five blocks in which the Court has to certify in favor of validating purchases in spite of the narrow wording of the 5th section. Indeed the whole Act is full of expressions which, taken literally, would compel the Court to violate common sense, and in one glaring instance which will presently appear, the words would compel us even to violate natural justice.

The infant Wi Kihitu being now dead, the question yet remains, to whom this purchase money ought to be now paid. No successor to the infant has been appointed in this block, but we have power to appoint successors when required. Wiremu Mahub the trustee who made the sale, and who [unclear: now] objects to carry it out, is himself the father and sole heir to his deceased child. He has already been appointed as his sole successor in other blocks of Puhatikotiko Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 7, and he is also his sole successor in eight other blocks as well, and is therefore clearly the person to be appointed successor in this No. 1 block. We appoint him successor and declare the payment to him of the amount due shall be a sufficient discharge of the debt to the deceased infant. The amount of principal and interest from 15th April, 1882, to 15th April, 1893, is £22 12s, at the rate of 8 cent, added on the whole sum till payment we think the purchase ought to [unclear: be] validated.

Since the above judgment was written Mr Day has brought to the Court a decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of *Tiffin v. Stewart*, just published. By that decision it appears that a conveyance by a Maori vendor upon which no Maori statement was written in accordance with section 85 of the Act of 1873 is declared void and of no effect, and Mr Day pressed upon the Court that this very recent case ought not to prevent the Court from giving any effect to those of Mr Tiffen's deeds which are open to the same objection.

But this is only adding one more reason to the numerous similar reasons already existing that make these deeds illegal, and already explained in the above judgment why the Court will recommend Mr Tiffen's purchases for validation, notwithstanding the illegality of his deeds. If the deeds had been legal, Mr Tiffen would have had no need to come before this Court.

This judgment completes the validating work in block No. 1, and the Court will now be in a position to transmit its certification to the Chief Judge, were it not that the statute requires the area of land and locality to be stated, and directs us to partition the block for that purpose. This provision is entirely unnecessary as an element in the decision of Parliament to validate or otherwise. But as regards the interests of both purchasers and Natives, it is very hurtful. A moment's consideration will show that the rational basis of partition should be the validation by Parliament which is final, not the validation as recommended by us, which may be final or not, in that Parliament may decide if Parliament should disallow a single purchase amount those we recommend, the partition we now have to make would be entirely inapplicable and a new partition would be necessary. But here again the statute fails. It not only makes no provision for such repartition, but in section 7 it specially provides that our premature "partition shall be as valid and ineffectual as if made in pursuance of an application for partition under the Native Land Act of 1880." Thus no fresh partition could possibly be made except by authority of a statute passed expressly for that purpose.

There is another question affecting these partitions matters, viz: The construction to be put on section 7. If the words of that section are to be taken literally they would compel the Court to act contrary to natural justice. The section requires us so soon as we have decided what purchases to recommend and which to refuse, "forthwith to make a partition or amend a partition already made." Thus this statute apparently requires the Court to partition the block in a proceeding with which the Maori non-sellers have nothing to do, and which they have not been summoned to attend, and empowers us even in cases where a Court has already given men rights of property, to take those rights away from them "forthwith" behind their backs. Such a proceeding would so clearly be a violation of natural justice that we have felt compelled to read the word "forthwith" as meaning "forthwith" after due notice to all interested persons. To read the word "forthwith" without this addition would practically enable the European purchaser to select whatever part of the land he chose behind the backs of the owners. The injustice of such a proceeding is aggravated by the fact that being also authorised to vary any former partition, we may take from any Native the piece of [unclear: land] already given to him by a former Court, and without his knowledge hand it over, forthwith" to the European.

Judgment No. IV.

22nd May, 1893.

Most of the legal principles involved in Mr Tiffen's live applications have been settled in our three

judgments in the No. 1 block. It will therefore not be necessary to dwell at any length upon the legal points involved in the disputed cases in the blocks 3, 4, 5, and 7, the subject of this judgment.

Mr Day's objections to the deeds of conveyance in these blocks are similar to his objections in the No. 1 block, and the Court will therefore overrule them. The only important law points remaining Undecided are points respecting Maoris under disability. We have in the No. 1 block decided that the contract of a Maori infant whose estate is at the time of sale vested in a trustee, transfers no estate to the purchaser. It yet remains for us to declare whether an infant whose estate has not been transferred to a trustee, but remains vested in himself, can provisionally pass that estate to a purchaser, in other words we have to decide whether his conveyance is void or only voidable, and therefore capable of confirmation. This point is of such importance that I have taken long to consider it, and have consulted all the legal authorities, English, American, and Colonial, accessible to me. I have had on the one side to weigh the evident policy of the New Zealand Native code—a policy of protection of even adult Natives against the wiles of Europeans, and on the other the English and American authorities declaring the common law affecting minors in those countries; but these authorities must be read coupled with the significant fact that in England, the National Council has now by statute over-ruled the common law decisions of their Judges, and has declared such contracts thenceforth absolutely void. There is no New Zealand direct decision upon this subject, so far as it affects Natives, but there are *dicta* in cases where the point was not so much involved as to make the *dictum a* decision upon it. These *dicta* are therefore not of such a character as to afford guidance to this Court now called upon to decide the very point itself, and I have therefore ventured to think out my own conclusions. I have not allowed myself to be too strongly influenced by the principles laid down by English Judges as applicable to the social state of a highly civilised people: for when considering what ought to be the common law regulating transactions between Europeans and a race only just emerged from barbarism a Judge ought to keep in view many considerations that are absent in the English cases.

I shall hold that the conveyance by an infant Maori, whose estate is not vested at the time in a trustee, is a contract that transfers to the purchaser a voidable estate which the Maori infant can avoid after he comes of age, and, in so far, I am following the English and American judicial decisions, but I shall also hold that mere quiescence on his part for a lengthened period after he comes of age ought not necessarily to amount to *[unclear: fc]* confirmation of his sale. One reason why mere quiescence ought not necessarily to amount to confirmation is that if the Maori on his arrival at majority should apply to us to eject his purchaser, we could not entertain his case because the Legislature has not empowered the Native Land Court to deal with this class of Maori rights. Maoris come to our Court as their proper Court for relief, and when we inform them we have no jurisdiction they go away under the belief that as we have no jurisdiction no remedy is open to them in any Court. Hence they are apt to remain quiescent so far as Court action is concerned. I do not by this statement mean to convey the impression that Maoris never bring cases before the Supreme Court, but generally, if not always hitherto, the real suitor has been the European prompting their proceedings for his own benefit. This Court, therefore, when considering the question of Maori quiescence, must take into account the fact that the Supreme Court has not in the past been regarded by Natives as having been open to them in the same sense as it is open to a European. There is another element to be considered when declaring the common law that should govern such contracts, and that is the extreme unreliability of Maori evidence. Maoris enter the Land Court resolved to succeed by stratagem or treachery, just as they would in war. For instance, in this very case of Tiften's, several adult Maoris, finding that it was decided in the No. 1 block that Mini Kerekere, born at the date of the battle of Waerenga-a-hika, could not sell and convey the land vested in his father as trustee, falsely pretend that they too were born just at the date of that battle, and therefore were minors when they signed, thus endeavoring to deceive the Court into giving them back the land they had fairly sold. Even where there may be no direct disproof of an alleged minority, the circumstances may show a conspiracy to defraud the purchaser. In such cases the Court ought to be able to protect the purchaser by treating a long quiescence of the vendor after his admitted date of legal majority as a confirmation of the contract made during his doubtful minority, even though it has not been properly disproved.

With these remarks I will now proceed to give the judgment of the Court *[unclear: upon]* individual cases objected to in the blocks 4, 5, and 7.

Block III.

I.—Iopa Te Hau's Case.

This owner admits that he sold and signed the deed. But he says that the consideration (£6 put in the deed is not the amount which he agreed—it was £'20. He signed declaration before a solicitor in which declared that £6

was the amount, but says that although he signed that declaration there was nothing in it about £6 at the time he signed it. He persisted throughout I examination in declaring that no money whatever was paid to him, except £2 give to him by Ferris, the agent, on account the £20, but he did not explain why swore and signed a declaration which [*unclear: he*] observed at the time did not state the amount of the purchase money. The evidence given in contradiction of his story fully proved that he had been paid £6, and Court does not credit his statement that was the purchase money agreed upon. We can see no reason why Iopa should receing £20 when the price paid for similar shares ti all the other vendors in the block was only from £5 5s to £6.

We shall therefore certify that this sale proper for validation.

II.—Mihaere Parahi's Case.

This Native signed the conveyance and received payment on the 19th January, 1883. He was then about 25 years old. He is now alleged to have been a minor at that time aged about 20.

On 9th July, 1883, this vendor was ap pointed successor to Heterika Te Oikau, and on that occasion he was represented to the Court as being 18 years of age; and application was made for appointment of trustee for him. The order was granted but it was so granted on a misrepresentation to the Court, and therefore, as against third parties whom it is now sought to injure by it, it should be treated as a nullity. The share to which Mihaere succeeded on the occasion when he was declared to be under age was not, the share in dispute between him and Mr Tiffen. The share he sold Mr Tiffen is a share he has all along held in his own right; therefore it would not be proper that we should treat the statement of his age in the order appointing the trustee as an estoppel upon Mr Tiffen, because section 9 of the Act of 1878 created [*unclear: a*] statutory estoppel. That section says that "for all purposes the time at which the minor shall be deemed to have attained his majority shall be computed from the age fixed by the Court." But those words "for all purposes" must be read to mean all purposes connected with the "share or interest in land" then being dealt with by that Court. To stretch the words so as to include shares that the Court was not then dealing with would be contrary to the usual canons of construction of statutes, and it would impose upon every purchaser of Native land the necessity of searching the records of every Native Land Court throughout the Island to see whether some trustee order hidden away in some distant block might not affect the land he was purchasing. In addition to these reasons for not treating the trustee-orders as an estoppel beyond the ands then before the Court, there is this further reason. These trustee orders are, so far as purchasers are concerned, made *exparte*. It is impossible for a Court to save itself from being imposed upon as to the age of the alleged minor if the parties before it combine to do so. Therefore, in cases where a Court has been imposed upon, we must permit, any subsequent purchaser who would be injured to give evidence showing the fraud, and if it is proved to us, we ought to prevent any such fraud from being hurtful to him.

We shall certify that Mihaere Parahi was of full age when he signed the deed, and that this sale is proper for validation.

These are the only two shares in No. 3 Block contested on their individual merits.

We shall therefore certify for all the purchases made in that block.

Block IV.

In this block there were fifteen sales of which only the following one is disputed.

I.—Eruera Taituha's Case.

This Native sold his share on 20th August 1885. His mother swears that he was born in 1865 at the Waerenga-a-hika pa two days before the battle, and was therefore at the date of the sale only 20 years of age. This statement by his mother was shewn to be untrue. He was born several years before 1865, and must therefore have been of full age when he signed. A witness called to corroborate Eruera's mother swore that she and her husband used to live in a house situated within ten chains of the pa. Both were persons of high rank. Now wherever a child is born in or near a pa, to parents of high rank, the event being one of importance is immediately made known to every family in the pa. But it was conclusively proved to us that at the date in question the birth of any child to these parents was unknown in the pa.

Eruera's estate was vested in himself at the time he made his sale. It is a noticeable fact that when Wi Pere, Paterongo Noti, and Tipene Tutahi, as conductors in these blocks, applied to the Court on the 24th November, 1883, for the appointment of trustees for a large batch of Maoris, no application was made by any of them on behalf of Eruera Taituha, but Eruera's name was left undisturbed among the names of owners who had reached majority.

The Court will certify this case as proper for validation.

Block V.

No special objection has been made to any sale in this block, and all the purchase money has been admittedly paid, and all the proper signatures admittedly signed to the deeds.

There were 26 purchasers possessing the interests of 25 owners and one-third of the share of a twenty-sixth owner.

We shall certify in favor of all these purchases.

Block VII.

In this block Mr Lysnar claims 98 purchases, Our of these 98 nine arc specially objected to by Mr Day, and will now be dealt with.

No. I.—Ranginui Pero's Case.

Hoera Ranginui's Case.

We have discussed this case in our judgment in the No. 1 block, and have there decided that Ranginui Pero fraudulently signed the conveyance of a share in this block in the name of the minor Hoera Ranginui, thereby attempting to sell her share while retaining his own.

We certify that Ranginui Pero has sold his own share in this block and has been fully paid for it, and that the sale from him to the purchaser ought to be validated.

II.—Teraipene Tutahi's Case.

It was shewn to the Court that Taraipeue Tutahi was born at latest in 1860 or 1861, but she was more probably born in 1858 or 1859. She sold her share and signed the deed of sale on 3rd April, 1882, and was therefore of full age when she signed. She is now alleged to have been a minor when she signed. No trustee has ever been appointed for her. Her father, Tipene Tutahi, who came to prove her minority, admitted when under cross-examination that his first evidence proving her to be a minor was a fabrication. We have since searched the records of the Court and found that when on the 24th November, 1883, Wi Fere, Paterengo Noti and this same Tipene Tutahi as conductors applied for a large batch of appointments of trustees for minors in these blocks they did not apply for a trustee for Teraipene, although she is Tipene Tutahi's own daughter, and there is this further significant fact that Tipene Tutahi did on that occasion apply for a trustee in this block for his son Mohi Tamati, aged twelve years, although he made no application for his daughter Teraipene, and on the same day he applied in two other blocks for the same son and still omitted to apply for his daughter.

We certify that this woman was of full age when she signed, and that her sale ought to be validated.

III.—MIHAERE PARAHĪ'S CASE.

We have discussed Mihaere Parahi's case in this block when considering his sale in No. 1 block.

We shall certify for the reasons there given that the sale in this block ought also to be validated.

IV.—Mini Kerekere's Case.

This is the same Mini Kerekere whose sale in No. 1 block we have refused to certify for validation.

But there is an important difference in the facts concerning the sale in No. 1 and the sale in this No. 7 block (made on 10th September. 1884). In No. I the estate was at the time of sale vested in Peka Kerekere, his father, but in this No. 7 the estate at the time of sale was vested in Mini himself. Therefore his deed of sale in this block, though a voidable contract, conveyed an estate. This difference in the facts reduces the point, to the question, "Whether Mini has or has not since his majority acquiesced in that conveyance?" In the No. 1 block the father was the owner, and Objected to Mini's side. He was the trustee in whom the estate was then vested, and he was by law required to protect the estate. But with respect to this share in No. 3 block, it was not vested in him, and he had no duty and no right with respect to it. Why he did not get himself appointed as trustee for this share, as well as for the share in block 1, was not explained to the Court, but it is open to the supposition that Mini, being a a married man his father may have purposely left this share within his control that by the sale of it he might be able to raise money for family needs. It must be borne in mind that the Maoris allow unconta action by their children at a much ea age than Europeans do. According Maori custom a a young man of 19

years and especially one who was pursuing separate family life, would he allowed take his place as a man and manage his affairs. The colonial law has adopted the Maori the European standard of 21 years but this has probably been done merely bring him in line with the European. Court is of course bound by the laws stands, but we ought nevertheless to into account the Maori habits and c when considering the contracts made by minor at an age and under circumstances which Maori custom would recognise right to act as a responsible person.

We think, therefore, that the fact of share being left unprotected by the fi Peka Kerekere when he carefully placed other share beyond the reach of the mine coupled with Mini's own statement that himself has never objected to any of sales, and with all his conduct since eogy of age, requires the Court to treat this as having been acquiesced in by Mini. K Maories must know that if they intenj object to a transaction of sale they ought in the meantime to stand silently by Mini Kerekere did. In this instance, thought Mini lived close by Mr Tiffen he never, c plained to him or repudiated the transaction during the seven years that have el since he came of age.

V.—Mata Parerata's Case.

This woman is alleged to be so weak, intellect that she is incapable of making contract for sale of her estate and that be incapacity to contract would be obvious the person purchasing from her. But w, find that she is sufficiently strong intellet to have been accepted as a wife by succes sive Maori husbands and that she is now living as wife to one Meka Kawhena at Ti homiti not very distant from Gisborne. All that has been satisfactorily proved against her intelligence is that she has an impeeb ment in her speech, but the evidence wa strong to show that she fairly understands her own interests and quite understands the value of money and that her alleged weak ness of intellect is not obvious to those who have business dealings with her. She has not been brought before the Court so the we might judge of her intelligence, and we again notice that Wi Pere, Paterengo Noti, and Tipene Tutahi, when applying 24th Nov. 1883 for appointment of trustees for persons under disability, made no application for a Trustee for Mata. The Maories are quite aware that this Court has the power *to* vest the estates of persons so wanting in intellect as to be unable to protect their own interests, in trustees who can protect them. We shall certify that this case is one propel for validation.

VI.—Hemi Tutoki's Case.

The facts of this case have already been fully dealt with in the sale of Hemi's share in Block I, and we shall for the reasons there given recommend this sale also for validation.

VII.—Rena Parewhai's Case.

This was a Sheriffs sale, the law and facts are fully set out, and the sale dealt with in the similar case in Block I, and we shall for the reasons there given abstain from recommending this sale for validation.

VIII.—Harawera Putiki's Case.

Harawera Putiki sold his share and signed the deed on October 1, 1886. He was then about 27 years old having been born in 1859.

An order was made on November 24, 1883, resting his estate in a trustee. He was alleged in that order to be only 11 years of age. He was then in fact about 24 years of age. That order, Harawera being of the full age at the time it was made, was a fraud on [*unclear: one*] Court, and therefore a nullity so far as Mr Tiffen (who was no party to it) is concerned. Harawero did not come to the Court to allow us to judge of his age.

We shall certify this as a proper case for validation.

IX.—Herewini Te Awariki's Case.

In this case the objections made to the sale were withdrawn. Herewini appeared before the Court, received from the purchase £10 in our presence, and stated that he is now quite satisfied that his share should go to the purchaser.

We accordingly shall certify that this; sale ought to be validated.

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Gisborne Validation Court Tiffen's Case.

Judgments Nos. III. And IV

By His Honor Judge Barton.

Printed at the "POVERTY BAY HERALD OFFICE," Gisborne, 27th May 1895.

Gisborne Validation Court.

Judgment No. III.

Tiffen's Case—Puhatikotiko

No. 1.

HIS HONOR JUDGE BARTON delivered the following judgment on Monday, May 15, 1893

The Court has now to decide which of Mr Tiffen's purchases it will recommend for validation and which it will not recommend. The difficulties arising under this Act, [*unclear*: partially] explained in our former judgment, have compelled us to adopt a construction bold for any Court, but doubly so for a Court so constituted as the Native Land Court, Our only alternative course would have been to declare the Act unworkable and close our doors If Mr Rees had carried our judgment of 17th April, on the question of jurisdiction, to the Supreme Court, as Mr Day originally proposed to do, the decision of that Court would either have stopped our proceedings or else-cleared our path: for with the sanction of the highest Court we should no longer feel hesitation in compelling the words of the Act to tit purchases violating the statute of 1873 as well as other purchases. But Mr Rees' clients have altered their tactics. Instead of taking the question of our jurisdiction to deal with purchases illegal under the Act of 1873 before the Supreme Court, they force from us our decision upon the delicate points that arise upon Mr Tiffen's deeds and various purchases. The Supreme Court Judges, whose daily business it is to deal with such questions, are able to devote to the consideration of them the requisite time and thought. The Judges of the Native Land Court, to whose daily business this class of enquiry is entirely foreign (and who have this validation work thrust upon them in the [*unclear*: midst] of their usual work) have neither the leisure nor the facilities for considering abstruse questions and mastering legal authorities, as they must do if they are to give correct decisions under this Act. In this very judgment we shall have to deal with abstruse questions of English real property law—a law ruled by rigid precedent, the very antithesis of the "give and take" principle on which the Native Land Court acts in its ordinary work of apportioning land between Native tribes, or partitioning blocks between Native sellers and non-sellers. We therefore proposed that instead of giving our decision upon these points of real property law, we should state cases for the Supreme Court, but Mr Lysnar declined our proposal, and we have no right to force him to accept it. It must indeed be admitted that if the judges of the Native Land Court were entitled to shift all their difficulties into the Supreme Court, it would virtually turn the Supreme Court into a Validation Court, where as the Government and Legislature having placed these matters (proper only for the highest Court) in the hands of the Native Land Court, and competent or incompetent, the Native Land Court must decide them.

When in our judgment of the 17th of April the Court declared that this peculiar statute required peculiar treatment, we assumed from the history of validation that the intention of the Legislature is that we shall recommend for validation all honest purchases, no matter what statute rendered them illegal. Mr Day has ever since the delivery of that judgment been endeavoring to prove to us that such a construction raises insuperable difficulties in our way, and that, if the Court gives Mr Tiffen a certificate, it must do so without the sanction of any clause in this Act, and even in actual violation of some of its clauses; and it may be asked us how under such circumstances we can possibly hold that the Act applies. But the Court must point out that Mr Day's argument is only the same in principle as Mr Rees' argument, founded on the general purview of the statute. If, as Mr Rees contended, the general words of the statute fail to include purchases illegal under the Act of 1873, then the particular words of the several clauses will also necessarily appear to exclude them. If Mr Rees' arguments be right, then we have no jurisdiction over such cases. If, on the other hand, we possess the jurisdiction we have declared ourselves to possess, then it follows that we must find the means of applying the statute to such cases, and Mr Day's arguments to show the impossibility of so applying it must be erroneous. Our construction may be a bold one, but everyone must see that if Mr Tiffen's cases are properly before the Court, our business is to find the means of relieving them by the language of the statute applicable to other classes of cases what it may. Mr Day complains that by taking this course we pass out of our province as interpreters, and become legislators. I admit that if this statute were an ordinary statute, enabling us to confer rights or give a *status*, we should not dare to step beyond its literal words. But when we now step beyond the words we still keep within the directions given by the Legislature. Those directions are that we shall "enquire and report" to the Legislature itself what illegal transactions have been honest and straightforward in themselves, and whether they have been carried out in an honest and straightforward manner; therefore, if we are right in holding these "transactions" under the Act of 1873 to be within the statute, it is our duty to bend its provisions to meet the circumstances of such transactions. With these observations on Mr Day's argument we

will now proceed to the facts of the case.

Mr Tiffen has abandoned one of his purchases, and claims validation for the remaining 34. Mr Day's objection to these 34 are of two classes. One class includes the whole 34, the other class affects only 9 and does not affect the remaining 25.

Mr Day's first class is again divisible into two classes of objection. His first is—That as the Supreme Court decision of *Poaka v. Ward* has declared that purchases like these of Mr Tiffen of undivided shares held under the Act of 1873 are unlawful, this Court must hold them to be still unlawful, there being no statutory provision authorising their validation. This argument is only another form of Mr Rees' former argument, and would be just if it were this Court that had to validate the purchases, but this Court validates nothing; it is the Legislature, and not we, that will have to validate them, and in that fact lies the distinction. We simply recommend them as honest transactions which are therefore suitable for validation if the Legislature chooses to override *Poaka v. Ward*. It is urged that the Court should not ride roughshod over every sort of illegality and over all laws forbidding improper transactions, and I entirely concur in that. This judgment later on will show that we claim no such right.

The second division of Mr Day's first class of objections is more formidable. He has shown us that since Mr Tiffen's deeds of purchase were signed by the Maoris [unclear: to] have been altered in many material [unclear: pe] There is no doubt about this fact. [unclear: It] [unclear: i] mitted by Mr Tiffen's counsel, but [unclear: even] not admitted it is shown by the [unclear: attemp] copies lodged in Mr Justice Edwards' [unclear: C] that the condition of the deeds when [unclear: the] copies were so lodged differed very [unclear: materal] from their present condition. Mr Day tends that it is the settled policy of [unclear: Eq] Courts of Justice that if a suitor is [unclear: show] have altered in any material part a [unclear: deed] which he relies he cannot enforce, it [unclear: again] the opposing party, it being no longer contract of that party, and Mr Day that this law has been based on an [unclear: ob] ground of public policy to compel [unclear: person] possession of documents to refrain from [unclear: the] pering with them.

Mr Day insists that these deeds have [unclear: been] so seriously altered that no Court [unclear: could] otherwise than treat them as [unclear: void], showed that as they originally [unclear: stood] had no Maori translation certified [unclear: by] signature of the licensed [unclear: interpreter] dorsed upon them, others had no [unclear: translate] at all, none had any description of [unclear: the] sold, some had no consideration in [unclear: the] of the deed, some had no "[unclear: duplicate]," in scarcely any did the duplicates [unclear: agree] their text, as required by law, on [unclear: some] Frauds Commissioner's certificate [unclear: was] before the date when certain of [unclear: the] tures now appearing upon it were [unclear: affc] &c. On account of these things, [unclear: and] cause none of these deeds had been [unclear: sub] to a Judge of the Native Land Court [unclear: for] assent under sections 59 and 60 of [unclear: the] of 1873, Mr Day insisted that the [unclear: deeds] now be treated as absolutely void, [unclear: and] the Court ought to refuse to [unclear: recommend] Parliament as proper for [unclear: validation] transactions on which such [unclear: deeds] founded.

We do not take this view. We [unclear: think] what this statute of 1892 requires us [unclear: to] vestigate is not the mere deeds but [unclear: the] "transactions" of sale and purchase [unclear: the] took place before those deeds. It we [unclear: for] that those transactions were without [unclear: from] wrong of any kind, we think we [unclear: ough] certify that fact to Parliament, for [unclear: however] improper it may have been to tamper [unclear: with] these deeds, it may by Parliament be [unclear: and] sidered that looking at all the [unclear: circumstance] of this case, the transactions on which [unclear: the] deeds were founded ought nevertheless [unclear: is] validated.

Mr Day called our attention to sec, [unclear: 3] applying to these improprieties in the [unclear: deed] But that section refers to "[unclear: formalities] complied with at the time of signing the deeds" and to "irregularities in the procedure prescribed in respect of the execution of the deeds," and it only authorizes the Court to recommend validation, notwithstanding such improprieties, "if they occurred through inadvertence or misapprehension and without any intention to evade the law." We think however that section 9 was not intended to apply to tampering with deeds after they were executed. It refers to formalities and irregularities not after but at the time of the execution of the deeds. Mr Day's complaint is not that these deeds were left informal and incomplete with a fraudulent intention, but that they were many years afterwards, tampered with in order to make them more formal and more complete, and section 9 does not touch much a matter at all. It is the common law and not this statute that deals with matters of that kind.

As we have already said, these deeds are [unclear: ex crttortsis] illegal and for that very reason the transactions they represent are brought before this Court, for ultimate validation by parliament. Whether the deeds be illegal for few reasons or for a multitude of reasons should make no difference in our estimate of the honesty of the original transaction of sale and purchase before the deeds except in so far as the conduct of the purchaser's agents in tampering with the deeds may throw back a light on the honesty of the, original

transaction. If this Court were! giving Mr Tiffen a title, we should of course have to refuse to give effect to his illegal! deeds, but we are not required to give him any title whatever. That will be for Parliament.

We come now to the nine purchase transactions, objected to on the ground that they were unfair and invalid in themselves independent of the illegality of the deeds. In two of these transactions the Native vendors appeared in person to object. In the remaining seven Mr Day as counsel objected.

II.—PANOPA WAIHOPI'S CASE.

The question in this case was (1) whether Panopa was paid the consideration, £148, set out in a conveyance from him to his brother-in-law. Dan Jones; and (2), if not paid, then whether under the circumstances related he ought to be not bound by the alleged sale to his brother-in-law, and by the subsequent sale by his brother-in-law with his assent for £45. The Court believes that the alleged consideration to Panopa from his brother-in-law of £48 was colourable, and intended merely to enable Jones, who lived with the Maoris, to sell the share as agent for Panopa at a higher price than could otherwise have been obtained for it. Jones pur ports to have bought from Panopa for £148; then Jones re-sold to McPhail for £45, Panopa being a party to that resale. Afterwards McPhail sold to Tiffen for £60. Now Panopa's own evidence reveals the dishonesty of his present conduct and how impudent is his endeavor to get back the land by avoiding the sale to Jones, his brother-in-law. Before Jones completed his re-sale to McPhail, Panopa was required to attend at the office of Mr Finn, solicitor for McPhail, and satisfy Mr Finn that the sale to Jones was a *bona fide* sale. Panopa did so. Panopa also went before Mr Price, the Trust Commissioner, and swore-and signed the following statement:—"The price I sold for is £148. I received all the money with the exception of £20. I received £128 in cash, and the balance I now receive from Mr Jones, making in full £148—one cheque £10, one cheque £5, and five notes." Panopa now boldly declares in this Court that all this very circumstantial statement on oath before Mr Commissioner Price was "false."—"I did say before the Commissioner I had received the whole £148, but it was only to please the Commissioner," and he further declares that what he said before the Commissioner had been arranged outside the Commissioner's Court between him and his brother-in-law, and then he tells us that what he actually received from his brother-in-law, Dan Jones, was only £10 and two-horses.

Upon these facts Panopa's law point was that the 5th section of the Validation Act requires it to be shown that "each Native owner has received the purchase money to which he was entitled or other amount agreed upon" and that it had never been paid to him. The Court believes that Panopa never did get the £148, but that he got all the money he was entitled to receive, and we think that Panopa, having been a party to the resale to Mr McPhail for £45, and having sworn that he received the whole £148, is now estopped from denying that he did so receive it, and that whether he received that £148, or only £10 and two horses, he is equally bound by his sale to Jones, and by Jones' resale with his assent, and must stand by both sale and resale. We will therefore certify that this transaction ought to be validated.

II.—Hohepa Waikori's Case.

Hohepa's dog worried and killed nine sheep on a station and Hohepa was threatened with legal proceedings and consequent imprisonment and his dog was confiscated. Hohepa went into Gisborne and arranged to give his share in this block, Puhatikotiko No. 1, "in payment for the crime of his dog" The value of the nine sheep was not proved to us, nor was it shown that any sum was agreed upon as the value of the share, but Hohepa suited that he was "satisfied his dog did the damage," and also satisfied that "his share should be given in payment for that damage," and "was quite satisfied with the transaction when it was completed," and he said that he signed a conveyance selling the share for £12, the price then current for shares in No. 1.

It is urged against this purchase that section 5 is not complied with because "the Native owner has not received the £12 stated in the deed as the consideration for the alienation intended to be effected." This transaction, however, appears to the Court just the same in effect as if the purchaser had spoken to the vendor as follows:—"Your dog worried nine sheep—our damage for that worrying is £12. We are buying shares in Puhatikotiko No. 1 for £12. If you sign a conveyance of your share for £12 it will square the transaction. When you sign the deed I will hand you £12 for the price of the share, and you will then immediately hand me back the same £12 as the price of the worried sheep." Now the parties do not appear to have gone through this pantomime, for they did not foresee in 1882 that in 1892 an Act of Parliament would be so worded that the omission of this empty pantomime could be raised as a fatal objection to an exceptionally honest and straight forward transaction.

We shall therefore certify that this transaction ought to be validated. It is certainly within the spirit and intent of this Act, although outside the words of section 5.

III.—Hemi Tutoko's Case.

HEMI TUTOKO owed William Cooper £45 15s 6d on a promissory note dated 30th July, 1880. He came down to Gisborne on 21st March, 1882, to sell his shares in this and another block to pay Cooper part of his debt then due. Cooper says that he and Hemi Tutoko went together to the office of Mr Goodie, who was purchasing these shares. Cooper waited outside while Hemi went inside for the purpose of selling, signing the deeds, and receiving his money. After a while Hemi came out and paid him (Cooper) £20 on account of his debt. Hemi Tutoko denies this statement, and his version is as follows:—He swears that his debt to Cooper was only £3 and not £47, and he says Cooper went in along with him to Good office, and that it was Cooper who received that £3 and not he (Hemi). Hemi's version of the facts appears to us to be untrue for following reasons:—Hemi knew at the time that the price of the shares was at least £10 for his wife signed her name next below! and he further admits that she received £10 in his presence, and that he again signed his name below her name to signify assent as her husband. His daughter sold her share at that time, and she received £10 to his knowledge. Yet he now says that at that time he did not know the price of his own share, and that what he paid for it was only £3 and that Cooper received that £3 from Goodie. Finally, on a much cross-examination, he falsified all the particulars by giving a different version of an "agreement with Cooper." He said in his agreement was "that Cooper should receive £10 (not £3) and return him [unclear: (Has)] £7." "But," said he, "I won't stick to that agreement now. I now want my land back." Our conclusion from the evidence is that Hemi was paid his purchase money full and fairly, and we shall certify this sale proper for validation.

IV.—Pera Tutoko's Case.

Mr Day, the counsel for the Native, [unclear: the] did not call our attention to any circumstance in this case as taking it out of the statute, he called no witnesses in respect of it. Charles D. Bennett, on the purchaser's side, swore positively as to the signing of deeds and also to the payment of the purchase money in these words:—"I [unclear: swore] that the money put in the column opposite their name (three names including Pi name) as the consideration was paid in [unclear: my] presence—that is to say, £12 in each case

We shall therefore certify this sale proper for validation.

V.—Rena Parewhai's Case

In this case a judgment was recovered by the Supreme Court against Rena Parwii and her individual share in this block under memorial of ownership under the Act of 1873, was seized and sold by the [unclear: sheriff] William Cooper in 1890. It was [unclear: admitted] that the judgment and sheriff's sale were in regular form, so that had the defendant been a European the property would have passed. But Mr Day argued that inasmuch as this undivided share could not have been lawfully sold by Rena Parewhai herself without the assent of the other owners, [unclear: &c.] &c.; and as section 88 of the Act of [unclear: 18] prevented such a share being lawfully seized and sold by a sheriff under judgment of any Court, and as since the repeal of that section of the Act of 1873 the share would still be unsaleable by a sheriff, at all events without the like assent and compliance with requirements as on a sale by Rena herself; therefore the seizure and sale by the sheriff in this case must be treated as unlawful, and the sheriff's deed could pass no estate, and Parliament could not have intended that this kind of illegality should be validated.

Mr Day cited many cases decided in the Supreme Court showing that Rena Parewhai's share would not have passed to her Assignee in Bankruptcy (a bankruptcy being a general execution for all creditors) and argued that these cases all applied as much to Sheriffs seizures and sales as to seizures and sales in bankruptcy. He cited the Interpretation Act of 1878 to show that the repeal of the Act of 1873 could not affect the nature and incidents of titles held under memorial of ownership, and that as no statute could during the lifetime of the statute affect such a title, neither could it after its repeal. He cited also cases in the Supreme Court showing that land under restrictions is not seizeable and saleable by the Sheriff, and lastly he cited *Poaka v. Ward* to show that no subsequent legislation has altered the status of any title under the Act of 1873, and therefore, (in spite of section 1(3) of the Act of 1888) such title remains unsaleable by the owners and unseizable by the Sheriff.

It certainly appears to me that if this Court is to be guided in this matter by the decisions of the Supreme Court, then the seizure and sale of Rena Parewhai's share by the Sheriff ought to be held unlawful, but we may be asked why we should follow these decisions (affecting only one purchase in this block), while at the same time we consider ourselves entitled not to follow *Poaka v. Ward*, which decision avoids every [unclear: sale] of every share?

Our reply to these questions is:—That although we decided that this statute authorizes validation

notwithstanding the case of *Poaka v. Ward*, or rather perhaps in ownsequence of that decision, it does not follow that the Legislature intended us to treat as proper for validation every kind of illegal transaction. The Sheriff is a public officer deriving his right of sale from the law-only. He is not an agent of the defendant Rena Parewhai to sell with her assent. The law gives him a power to convey estates compulsorily under certain circumstances to a purchaser against the owner's will. Such a power can only exist where the law gives it, and therefore if in Rena Parewhai's case the law gave no power to the Sheriff, we could not treat his sale as a transfer of her interest. The law gave no such power to the Sheriff. This Validation Act would apply to sales voluntarily made, by the parties themselves, unlawful, it is true, but made *bona fide* and in an honest and straight forward transaction agreed to by all the parties at the time it was made. Rena Parewhai's was not such a sale. It was an illegal compulsory sale by a person who was not her agent, nor in any way empowered by law to sign for her.

We now come to four shares claimed against Mr Tiffen on behalf of minors.

VI—Hoera Ranginui's Cask.

There are two Native owners in the Puhatikotiko blocks, both of whom claim the name and shares of Hoera Ranginui. One is a grown man named Ranginui Pero, but according to the evidence for Mr Tiffen, he also calls himself Hoera Ranginui. The other is an infant named Hoera Ranginui. The infant and the adult are both in the list of No. 7 block under their respective names of Ranganui Pero and Hoera Ranginui. Only one of them is in this block No. 1, and is called in the list Hoera Ranginui, and the question is whether the name in No. 1 belongs to the adult or the infant. Mr Woon, as agent for *J. G. Kinross*, bought these two shares standing in the name of Hoera Ranginui, one in No. 7 and one in No. 1, from the adult Ranginui Pero, but Mr Woon took Pero's signature to both deeds of sale in the name of Hoera Ranginui, and not in the name of Ranginui Pero. In the form of declaration, however, that was signed by that vendor when he was signing the said deeds of sale, Mr Woon describes him as "Hoera Ranginui, or Pero." It is therefore quite clear that Woon knew at the time of the transaction that the man selling to him was Pero, and that his signature in the No. 7 block was for the share owned in that block in the name of Ranginui Pero. It is likewise probable that Woon then also knew that there was an infant, "Hoera Ranginui," an owner in the same block No. 7 whose share Pero was not entitled to, for as purchase agent Woon must have supplied himself with a list of owners from the Court files, as all purchase agents necessarily do. But whether Mr Woon was deceived or not he could not buy from Pero what belonged to the infant Hoera Ranginui in No. 7; therefore the only question for the Court is whether the share in No. 1 in the name of Hoera Ranginui belonged to the infant or to the adult.

We have considered the voluminous evidence given on both sides as to the identity of this Hoera Ranginui, and we have no doubt whatever that the Hoera Ranginui who owned in No. 1 was the minor, and not Ranginui Pero. When he conveyed his share in that block as Hoera Ranginui, instead of the name in which his own share stood, we believe he did it to give a colour to his sale in the other block, and to his pretence that the share in that block belonged to him. A number of small circumstances too numerous to be set out here have satisfied us that Hoera Ranginui in the No. 1 block was the infant, and therefore that Ranginui Pero when selling that share sold it without right to sell it.

We will therefore certify that the shares of Hoera Ranginui in both blocks belong to the infant Hoera Ranginui unsold, and we will certify in the No. 7 block that the share sold by Ranginui Pero in the name of Hoera Ranginui was the share of Ranginui Pero himself, held in his name of Ranginui Pero, and that the said share ought to pass to Mr Tiffen under the deed signed by Ranginui Pero in the name of Hoera Ranginui.

VII.—Mini Kerekere's Case.

Mini Kerekere, a married minor, 19 years of age, sold to Mr Ferris, as agent, a share then vested by order of the Governor-in-Council in his father, Peka Kerekere, as trustee. By the statutes then in force relating to the estates of Maori infants, the share of the infant Mini was, by virtue of such order, absolutely vested in the trustee, with full powers of management, and also full powers of sale. During the minority the infant had no right whatever left in him. The trustee was entitled out of the proceeds of the estate to pay what he pleased for the support or education of the minor, and the rest he was bound to invest in securities, but the minor had no right during his minority to interfere in any way, either in the management, or in the sale, or in the application of the proceeds of sale.

When Mr Ferris was negotiating with Mini Kerekere for the purchase, he had full notice from Mr Frederick Jones that Mini was under age: but, notwithstanding that notice, and although he (Mr Ferris) might have settled the question by stepping across the road from his own office to the Native Land Registry, he preferred to act on his own unassisted judgment concerning Mini's age.

He took Mini's signature and paid him the purchase money £12, but he also y, the very unusual precaution of putting clause in the statutory declaration signed the minor that he, the minor was of fuiti A few days after the sale Peka Keri the father and trustee, having heard of transaction went to Mr Ferris, up ba him for taking his son's signature a transfer, and he (Peka) as trustee verb repudiated it as a transfer of any inters the share. The deed of sale signed by minor was afterwards taken before a Fn Commissioner and is alleged to have i passed by him without any notice t trustee, Peka Kerekere, and thus i Kerekere did not attend and resist the missioner's certificate being given.

Mini is now of full age, but he has n during the interval between the end of minority and the sitting of the Validi Court (7 years) taken any steps to set i his deed of transfer or repudiate the His own statement is that he did not d because he was ignorant that he had right to do so.

Under these circumstances Mr Dana that Mini Kerekere's transfer *conm* nothing. Secondly that the transaction at once repudiated by the Trustee, and i such repudiation renders the transfer m that even without any repudiation s contract by a Maori minor is absoluta void and not (as was formerly the case n similar contracts under English law) n able only, and that to treat it only voidable and now confirmed, cause Mini has allowed seven years to e without repudiating it would be contran New Zealand public policy. That pi Mr Day contends is shewn all through legislation affecting the Maori race to be policy of protection to the Maori against own imprudence and his liability to I cheated by the more cunning, if not unscrupulous European. Mr Lysnar, co for the purchaser, insisted that the m could sell and did sell by a voidable a tract, and that not having avoided ui seven years it would be according to English law valid and beyond repudiation by b Numerous authorities, both English and the New Zealand Courts, were cited by Day and Mr Lysnar. The English ca showed that it was the law in England i to the year 1874 that if a minor sold n estate *then rested in himself* his contract u not void, but voidable only, and that sad contract, not repudiated by him within reasonable time after he came of ago, wa be treated thenceforth as binding upon him No case, however, was cited to show [*unclear: whethere*] a sale by a minor, whose whole estate, both legal and equitable, was at the time of the contract of sale vested in a trustee, would or would not avail to pass any estate or interest either present or prospective. There are no recent English authorities, because the English people overruled the previous decisions of English judges declared in 1874 through their Legislature by statute that all such contracts by minors are absolutely void, and no longer merely voidable—a fact which shews that the current of English thought is against allowing usurers and unscrupulous speculators any longer to tempt youths of fortune to part with their estate before they have reached years of discretion.

One colonial authority was relied on by Mr Lysnar: *Johnston v. McKay*, L.R. 2, Supreme Court 156 (year 1884, N.Z.), as showing that a sale by a Native whilst he was a minor was held to be only a voidable contract and therefore good against a purchase from the same Native after he came of age; hut that authority is not in point to the present case. The only point decided in that case was that the "Statute of pretenced titles" (passed in the reign of Henry VIII) forbids and renders void any transfer of his interest by an owner whose land is out of his possession and held by some person adversely to him, and the Chief Justice in that case held that the possession by the plaintiff Johnston, whether that possession was founded on a good title or not, was adverse to the Maori minor from the date of Johnston's purchase from him whether that purchase was lawful or not, and that such adverse possession rendered void the subsequent sale by that same Native to Mr McKay. The decision simply amounts to this—that even if the Maori might himself have ejected Johnston, which clearly he could do if he had done nothing to validate the voidable contract, purchaser McKay could not eject Johnston. That is all that the case decided. But even if it decided, as it is contended, that the contract of a Maori minor to sell his estate vested in himself was voidable and not void, such decision would still fall short of this case of Mini Kerekere; for his estate when he contracted to sell it was not vested in himself, but in his trustee. I see no words in the judgment of the Chief Justice in the above cited case of *Johnston v. McKay*, showing that if Johnston had purchased from the infant an estate then vested in his trustee, the contract so made would have passed any estate whatever to Johnston. *Johnston v. McKay* is therefore not an authority governing this case. We think also that to certify in favor of this sale would be to tear up by the roots all the statutable provisions for the protection o Maori minors. Even after Maoris arrive at man's estate they are, as Mr Day-urged upon us, looked upon as still under tutelage and protection. They are frequently restricted from selling at all. They can make no transfer, except in presence of special classes of witnesses selected as reliable persons, who will see that they are treated fairly. Even then the sale is not complete; for an examination has still to take place before a Frauds' Commissioner, whose very designation tells us what his duties are as to the protection of the Maori. If such be the provisions of the law as to adult Maoris parting with their estate, what a mockery it would be to hold that a Maori youth just arrived at the time of life when money is eagerly sought for for his pleasures and when he is most sure to-listen to the voice of the tempter, may sell his estate even though that estate be then vested in a trustee for protection against that very contingency. Ferris bought from, Mini Kerekere knowing him to be a minor. He pretended to disbelieve Mr Jones' warning, but he took care to make Mini's declaration state that

Mini was of full age, so that he could prosecute Mini for perjury in case Mini, when he reached majority, should repudiate the bargain.

A point was made by Mr Lysnar that the order-in-Council appointing Peka Kerekere as trustee was not in existence at the date of the sale by Mini. Mr Day, however, showed us that according to New Zealand decisions the estate was in anticipation of the order-in-Council, contingently vested in Peka Kerekere by the recommendation of the Native Land Court that an order-in-Council should be issued, and the subsequent issue of the order-in-Council confirmed that recommendation, and gives a title from its date just as a decree of a court of justice will defeat every attempt pending litigation to render such decree ineffectual when it comes.

VIII.—MUTU TE UA'S CASE.

Mutu te Ua was another minor whose estate was vested in a Trustee at the time when her signature was taken to a deed of sale. The reasons given in our decision upon Mini Kerekere's case apply to the facts in this case and must prevent our certifying

XI—WI KIHITU'S CASE.

Wi Kihitu was a minor whose estate was vested in We Mahuika as trustee. Wi Mahuika sold the share and the question is, was he ever paid for it?

The evidence *pro* and *con* is voluminous and contradictory and on the whole the Court believes the money never was paid and that literal fact would place the purchase outside the words of the 5th section of the statute. But the reason given by Mr Goudie" for postponing the payment was a satisfactory one. We therefore think notwithstanding that non-payment the case is within the relief intended by the Legislature and we shall therefore certify that the sale ought to be validated on condition that the purchase money be now paid with interest at 8 per cent.

This is one of the numerous instances in which the narrow wording of the statute operates to prevent justice from being done, But we hold that the duty which the Legislature has really committed to the Validating Court is to ascertain whether the transaction is fair and straightforward in itself. The draftsman of this Act appears to have been unable to imagine a transaction being fair and straightforward unless the consideration was given at the time of the sale. But there are many transactions in which the consideration cannot be given at the time. And this appears to be one of them, the law requiring that a judge's sanction to the contract made must be obtained before it shall operate as a bargain and sale.

If we were strictly to confine the relief of the statute to cases where the money is paid on the spot we should be shutting out a great number of honest every-day transactions. The only principle on which we can make the section apply to many ordinary transactions is to assume that by words such as those of the 5th section the Legislature did not mean to confine us to those words, but meant merely to indicate a typical instance of the transactions intended to be relieved. This is the third purchase in this single block out of Mr Tiffen's five blocks in which the Court has to certify in favor of validating purchases in spite of the narrow wording of the 5th section. Indeed the whole Act is full of expressions which, taken literally, would compel the Court to violate common sense, and in one glaring instance which will presently appear, the words would compel us even to violate natural justice.

The infant Wi Kihitu being now dead, the question yet remains, to whom this purchase money ought to be now paid. No successor to the infant has been appointed in this block, but we have power to appoint successors when required. Wiremu Mahub the trustee who made the sale, and who [*unclear: now*] objects to carry it out, is himself the father and sole heir to his deceased child. He has already been appointed as his sole success in other blocks of Puhatikotiko Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 7, and he is also his sole successor in eight other blocks as well, and is therefore clearly the person to be appointed successor in this No. 1 block. We appoint him successor and declare the payment to him of the amount due shall be a sufficient discharged the debt to the deceased infant. The amount of principal and interest from 15th April, 1882, to 15th April, 1893, is £22 12s, at on payment of that sum to Wi Mahuika by his solicitor with further interest at 8 [*unclear: per*] cent, added on the whole sum till payment we think the purchase ought to [*unclear: be*] validated.

Since the above judgment was written Mr Day has brought to the Court a decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of *Tiffin v. Stewart*, just published. By that decision it appears that a conveyance by a Maori vendor upon which no Maori statement was written in accordance with section 85 of the Act of 1873 is declared void and of no effect, and Mr Day pressed upon the Court that this very recent case ought to prevent the Court from giving any effect to those of Mr Tiffen's deeds which are open to the same objection.

But this is only adding one more reason to the numerous similar reasons already existing that make these deeds illegal, and already explained in the above judgment why the Court will recommend Mr Tiffen's purchases

for validation, not with standing the illegality of his deeds. If the deeds had been legal, Mr Tiffen would have had no need to come before this Court.

This judgment completes the validation work in block No. 1, and the Court will now be in a position to transmit its certification to the Chief Judge, were it not that the statute requires the area of land and locality to be stated, and directs us to partition the block for that purpose. This provision is entirely unnecessary as an element in the decision of Parliament to validate or otherwise. But as regards the interests of both purchasers and Natives, it is very hurtful. A moment's consideration will show that the rational basis of partition should be the validation by Parliament which is final, not the validation as recommended by us, which may be final or not, if Parliament may decide. If Parliament should disallow a single purchase amount those we recommend, the partition we now have to make would be entirely inapplicable and a new partition would be necessary. But here again the statute fails. It not only makes no provision for such repartition, but in section 7 it specially provides that our premature "partition shall be as valid and ineffectual as if made in pursuance of an application for partition under the Native Land Act of 1880." Thus no fresh partition could possibly be made except by authority of a statute passed expressly for that purpose.

There is another question affecting these partitions matters, viz: The construction to be put on section 7. If the words of that section are to be taken literally they would compel the Court to act contrary to natural justice. The section requires us so soon as we have decided what purchases to recommend and which to refuse, "forthwith to make a partition or amend a partition already made." Thus this statute apparently requires the Court to partition the block in a proceeding with which the Maori non-sellers have nothing to do, and which they have not been summoned to attend, and empowers us even in cases where a Court has already given men rights of property, to take those rights away from them "forthwith" behind their backs. Such a proceeding would so clearly be a violation of natural justice that we have felt compelled to read the word "forthwith" as meaning "forthwith" after due notice to all interested persons. To read the word "forthwith" without this addition would practically enable the European purchaser to select whatever part of the land he chose behind the backs of the owners. The injustice of such a proceeding is aggravated by the fact that being also authorised to vary any former partition, we may take from any Native the piece of [unclear: land] already given to him by a former Court, and without his knowledge hand it over, forthwith" to the European.

Judgment No. IV.

22nd May, 1893.

Most of the legal principles involved in Mr Tiffen's live applications have been settled in our three judgments in the No. 1 block. It will therefore not be necessary to dwell at any length upon the legal points involved in the disputed cases in the blocks 3, 4, 5, and 7, the subject of this judgment.

Mr Day's objections to the deeds of conveyance in these blocks are similar to his objections in the No. 1 block, and the Court will therefore overrule them. The only important law points remaining undecided are points respecting Maoris under disability. We have in the No. 1 block decided that the contract of a Maori infant whose estate is at the time of sale vested in a trustee, transfers no estate to the purchaser. It yet remains for us to declare whether an infant whose estate has not been transferred to a trustee, but remains vested in himself, can provisionally pass that estate to a purchaser, in other words we have to decide whether his conveyance is void or only voidable, and therefore capable of confirmation. This point is of such importance that I have taken long to consider it, and have consulted all the legal authorities, English, American, and Colonial, accessible to me. I have had on the one side to weigh the evident policy of the New Zealand Native code—a policy of protection of even adult Natives against the wiles of Europeans, and on the other the English and American authorities declaring the common law affecting minors in those countries; but these authorities must be read coupled with the significant fact that in England, the National Council has now by statute over-ruled the common law decisions of their Judges, and has declared such contracts thenceforth absolutely void. There is no New Zealand direct decision upon this subject, so far as it affects Natives, but there are *dicta* in cases where the point was not so much involved as to make the *dictum a* decision upon it. These *dicta* are therefore not of such a character as to afford guidance to this Court now called upon to decide the very point itself, and I have therefore ventured to think out my own conclusions. I have not allowed myself to be too strongly influenced by the principles laid down by English Judges as applicable to the social state of a highly civilised people: for when considering what ought to be the common law regulating transactions between Europeans and a race only just emerged from barbarism a Judge ought to keep in view many considerations that are absent in the English cases.

I shall hold that the conveyance by an infant Maori, whose estate is not vested at the time in a trustee, is a contract that transfers to the purchaser a voidable estate which the Maori infant can avoid after he comes of age, and, in so far, I am following the English and American judicial decisions, but I shall also hold that mere quiescence on his part for a lengthened period after he comes of age ought not necessarily to amount to [unclear: fc] confirmation of his sale. One reason why mere quiescence ought not necessarily to amount to confirmation is that if the Maori on his arrival at majority should apply to us to eject his purchaser, we could not entertain his case because the Legislature has not empowered the Native Land Court to deal with this class of Maori rights. Maoris come to our Court as their proper Court for relief, and when we inform them we have no jurisdiction they go away under the belief that as we have no jurisdiction no remedy is open to them in any Court. Hence they are apt to remain quiescent so far as Court action is concerned. I do not by this statement mean to convey the impression that Maoris never bring cases before the Supreme Court, but generally, if not always hitherto, the real suitor has been the European prompting their proceedings for his own benefit. This Court, therefore, when considering the question of Maori quiescence, must take into account the fact that the Supreme Court has not in the past been regarded by Natives as having been open to them in the same sense as it is open to a European. There is another element to be considered when declaring the common law that should govern such contracts, and that is the extreme unreliability of Maori evidence. Maoris enter the Land Court resolved to succeed by stratagem or treachery, just as they would in war. For instance, in this very case of Tiffen's, several adult Maoris, finding that it was decided in the No. 1 block that Mini Kerekere, born at the date of the battle of Waerenga-a-hika, could not sell and convey the land vested in his father as trustee, falsely pretend that they too were born just at the date of that battle, and therefore were minors when they signed, thus endeavoring to deceive the Court into giving them back the land they had fairly sold. Even where there may be no direct disproof of an alleged minority, the circumstances may show a conspiracy to defraud the purchaser. In such cases the Court ought to be able to protect the purchaser by treating a long quiescence of the vendor after his admitted date of legal majority as a confirmation of the contract made during his doubtful minority, even though it has not been properly disproved.

With these remarks I will now proceed to give the judgment of the Court [unclear: upon] individual cases objected to in the blocks 4, 5, and 7.

Block III.

I.—Iopa Te Hau's Case.

This owner admits that he sold and signed the deed. But he says that the consideration (£6 put in the deed is not the amount which he agreed—it was £20. He signed declaration before a solicitor in which declared that £6 was the amount, but says that although he signed that declaration there was nothing in it about £6 at the time he signed it. He persisted throughout examination in declaring that no money whatever was paid to him, except £2 given to him by Ferris, the agent, on account the £20, but he did not explain why swore and signed a declaration which he [unclear: he] observed at the time did not state the amount of the purchase money. The evidence given in contradiction of his story fully proved that he had been paid £6, and Court does not credit his statement that was the purchase money agreed upon. We can see no reason why Iopa should receive £20 when the price paid for similar shares to all the other vendors in the block was only from £5 5s to £6.

We shall therefore certify that this sale proper for validation.

II.—Mihaere Parahi's Case.

This Native signed the conveyance and received payment on the 19th January, 1883. He was then about 25 years old. He is now alleged to have been a minor at that time aged about 20.

On 9th July, 1883, this vendor was appointed successor to Heterika Te Oikau, and on that occasion he was represented to the Court as being 18 years of age; and application was made for appointment of trustee for him. The order was granted but it was so granted on a misrepresentation to the Court, and therefore, as against third parties whom it is now sought to injure by it, it should be treated as a nullity. The share to which Mihaere succeeded on the occasion when he was declared to be under age was not, the share in dispute between him and Mr Tiffen. The share he sold Mr Tiffen is a share he has all along held in his own right; therefore it would not be proper that we should treat the statement of his age in the order appointing the trustee as an estoppel upon Mr Tiffen, because section 9 of the Act of 1878 created [unclear: a] statutory estoppel. That section says that "for all purposes the time at which the minor shall be deemed to have attained his majority shall be computed from the age fixed by the Court." But those words "for all purposes" must be read to mean all purposes connected with the "share or interest in land" then being dealt with by that Court. To stretch the words so as to

include shares that the Court was not then dealing with would be contrary to the usual canons of construction of statutes, and it would impose upon every purchaser of Native land the necessity of searching the records of every Native Land Court throughout the Island to see whether some trustee order hidden away in some distant block might not affect the land he was purchasing. In addition to these reasons for not treating the trustee-orders as an estoppel beyond the ends then before the Court, there is this further reason. These trustee orders are, so far as purchasers are concerned, made *ex parte*. It is impossible for a Court to save itself from being imposed upon as to the age of the alleged minor if the parties before it combine to do so. Therefore, in cases where a Court has been imposed upon, we must permit, any subsequent purchaser who would be injured to give evidence showing the fraud, and if it is proved to us, we ought to prevent any such fraud from being hurtful to him.

We shall certify that Mihaere Parahi was of full age when he signed the deed, and that this sale is proper for validation.

These are the only two shares in No. 3 Block contested on their individual merits.

We shall therefore certify for all the purchases made in that block.

Block IV.

In this block there were fifteen sales of which only the following one is disputed.

I.—Eruera Taituha's Case.

This Native sold his share on 20th August 1885. His mother swears that he was born in 1865 at the Waerenga-a-hika pa two days before the battle, and was therefore at the date of the sale only 20 years of age. This statement by his mother was shewn to be untrue. He was born several years before 1865, and must therefore have been of full age when he signed. A witness called to corroborate Eruera's mother swore that she and her husband used to live in a house situated within ten chains of the pa. Both were persons of high rank. Now wherever a child is born in or near a pa, to parents of high rank, the event being one of importance is immediately made known to every family in the pa. But it was conclusively proved to us that at the date in question the birth of any child to these parents was unknown in the pa.

Eruera's estate was vested in himself at the time he made his sale. It is a noticeable fact that when Wi Pere, Paterongo Noti, and Tipene Tutahi, as conductors in these blocks, applied to the Court on the 24th November, 1883, for the appointment of trustees for a large batch of Maoris, no application was made by any of them on behalf of Eruera Taituha, but Eruera's name was left undisturbed among the names of owners who had reached majority.

The Court will certify this case as proper for validation.

Block V.

No special objection has been made to any sale in this block, and all the purchase money has been admittedly paid, and all the proper signatures admittedly signed to the deeds.

There were 26 purchasers possessing the interests of 25 owners and one-third of the share of a twenty-sixth owner.

We shall certify in favor of all these purchases.

Block VII.

In this block Mr Lysnar claims 98 purchases, Our of these 98 nine are specially objected to by Mr Day, and will now be dealt with.

No. I.—Ranginui Pero's Case.

Hoera Ranginui's Case.

We have discussed this case in our judgment in the No. 1 block, and have there decided that Ranginui Pero fraudulently signed the conveyance of a share in this block in the name of the minor Hoera Ranginui, thereby attempting to sell her share while retaining his own.

We certify that Ranginui Pero has sold his own share in this block and has been fully paid for it, and that the sale from him to the purchaser ought to be validated.

II.—Teraipene Tutahi's Case.

It was shewn to the Court that Teraipene Tutahi was born at latest in 1860 or 1861, but she was more probably born in 1858 or 1859. She sold her share and signed the deed of sale on 3rd April, 1882, and was therefore of full age when she signed. She is now alleged to have been a minor when she signed. No trustee has ever been appointed for her. Her father, Tipene Tutahi, who came to prove her minority, admitted when under cross-examination that his first evidence proving her to be a minor was a fabrication. We have since searched the records of the Court and found that when on the 24th November, 1883, Wi Fere, Paterengo Noti and this same Tipene Tutahi as conductors applied for a large batch of appointments of trustees for minors in these blocks they did not apply for a trustee for Teraipene, although she is Tipene Tutahi's own daughter, and there is this further significant fact that Tipene Tutahi did on that occasion apply for a trustee in this block for his son Mohi Tamati, aged twelve years, although he made no application for his daughter Teraipene, and on the same day he applied in two other blocks for the same son and still omitted to apply for his daughter.

We certify that this woman was of full age when she signed, and that her sale ought to be validated.

III.—MIHAERE PARAHĪ'S CASE.

We have discussed Mihaere Parahi's case in this block when considering his sale in No. 1 block. We shall certify for the reasons there given that the sale in this block ought also to be validated.

IV.—Mini Kerekere's Case.

This is the same Mini Kerekere whose sale in No. 1 block we have refused to certify for validation.

But there is an important difference in the facts concerning the sale in No. 1 and the sale in this No. 7 block (made on 10th September, 1884). In No. 1 the estate was at the time of sale vested in Peka Kerekere, his father, but in this No. 7 the estate at the time of sale was vested in Mini himself. Therefore his deed of sale in this block, though a voidable contract, conveyed an estate. This difference in the facts reduces the point, to the question, "Whether Mini has or has not since his majority acquiesced in that conveyance?" In the No. 1 block the father was the owner, and Objected to Mini's side. He was the trustee in whom the estate was then vested, and he was by law required to protect the estate. But with respect to this share in No. 3 block, it was not vested in him, and he had no duty and no right with respect to it. Why he did not get himself appointed as trustee for this share, as well as for the share in block 1, was not explained to the Court, but it is open to the supposition that Mini, being a married man his father may have purposely left this share within his control that by the sale of it he might be able to raise money for family needs. It must be borne

in mind that the Maoris allow uncontrolled action by their children at a much earlier age than Europeans do. According to Maori custom a young man of 19 years and especially one who was pursuing separate family life, would be allowed to take his place as a man and manage his affairs. The colonial law has adopted the Maori the European standard of 21 years but this has probably been done merely to bring him in line with the European. The Court is of course bound by the laws of the land, but we ought nevertheless to take into account the Maori habits and customs when considering the contracts made by a minor at an age and under circumstances which Maori custom would recognise as giving him the right to act as a responsible person.

We think, therefore, that the fact of a share being left unprotected by the father Peka Kerekere when he carefully placed other shares beyond the reach of the minor coupled with Mini's own statement that himself has never objected to any of the sales, and with all his conduct since reaching the age of majority, requires the Court to treat this as having been acquiesced in by Mini. The Maories must know that if they intend to object to a transaction of sale they ought in the meantime to stand silently by Mini Kerekere. In this instance, though Mini lived close by Mr Tiffen he never complained to him or repudiated the transaction during the seven years that have elapsed since he came of age.

V.—Mata Parerata's Case.

This woman is alleged to be so weak of intellect that she is incapable of making a contract for sale of her estate and that her incapacity to contract would be obvious to the person purchasing from her. But we find that she is sufficiently strong of intellect to have been accepted as a wife by successive Maori husbands and that she is now living as wife to one Meka Kawhena at Te Homiti not very distant from Gisborne. All that has been satisfactorily proved against her intelligence is that she has an impediment in her speech, but the evidence was strong to show that she fairly understands her own interests and quite understands the value of money and that her alleged weakness of intellect is not obvious to those who have business dealings with her. She has not been

brought before the Court so that we might judge of her intelligence, and we again notice that Wi Pere, Paterengo Noti, and Tipene Tutahi, when applying 24th Nov. 1883 for appointment of trustees for persons under disability, made no application for a Trustee for Mata. The Maories are quite aware that this Court has the power to vest the estates of persons so wanting in intellect as to be unable to protect their own interests, in trustees who can protect them. We shall certify that this case is one proper for validation.

VI.—Hemi Tutoki's Case.

The facts of this case have already been fully dealt with in the sale of Hemi's share in Block I, and we shall for the reasons there given recommend this sale also for validation.

VII.—Rena Parewhai's Case.

This was a Sheriff's sale, the law and facts are fully set out, and the sale dealt with in the similar case in Block I, and we shall for the reasons there given abstain from recommending this sale for validation.

VIII.—Harawera Putiki's Case.

Harawera Putiki sold his share and signed the deed on October 1, 1886. He was then about 27 years old having been born in 1859.

An order was made on November 24, 1883, resting his estate in a trustee. He was alleged in that order to be only 11 years of age. He was then in fact about 24 years of age. That order, Harawera being of the full age at the time it was made, was a fraud on [unclear: one] Court, and therefore a nullity so far as Mr Tiffen (who was no party to it) is concerned. Harawera did not come to the Court to allow us to judge of his age.

We shall certify this as a proper case for validation.

IX.—Herewini Te Awariki's Case.

In this case the objections made to the sale were withdrawn. Herewini appeared before the Court, received from the purchase £10 in our presence, and stated that he is now quite satisfied that his share should go to the purchaser.

We accordingly shall certify that this sale ought to be validated.

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Gisborne Validation Court.

Puhatikotiko Partition and Final Judgment (No. 5.).

KARAKA,

June 27.

His Honor Judge Barton delivered the following judgment:—

The validation and partition with Mr Tiffen in this case are at last completed, after an [unclear: Investigation] lasting three months. Under a proper Act three weeks should have more than sufficed, and the fact that the enquiry has occupied so much time will doubtless be used by the opponents of legitimate validation. From my knowledge of business in this district, I have little hesitation in saying that under a proper statute drawn by a practical person acquainted with the class of work to be done, the whole validation required on the East Coast could be completed in little over three years. In making that statement I am presuming that the Act would be confined to validation alone, and that the Judge would be occupied in validation only, leaving the subsequent partitioning to the Native Land Court, whose proper work it is. The Judge of the Validating Court ought not, to be interrupted by being called away to ordinary Native Land Court work, as was my own case so frequently during the Poututu enquiry. That enquiry is reputed to have lasted nearly four years, and to

be still unfinished. But the truth is that the validation work of all the Poututu case has long since been completed, the whole time occupied at different intervals in contests in Court under the Poututu Jurisdiction Act being in all only nineteen days. During all the remainder of the four years I was occupied in other business and else-where, it, in the extreme North, in the King country, in Wairarapa, in Tolago, in Wairoa, and in other places. The rights of the Poututu litigants are even now hung up by applications for re-hearing made a year ago and still unheard.

In this case of Mr Tiffen's the Native non-sellers have agreed upon a division of these blocks, and all opposition to the giving of statutory title to Mr Tiffen is now withdrawn.

But this agreement, not being signed by all the persons interested in the block, is under our Native land code insufficient to bind the parties. Nevertheless, I shall not hesitate to add this feature to the other illegalities in this case. It is an agreement which if made before the Supreme Court, or any other Court in the civilised world except this Native Land Court, would be binding on the parties to the litigation. Business would be at a standstill in any other Court but the Native Land Court, if the persons representing suitors could not enter into compromises and submit them for the approval of the Court. The settlement now made between Mr Tiffen and the conductors being just such a settlement as this Court would have made had the matter been left in its hands, we shall certify that these lands so agreed to be given and accepted ought, in our judgment, to be granted to Mr Tiffen by the Legislature, independent of any arrangement between them. The remainder of the blocks shall belong to the non-selling Natives, and be divided amongst them in the relative proportions arranged amongst themselves. Formerly in this district I found these "voluntary arrangements" most convenient for the settlement of titles invalid by reason of trivial technicalities or because of pernicious requirements of dead statutes, but now the Court is prohibited from approving such arrangements unless every man, woman, and child in the block signs an agreement—a condition almost always impossible of performance. Thus the useful "voluntary arrangement" clauses are rendered inoperative not by repeal (that would be too straightforward a course for Native legislation), but by [unclear: an] an insurmountable impediment.

Having, so far as this Court is concerned, settled the rights of the parties, I have now to enter upon another matter which, if left without full explanation, might greatly prejudice Mr Tiffen's interests when they go elsewhere.

When at the beginning of this enquiry I overruled Mr Rees' arguments against the jurisdiction of the Court, I did so in error. I held that the omission from this Act of words applicable to cases like Mr Tiffen's must have been accidental, and being fully impressed with that belief I acted upon it, although in doing so, I was obliged to stretch the rules of statutory construction to their extremest verge, and I urged that even if my decision was erroneous, that error could not inflict harm on any one, inasmuch as Parliament still held the full control over the ultimate fate of the case; while if I dismissed the case without enquiry, my judgment, if erroneous, would be productive of great injury not only to Mr Tiffen, but to the innumerable persons throughout the country who are anxiously awaiting relief.

I have now within the last few days seen for the first time the debates in Parliament on this statute. I find that not only was I wrong in supposing that the words in the repealed Act of 1889, fitting such cases as Mr Tiffen's, were omitted accidentally, but that the very contrary was the case; and I further find that the Government gave an undertaking in both Houses that if the Bill were allowed to pass it should not be used in the Native Land Court to validate purchases illegal in their inception. The Hon. the Native Minister expressly stated (Hansard, Sept. 29, 1892) in the Lower House that the Court should only deal with purchases by persons who in so purchasing "*had broken no law,*" but had their estates withheld from them by reason of technicalities or irregularities, or through some change in the law intervening between the commencement and the completion of their transactions, and he added, "There is no doubt many have broken the law openly and knowingly, trusting their influence or some change of Government would put the matter right. *This Bill proposes to give no relief to this class of people* "

Afterwards on October 6, 1892, the Hon. the Attorney-General when introducing the Bill into the Upper House on the day before the prorogation and asking them to pass it notwithstanding the very late stage of the session and the impossibility of considering its provisions, gave the Council a distinct pledge. He said (Hansard, October 6, [unclear: 19] "We propose to repeal all the [unclear: prov] dealing with the Commission under [unclear: the] of 1889, and to enable the Native [unclear: la] Court Judges to be appointed [unclear: specially] the purpose of a Commission to [unclear: enquire] titles in dispute *with full power to*[unclear: report] *all those cases where there has been no*[unclear: brq] *the law,*.... but where [unclear: thr] some irregularity registration has [unclear: be] refused." He then, doubtless with [unclear: the] of assuring the Council that the [unclear: Govern] had no intention to entrust work so [unclear: in] tant as the validation of purchases made spite of statutory prohibition to such Court as the Native Land Court, proceed to disparage that Court and to express disapproval of the whole existing [unclear: Naq] Land System. He said "The condition our Native Land Legislation is simply [unclear: d] graceful, and year after year we [unclear: h] nothing but scenes in our Courts

of [unclear: g] fraud. Justice is done to neither Europe nor Maori, and there is no finality. [unclear: B] almost impossible for anyone, however [unclear: cle] he may be, to fully understand the [unclear: Na] Land Laws."

It was in ignorance of these pledges [unclear: th] construed this Act as intended to [unclear: em] jurisdiction over the cases which the [unclear: Gover] ment undertook should not be deal [unclear: with] nor was I aware that the Lower House [unclear: by] carefully eliminated from the Bill [unclear: er] word deemed capable of being [unclear: construed] an authority to the Judges of the [unclear: Nat] Land Court to recommend the validation such cases. I then believed their omission be purely accidental, and I felt it to be a my duty, for strong public reasons, give the Act" the widest construed possible, and so prevent the [unclear: coll] of this the first case in the [unclear: f] Validation Court under this Act I [unclear: e] that if the miscarriage of the [unclear: Edward] Validation Court under the Act of 1889 as followed by a similar miscarriage in this Court, such second miscarriage would greatly dishearten, if not exasperate, the public, who look only to results and [unclear: sell] make allowance for lack of means to [unclear: prod] results. I therefore acted boldly, and [unclear: held] this enquiry, throwing upon the [unclear: Legiala] the responsibility of settling finally [unclear: we] should be done with such cases as [unclear: theose] which I am now sending up to them for their consideration.

Had Mr Rees disclosed to me in his arge ment the pledges given by the Governments, it would have completely answered my [unclear: sug-] gestion that the omission to re-enact the fitting words of the statute of 1889 [unclear: must] have been accidental, for they would have shown to me that that omission was of set purpose. Probably Mr Rees abstained from such disclosure because it is a rule of the Courts not to allow their judgments as to the proper construction of statutes to be warped by anything said in debate in Parliament. But this was not matter of debate, sad it would have been perfectly legitimate for Mr Rees to have drawn my attention to what had taken place. Then I should have been that the purchases of Mr Tiffen were not purchases within the pledge given by the hon. the Native Minister, *i. e.*, purchases by a person who in purchasing "*had broken no [unclear: pe]*". Nor were they within the pledge of the Attorney-General, *i. e.*, "cases where there had been *no breach of the law*, but where through some irregularity registration has been refused." But at this stage I [unclear: cannot], in common justice to Mr Tiffen, stop [unclear: se] proceedings, or hesitate for one [unclear: ment] to send on the case to Parliament for its consideration. Both Mr Tiffen and the non-selling Natives have, through my [unclear: reneons] decision and as a consequence of the passing of this worthless and useless [unclear: ate] been plunged into these proceedings, and it is now too late for them to retrace their steps, abolish the partition, and rescind the settlement, of the rights of all persons interested, and stand again where they stood before any step had been taken. The thing, is impossible, and I think Mr Tiffen has a right to expect that the Legislature will give effect to The agreement made between the [unclear: unetting]. Natives and himself with the improval of this Court. It appears to me that even on the assumption that these litigants have now no better standing before Parliament than the promoters of any private Bill would have, they have at least the same, lights as such prompters, and under all the circumstances have an irresistibia claim to ask the "Legislature to carry out their agreement. The very fact that the great public good done by all this discussion has been obtained at Mr Tiffen's expanse gives him a strong claim. The Hon. Mr Carroll, when present at a deputation to the Premier in Gisborue on the 16th June, stated that my judgments in this case "have revealed the whole thing to daylight, and will be a great instruction to Parliament," and the Hon. the Native Minister has written concerning these judgments: "I have carefully read Judge Barton's letter and also the judgments he has given, and I must say that I feel very pleased at The [unclear: mon] sense, view he has Taken of the cases." These statements show that even though my view of the law was unwittingly erroneous, the course I took was Judicious. My object all along in These judgments, and in the Poututu judgments, has been to "re-veal the whole thing to daylight," and strip from Native land proceedings the veil of mystery in which unscrupulous persons have shrouded them for their own purposes. Many members of Parliament, unable to pierce that veil, look so suspiciously on all Native Bills, and are so convinced that the Native Land Court is a mere tool for improper uses, that they refuse their confidence to every measure introduced, lest some innocent-looking clause should conceal sinister provisions perpetuating instead of preventing the continuance of past evils. It is with regret I admit the justice of their fears and the truth of the words of the Attorney-General when he said that the condition of the Native land code is disgraceful—that there is no finality—that no one, however clever he may be, can understand it, and that our courts are scenes of cross fraud, where justice is done to neither European or Maori. My long judgments in this and the Poututu enquiry were labored by me solely for the purpose of affording practical illustration to Parliament of these very things. Had I not had that object in view a few lines would have sufficiently expressed the decisions of the Court.

When the Attorney-General was informing the Council that "the condition of our Native land legislation was simply disgraceful," he was not aware that the Bill he held in his hand and was pressing on the Council contained provisions quite as "disgraceful" as any in preceding legislation. One of these clauses authorizes the Validation Court to partition the block "forthwith" without any requirement to give notice to the absent

non-selling Natives, who, not not being interested in the transactions before the Court, cannot be expected to come there, at all events without a special summons to do so. But this is not all, incredible as it may seem, the Court is not only authorized to cut up and distribute the block "forthwith," without notice to the absent owners, but it is even empowered to abolish a subdivision already made by a former Court and substitute its own—thus depriving people of the holdings given to them by Court orders which by statute were made "final and conclusive"—holdings they may have built upon, or may even have sold to other persons who accepted these "final and conclusive" Court orders as being indefeasible titles. Such a provision is contrary to natural justice, and is thoroughly illustrative of the Attorney-General's words "There is no finality."

But bad as this section is, it pales before the 14th section, which openly treats the Native Land Court Judges as mere puppets. It provides that after a Validating Judge has forwarded his certificate to the Chief Judge to be laid before Parliament, together with the reasons on which it is based, and the evidence justifying the giving of the certificate to the successful suitor, the Chief Judge may refer back that certificate "for further enquiry, or for further consideration with such directions as to the taking of evidence or otherwise as he may consider necessary." That is to say, the Chief Judge may "direct" the certifying Judge to sign another and different certificate giving the land to a different person. The section is capable of no other reasonable construction than this. The Chief Judge is empowered to "direct" the certifying Judge to alter his certificate. Only two alterations are possible, one, to alter the land given, and the other, to alter the person to whom it is given.

Now if the statute had provided an appeal to some higher Court, authorizing that Court to re-hear the case, and substitute its responsibility and its certificate for those of the Judge appealed from, such a provision would have been legitimate; but under this Act there is no such appeal. Instead of such open appeal, this proceeding is provided by which the certifying Judge may be compelled in secret to eat his own words and sign a certificate not his own, to be presented to Parliament as his own and ostensibly on his responsibility. The hand would be the hand of Esau, though the voice would be Jacob's voice, and the part of Parliament would be that of the aged and blind Isaac. Can a Court of justice be more deeply degraded than to be required by statute to lend itself to such a fraud as this? Or can any of the legislation referred to by the Attorney-General better fit his descriptive epithet—"Disgraceful."

No one who has not made the endeavor can appreciate how difficult it is for a Native Land Court Judge without *status*, without even the protection which publicity of the Court proceedings gives to other Judges—to resist the influences brought to bear upon him. He is harassed applications to the Supreme Court; [unclear: per] petitions, *mandamuses*, even actions [unclear: t] showered upon him by those against; [unclear: w] interests he has given judgment, and [unclear: w] his work is thereby stopped or [unclear: delayed] is accused in Parliament and [unclear: elsewhere] happened to myself regarding [unclear: Poutu] being guilty of these very delays. Court orders in that litigation went struacted even in the other [unclear: Govern] departments, and in one instance [unclear: obed] to an order of ray Court had to be [unclear: enf] by a protracted and costly proceeding [unclear: in] Supreme Court.

A Judge subjected to such obstacles [unclear: i] to such influences, not to mention [unclear: others] alluded to here, must at last in sheer [unclear: de] let tilings slide rather than court [unclear: his] destruction by futile resistance to the [unclear: fin] and wrongs of powerful persons.

The Supreme Court judges who [unclear: deal] interests far inferior in value to those [unclear: de] with in the Native Land Court are special statute absolutely protected [unclear: agel] attack from any quarter. The judgea of Native Land Court have no protection [unclear: w] ever, and if any swindling transaction [unclear: is] bare and public indignation demands a [unclear: vi] the very rascal who is decamping [unclear: with] booty, raises the cry of "stop thief!" [unclear: agi] the Judge so that attention may be [unclear: diver] from himself. The warm appreciation my efforts to guide things into a [unclear: bet] channel testified in the encouraging [unclear: w] of the Hon Mr Carroll and the [unclear: Hon.] Native Minister are an assurance to me [unclear: t] I at all events have nothing to fear [unclear: from] calumniator, in my efforts to enforce [unclear: ho] dealing and independence of judgment Native Land Court transactions. It is great relief to feel that this is so, [unclear: espect] when it is remembered how [unclear: easily] Native race can be used for any purpose an attack on a Judge.

In future the operations of this [unclear: Court] be confined to such cases as come within words of the Act of 1892, and [unclear: suitors] therefore understand that no [unclear: purchases] regardless of statutory [unclear: prohibition] henceforth be recommended for [unclear: validat] under this Act.

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Front Cover

A National Currency or State Bank of Issue.

To the People

By Nomos.

"The economic structure of society—that is the method of production and *distribution* of the products of

labour—is, and always has been, the basis upon which everything else rests—the juridical—the political—the religious—the social life of the people—no matter in what age or in what country."—*K. Marx*.
Wellington Bock and Co., Printers, Brandon Street.

A National Currency.

THE history of great civilisations in all ages of the world shows that the most important institutions which, form the framework of social order are land and money—the first determining the relations of the citizens to the State, and the second determining their relations to one another.

Land, as a social and political question, has been the subject of such universal discussion and political action in our day that few would now deny the "rights of the people in the land."

But money—that is, the currency or mechanism of money—a subject in which the people have as great and equal rights—is to the majority a dead language, as far as any general conception of its economic principles, or that it is the right and *prerogative of the State alone* to control it, and wield its mighty power equitably in the interests of the people.

Great reforms—political and social—are generally evolved in times of national calamities, arising from abuses of power, privilege, or monopoly; and the recent financial disasters in Australia marks the time to reform our monetary system, and the time to assert and establish the prerogative of the State (the people) to control the currency of the country.

The recent suspension of twelve important banks in Australia has a national and world-wide significance, far beyond any ordinary great bank failure from commercial causes. That the deposits were too liquid, and the liabilities were too fixed—a departure from what is termed strict principles of banking—may have contributed, but it certainly was not the sole or even the *real cause* of this general and utter collapse of the modern banking system.

The hardship to thousands of innocent people, deplorable as it is, may, nevertheless, be the means of turning this great financial phenomenon into a national and permanent object-lesson to the people—if from it should result the determination of all classes to *understand for themselves* the true economic principles of money—that is, the whole system of currency—of which principles the modern banking system is utterly devoid.

The subject is one usually beyond the scope of popular agitators and politicians, and hence never has been a popular subject of discussion or thought; but when the principles which underlie it are thoroughly understood "money is perhaps the mightiest engine to which man can lend his guidance unfelt, unheard, almost unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life, that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits entitle him, or to dispense them with so partial a hand as to violate even principle of justice, and perpetuate a succession of slaveries to the [unclear: es] of time."

The cause of this banking collapse is not local, it is obvious, [unclear: b] *world-wide*, and the present seems to have marked the boundary or [unclear: lin] at which our heterogeneous system of metallic moneys and paper [unclear: no] convertible into them, issued without regulation by Governments [unclear: as] private bankers, must come to an end, and a "national currency" [unclear: bas] on a more scientific and equitable basis substituted.

Gold has now become only the measure of the [unclear: "measure] value"—With an expanding Empire and expanding commerce, [unclear: needi] an expanding money which could be made by *regulation*, to keep [unclear: eve] pace with increasing exchanges at the present day *over one-half the entire volume of currency in the world* consists of paper-notes [unclear: co] convertible into gold, and the production necessary to uphold the [unclear: sto] of the gold portion has been gradually and greatly decreasing [unclear: fo] twenty years, until the appreciated fluctuation of gold value is [unclear: now] per cent. as against commodities.

The following table—Mulhall—will show the great expansion commerce:—

Date. 1700 Coin. 297 Millions Commerce. Ratio. This was the "Halcyon period of Europe" after the plunder of America by the Spaniards. 94 Millions 316 1830 1880 313 Millions 1,128 Millions 368 Millions 2,650 Millions 85 45

The commerce of the world has increased five-fold from 1850 1887, and the gold production stationary for many years; and [unclear: th] world is now in a worse plight of disastrous low price-level than [unclear: i] 1848, and *prices are still falling* in the most persistent and [unclear: omino] manner.

The accumulated stock of coin from past ages is estimated a over £600,000,000. "Yet unless the proportion of paper to gold [unclear: an] silver in the moneys of the world is still further increased—a great authority says—we must be prepared to witness a permanent and indefinite 'fall in prices,' and to incur that era of commercial depression and industrial distress, and perhaps these political [unclear: commotions] which ever

accompany "falling prices."

The monetary problem is:—How much further is this [*unclear: increas*] of convertible paper-notes *possible*? And is it either justice [*unclear: o*] economic policy to continue further to rest our industrial and [*unclear: social*] structure on a system based on the fluctuating value of a metal-gold—whose supplies are dependent on the chance discovery and fertility of mines and adventitious causes, and which is also [*unclear: susceptibl*] to the control and monopoly of great capitalists and bankers, [*unclear: the*] interest and avarice?

It is imperative in the interests and welfare of the people to assert the "prerogative of the state" to control the currency and abolish all bank issues of notes and money, and to solve the monetary problem on those scientific principles on which Rome and other of the highest civilisations of antiquity built up their greatness—a purely symbolic system of "numeraries" regulated by the State—which would open to us a brilliant and prosperous career, unfettered by the drags and obstacles, the fears and uncertainties of a dwindling metallic system—that is, a national paper currency—the "state note," the "sole legal tender"—the "measure of value," not based on a fluctuating metal, but on "the whole numerary volume," on specific limitation and regulation to the "volume of exchanges;" an institution of law, controlled, registered, limited and regulated exclusively by the State, and demonetising gold and silver (except for change) to the position of mere merchandise—for foreign service—like wool, wheat, etc.

Under this system every exchange is rendered an equitable one. The "measure of value" being regulated—expanded and contracted—in ratio to commerce and population. Loans—national and private—would remain at the same ratio of value as that in which they were borrowed—not increased by 40 per cent., as now experienced, by the fluctuation of the "measure of value"—thus adding enormous burdens to industry, and enormous corresponding gains to the unproductive class.

The experience of most enlightened civilisations has proved this currency system during centuries of intellectual and industrial splendour. It has been advocated by the greatest of men in all ages to preserve freedom and to guard the people against the monopoly of wealth. Under this system there could be no more violent and unforeseeable fluctuations of prices; no industrial nor commercial crises; no paralysis of trade, no pauperising of labour, but an era of such unparalleled prosperity, wealth, and advancement of the material and social condition of the people would take place, as is now undreamt of, *so long as these principles were adhered to, and guarded by the power and integrity of the State.*

McCulloch says:—"So long as any individual, or set of individuals, may usurp the prerogative of the State, and issue paper-money without let or hindrance, so long will it be issued in excess in periods when prices are rising and confidence high, and be suddenly withdrawn when prices are falling and confidence shaken."

The *Financial Record*, New York, says:—"Banks will be abolished as *issuers of notes* when we have lived through this administration of bankers and brokers that at present Run the Government to suit their interests."

McLeod says:—"The *prices* of things are estimated by the *aggregate* of gold, silver, copper, and credit. Hence the creation and use of credit. Thus bank notes act upon *prices* in the same way as an equal quantity of gold."

Speaking of gold as a fluctuating measure of value, Mr. R. [*unclear: Hogari*] Patterson, the London banker, says:—"It seems probable that the magic of the gold spell will be broken, and civilised communities will find that man can make for himself, by *mere agreement and legislation* that indispensable thing money, the medium of exchange and measure [*unclear: o*] value, for a supply of which hitherto he has been often painfully dependent upon accidental discoveries in the treasure beds of the earth. [*unclear: D*] not blame statesmen and politicians, who as yet comprehend so little of these things, for the continuance of a system of recurrent trade suicides from which the industrial classes suffer most, yet which is hardly of permanent advantage even to that portion of the moneyed classes [*unclear: when*] can turn these periods of depression to their advantage."

Mr. Gilbart, inspector of the London and Westminster Bank admits "that it is a superstition to suppose that gold can be a [*unclear: standar*] of value." Mr. Dyld, the geographer, writing on gold distribution, [*unclear: says*] "Gold is a premium for robbery," as a measure of value.

These authorities affirm the principles of money, as above advocated—that the value of money is in its *volume* or aggregate quantity [*unclear: i*] currency, and the issue, control, and regulation of that volume should be by the State. That the State alone can maintain an *equitable measure of value*, and that currency thus circulates and maintains its purchasing power, not from its *substance* or material, but from its *quantity*; and that a *metallic* basis as gold exposes the "measured of value" to great, sudden, and unforeseeable alterations.

Del Mar, the most profound of modern authorities, and advocate of the "numerical system" of currency, has also proved to be an utter fallacy the doctrine taught by the economists "that the precious metals circulate in exchange for commodities, on the basis that the value of gold and silver is represented by the economic cost of their current production," and that in fact the precious metals were never produced under such conditions: it was true enough in some portion of the mediæval period, under exceptional circumstances and low level of prices, but it is not true permanently.

But if this doctrine be a fallacy, the *foundation of the present monetary system is gone*, and all the economic phenomena deduced from it—the proofs of this fallacy will appear further on.

The results of a Currency System on a Metallic Basis Controlled by the Banking Power.

The economic results of a monetary system on a metallic basis will now be instanced—the fluctuation of gold at present is appreciated 40 per cent. since 1872. In "falling prices," *miscalced values* (all values cannot fall (or rise) together for *value* is a relation of one thing to another) it is only the relation of *commodities to money*—which has altered—and the *price-level* of commodities *falls*. Then the following, takes place—the weight of taxation increases automatically, and the burden of all debts, national and private, are steadily aggravated, all property and stocks are depreciated; the burden of fixed charges is increased at the ratio that gold has risen, and the producer finds the margin of profit disappear and wages fall. In falling prices the rich become relatively richer, and the poor become relatively poorer.

The price of wheat stands lower in England this year than at any time for a century before—falling prices fall ultimately on wages, and wages have fallen in England from 7 to 25 per cent., agricultural the lowest.

From the West is heard the cry of distress from the American farmer, revolting against a monetary system whose economic effect upon him is to rob him of half his property, and the product of his labour and capital; in whose case a life of toil has been in vain to save him from ruin or serfdom through the increased crushing burden of his mortgage debts, the result of gradually "falling prices" during the last twenty years caused by the fluctuations of a "currency on a metallic basis," which has increased the purchasing power of gold 40 per cent. since 1872, and he must therefore now sell 40 per cent. more produce to meet his mortgage debts or interest, than was the current equivalent of produce to gold when the debt was contracted.

The aggregate mortgage debts of the United States farmers amounts to the enormous sum of £800,000,000. Now these debts in equity should be estimated, not at their present gold value (arising from an adventitious appreciation) but in the value of the staple products of America at the average prices current at the period or different periods of the contraction of the debts; whereas to now pay off the principal sum of their mortgage debts, they would be mulct of some £300,000,000, measured in products at the difference of current prices to-day and the current prices before the gold rising.

The "alliance" of 4,000,000 farmers and planters has been formed to obtain a remedy by legislation of the results of this vampire monetary system, and they have apparently joined forces with the "knights of labour," and the "silver ring," to influence the legislature in passing a Bill for the unlimited coinage of silver, in order to inflate the currency and raise prices, and thus decrease their debts to their original terms, but this remedy would be very uncertain and ephemeral. The only permanent and just remedy would be to raise from its grave the "National Currency," or "Legal Tender Bill" of the great commoner Thaddeus Stevens, the Chairman of Ways and Means in the Civil war, as passed by both Congress and Senate in 1862. But profiting by increased knowledge of principles and past experience, the legal tender note should now be made symbolic, not intrinsic, and gold and silver demonetised.

Under the original Bill twelve million legal tender notes for all debts, etc., national or private, were issued. The same committee brought forward a further Bill for thirty millions for carrying on the war, which also passed Congress, but when the Bill went to the Senate, meetings of capitalists and bankers were held in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and a committee of powerful gold interests was formed to oppose the Bill; they go to Washington—the Senate Committee then had the Bill under consideration—their influence succeeded, and the Bill was amended by exception clauses, "except interest on the public debt and duties on imports, payable in gold;" also further amended to create a bond bearing 6 per cent. for twenty years, so that the legal tender money could be funded into a bond, and thus taken out of circulation. Thus emasculated the Bill was sent back to the lower house, the patriot Stevens did not know his own Bill again, and exclaimed:—"This Bill creates two kinds of money, one for the bankers, and one for the common people," but it became law, the bankers ruled the day, the Bill was killed.

From henceforth when a merchant imported goods, he must go to the banker for the gold to pay the duties, for there was none in circulation, and the banker charged him whatever he thought fit; the merchant then pays the gold into the treasury. The banker having bought the bonds of the Government, the interest payable in gold; every six months the banker drew the gold out of the treasury for interest on his bonds back into his safe, he then sold it back again to the merchant at an increased premium, and whenever the prospects of the war looked down they raised the price of gold higher and higher, until in the darkest hour of the war they raised it to 285 per cent.! The usurers of Wall Street were worse enemies of their country than the brave enemies of the south who were fighting against her.

To pay the soldiers for service of war, every dollar of bounty and pensions from the beginning of the war in

1861, up to 1886, the Government had to pay 420 millions. To pay the bondholders for service of gold from 1865 to 1886, the Government had to pay 470 millions, that is 50 millions more than they paid flesh and blood for putting down the rebellion.

Further, after the country paying off 230 millions of these bonds to the banker-pensioners it would take more of the products of the country, more wheat, more cotton, more iron, more days' labour to pay off the remaining 240 millions still due, than would have paid the whole debt at the close of the war! (owing to the rise in gold).

By means of the "*exception clauses*" these vampires had basely calculated that, having "cornered" the gold, they could suck their country's life-blood; and after the war, looking back on this "stroke of business," they doubtless exclaimed, in the lofty sentiments of Horace, "*Dulce et decorum est, prô patriâ Mori*," translated with their parenthesis "'Tis sweet and decorous (for others) to die for one's country," while we have pocketed the money.

Had the "National Currency" or "Legal Tender Bill," as Stevens framed it, and as originally passed by both branches of the Legislature, remained law, how many millions of money—of blood-money—to the bondholders would the American taxpayer have been spared? And at the present time how many millions of unjust liabilities to the mortgagee would the American farmers have been spared? The "National Currency Bill," of Thaddeus Stevens, with an *addition* clause demonitising gold, and silver, can alone render them justice, and give prosperity to the country.

In the East is heard the same cry of distress from our Indian Empire, of national and industrial loss through the fluctuations in exchange, caused by the depreciation of the silver rupee, and the appreciation of the gold sovereign, whereby the consumers of English goods, the taxpayer, and revenues of India have been mulct of £25,400,000 a year during the last eighteen or twenty years—in the aggregate £600,000,000—through loss in the exchanges; and which vast sum is correspondingly gained by the import merchants, and the bankers and financial firms who purchase the council bills from the Secretary of State drawn upon the Indian Government, without their raising a finger to earn such enormous gains.

The extent to which New Zealand farmers and others have suffered from the *vampire of fluctuation* in the value of gold, our monetary basis, is but too plain. The burden of our national and private debts, amounting to say £80,000,000, which should in equity be estimated in the value of the staple products of New Zealand, at the average prices current at the period or different periods of the contraction of the debts, are now simply increased 40 per cent. over that because of an adventitious appreciation of gold, and we are required to export or sell 40 per cent. more produce to meet the interest on our national and other debts than the current equivalent of values when the loans were contracted—in other words, because of the gradually increasing purchasing power of gold over commodities since 1873, to repay the different loans contracted, say £80,000,000, we should to-day have to pay back in produce £112,000,000, measured by the current prices at the time the loans were contracted. And in the ratio that these enormous sums have impoverished and oppressed the taxpayer and producer, etc., the bondholders and mortgagees have been unjustly enriched. And yet when Sir George Grey proposed that in equity the bondholder should be taxed, that great statesman's proposal was howled down by the nominees of the bankers who then ruled the New Zealand Parliament, as repudiation and breach of faith. The extreme virtue of self interest was quite blind to the circumstance that the New Zealand producer and taxpayer had been robbed of probably £30,000,000 of money, which had correspondingly and unjustly enriched the bondholder and mortgagees, by the adventitious alteration of the "measure of value." The only relief to the tax-payers and farmers from burdens of our *foreign* loans imposed upon them by this financial phenomenon, is by Sir George Grey's proposal—by taxation of the bondholders and foreign mortgagees, in some equitable ratio to the unjust gains which they have obtained for fifteen or twenty years past, and which are still augmenting, this year, 1893, to over 50 per cent.

The relief from the same effects—on the *local* loans—would be obtained by a "numeraire national currency," which could be regulated to expand the "volume of currency,"—the "measure of value"—in harmony with increased population and trade, and thus "raise prices," which would relieve the increased weight of taxation and debts, which the appreciation of gold has unjustly caused the taxpayer and farmer to carry.

A good deal is heard, and which is emphasised in the speech from the Throne, of the calamity of falling prices of our exports, but it must not be forgotten that "falling prices" are affecting the products of other countries equally with our own products—that "falling prices" are *general*. The price-level of commodities has greatly fallen over the world—against gold; hence in exchanging New Zealand products or commodities for other countries' products or commodities, the falling price equally affecting both cannot affect either. New Zealand products have not fallen in value against other countries' products, but both against gold, therefore in exchanging our exports for imports we can make no loss.

But, herein comes the calamity. When we exchange our products for gold (money), which we must do to pay the interest on our foreign loans, the process makes a loss of 40 per cent. to the producer, and is done for a

period of years. That is because an adventitious fluctuation of gold has altered the "measure of value," the New Zealand farmers and taxpayers have been and are mulct in some £1,600,000 a year, and the bondholders and foreign mortgagees are in the same ratio enriched. The hard earned wealth of industry is wrung from those who produced it, and diverted to an unproductive few, who neither produced nor earned it, and who have thus received and are receiving 40 per cent. *more than their bond.*

But New Zealand has been a producer of gold to the value of £45,000,000, this metal which as the measure of value and medium of exchange has so increased in purchasing power, therefore New Zealand should have greatly benefited by such a product. We have not. But the banks have, for they were the sole purchasers of gold, and they paid in exchange for it their private paper notes, whereby for every £1,000 of gold they thus purchased, they were legally enabled to issue £2,000 more private paper notes, and purchase more *ad infinitum*. They practically got the gold for nothing to enrich foreign capitalists. Had there existed at that period a "national currency," and the "State note," *the sole and exclusive legal tender*, and gold a mere commodity, this £45,000,000 of gold would have been shipped home like our wheat or wool among our exports to exchange for our imports, greatly to national advantage; or if the Government had purchased the gold and remitted it home as bullion to pay interest on our national debt, to a country which used gold as a currency, the benefit accruing from the increased value of gold would have gone to the taxpayer.

What really happened was, our national and other loans (ostensibly borrowed in gold) were not received in gold, but in the shape of railway material, &c, and other imports of commodities during "falling prices," and instead of repaying these loans (or the interest thereon) by exporting our £45,000,000 of gold which was greatly "rising in price," as against commodities, the gold has been given away to the banks (as far as the benefit of the rise in exchange value) and they practically also purchased it for nothing, and we have been, and are now paying the interest on these loans, by exporting produce at "falling prices," to be exchanged for gold at 40 per cent. loss, in order to repay *in gold* our gold loans which were received *not in gold*, but in *commodities* at "falling prices."

Is this problem beyond New Zealand's statesmen? And is the superstition of the golden calf, set up by those who have obtained enormous power and riches by its control as a currency basis, to be still believed by the people, who have been impoverished and enslaved by its action.

Similar principles of Currency caused the fall of Ancient Empires.

The false economic principles of the modern monetary system cannot be more clearly estimated than by examining the disastrous effects which the adoption of currency systems similar in principle exercised on the decline and fall of the great and enlightened civilisations of antiquity, and notably on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

During the greatness of the Roman Republic, her monetary system (the refined conception of the Greeks) was "symbolic," and consisted of "numerals" stamped upon bronze or copper called "nummus," whose emission was controlled, limited, registered and regulated (as a State monopoly) by the Senate, who jealously guarded and maintained this privilege. The stamp S.C.—*Ex Senatus Consulto*—(by decree of the Senate) and number on the face, they circulated with the clear perception that their value was not from the *material* of which they were composed, but their numeral *volume and* from *law*. This system lasted two centuries, during which all that was admirable of Roman civilisation saw its origin, its growth and its maturity,—when the system fell Rome had lost her liberties, the State was to grow (outwardly) more powerful and dreaded, but that State and its people were no longer one; from henceforth the Roman monetary system was to be dependent on conquest, plunder and slave mining for her *stability of prices*. This scientific system was first encroached upon, and then corrupted and destroyed by the coinage of gold by the Patricians—the rich capitalists—until, in the Augustan age, the system had attained a mixed currency similar to the modern system of to-day, consisting of over-valued copper coins, and other gold and silver coins at their bullion value.

The modern and the Augustan system had one feature in common—the *volume of money* had no *specific limit*—to the over-valued portion—the copper tokens (answering to our promissory note, except that they promised nothing) there was a certain and foreseeable limit. To the intrinsic portion, and therefore to the *whole volume of the measure of value*, there was none, the limit was whatever the vicissitudes of conquest, the mines and demand for the arts, etc., chanced to make it. In this *most important of all features* of a monetary system—that of Republican Rome was the scientific and refined embodiment—its entire limit or *volume* was *regulated* by the Senate from time to time, and being known to the citizens, afforded them an equitable measure by which they might compute value, and compare services and wealth—that so long as the Roman "numerical system" was preserved intact—the State continued to increase in population and productive resources; that before the "numerical system" was abandoned it had been encroached upon by the coining of gold and silver by

the patricians, who had from their monopoly of large landed estates and wealth attained the power to corrupt the "institutions of the state," and that from the time of this introduction into the currency of silver, and afterwards of gold, and greatly in consequence thereof, the State began to decay, because *prices* came to be based upon the *bullion value* of the precious metals, instead of *legal value* of the bronze *numerary*, and with this change (there being no more plunder by conquest or slave mining to maintain the expansion of the currency in ratio to commerce, *prices* immediately *began to fall* and continued to do so for ten centuries. The tremendous social consequences of this continued "fall of prices" has been depicted by Hume and Allison—it was the gloom of the dark ages.

Sir A. Alison ascribes the fall of Rome to the exhaustion of the Spanish mines, and the resultant *contraction* of the currency and the "fall of prices." Whether or not it is certain that Antoninus Augustus said: "Money had more to do with the distemper of the Roman Empire than the Huns and Vandals."

It may be open to reflection that had the Emperor Octavius Augustus returned to the refined "numerary system" of the Republic as—able and subtle statesman as he was—he wished to do, Rome might still have been mistress of the world to-day. But he quailed before the patricians—the great capitalists of his age, who enriched themselves by coining gold—and he dared not entrust to the Senate so tremendous a power as the control of the currency; the power which the Senate alone had once wielded under the commonwealth for the public welfare. Octavius was therefore obliged to take the same middle course which most modern Governments have found themselves obliged to do, and from the same influences; and adopt the same sort of *mixed system*, consisting like our present currency, partly of over-valued pieces (copper), and partly of coins, at their bullion value. In modern days, the over-valued pieces are made of paper, and *usually promise something*. In the Augustan era, the over-valued pieces were made of bronze, and promised nothing.

The modern banking system then is a parallel of the corrupted and unscientific system, adopted during the degenerate era, preceding the fall of the Roman Empire—a system which had supplanted and usurped the place of the bronze numerary of the Republic, the refined conception which once had been the bulwark of Roman liberty, progress and prosperity and equal distribution of wealth, and had now become the football of politicians and the tool of capitalists for the monopoly of wealth, which is again repeated in modern times, and exemplified by the existence of such gigantic millionaires as Rothschild, Astor, Jay Gould, etc.

The fall of the Roman Empire was a repetition, in causes and effects of the fall of other high civilizations of past ages—India, Egypt, Carthage, and China all respectively used and enjoyed the beneficial results of "numerary" systems of money controlled by the State; instanced by the "marked numeraries" of China; the "nummulites" of Egypt; the "iron numeraries" of Sparta, etc.; and the decline of these great States was contemporaneous with the currency becoming the monopoly of the great capitalist, as it was in the decline of Rome.

The curse of Pliny—"Latifundia perdidere Italiatn"—against large estates is often quoted. He also—lamenting the downfall of the "numerary" money of the Roman Republic—transmits to posterity his curse on those who caused it. "The next crime committed against the welfare of mankind, was on the part of him who was the first to coin a Denarius of gold—a crime the author of which is unknown. Gold will be the bane for the human race. Would that gold could have been banished for ever from the earth, accursed by universal report, reviled by the reproaches of the best of men, and looked upon as discovered for the ruin of mankind."

Pliny affects a preference even for barter, which appears to be a veiled satire upon the use of gold for money, in the place of "nummi" (the numerary money of Rome)—gold being really a barter of one commodity for another, while the "nummi" were the scientific determination of *relative value* by means of "numbers."

The Principles of a National Numerary Currency.

It is necessary now to examine the economic principles of a "national currency," under the "numeral and symbolic system."

The basis on which these principles rest are—(1) That the value of the *integers* of money depends on their *numbers*, that is, that the *unit* of money is *all* money, therefore, that its *value* depends upon its *volume*, and not on the *material* of which it may be made; (2) On specific limitation and regulation of the issue by the State; (3) On the monopoly by the State of the fabrication and issue of money—to guard against counterfeiting—that *at present* paper is the most convenient material for money; (4) On the State Note being the sole and exclusive legal tender, and stamped on its face:—

By Decree of the Parliament of New Zealand. No.

£1—£5—£10—£20 (or convenient amounts). 5/-, 10/—.

Sole Legal Tender in New Zealand.

(5) And that ingots, foreign coins, gold and silver and copper (except as tokens for change), should be

simply merchandise, and used for the arts and foreign service.

In examining these principles the arguments of the highest authorities in all times, and historical facts, will be put forward, and the issues on these will be found to depend on two main points, viz: (1) Should the control of the currency belong to the State (the people) as its exclusive prerogative, or should the control be relegated to capitalists and bankers to regulate as at present in their own interests? (2) Should the basis of the currency be "Metallic and Intrinsic"—the value of which as erroneously laid down depends on an *unknowable* cost of production, which is and always has been a constantly fluctuating measure of value, and necessarily susceptible to the monopoly and control of holders of bullion, capitalists, and bankers—Or should the basis of the currency be "Numerical and Symbolic," the value of which depends on *numbers*, on *legal limitation* and *regulation*, as an *institution of law* and *controlled by the State*, and which must necessarily be an *unfluctuating* measure of value, past, present, and future?

On this Del Mar says: "The legal conception of money which had died away with the Western Empire (Roman) had been partly recovered through the influence of the Italian Renaissance and of the Civil Law." Thus Covarruvias and others of the Budelian essayists—men of the greatest learning and highest repute—very pointedly affirm that it is the *prerogative of the State* to create it, and that the denominational value of its component pieces is whatever the State (which also created the denominations) may choose to make them. These opinions were to be found wherever the light of the Civil Law had penetrated, but nowhere else—the people knew nothing of them. It is true that Charlemagne (and Philip le Bel) had insisted upon the *exclusive right of the Crown* to regulate money, and that it was a right whose exercise *was essential to the safety of the Stat*, but apart from that his system was based on conquest and plunder, and the slavery of the conquered races in their own mines, and although the coinage of his vast plunder raised prices and caused great ephemeral prosperity, he and his system died together.

Doubtless, but for the conquest and plunder of America, the feudal and vulgar conception of money would have died away, and the conviction forced upon the popular mind—which was already entertained by the learned—"that money was not merely a thing to be immediately bargained for other things," but an *institution of law* designed to equitably measure commodities and services both past, present, and prospective.

But the conquest and plunder of the New World changed all this, precisely as the conquest of Spain twenty centuries before had buried out of view the *refined monetary institutions of the Roman Common-wealth*, and not only arrested the re-growth of the classical conception of money, but it developed the feudal conception into a form even more monstrous than that into which feudalism had moulded it. The feudal conception of money was that of an "actual thing" (a coin or coins) designed to measure an imaginary thing called "value." The legal conception of money was that of an *institution of law* designed to equitably measure the exchangeable relations of commodities and services—past, present, and prospective. The conception of money which has grown up since the English Mint Act of 1666, and French Mint Act, 1679—free coinage—is that of two *different things* designed to measure *one relation*, called *value*. The two things embraced in the confused conception of money which those acts are responsible for are—I.—A commodity whose value conforms to an *unknowable* cost of production, and—II.—A series of coins, notes, etc., the value of each of which is in *inverse ratio* to their aggregate number—and which can therefore *have no relation* to their cost of production.

It is upon these same Acts that rests the whole school of political economy which falsely argues that money is, and must be a commodity, and ignorantly assumes that this commodity has been, and is being, and must be valued at the *average cost of its current production*; assumptions that are repudiated by history and belied both by the operations of miners, and the every day transactions of commerce.

The Acts of 1666 and 1679, while they reserved to the state the unimportant and expensive privilege of fabricating coins, robbed it of that *most essential of all prerogatives* the *right to emit the coins* and *stop their emission*. As the law stands, anybody may hand metal into the mints, and demand coins for it, anybody may emit these coins and *so swell the volume of money* and *measure of value*, anybody may melt these coins and *so curtail the measure of value*, and anybody may again and again take this same metal to the mints, and alternately monetise and demonetise it until the end of time without loss or expense or fear of punishment. "Over the measures of length, of weight, of liquid volume, etc., Governments exercise the most jealous supervision; in each case they prescribe an accurate and specific standard which *they guard from alteration*. But over the *measure of value*, which is far more important than all the others combined, they renounced all supervision whatever from the moment when they adopted the English Mint Law of 1666, and French, 1679. When they adopted what is known as 'free coinage,' under this practice, the *unit of value*—which is not one coin, but *all coins and notes circulating* within a given State—is subject to the hazards of mining, the legislation of foreign States, and the operations of intriguants and capitalists and bankers who may alter it whenever it suits their purposes. Free coinage does not deserve the name of a policy, it is too idiotic."—*Del Mar*.

The science of "numerary money system" is thus alluded to by Aristotle:—"Nomisma (money) by itself is a

mere device which has value only by *nomos* (*law*) and not by *nature*, and so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of value and its power to satisfy our wants. By virtue of voluntary convention *nomisma* (*money*) has become the medium of exchange; we call it *nomisma* because its efficacy is due not to nature, but to *nomos* (*law*) and because it is always in our power to control it."

Socrates, Zeno, Solon, Plato and other great teachers of philosophy and politics also wrote on this subject, and Plato recommended this monetary system for his "ideal Republic."

On the question of *control* of the currency by the State, there is no diversity of opinion by modern economists, Adam Smith, Mill, Ricardo, McCulloch, etc., etc., all advocate state control, but whether that control shall conduce to the public good, or be a mere palliative of the baneful effects of the present monetary system depends more on whether the basis of the currency be on the "metallic or intrinsic" system, or based on the "numeraary or symbolic" system, about which there is great diversity of opinion and much ignorance.

Del Mar is the only writer who has cleared up the reason why this error on money took such deep root among the economists generally—he says: "The orthodox principles of political economy, at least so far as money is concerned, and upon these stand nearly all the rest, are discordant and confused. The most eminent and practical men of to-day differ concerning its elementary principles (*money*) as much as the same class of men did a hundred years ago—for example: 'The French Coinage Committee of 1790, headed by Desrotours having defined money as portions of the precious metals to which the state gave weight, stamp and denomination,' the great Mirabeau observed that 'the writer of this definition lacks learning—in former times there were moneys of copper, pasteboard, and paper from the bark of trees, while to-day in some countries shells are used for money. The true definition of money is in the *Roman law*, and especially in *Aristotle*, one of the profoundest teachers of the human race—after these authorities it is not worth while to invent a new definition in order to introduce another error into the world.'"

A century later, in 1881, at the International Monetary Conference, M. Permez, a Belgian delegate and formerly Minister of Interior, said, "That money is merchandise, weighed and verified by the State. Its value varies with the supply and demand for gold and silver." . . . On the contrary, replied Signor Seismit Doda and Count Rusconi, the Italian delegates, and both ex-Ministers of State, "Money implies *numbers*, and the value of its *integers* varies with the *numbers of them*."

These radical differences of opinion still exist, and are repeated by the most illustrious men of affairs—jurists and statesmen. Del Mar alone has solved the reason for these differences, by proving the fact that the value of gold and silver are not governed by their *cost of production like other commodities*; that the vast accumulation of past ages was obtained by conquest and slavery, and the value reckoned on the slavery and blood of perished races. Alexander's conquests, the Punic wars, Cæsar's conquests in Gaul, the expeditions of Columbus, Cortes, Alvarado, and Pizarro in America, those of the Portuguese in Japan and Brazil, were truly, if not avowedly, for plunder of gold and silver, and in which 100,000,000 of these conquered races perished, or were enslaved for the cruelties and lingering death in the mines.

The production of gold and silver upon a *commercial basis* only began with the era of free mining in 1849 in California, and after-wards in 1851 in Australia; and from statistics it is shown that, under such *economical conditions*, gold and silver have cost *five* times their value in cost of production in labour alone. It must be perceived that if the value of coins does not, in point of fact, conform to the cost of producing the material of which they were made—which cannot be the case if the latter were produced at a loss—then their value must be due to some other cause; and numerous arguments and reference to history show that money did not and could not consist of any less number of coins or notes than the *whole number*; their nature being such that they could not be used, nor could their value be fixed without reference to one another—in other words, that the *unit of money* was *all money*, and, therefore, that its *value* depended upon its *volume*.

That the *function* of money was to definitely measure *value*, and not merely present and local value, but also past and prospective value, and value generally; and therefore *money* was related to *equity*, or to the maintenance of equitable relations between capitalists and labourers; that like other measures, the most necessary and essential characteristics of money was "specific limitation"—in other words, that to measure with precision and with justice "the whole sum of money must be fixed at *some, more or less, constant ratio to the volume of exchanges*;" and that equity demanded that *this sum*, and the *regulations that governed it*, should be determined, as the Roman people determined it—*ex senatus consulto*—by decree of the Senate; that is, with us, by the State—Parliament—and not by capitalists and bankers.

"From the evidences of fact which history presents, and the conclusions of reason, it appears at length that the value of *coins* as long as they *remain coins* is in *inverse ratio* to the *whole sum of money in use* when reduced to like denominations"—while the value of *metals*, of which the coins may be made, depends upon the stock-in-hand, supply and demand for the arts, mining discoveries, conquests, slavery, the power of commerce, the use of paper notes, the extension of credit system, fashion, etc. As there are practically no means of preventing the owners of coins from reducing them to metal, and as under existing laws (Coinage Act, 1666)

this metal may be re-coined at pleasure—it followed that the value of the coins was regulated by *two different sets of considerations, wholly opposed to one another*—one relating to *number*, and the other relating to *material*—hence the radical differences of opinion on the subject between Desrotours and Mirabeau, between Bishop Berkely and Adam Smith, between Del Mar and Mr. Robert Giffen, etc., etc.

With the development of society the form of money changes from the rudimentary to the highly organised and scientific condition, from slaves and cattle to corn, from corn to metals, from metals (which are not susceptible to *limitation*) to coins which are susceptible to limitation, and from a limited number of coins to a limited number of *symbols of any material*. Numerical money symbols and also the idea that money of all kinds was symbolic, was familiar to all nations of antiquity who attained a high state of civilisation, to India, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, and Rome, and to the Chinese at the period of Sung (2257, B.C.)

"That China should have employed a 'numerical system' is no matter of wonder—the same reasons that impelled other countries to do so impelled her likewise, the only wonder is that she should have employed one so long ago as the period of Sung (B.C., 2257), and that at this period—almost the very outset of monetary history—we are brought face to face with a system whose advocacy and establishment form at the present day the objects of influential political parties in the United States and elsewhere."—Del Mar.

During the progressive eras of the high civilisations of antiquity it was clearly observed and understood that the exchange of commodities and services by means of "intrinsic coins was merely *indirect barter*, and that no greater advantage was gained by it over direct barter than the convenience of sub-dividing the things exchanged—whilst the higher function of money—that of rendering each exchange an equitable one—was not fulfilled at all by such coins; their total *volume* was not amenable to control, it was subject to adventitious increase or diminution from success in war, mining discoveries, from the operations of commerce, the requirements of the arts, and the caprices of fashion, and the use of such coins to *measuring value* had resulted in fluctuations so enormous as for endanger the safety of the State."

The efforts made in the Western world to overcome these defects were made in Laconia and Sparta. From the "iron numeraries" of that country doubtless sprang those of the various Greek states and colonies, as well as those of Carthage and Rome, and from the common use of "numerary systems" resulted that general *conception* of money through-out the ancient world which is embodied in its classical names of Nomisma and Numerata (numerary), that the conception of money was inseparably connected with the forms and limitations affixed to it by *law*, that money was regarded as an *institution of the State*, of law and custom, and one that upon the withdrawal of this support would become valueless.

"These great States were never so prosperous, progressive and free as during the periods when this system was in vogue, wealth was more fairly divided, and the opportunities of life more evenly distributed, the orders of society were bound together with a common interest. With the subsequent decline and fall of these great States the system of money which had served to equitably measure the capital, labour, production and social rights of their intellectual and industrial classes underwent a change, the *scientific aphorisms* of money were forgotten, the Empire split into fragments, each having its obscure money system daily becoming more and more *intrinsic*, until in the gloom of the dark ages corn, cattle, and even slaves filled that place in the law which once had been occupied by the refined 'nummus' of the Roman Republic. From this time forward money ceased to be looked at from a comprehensive point of view, there was no such thing as a system of money, there was no attempt to ascertain, much less to regulate, the *volume* of money, there was no law of money, the 'unit of money' was no longer 'all money,' and therefore from the Augustan era the Roman institution of money had lost the power which it had once possessed to assist the development of the State and preserve the freedom of the people

"The law had resigned the paternity of money, 'number' had ceased to form its essence—and on these principles depend the whole '*obscure problem of price*,' for on the *whole volume of money* alone is *price susceptible of expression*."

The Theory of "Cost of Production," not applicable to the Precious Metals.

It is necessary now to examine the reasons of the radical divergence of opinion before referred to on the "cost of production theory," applied to the precious metals, and forming the basis of the "intrinsic monetary system."

Del Mar says:—"The doctrine erroneously held to-day throughout the world with regard to the value of the precious metals, is that it represents their cost of production, and upon this doctrine rest both *law and administration*.

The analogy is, the value of commodities generally, such as manufactured goods, is known by experiment to be limited and conditioned by the cost of production; being true as to these commodities, the principle has

been deemed to be true as to all commodities, including the precious metals. It can nevertheless be shown that in respect not only of the precious metals, but also of *improved land* it is not true.

The production of the precious metals cannot be regulated *at will* like that of other commodities, the production of the precious metals is the result of *chance*. Conquest or the discovery of rich mines may increase an already full market, or their failure intensify a preexisting dearth. This is not the case with other commodities except *land*. When any other commodity becomes scarce or plentiful, then its price rises above or falls below the customary level, diminished or increased production which can be regulated at the pleasure of man, soon restores the old price to its former level, or confirms the superior equity of the new one. In these cases the cost of production determines the price. All other commodities are *commercial ones*. Land and the precious metals are to a certain extent 'political commodities.' Land altogether is a political commodity; the precious metals are partly political and partly adventitious; they are political as far as they are acquired by conquest, they are adventitious as far as they are acquired by mining.

The price of *improved land* or of the precious metals does not regulate their acquisition, and neither excessive nor insufficient acquisition regulate their price, for if the production cannot be *controlled by will*, it is due to causes beyond man's bidding or foresight, and the metals produced under such conditions may either cost nothing (like conquest and slavery of conquered nations), or it may cost far more than it is worth (from free mining), when thrown upon a market already filled with the accumulation of ages."

As the question whether or not the value of the precious metals is derived from the cost of their production is all-important in *the enactment and disposition of public measures relating to money*, the facts of the arguments must be clear—(1) That a portion of the vast accumulation of the precious metals which the world possesses, whatever its origin, was obtained by the present possessors through conquest and the slavery of the conquered races, and, therefore, presumably cost little or nothing: (2) That a second portion was obtained through domestic slavery and serfdom, the cost of which is impossible to ascertain: (3) The third portion was obtained by free mining, and at a cost very far in excess of the market value of the metals. If, after these conclusions, fortified by history as they are, it be insisted that nevertheless there must be some economic law which determines the value of the precious metals, the answer is that that law is the "*volume of the currency*."

"Notwithstanding the fact that these metals when obtained through conquest and slavery cost little or nothing, they possessed, when conquest and slavery were the sole means of their production, a higher value than they do now. During the Dark Ages for example, prices were much lower, and the value of gold and silver much higher than it is now—their cost was nothing, while their value was high. Since the era of free mining these metals have cost now to produce than they fetched in the market, It follows here again that their value could not have been derived from their cost of production. It is evident that not cost of production but something else regulates their value. That something is 'quantity'—the accumulated stock—and since gold and silver coins may be *over-valued* in the *law* and made to pass for a *higher value* than bullion, and since *other things* besides gold and silver circulate as *money*, and serve precisely the same purposes and are readily given or taken for them, it is the accumulated stock, or in other words *the volume of all money or currency* that regulates the *value of any portion of the mass*."

What the precious metals cost to produce is therefore a matter of little or no consequence, except as a means of refuting the *fallacious doctrines* which have been founded upon this question—and these fallacies have never been admitted by practical men.

Mr. Joseph Harris, who in his connection with the British Mint was well acquainted with these conditions, published an essay in 1757 on money and coins, which for information and soundness of doctrine is unequalled, says—"The value of bullion doth not like other things conform to its cost of production at the mines." Any given sum or quantity of money will have its value in a certain proportion as it is a part of the *whole stock* or *quantity in currency*, and any increase or diminution of the whole will, in proportion, lessen or increase the value of any given sum—without respect to *cost of production*.

Mr. Wm. Jacob writes in his history of the precious metals to the same effect. Mr. Lewis Garnett, Manager of the San Francisco Assaying and Refining Works—writes in 1869—in his work, *Rapid decline of the precious metals in the U.S.A.*—"Nearly all writers persist in repeating the old dogma of the economists that the value of the precious metals depends upon the cost of production—whereas *such has never been the case*."

The conquerors and plunderers of past ages did not imperil their lives and souls to establish competitive industries, therefore to base a *monetary theory* as the economists have upon the hypothesis that the gold which these adventurers obtained was worth no more than the value of their labour as mechanics, is to build up a monstrous absurdity. In the search for gold and lust for plunder whole races have been put to the sword, continents subjugated, religions and civilisations destroyed.

It is the peculiarity of monetised metals, that when they are produced upon or near *an economical basis*, only sufficient of them will be sought for to make good their loss by attrition or demand for the arts—this fact has been admitted by Adam Smith and others, but the reason for it is more significant than the fact—this reason is

that the metal produced beyond those requirements is added to the *stock of money* and *this falls in value* as it *increases in volume*—ence all new metal is produced at a continually increasing loss.

When the value of gold and silver conforms to the economical cost of their current production and "free coinage" prevails—the coins which happen to be in a country cannot be increased at pleasure by *industrial means*, (Adam Smith admits this) because any addition to the coins would *lower the value of the whole stock* and also that of the material of which they were made—that is—*prices of commodities, labour, etc., would rise*—this would arrest mining, and the arrest of mining would diminish the product of bullion, and thus lower the stock of coins to its previous limit.

"And here it may be remarked that the production of any valuable raw material out of which money is permitted to be made *ad libitum*, must of necessity become at some time unprofitable because every atom of it obtained is sooner or later added to a stock which is itself the *measure of the value of the remainder*. The greater the stock of this material—say gold or silver—the less will each pound of it, newly extracted from the earth, purchase of *other commodities*, that is as the stock or volume of money is increased, so its value or any part of it *falls*, and prices of commodities *rise*. A time must therefore come when the mere cost of subsistence—for even slaves must be provided with food—and of supplies for the mines, will overcome the value of the product, and the system, and with it *money and government and civilisation must come to an end*. To the comprehensive mind *metallic money* seems like one of those machines designed by illiterate mechanics for perpetual motion—it carries with it its own negation; and though it may go for a long time without showing any signs of failure, in point of fact it has begun to fail from the very instant when it was first set in motion."

Effects on Civilisation of Great Influx of Gold and Silver from the Plunder of America.

The entire stock of the precious metals, coins and plate, at the period of the discovery of America estimated by Jacob in 1820, was £34,000,000. Up to the year 1546 there had been obtained from America £25,000,000, and from Malacca, etc., say £10,000,000, as a large portion of the first spoils were absorbed by the nobles and ecclesiastics, the entire stock was not exceeding £50,000,000 in 1546. From 1546 to 1645 a period of one hundred years, there were obtained from America gold and silver to the value of £200,000,000, from Japan £80,000,000, total £370,000,000 sterling. Assuming that £50,000,000 were retained in America or lost, and £70,000,000 were converted into plate, or employed in the arts, there would remain £250,000,000 for conversion into coins, this would have enhanced the previous stock five times!! And this is more or less what happened.

From the discovery of her placers in 1680, Brazil has produced to 1803 upwards of £184,000,000 of gold (Humboldt). From the discovery of her places in 1848 to 1878, California has produced £220,000,000 of gold. From the discovery of her placers in 1851 to 1878, Australia has produced £240,000,000 of gold (U.S. Monetary Commission R., Sir Hector Hay).

The total sum of the supplies of gold and silver to Europe up to 1878 inclusive, since the discovery of America, were about £2,627,000,000, to this must be added £33,400,000 for the amount of specie estimated to have been in use as coins in Europe at the period of the discovery of America; the total of these sums is £2,661,200,000. The amount of *coin* estimated to have been in the Western world in 1876 was £700,000,000, and at the present time it is a little over £600,000,000. It follows that of the total supplies nearly £2,000,000,000, or over 70 per cent. has been consumed in the arts, or exported to Asia (Jacob).

From the opening of the American placers, and consequence of the diffusion of money was that great "rise of prices," which occurred in Northern Europe between 1570 and 1640—Society was profoundly stirred into action, in the course of a century and a-half prices rose in Maritime Europe from five to ten times (Adam Smith). The plunder of the coast of Africa, the Eastern Archipelago, and Japan contributed to this. A great wave of industrial activity swept from the south to the north of Europe. Spain, Holland, England, and France all enjoyed a halcyon age, when men lived by centuries instead of years; they saw more movement, more progress, more growth in one generation than had been seen before in one hundred, when genius soared to the dome of thought, and miracles were performed in *every* department of invention. This period coincided in Spain with the ages of Charles and Philip, in Holland with the Republic, in England with Elizabeth, and in France with Louis XIV."

If all prices *rose simultaneously and evenly*, neither a rise nor a fall of prices could have any interest for the great mass of mankind, but such is not the order of nature. The precession of prices during the above period took the following form—1st. Corn; 2nd. Fabrics; 3rd. Labour; 4th. Lands and rents. As stocks of agricultural products and merchandise bore a much smaller proportion to the wealth of nations then than they do at present, the principal force of this "rise of prices" manifested itself in the *enhanced value of labour*, and the improved condition of the commercial and industrial classes. The *purchasing power of labour over rents and land*

increased so rapidly that a very considerable portion of the lands of Northern Europe passed during this period into the hands of classes who were impelled to render them productive, but who never since the conquest of Europe by the Romans had before enjoyed *an opportunity* to do so, Everywhere was seen the signs of a new awakening, in the industrial arts, in learning, in science, and the improved condition of the people.

Effects of Contraction of Currency and Falling Prices.

All at once a reaction commenced. Before the close of the seventeenth century *prices began to fall* and trade to languish. The cause was not difficult to discern; the placers of America had been exhausted, the islands and shores of the Orient had been plundered of their stores of silver and gold, and the *level of prices*, and the extension of commerce demanded an annual addition to the stock of the precious metals, which reef-mining, though stimulated by negro slavery and the lash, was unable to supply. To stay the *fall in prices* and the dangerous consequences, the various states of Europe resorted to various measures, Holland, England and France adopted unlimited and gratuitous coinage, Russia and Sweden resorted to copper monies, and the British American Colonies to land bank notes, but the current supplies of the precious metals continued to bear an inadequate proportion to the stock of money. The latter fell relatively to exchanges, and with it "prices" and trade. This gave rise to the emissions of notes of the banks of Stockholm, England, and France, measures which at that period proved so unsuccessful that they were followed by a renewed "*fall of prices*" by collapses, turbulence, and political revolutions, the plunder of Continental Europe by Napoleon, a redistribution of the precious metals, and the close of the reef-mines of Spanish America. When the sword terminated this period of turmoil, disasters, and excesses, it left the States of the Western Hemisphere weak in resources, loaded with debt and unjust burdens, and a shackled trade. The only remedy offered them was the adoption of *convertible bank notes* upon an improved basis, and the greed with which they resorted to the panacea proved the violence of the disease.

From the peace of Paris, 1814, to the bankruptcies of 1835-45, the *convertible bank note system* grew to such vast dimensions that when the inevitable crisis came it went to pieces with a crash, that even at this distant date is not wholly unfelt. "Prices" then resumed their downward tendency, commerce rapidly shrank, invention paused, and one misfortune followed another.

Effects of Rising Prices.

This long halt in the march of civilisation—a halt that had lasted with few intermissions ever since the era of Louis XIV.—was at length terminated by the adventitious discovery of extensive gold placers in California and Australia in 1848 and 1851—here began the third renaissance of Europe—again was the march of progress resumed—again did commerce stretch her wings over the seas—again did invention labour at the bench—this time to perfect and diffuse the great discovery of steam and electrical power—and again were the busy mind and energies of man stimulated into unwonted action by a "*rise of prices*, that for a time held out rewards for every branch of productive exertion." Into the details of this renaissance it is unnecessary to go, they are familiar to all, the evidences still surround us, for the golden period has not faded, at least from our memories, But is it not evident that we have long passed the zenith? and that henceforth, unless financial art can *safely stretch* the convertible note and credit systems still further, or find some better means of harmonising *stationary measures of value with growing volumes of exchanges*, we must look for another collapse—already have Austro-Hungary, Russia, Brazil and all the South American States suspended the use of *coins*—and many other nations must very soon be compelled to resort to do the same, from their *immense paper issues* and comparatively slender "coin reserves"—a result which will be looked upon as a calamity by a narrow and *interested class*, but which in fact opens to these countries a far more prosperous career than they could hope to fulfil whilst *bound in the trammels of a dwindling metallic system*.

If we await the coming of a general collapse may it not be too late? The intrigues to contract the currency in America through the demonetisation of silver have been answered there by a new clamour for *expansion*—and unless monetary laws are revised upon the enlightened and equitable principles of "National Numerary Systems," and justice thus done in reforming the present system—more than justice may be demanded.

Rising and Falling Prices—Effects.

If it be true, and from the evidence adduced there is no longer room to question the fact, that moneys made exclusively of the precious metals do continually rise in purchasing power, between the discovery of one great mining country and another—when their purchasing power suddenly falls, to be again restored when the product of the mines shall have disappeared—then the connection of such moneys with, and their influence upon civilisation is evident. A continued "fall of prices," not alone of farm products and manufactures, but also

of lands and services, works constant injury to the agricultural, manufacturing and labouring classes, while at the same time it confers *unjust and enormous benefits* upon *lenders of money* and the *recipients of fixed incomes from rents and loans*—because such incomes continually become enormously *enhanced in purchasing power*. From this cause ensued the exclusive enjoyment of wealth by the *landlords* and *money-binders* of decaying Rome—of the middle ages—of the period preceding the American and French Revolution—and again by the same class of the present day. These iniquitable rewards which rob the hard earnings of industry and labour, and enrich a privileged class are the economic result of a monetary system, having its basis on a fluctuating metal, and subject to the control and monopoly of great capitalists and bankers, and when in operation for long periods of time eat like a canker into the body-politic, and entirely change the form of its development.

It will be seen from the foregoing historical facts that not high but "rising prices" have invariably been followed by progress—and not low but "falling prices" have been invariably followed by decay; and that those intervals of progress or decay thus offer the only solution to an otherwise unaccountable phenomenon. In every instance, these were intervals of increasing moneys and rising prices, or decreasing moneys and falling prices. The same correspondence between these occurrences, which Hume observed in the affairs of Europe, and Alison in those of Rome, is to be found in the history of every country.

The influence of a slowly rising currency in promoting the Halcyon Age of Elizabeth and Louis XIV., and again the period following 1851—of a slowly falling currency in bringing into relief those social abuses and ulcers which led to the French revolution;—and the influences of a "limitless currency," intensifying the excesses of the Reign of Terror.

That the advance or retardation of social progress and freedom in States have invariably been marked by the rise and fall of the *measure of value*; and when the causes come to be examined, they will be found in the relation—of money to prices—of prices to trade—of trade to prosperity and adversity—and of these conditions to social progress or decay.

A National Numerary Currency.

When these truths are established, and the people have discovered that they may grasp with their own hands, and hold entirely amenable to their own control, an institution so powerful for good or mischievous ends as money, it can scarcely be doubted that the people of New Zealand will hasten to *enshrine in their laws* "a national numerary currency," where it shall stand as it was depicted by the great and eloquent Mirabeau—"a money dependent neither upon the fertility of the mines, nor upon the avarice nor the caprice of their possessors."

We are accustomed to believe that we have been always advancing for 1,000 years till we have reached this brilliant and eventful century, and are too apt to forget our very recent emergence from the ignorance, the violence, the servile condition of the mediæval ages—it is scarcely a century since the French and American Revolution, and not a century since the enfranchisement of our industrial classes from serfdom. We have scarcely yet become accustomed to the word—Liberty—or to know its deep significance. It is not, therefore, a subject of wonder why we are only now attempting to penetrate the inmost arcana of a polity to which only the light of a *long continued civilisation* had led the ancient world—in their efforts to ensure for themselves—equity and stability—in their monetary system.

To the Single-Tax and Socialist Section.

To those who hold the faith that prosperity and fair distribution of wealth in a country can be attained by a "land and income-tax"—great measures as they are or could be made—history has pointed out how inadequate they must be—alone—while the present mechanism of money has such enormous powers, uncontrolled by the people. Under this mechanism at present, *adventitious* causes may contract the measure of value, resulting in "falling prices" continuing for twenty, fifty, or one hundred years; and the magnitude of the changes, which would take place in connection with the process during those intervals—while money was rising in value day by day, and commodities and produce constantly and persistently falling—would cause the wealth of the world to flow into one class, and the people would be enslaved. Further, this machinery is—within certain economic limits—susceptible to the control and monopoly of the great capitalists of the world, through its basis gold; and by "cornering" it they can—within limited and definite periods—control "prices;" and as a common money now prevails in most countries, to control "prices" is to control everything in the world—land, mines, stocks, produce, and labour. This power has produced the gigantic capitalist of modern times.

To those who hold the hope and belief that the State ought to be, and will be, the owner of all the means of production, capital, and distribution, and will be the sole producer and the sole distributor—in which case there

would be no necessity for a medium of exchange, as there would be no exchanges, and the distribution would be by the State—to those advanced minds, this subject would appear a useless discussion; but a certain interval of progress, causing a better *material condition* of the mass of mankind, must take place before these ideas are practicable—politically or socially. To those then is pointed out that this question of a "national currency" would be a *means to an end*. The power of capital at present is too strong to be stormed or taken by assault—it *must be sapped*. The currency on a Gold Basis is their great power—national currency, wherever it prevailed, would undermine that power.

A Commentary—The Australian Crisis.

The action of the Australian banks is a fitting commentary and argument of the soundness and wisdom of the principles which support the "numerary system of currency."

When all finance was in a state of utter collapse and ruin, when the banks had no resource from their own system (say they were solvent as far as securities go), what did they do? Applied to the State to make their private paper notes—the convertible note promising gold on demand—a legal tender by law; that is, they wanted the principles of a *national currency* applied to aid their private necessities. The Government were not able to pay gold on demand any more than the banks could; but the Legislature can do more, it can decree by law what shall be the currency, the medium of exchange; this principle the New South Wales Legislature betrayed in making certain *private* bank notes legal tender, by the Bank Issue Bill!

But this alone would not meet the situation, for there was no currency sufficient to carry on exchanges and trade, and some £4,000,000 of current credits of traders was locked up in the suspended banks, so by a further betrayal of the principle the Legislature passed another hybrid Bill—the Current Accounts Bill—empowering the issue of £2,000,000 treasury notes to ostensibly relieve those holding current credits in the suspended banks, but probably (and of necessity) to put some currency in circulation, for the monstrous absurdity of the situation was that during all this time millions of money required for the currency of the country were locked up in the coffers of the suspended banks.

Notwithstanding that the Government had now laid on their shoulders, liabilities of £10,000,000 to £12,000,000 of money, which in case of mishap the taxpayer would have to bleed, nothing of a statesmanlike national policy had been attempted to permanently and effectually arrest the effect of this financial disaster in the "*falling prices*," which would necessarily ensue just the same as before; and if this policy of expediency is allowed to fulfil its destiny, its effect will be greater "*falling prices*," commercial and social ruin, and retardation of progress for twenty years to come.

By their actions however both the Legislature and the banks have admitted the principles of State control—the principles of value—the principles of law. But here was the wrong—the power which the Legislature put forth in passing these Acts in the interests of the banks to sustain the tottering edifice of a "banking currency system," which has outraged both equity and economic law, they should have done *in the interests of the people*, by a broad and comprehensive policy; it was not the reconstruction of banks, but the reconstruction of monetary systems, not only here, but world over, which was peremptory, or a world-wide collapse will sweep them away.

The New South Wales Legislature have dealt with effects when they should have grasped and dealt with *causes*. Influenced by the fancied interests of bankers and capitalists they have attempted expedients, when they should have trusted principles, and on them laid the foundation of a monetary policy for the public good by passing "a National Currency Bill," making the "state note" the sole legal tender—the money of the country—the currency—and—abolishing all private bank note issues, and also demonetising gold and silver (except tokens for change) to the position of mere merchandise. The Treasury could then have promptly issued say £6,000,000 or even £7,000,000 of *Interim* Treasury notes, to displace the remnant of the currency which was in circulation before the bank suspensions, amounting to about £5,000,000, and consisting of private bank notes and gold.

The *volume of the Currency* in the National Note being rather increased would have maintained prices slightly rising above the present price-level, and would have stimulated productive and commercial activity and trade, and consequent prosperity. Except the quantity retained for foreign service requirements, the gold now valueless for money—about three and a-half millions—would be exported, and imports of greater national utility received for it, and this exchange of a costly and unproductive commodity for real wealth would be an absolute gain.

When the Department of the Currency or State Bank had been organised (for Government business only), and the machinery for issuing the "State Note" Currency had been perfected to guard against counterfeiting, the *Interim* Treasury Notes could have been called in, and the permanent "State Notes," representing suitable amounts, substituted.

After the issue of the £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 permanent "State Notes" the number should have been *specifically limited* to that amount, and the future control, registration, regulation and limitation relegated to Commissioners, appointed by and responsible to Parliament alone, so that when population and commerce had increased and expanded, requiring further *expansion* of the Currency, Parliament alone could sanction the necessary increased issue of "State Notes," in ratio to the expansion of commerce.

The only question on which there was any doubt—if the N.S.W. Legislature had adopted a National Currency—was whether the Currency should be a Federal or State measure, whether each State should have passed a separate Act—by concerted action or agreement—but on the same principles—or by Federation of the Australian States on the subject of Currency, and the Commissioners of Currency from each State meeting annually in Parliament in one or alternate States on Currency questions.

Unless there be a prospect of complete Australian Federation, each State should have its own independent monetary system. Of course so long as the Currency is controlled, as at present, by the banks, the monetary system must be Federal, hence the anxiety of the banks to make it so, and as the "Measure of Value" is now only known to the banking powers, the banks thus control the Government, instead of the Government controlling the banks—but a "National Currency" should not be Federal unless under *complete Australian Federation*.

The Currency of any country should be National not Inter-National.

"Any system of money that is common to several countries subjects the entire internal business of each of them to all the disasters originating in the political or financial mismanagement of the Government, or the political disturbances, follies, misfortunes, or reckless speculations of the inhabitants, of any one or all the others." [Report U.S. Monetary Commission, 1876.]

Von Scholtz, an eminent German jurist and financier says: "It would constitute an act of treason to sign away the independence of a State in reference to money."—*London Times*, February, 1886.

Also letter of J. G. Fitch to the Russian Government, "on the necessity of independent currency to progressive States."

The International Conference of 1878 came to a similar conclusion.

But the united wisdom of the Australian Premiers in conference failed to see that the real cause of the financial collapse laid deeper than the surface, that they could find no better recommendation than to copy the American system, which itself is tottering before its most certain fall, can only be answered in the great Chancellor Oxenstern's reply to his too modest son: "Nescis mi fili quantulâ scientiâ gubernatur mundus."—(My son you know not with what little wisdom the world is governed).

The real cause is that which is now affecting the whole world. Anyone can read the handwriting on the wall in "Falling Prices," the beginning of the end.

The machinery of a vampire monetary system has run down for the superstition of gold—*The end has come*—But no physical or economic law ordains that gold is the only money or measure of value; on the contrary, the highest civilisations of the world did not use gold or intrinsic moneys; not for lack of ample supplies of these metals, but from economic reasons they adopted a scientific system which avoided the political and social dangers attending their use as money, and from conviction that they were an insecure foundation on which to rest the industrial and social superstructure of a great State.

Considered by itself, it does not matter what is the material of the State money—the *State note is symbolic*, not intrinsic, its value being due to the *whole number* of such State notes which the State may emit. This is the *supply*. The demand is the need of the public for money wherewith to pay debts, taxes and fines, and to make purchases. The *relation* between this supply and demand is *value*—the value of the "State notes" in commodities, or the value of commodities in "State notes."

Reviewing the foregoing, it is apparent that had the Legislature risen to the occasion, and stood firmly on the rock of scientific principles, making their sole aim—as statesmen—the good of the common-weal—they should have given to the people a National Currency. This would have placed the country—by its action—in a financial position of present safety—without fear for the future—it would have given them the power to sustain "prices," and to check the necessity for calamitous realisation of immense liabilities. Having rested their industrial, productive and social future on a stable and permanent foundation, they could have looked with serenity from their pedestal of security—independent of the rest of the world—and beheld the monetary convulsions, the industrial collapses, bankruptcies, revolutions, and perhaps bloody wars which may accompany the solving of the forthcoming "Monetary Problem" in probably every country in the world during the next year or two—except China, and perhaps Russia, Brazil, Austro-Hungary.

As to banks themselves—as it is necessary in the interest of the commonweal to abolish a monopoly which has hitherto given them enormous power and wealth, but which has often overwhelmed themselves, as well as the country in general disaster they must conform their business to the National interests—would have ensured to themselves a more secure future—it would have enabled them to right their liabilities in their good time,

without dread of doing so under further "falling prices"—But the future economic condition of the country would have been beyond their control, the loan market and securities alone would have remained perhaps still affected, and that only temporarily; but *prices* and the *currency* would have been in safety under the regulation and control of the State, and for ever free from future financial disasters, so long as the principles of limitation and regulation were maintained by the integrity and power of the State.

"The failure of efforts under *Revolutionary* and *Despotic* Governments to establish paper money systems, *have no significance whatever*. No such efforts have ever been made under *free institutions* firmly established—without which perfection in money—or any other system which effects the general welfare is impossible. The failures of one age often become the established measures of the next. Every progressive movement of mankind has been tedious and toilsome, and has been accomplished only through trial, suffering and repeated failures."—[Report U.S. Monetary Commission of 1876.]

Conclusions Summarised.

The Australian crisis should be an object lesson to the people of New Zealand. A knowledge of the true principles of money will enable them, by an intelligent use of political power, to obtain a "national currency," and thus grasp and hold amenable to their own control the powerful institution of money, and free themselves from the unjust burdens which a currency on a gold basis has placed on their shoulders.

Then will arise a brilliant era of prosperity—no longer will progress be arrested, no longer will the farmers be fleeced of the value of their products, no longer will labour be pauperised—to enrich those monopolists who are now exacting an unholy tribute from the rest of the world by the false idol—gold.

The conclusions summarised are—

- That the condition essential to the currency of any country is that by "regulation" the total "numeraary volume of money," the "measure of value" shall harmonise, or be in constant ratio to the "volume of exchanges."
- That a gold or metallic basis for a currency is not capable of regulation, and is a superstition and delusion, that it subjects the "measure of value" to violent and unforeseeable fluctuations, that it is susceptible to the control and monopoly of capitalists, who thus make the currency a tool to avail themselves unduly of the results of other peoples' labour.
- That for the social and political welfare and freedom of any country it is indispensable that the emission and regulation of its circulating medium—money—should be under "the control of the state," and that the only money should be "the state note"—"the sole legal tender"—and a record—open to the public—kept of every note issued or withdrawn from circulation.

June 23rd, 1893.

NOMOS.

Addendum.

The Funding System.

The history and working of the "funding system" of modern times will demonstrate the phenomenon which causes such enormous wealth to flow to a small unproductive class, and correspondingly impoverishes the class who have produced that wealth. Emanating in Venice in the twelfth century, now that this policy has involved the 400,000,000 inhabitants of Europe and America in a funded debt of £5,000,000,000, the interest upon which has become the perpetual patrimony of a comparatively few fund-holders, it may be, perhaps, worth while to consider the opinions of the eminent men consulted by a certain King of Spain called "Ferdinand the Wise," and who decided that the King—and, therefore by analogy that a Government—is not justified in saddling a funded obligation upon posterity. These fund-holders have been for twenty years past greatly enriched by the appreciation of gold causing a contraction of the measure of value, and resulting "falling prices," and who are now exacting through this phenomenon forty to fifty per cent. more of the entire wealth of the world than they are equitably entitled to—and that on the immense sum of £5,000,000,000 of money! 1 If it be urged that a state of war or the safety of a nation may render necessary a recourse to loans—the reply is—that borrowing money does not necessarily mean to borrow upon a rate of interest exceeding the average

earnings of capital, or upon other terms of profit or advantage to the lender than such as equity requires, and it should also be taken into consideration that the lenders' possessions may have been entirely swept away by the same calamity that rendered the loan necessary.

Upon the principle that other property may lawfully be seized by Government for public purposes—provided that an equitable compensation is made—so ought money to be available when the urgency is so great that more deliberate measures are futile.

The whole purpose and object of Government is subverted when any policy is adopted which tends to build up a class of persons whose fortunes—earned by a stroke of the pen—raise them far above the general conditions of society.

It arises from the mistake of regarding money as a private possession—instead of *a public institution*—and this again from the fact that money, since the Dark Ages, has been made of a material that is indeed a private possession—over which the public has *only a limited and remote control*.

Without considering the bond-holder of the Colonial loans in the same light as the European fund-holder—as the Colonial loans have been for the most part for productive purposes: it is, nevertheless distinctly equitable that they should be taxed in a ratio to their present unjust gains—inasmuch as they are not entitled to receive their interest in a *greater value as against general commodities* than is due by their bond—nothing more and nothing less.

If like the lawyers—a precedent is required—De Laveleye depicts the same effects of "falling prices" in 1820-30—the fall was so severe, and the consequent distress so cruel therefrom that Lord [*unclear*: Brought] proposed to reduce taxation proportionately—and to *reduce the sovereigns from 20/- to 14/- in existing contracts*. Sismondi also vividly depicts the distress, the riots, the petitions to Parliament, and depression over the whole civilised world culminating in a genuine Reign of Terror and bloodshed in 1848 over the continent of Europe—this widespread depression baffled entirely all efforts of Statesmen to check its progress, and mankind seemed on the downward course to anarchy and barbarism—but at that critical moment the vast golden treasures of America and Australia were discovered and the enormous supply of gold—*expanded the measure of value*—rising prices and vast prosperity resulted.

The cause—"falling prices"—which has brought on in the past the above described effects is the same cause—"falling prices"—which has shaken the Banking system to pieces—because the basis of their finance is a foundation of shifting sand—gold—are we to be the victims of a superstition and fear to confront the question at any moment—because we quail before the interests of the banking and capitalist power like the Emperor Octavius Augustus, and like William Pitt, who both wished for a National Currency, the latter exclaiming "that a National Currency was to the Capitalist what the Policeman was to the Burglar." The present financial collapse is an economic phenomenon—a gold question—pure and simple—to confront it is to overcome it: neither our wealth, nor our population, nor resources have been swept away, we are more wealthy to-day than at any period before—to confront it is not by re-constructing a private Banking system on the foundation of a shifting sand, but by constructing a National Currency system on the rock of scientific principles and the country would be safe now and for ever.

In considering the soundness of the Currency system examined—the following law must always be borne in mind:—"That cost what it may to produce—the value of money rises or falls in that proportion which its arithmetical value as a numerator bears to the *whole volume of money* as a denominator—and no device of sophistry can alter this law of nature."

That is—the value of a piece of *money* whether it be made of gold, silver, brass, copper, paper, leather, or any other substance—no matter what it cost to produce and no matter what the stamp or mark upon it may be—whether such mark *promises anything* or nothing—or whether it be made by Government or not—*depends inversely upon the number of* such pieces in use—or liable to come into use—as money—the mark of authority serves indeed to distinguish what is money from what is not. But neither does this mark nor the mark of denomination confer any value upon it: this being regulated entirely by number—and the proof is this—that if the number is kept constant the mark of denomination may be changed without at all affecting the value—while on the contrary though the mark of denomination be kept constant—if the *number* is changed—the *value* will at once begin to conform in *inverse* proportion to the latter.

The remedy for the present national financial calamities resulting from "falling prices" rests with the intelligence of the people.

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Front Cover

Railway Management. Opinions of Agricultural Societies, Producers
And Manufacturers in Otago.

May 1893.

Dunedin: COULLS CULLING & CO., PRINTER AND STATIONERS, CRAWFORD-ST. MDCCCXCIII

Otago Agricultural & Pastoral Society.

Circular.

Dunedin,

15th April, 1893.

SIR,

I am instructed by the Committee of this Society to ask you to send to me at your convenience (but not later than (6th May) your opinion as to the management of the State Railways, *i.e.*, whether you think that they should be worked as at present—entirely free from political control; or whether the old system should be reverted to—of management under the direct control of Parliament.

The next session of Parliament is expected to open in June, and the Committee have noticed that several Members (none of whom, by the way, contribute to the Railway revenue) have expressed strong opinions in favour of the old system. The agricultural and pastoral interest is the backbone of the Colony, and farmers are the best customers of the Railways, and have more practical experience as to their management than politicians can possibly have. Whatever, therefore, the opinion of the producers of Otago may be, it must of necessity carry a great deal of weight with their representatives in the House when the question comes up for discussion.

I am, Yours faithfully,

W. Cuninghame Smith,
Hon. Secretary.

Resolution by the Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society, passed at Dunedin 20th May, 1893.

"That in the opinion of this Society the State Railways should remain under independent management, subject to the control by Parliament as at present of the annual vote for expenditure."

Resolution by North Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Association, passed at Oamaru 29th April, 1893.

"That whilst the present management of the Railways might be improved, it is the opinion of this meeting that to hand over the Railways to political control would be detrimental to the best interests of the Colony, and specially so to the farming community."

Resolution by Palmerston Agricultural and Pastoral Association., 2nd May, 1893.

"That the Railway management should remain as at present, free from political control."

Resolution by Tokamairiro Farmers' Club, 2nd May, 1893.

"That this Club is of opinion that the Railways should continue to be managed as at present by Commissioners, and strongly object to their being placed under political control with a member of the Government having a seat on the Board."

Resolution by Waitati Agricultural and Pastoral Association, 2nd May, 1893.

"That this Committee is of opinion that the State Railways should be managed by a non-political body."

Resolution by Gore Farmer Club, 29th April, 1893.

"That while the present management is faulty and a change desirable, the Club considers that the Railways should not be under political management."

Extract from letter from Waitahuna Farmers' Club, 2nd May, 1893.

"With regard to the management of the State Railways, I am directed to state that a majority of the members of this Club are in favour of continuing the present system of management, although some of the members are in favour of a member of the Executive having a seat on the Board, so that the Government should have some control over the expenditure of the large sums of money voted by Parliament for railway purposes."

Extract from letter from WM. QUIN, Secretary of the Tapanui Farmers' Club.

"Our members voted unanimously in favour of keeping the Railways in the hands of Commissioners, and free from political control."

Individual Opinions.

From ROBERT STEWART, Farmer. Middlemarch.

I am in receipt of Circular *re* the working of the State Railways, and am decidedly of opinion that some change should be made in the management, as I am of opinion that at present said Railways are not worked in the true interest of the country, or in the direction of advancing the settlement of the country. The present aim of the management is to pay as high a rate of interest on the capital as possible, meaning thereby high charges for all goods carried by the railways.

From THOMAS CALCUTT, Farmer, Goodmood.

Replying to your Circular of the 15th inst., *re* Management of Railways, I am strongly in favour of their being worked as at present. Seventeen years of my life was spent as Land Purchase Officer for Railways, and Steward of Railway Reserves, These duties gave me an insight into various points, and I have a lively recollection of instances in which political pressure was brought to bear so strongly as to make it most difficult for a Minister to withstand, and I should be sorry to see the position revived.

From ROBERT CHARTERS, Farmer, East Taieri.

In receipt of circular *re* State Railways. I am strongly of opinion that the Railways should be kept free from political control.

From WATSON SHENNAN, Farmer, Waipahi.

In reply to your circular of 15th April *re* Management of New Zealand Railways, I am strongly of opinion that the Railways should be managed as at present, *viz.*, by Commissioners, and should be as free as possible from political control. Management by Parliament means extravagance and waste.

From D.McDONALD. Farmer, Hindon.

My opinion is that the Railways should be worked as at present, under Commissioners. No Government should have such a lever in their hands to use for political purposes.

From M. ELLIOT, Farmer, Roxburgh.

In reply to your circular of April 15th, I may state that I am decidedly in favour of the Railways being under the control of the Commissioners as at present, and free from political control.

From G. H. GILROY, Farmer, Stirling.

Re Railways, I am decidedly of opinion that the Railways are better managed under Commissioners than they were when under political interference. But I cannot disguise from myself the fact that there still exist many defects in the management which might very easily be altered without entailing any great practical loss in the revenues.

From JAMKS MACANDREW, Farmer, Peninsula.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of circular *re* Railway Management. I am thoroughly of opinion that the present system is in every respect superior to Government management. I am not aware whether or not the Commissioners are an irresponsible body, but I think a trust of such magnitude should in a measure be subject to Parliamentary control, but under no circumstances, departmental control.

From REID & GRAY, Manufacturers, Dunedin.

In reference to your circular as to the Management of our Railways, we would much deprecate their again falling into the hands of the Government, and think that their removal from the dangers of political interference to a non-political Board of Commissioners was a step in the right direction, and a policy which should be adhered to in the future.

From KEITH RAMSAY, Chairman of Chamber of Commerce, Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of 15th April, I have no hesitation in saying that to remove the control of the N.Z.

Railways from the Commissioners to Parliament, or to the Government of the Colony for the time being, would be a serious blunder. No one will say that there is no room for improvement in the management of our Railways, and the addition of another Commissioner, a man of large business experience, would, I think, be an advantage. That the Railways are much better managed by the Commissioners than they ever were when under political control is abundantly evident from the almost unanimously expressed opinion, again to the proposed change, of those who use them most.

From JAMES P. HOLMES, *Farmer, Awamoa, Oamarn*

In answer to yours of 15th ult., *re* Railway Management, I am in favour of the control remaining as at present, mainly on the ground that in case of mismanagement the blame can be brought home to some one, whereas under a Minister of the Crown frequently changing, it would be; impossible or most difficult to do so.

From H. C. McCORMICK. *Farmer. Waitahuna.*

Referring to your circular *re* Management of Railways of this colony, asking my *opinion* as to whether our Railways should be managed as at present, by a non-political board, or be banded over to the tender mercies of the New Zealand Parliament, as that body is at present constituted. My fixed Belief is this (based on common sense and observation of certain incidents that occurred here during the late strike) that the less our Parliament have the power to meddle with, the better for the country at large. A large proportion of these men have no direct interest or stake in the working of our Railways, or in fact in any other matter affecting the welfare of this colony. The receipt of their yearly screw, and the supposed prestige and little peddling patronages the position of member carries with it, constitutes their whole Alpha and Omega. Generally speaking, many of them are beneath either criticism or contempt, and to hand over the working of a most important branch of the public service to be made a political football of among such men would be little short of madness.

From JOHN GIBSON, *Farmer, Waimera South.*

In reply to your circular note, asking my opinion as to the management of our Railways, I am in favour of the present system, viz., a non-political board composed of men of expert and business knowledge, and free from all Parliamentary influence. Also that they should be conducted on business lines, with a due regard to encouraging the developing of the resources of the country. Although there is still room for improvement, I think the management of the present Board has been fairly satisfactory.

From JOHN EWING, *Gold Mine Proprietor, St. Bathans.*

I am in receipt of your circular letter *re* Management of the State Railways. Although the owner of a considerable amount of land, the Railway is still too far distant for it to make much difference to me how railway rates within any likely range should rule. But it is likely to be different when the Otago Central is constructed on to the Maniototo. As it is, as carrying on gold mining in perhaps the largest way in Otago, I get a great deal of material and supplies along that portion of the railway, Dunedin to Dunback, and find that in many cases the rates are higher—much higher—by railway than by road, though goods are carried over only 51 miles by railway, as against 70 miles by waggon. I think there is plenty of room for improvement in the management of the Railways, but am of opinion the change to political control would not be for the better. It would be so to some localities, but the gain even to them would be little compared with the loss to other and less favoured localities, and the feeling of distrust sure to be engendered. One should not grumble at the Railways being made to pay so long as rates are levied with an even hand and in an impartial spirit, and as long as the ablest men are put in the most responsible and best paid positions, for any deficiency would have to be made up by other taxation, little likely to be laid on so evenly. I am probably replying at greater length than there is any need for.

From MICHAELIS, HALLENSTEIN & FARQUHAR, *Manufacturers, Dunedin.*

We have to apologise for delay in replying to your circular of 15th ult., *re* State Railways, it arose from mistake as to date at which you wished answer to be sent in. After all the opinions which have been published, we think it quite sufficient to say that we are in favour of the State Railways being worked as at present, entirely free from political control, and under Commissioners such as have for some time past done such good work.

From JAMES GEMMELL *Farmer, Maheno.*

In reply to yours *re* Management of Railways, I beg to state that I am of opinion that however imperfect the management may be at present under the Commissioners, I think it would be more so if allowed to come under political control.

From JAMES T. DONALDSON, *Farmer, Hampden.*

In answer to your circular *re* Railway Management I have no hesitation in saying I think the Railways are better managed as at present than under the direct control of Parliament, having a very poor opinion of the majority of the Members of Parliament. It would have been a bad day for the country had the present Government been in charge of the Railways during the late strike, and by way of remedy I should like to see returned to Parliament members who would consider it their first duty to foster and encourage the producing industries of the country rather than to loaf upon them as at present.

From HUGH KIRKPATRICK, *Sheep Farmer, Gimmerburn.*

Your circular duly to hand *re* State Railways. My opinion is that the Railways should continue as at present, but that the scale of prices for freight should be considerably reduced in several instances. I have had goods brought from Dunback (50 miles) by waggon for less than the railways charged from Dunedin to Dunback, so when a waggoner can keep up a team of horses and waggon and carry cheaper than the State Railways, there must be a screw loose somewhere.

From WM. CHRISTIE, *Farmer, Toiro.*

Your circular to hand *re* Management of Railways, and I am of opinion that the present system is the best, and I hope the time is far distant when the management will be under political control. The Commissioners may not be all that is desired, but that can be amended by getting others, or the present trio may have learned something during their apprenticeship that will bear fruit later on, and I believe also that my opinion is held by every farmer in this district, but as the Club meets soon we will see.

From G. L. DENNSTON, *Merchant, Dunedin.*

In response to your request for an expression of opinion as to the merits of Railway Management for this Colony by a non-political Board *versus* management by the Parliament and Ministry of the day. I have no hesitation in recording my opinion in favour of the former. I look on the Railways as a huge business, the most important and representing the largest investment of capital in the Colony. To manage this business so as to realise the best results requires a combination of expert knowledge and knowledge of general business principles, which while difficult or impossible to find in one man can be combined in a Board. When this combination has been secured the business should be managed with the single aim of making it efficient, giving to the public the maximum service at the least expense. This can only be accomplished by excluding every disturbing element, and I cannot conceive of the political element being introduced unaccompanied by such disturbance. Managed under the existing system there is no temptation to run the business otherwise than on the strictest business principles, and the reputation of the managers is concerned to show the best possible result. Under a political system the temptation to exercise patronage without regard to efficiency, and to secure political support by placating present supporters and endeavouring to gain fresh or dubious votes by the granting of railway favours is almost too difficult to resist. Politicians have been agitating for a change on the ground that the people desire and claim the direct control through their Representatives of every department of public business. I do not believe that such a feeling is general, and except for the gratification of this sentiment I have heard of no argument on the other side I see much to lose and risk and nothing to gain by a change, and am sure the common sense of the country is against it.

From JOHN SHENNAN, *Farmer, Berwick.*

In reply to circular wishing to know what my opinion is in regard to working of Railways, I beg to say that I am very much in favour of the Railways being wrought as at present, viz., by Commissioners.

From JAMES KETCHEN, *Farmer, Maheno.*

Please keep the Railway in the Commissioners' control, not under the Government.

From SAMUEL GARFORTH. *Grazier, Canterbury.*

In reply to your circular *re* the Management of our Railways, I am very strongly in favour of the present system. To revert to the old plan would be simply a suicidal policy. I should also be opposed to any member of the Ministry presiding over the Commissioners, as he would no doubt try and bring his political influence to bear on every opportunity, which would naturally be very objectionable to the said Commissioners. Now *re* the railway freight on live stock. I think you will agree with me the present rate is far too high. We could not expect it to be reduced during the grain season, but for the rest of the year it should be reduced say 20 per cent., and I feel sure the number of stock carried by rail would be increased very considerably. Think of the thousands of sheep that are now driven as far as 60 to 70 miles to the various freezing works throughout New Zealand that would be taken by rail provided the rates were more reasonable.

I am forwarding you a 'Weekly Press' containing a short leader on railway correspondence.

From W. S. PILLANS, *Sheep Farmer. Balclutha.*

I duly received your circular *re* the most desirable form of Railway Management. I have the very strongest and most decided opinion on the subject, viz., that the management of recent years by a non-political Board has given infinitely more satisfaction to the majority of settlers throughout the colony, than was ever obtained under direct Government supervision. Personally it will be a matter of extreme regret to me if the management is taken out of the hands of the Commissioners.

From JAMES HENDERSON, *Farmer, Kelso.*

I think that the Railways should be worked as at present I do not think they could better the Commissioners, and all the men I speak to are of the same mind.

From J. & S. WILSON, *Farmers, Papakaio.*

In reply to your circular of the 15th inst. as to the Management of the State Railways, we desire to say that we prefer them managed as at present. A board free from outside control guided by business principles will serve all parties best, as they cannot be surged by outside influence, and their motive will be to suit the public interest.

From JOHN JOHNSTON, *Farmer. Kaihiku.*

In reply to note *re* Railway Management.

1st. I think it is far better that our Railway Management be kept free from any political influence whatever.

2nd. That any attempt in the coming session to do away with the management by Commissioners should be resisted.

3rd. That the style of management could be greatly improved in giving increased facilities to the settlers along the Railway Line.

The morning train from Clinton has ceased to take any stock on Wednesday to Burnside. Now the goods train which carries the fat stock on the Tuesday leaves Gore about 11 o'clock passes here between 2 and 3 o'clock, and at Clarksville is shunted on to Lawrence line to allow the 4.20 to Clinton to pass. Now think of the long time on the way and the knocking about on the long train when shunting. I am sure they could find a better way of doing than at present.

From H. S. FISH. M.H.R., *Dunedin.*

I am favoured with your circular of 15th inst., and I beg to reply as follows:—As a general rule I think that any business which the State through its Representatives think it desirable to undertake, should be managed by the State and be under the direct control of Parliament, and acting under this impression when the Bill creating the Commissioners was before Parliament. I gave it my strong opposition, but found myself in a very large minority, and I am compelled to admit that at that time the people were unmistakeably in favour of removing the administration of the Railways from political control. I am further constrained to admit that on the whole the present system has worked very well, and I doubt very much the wisdom of altering it and reverting to the old system. Of this, however, I have no doubt, that it would be an act of madness to alter the system as

proposed by the Government is the Bill introduced last Session. To retain the three Commissioners and practically take all power from them and vest it in the Minister of Public Works, would, I am convinced, be as unsatisfactory as it would be needlessly expensive. I must confess that I should like to see Parliament have more control over the Railway Estimates than it has at present, but I am not prepared to suggest how this can be obtained without doing away with the present Commissioners. The times are at present, in my opinion, somewhat out of joint, and therefore on the whole I think it would be prudent to allow matters to remain as they are.

From ROBERT GAWN, *Farmer, East Taieri.*

I am in favour of the Railways being managed as they are at present. They are well done.

From JAMES ROSS. *Farmer, Shag Point.*

In reply to your circular of the 15th April, *re* the Management of the State Railways, I am altogether opposed to the Railways being worked under political control. I think, however, that there is great room for improvement in the way of charges on stock and produce under the present management.

From JOHN SHAW, *Farmer, Finegand.*

I regret being so tardy in responding to your circular *re* Railway Management. I have been laid up for about two weeks. Your circular has meantime gone astray and I cannot revert to it for guidance. I presume that it is enough to say that I approve of the present order of things. I object entirely to political interference and would regret exceedingly that it should revert to former management.

From DONALD BORRIE, *Farmer, Papakaio.*

In reply to your circular of 15th April, requesting an expression of opinion as to the Management of our Railways, I beg to state that in my opinion it would be detrimental to the best interests of the Colony to have the Railways placed again under political control. At the same time I am not prepared to say that the present management is all that it might be. still I am of opinion that the Railways should never again be placed under political influence in any way, but should be managed by a non-political board, responsible only to Parliament.

From THOMAS PORTEBFIELD, *Farmer, Portobello.*

In answer to your circular of the 15th ult. *re* Management of the State Railways, I am of opinion that they should be managed free from political control, as at present. I do not say that the present system is perfect. I think there is room for great improvement in the working of the present system, but I would forgo this rather than revert to the old provincial dodge.

From JAS. KILGOUR, *Farmer, Goodwood.*

I received your circular emanating from the Agricultural Society, and in reply as to my opinion of the Management of the Railways under the Commissioners. I consider it is a great deal better than when under the Government, as a good many of the grievances which the farmers complained about have been remedied. It would be a great pity should Mr Seddon ever have a seat on the Board, as I have no doubt he would use his influence there as a political lever for party purposes. I have known Mr McKerrow, the chief Commissioner, since he was a cadet, and a more painstaking and honest man could not have been got, and I think we ought to be satisfied to let things remain as they are, although Mr David Pinkerton, in his address and wisdom at a meeting the other night, wants the management to revert back to the Government.

From JOHN REID, *Sheep Farmer, Eldersdie, Oamaru.*

In reply to the circular issued by the Association I beg to say, that I am now, and always have been, strongly in favour of the working of the Railways being placed in the hands of a competent board—altogether free from Government control.

As a member of the Railway Commission in 1880, I saw enough to convince me that the change which afterwards took place was very necessary; the Commission made this a very strong recommendation in their report to the Governor.

I have seen nothing in the management of the present Board to cause me to alter my opinion; there are

doubtless many improvements yet to be effected in charges in certain classes of traffic which would benefit both the revenue and the settlers, but I think that, on the whole, the present Commissioners have shown a great amount of good judgment, and a desire to do their best. Any interference on the part of the Ministers would not be likely to result beneficially for the public.

From THOS. BROWN, *Brown, Ewing & Co., Dunedin.*

It appears to me that if this question of Railway Management is to be considered from a business aspect, and not from a party government point of view, it will scarcely admit of argument.

Pity you cannot refer the matter to the *honest, capable* and *disinterested* employes of the service. I believe to a man they would pronounce for non-political management—if they dare.

If I needed an argument against political control, I would point to the great anxiety shown by certain politicians to get the finger of party Government into the pie.

From D. & A. MACPHERSON, *Farmers, Berwick.*

In reply to your circular *re* Railway Management, we approve of the present form as most beneficial to all producers in the country districts.

From JAS. R. ELDER, *Farmer, Maheno.*

In reply to your circular of 15th April, I am strongly of opinion that the Railway management should be kept entirely free from political control. Very few intelligent farmers with whom I come in contact hold a contrary opinion.

From GEORGE NICHOL, *Sheep Farmer, Clarks.*

In reply to your circular of the 15th ult., *re* Management of Railways, I think the Railways should be worked entirely free from political control.

From WILLIAM SMAILL, *Farmer, Kaitangata.*

In reply to your circular of 15th April, *re* Management of New Zealand Railways, I have to say that in my opinion they should be worked as at present—entirely free from political control. It would be a serious matter for the Colony if the old system were reverted to.

From JAMES GALL, *Station, Manager, Riversdale.*

Your circular of April, *re* Railway Management, and I should not think that it would be any improvement by changing from the Commissioners to Parliament—if they are not well managed now they would be much worse by Parliament. I think there could be some improvement in the system. In the autumn when all the farmers are carting their grain they can neither get trucks nor covers, and in a bad season a farmer loses a good deal.

From JOHN BORTON, *Sheep Farmer, Oamaru.*

In reply to your circular of 15th ult., I may say that though this district has been rather harshly treated by the Railway Commissioners, I am yet of opinion that the Government should have nothing whatever to do with the management of the Railways.

From IRVINE & STEVENSON, *Manufacturers, Dunedin.*

We are in favour of the Railway Management as it is. This opinion is based on what we knew of the management while in the hands of previous Governments years ago. It seems to us that now, on the whole, the management is on business lines.

From GREY BROTHERS. *Farmers, Milburn.*

We are of opinion that the State Railways should be worked as at present—free from political control.

From ALEX BROWN, Fellmonger, Green Island.

In reply to your circular of 15th April, *re* management of Railways, I am greatly in favour of the Railways being managed by the Commissioners and not by the Government.

From ALEX. DOUGLAS. Farmer, East Taieri.

In answer to your circular *re* Railway Management, I may state that I am not in favour of reverting to the old system. Any grievances I have had have been promptly rectified. I do not think our Railways ought to be at the beck and call of a number of our political men.

From JAS. SMITH. Sheep Farmer, Greenfield, Lawrence.

In answer to your inquiry, *re* the Government again taking control of the Railways, I have shortly to say that I am decidedly opposed to that. I have been a considerable contributor to the Railways from their start, and during the time they were under the Government control, had occasion frequently to complain of the arbitrary way in which I was treated, but always without effect: had to be referred to Wellington, and the reply invariably, simply, "cannot be entertained."

While I do not think that the present team of Commissioners (as a team) are all that could be desired. I have no hesitation in saying that, not being under political control, they are infinitely to be preferred to the Minister assuming control.

From J & A. ANDERSON, Farmers, Waiewra South.

I have yours *re* the Management of the State Railways, and in answer I have no hesitation in stating that I believe the Railways would be better managed as at present by a non-political board. If the management were to revert back to the Ministry of the day great pressure would soon be exercised to have freights reduced and useless trains run to suit the convenience of supporters. Many candidates for political honours would also more readily give voice to and educate the public to the belief that wholesale reductions would be desirable, and if such were given effect to it would in a great measure hamper the efficient working of the railway system.

From JOHN HOWAT, Farmer, Tapanui.

In reply to your circular of the 1.1th inst. *re* Railway Management, I am certainly in favour of the present system. Any candidate advocating "political control" would have little chance of being returned in this district.

From THOMAS BEYDONE, Superintendent of The New Zealand and Australian Land Company, Dunedin.

I am decidedly in favour of the Railways being managed as at present.

From J. M. RITCHIE, General Manager National Mortgage & Agency Company, Dunedin.

I see no reason to change the present system of management of our Railways, which was decided by the voice of the people, and has worked advantageously ever since. The question appears to me to narrow itself to this—whether it is better that Parliament should delegate the management to their Minister or to an independent Commissioner. The former may have a short term of office, may have no expert knowledge or special aptitude for so complicated affairs, may owe his seat and his power to a section of the electors which is strongly biassed, and is certainly in danger of being strongly influenced by pressure of all kinds, which cannot conduce to successful administration. The latter will be at least free from these disturbing, controlling, and upsetting influences. Both are directly subject to control by Parliament, both can be moved by the same authority. Parliament retains the power of the purse in both cases, the difference being that the Minister is subject to daily pressure from the electors, while the latter does not come into constant contact with them. The present system originated out of a wise distrust of themselves by the people to manage a service so involved as the Railways by the ordinary method of party government. It was felt strongly and shrewdly that the very freedom of the people might be seriously interfered with by political control, and also that for a time at least, finance was a more important factor in the management than any other, and I do not see that anything has occurred to change

the position from what it was when the important change was decided upon some years ago There is no high principle involved of Parliament abdicating its functions or of distrust of the people—the former still retains its authority, and as I have said the latter wisely distrust themselves. It would be well if their Minister had always the same doubts about himself.

From JOHN SUTHERLAND, Farmer, Goodwood.

As to your inquiries. I think Commissioners would be much more preferable—free from political control or favouring any district. I am in favour of Commissioners.

From A. BARTLEMAN, Agent, Dunedin.

I certainly think the Railways should be worked entirely free from political control, and all employes disfranchised.

From THOS. BLACKLOCK, Farmer, Waiwera.

In reply to your circular of the 15th inst. *re* Railways, I may state that I am in favour of the management of State Railways being entirely free from political control.

From WM. WRIGHT, Manufacturer, Dunedin.

I am in receipt of your circular of 15th inst., and am in favour of the Railways being under the present management.

From R. A. CHAFFEY. Station Manager. Maheno

In reply to the circular *re* Railway Management issued by your Society. I beg to say that I am strongly in favour of the Railways being worked by a Council or Board entirely free from political control.

The present system has worked better than any system as yet tried in New Zealand, but had the original idea been carried out, viz., obtaining the services of a man thoroughly experienced in the Railway systems of England or America, and such a man to be Managing Director of our colonial Board, our Railways would, in my opinion, have been worked to greater profit.

From W. CUNINGHAM SMITH, General Manager N.Z. Refrigerating Company, Dunedin.

We have had a very large experience in the working of the Railways—both under political control and under the present management. We should, as large contributors to the revenue, be very sorry to see the old system reverted to.

From BEGG BROTHERS, Sheep Farmers, Balclutha.

Your circular of 15th inst. duly received, and in reply we have to say that we are decidedly of the opinion that the State Railways should be managed as much as possible free from political control.

The present system of working is not all that we could wish, but we think that to return to the old system would be very much worse.

From W. L. PHILP, late Secretary Otago A. & P. Society, Queenstown.

As at present, undoubtedly. A public calamity to revert to the old system.

From STRONACH BROS. & MORRIS, Stock Agents, Dunedin.

We are in receipt of yours of 15th inst. *re* the Management of State Railways. Our opinion is that the present system of working, viz., by a Board of Commissioner is preferable to the previous management under direct control of Parliament, as we consider the former less likely to lead to abuses of wire-pullers, and better for ratepayers in general.

From THOMAS MACKENZIE, M.H.R., Balclutha.

In reply to yours regarding Railway Management I may say that I do not view favourably the direct political control of our Railways. I have already given my opinions on this question to the 'Press' Company, Christchurch, which you have doubtless perused. I shall, when the question comes before Parliament go into the matter very carefully, and shall favour any amendment which will enable the Minister to give to Parliament the fullest information regarding the Railways.

From MALCOLM CARMICHAEL, Farmer, Taieri.

I am in favour of the State Railways being managed as at present by the Commissioners, and not by a public body, as they have more practical experience in managing the same.

From G. H. MACKENZIE. Farmer, Kelso.

In regard to yours of April 15th, my opinion is that the Railways are better under the present management. If Government had the management, there would be changes as the members change, which in case of strikes would be very awkward for the farmers and stock raisers. Every new member would be having a dig at Railway management. There would be no settled system. In fact they would be run on the same lines as the country is at present.

From THOMAS MEEK. Miller. Oamaru.

In reply to your circular of 15th inst., asking my opinion *re* the future Management of our State Railways, I beg to say that I am most strongly of opinion that they should be managed by a non-political board, as we know from past experience that while our Railways were under the direct control of a Minister of the Crown, numerous unsuitable appointments were made, which had the effect of increasing the working expenses and impairing the efficiency of the service; and also large sums of money were expended on useless works to please and thus secure the influence of electors; and such a state of affairs would immediately return if a Minister had again the power of granting favours to the numerous applicants, as Ministers, however good they may be, are only human. And further, the position of Minister of Public Works, like other Ministers, is a rolling one, and it is impossible for anyone holding such office to be able to deal properly with all matters in connection with our Railways unless he has had a special training to that class of work, and we have no such person in politics in New Zealand at present. When the present Commissioners were appointed I felt sure a great mistake was made, as all will remember that the management previous to that time was most unsatisfactory, and those appointed could not be expected to introduce any great or improved methods of conducting the working of the lines, as it was only a continuance of the previous management, and I feel convinced that any private individual dealing with such a large and important matter would have appointed a thorough expert, with outside experience, and had that been done. I feel sure our Railways would have been paying better and giving greater satisfaction to the public. I am also of opinion that the power placed in the hands of the present Commissioners is too great as it admits of no appeal, which is very unjust to those using the Railways as in the event of any dispute they have to abide by the arbitrary decision of the Commissioners, no matter how unjust that decision may be. To obviate this I would suggest that a board of advice should be appointed, to whom all important matters and disputes could be referred for equitable adjustment, such board to be composed of three good business men and the Minister of Public Works for the time being. This would, in my opinion, prevent any injustice being done to those using the Railways, and act as a safeguard to the public.

From A. & T. INGLS, Importers, Dunedin.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your circular *re* Management of New Zealand Railways, and in answer thereto are decidedly of the opinion that they should be worked as at present, *via.*, entirely free from political control.

From WM. SCOULAB, Merchant, Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of the 15th ult, I beg to state I am of opinion that the Management of the Railways should be continued under the Commissioners and entirely free of political control for the following reasons:—
1st. The Railway business is a profession that requires much practical experience and training in addition to

ability to manage the work successfully. These qualifications we would not expect in a Minister of the Government.

2nd. Any matters of public interest or of dispute requiring attention, all such would receive more prompt consideration from the Commissioners than under the control of the Government, for the reason that the former being servants, are compelled to attend to the Railway business in a satisfactory manner.

3rd. I do not think the Railways should be bound up with politics in any shape, as a member of the Ministry may be appointed as head of the Railways having no practical knowledge of the management in any department, and he would have to apply to those under him for information and advice, a state of matters that would not work well.

4th Considering the magnitude of our Railway system we are paying only a trifle for the management, comparatively speaking, and I fully believe the Commissioners are doing their best to give satisfaction to all parties. On these grounds I am for the Commissioners being retained in their present position.

From HERBERT EDWARDS, Farmer, Ngapara.

As requested by circular from Otago A. and P. Society to give an expression of opinion *re* Railway Management, in reply I would strongly oppose letting the management in any degree go back to direct Government control, though I consider it as absolutely necessary that some modification of present powers be made.

From JOHN REID & SONS, Agents, Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of 15th inst, we unhesitatingly deprecate any return to political control in the management of our Railways. During the period of the Commissioners' reign they have improved grades, increased and improved the working plant, accelerated trains, and facilitated through traffic, and in many instances have reduced rates, without, so far as we know, increasing them in a single instance. At the same time they have shown better returns than ever previously obtained, and, this being so, we say by all means *leave well alone*.

From A. C. BEGG, General Manager R. Campbell & Sons, Ltd., Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of 15th inst. in reference to the proposal to put the working of the New Zealand Railways under political control. I am of opinion that were such a proposal carried out, it would be a great calamity to the colony. The management by Commissioners is doubtless capable of improvement, but the fact remains that their principal object must necessarily be good and successful management, uninfluenced by ulterior motives. This cannot be said of any system of political management which can be devised. Political management must necessarily be to some extent influenced by motives which take no account of successful results, and may be so influenced to such an extent that the successful working of the Railways becomes a merely secondary consideration, the first consideration being that the greatest possible political support shall be secured for the Ministry of the day.

From HON. R. OLIVER M.L.C., Dunedin.

Non-political management as at present is far the best See my letter to the Canterbury 'Press.'

From THOMSON, BRIDER & Co., Manufacturers, Dunedin.

We consider the Railways should be worked as at present—entirely free from political control.

From W. HENDERSON, Manager National Mortgage & Agency Co., Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of 15th inst. *re* Management of the State Railways. I am certain that anyone who has a knowledge of the general conduct of the Railways under the old system, as compared with their working under non-political control must agree with me in thinking that it would be a grand mistake to again revert to the old system.

From JAMES SMITH, JUNK., Farmers' Agency Co., Dunedin.

I am *very strongly* of opinion that the Railways should be worked as at present—entirely free from political control.

From JAMES PRENTICE. Farmer, Berwick.

Re this circular. I think the State Railways should be worked as at present, entirely free from political control.

From J. WHITE, Solicitor, Dunedin.

I very decidedly approve of the present system.

From J. R. SINCLAIR, Solicitor, Dunedin.

I very decidedly approve of the present system.

From W. HECKLER, Farmer, Waikouaiti.

In answer to your circular dated April 15th, 1893, I beg emphatically to state that I am not in favour of the Railways being put under the control of Parliament, as I believe the Government of the day would use their influence in putting their supporters into billets and thus impair the efficiency of the management and cause nothing short of political bribery.

From SOMERVILLE BROTHERS, Millers, Waitapeka.

In reply to circular dated 15th inst. *re* Management of Railways, we consider that the Railways have never been better conducted to the interest of the general public than at present, and should not desire a change back to Government control. We should think that the general public appreciates the way in which they have been catered for.

From H. BUCKLAND, Sheep Farmer, Waikouaiti.

In reply to your circular dated April 10th, I beg to assure you that I am most decidedly of opinion that the Railway Management should be conducted by an irresponsible board of Commissioners as at present.

From G. W. POGSON, Sheep Farmer, Middlemarch.

In reply to your circular of the 10th inst. asking for my opinion as to the management of the State Railways, I wish to state that I am strongly of opinion that the State Railways should be worked entirely free from political control.

From ARTHUR B. KITCHENER, Sheep Farmer, Dunback.

I am quite in favour of the State Railways being worked entirely free from political control, and trust that other producers may be of the same opinion.

From E. MENLOVE, Sheep Farmer, Windsor Park, Oamaru.

In reply to your circular of 15th inst.. I have to state that in my opinion the Management of the State Railways ought to remain in the hands of Commissioners, entirely free from political control, as is the case at present.

From MCKERCHAR BROTHERS, Farmers. Woodlands.

We have much pleasure; in replying to your circular *re* Management of State Railways. We have no hesitation in stating that in our opinion they should be worked as at present, entirely free from political control.

From BING, HARRIS & Co., Manufacturers, Dunedin.

We are in receipt of your circular dated 15th inst. *re* the Management of our State Railways, and in reply we beg to state that we are most decidedly of opinion that they ought to be managed as at present, that is, entirely free from political control.

From J. H. STANLEY, Merchant, Dunedin.

Replying to your circular of 15th ult. *re* Railway Management. I should be sorry to see the old system reverted to and I think it much better to have them free from political control.

From JOHN MCLEAN, Sheep Farmer, Redcastle, Uamaru.

I have your circular of 15th inst. *re* Railway Management. I think it would be quite a mistake to place the working of our Railways under the control of the Government. The present Commissioners have managed the Railways well, and I think the system ought to be continued free from political influences.

From JAMES EDGAR, New Zealand Insurance Company, Dunedin.

I am favoured with your circular letter of 15th inst. in *re* Management of the Suite Railways, and have much pleasure in giving ray opinion—that I most decidedly think that they should be managed as at present, entirely free from political control. No doubt improvements could be effected in the present working of the lines,

But better leave the ills we have
Than fly to those we wot not of.

From C. W. REID, Station Manager, Elderslie, Oamaru.

I have your circular of 15th inst., and may say in reply that I am strongly in favour of the management of tin-Railways being left in the hands of the Commissioners. Facts speak for themselves, and I think there can be no doubt that the results achieved by the Commissioners during the past two or three years compare more than favourably with those obtaining during the regime of Ministerial control. As a country consignor I think that the supply of rolling stock, &c., and management generally are in a much more satisfactory state than formerly.

From JOHN L. GILLIES, Secretary to Harbour Board, Dunedin.

In reply to your circular of 15th April, 1893, my opinion is that, the good working of either the old system or the new depends more on the qualifications of the persons having the control than on the systems. Thus under the old, with weak men, or men of but little grasp of general business, or want of knowledge of the best methods of control at the head of affairs, official heads were not kept in their proper place not properly up to their work, and so really became the power above the throne, and as a rule it was through them that political influence was worked and held too much sway. In fact, so gross had this become that it became a common saying—"Oh, you make it right with Mr So-and-so, and leave him to manage the Minister."

In reference to the present system, the selection of the Commissioners was such that, without reflecting on their undoubted personal abilities, I cannot help thinking it was a mistake in judgment to appoint all Government departmental officers, as they naturally carried with them the traditions of their officialdom into their new positions, and which has been markedly pronounced in the performance of their duties as Commissioners. Of course I recognise the necessity of one of the Commissioners being a railway expert, the others' qualifications for say organising and mercantile divisions of the service, required experience and faculties of a different kind.

I feel a delicacy in entering into any close criticism of the subject in support of my opinions, but will confine myself to simply further saying that if the Railways were worked more with a purpose to meet the requirements and development of the country, than competing with private enterprise where requirements are already provided for, a much greater benefit would accrue to the public generally.

Studying all aspects of the question, and a great deal can be said *pro* and *con* for both. I am inclined to the opinion that the active management of the Railways is best in the hands of Commissioners, having speciality for different divisions of the service, but that the Minister of Works should have the right of a seat at the Hoard with the privilege of vote and of protest, but not veto. One of the Commissioners should be chairman to avoid the risk of frequent changes.

From A. LORIE & Co., Auctioners, Dunedin.

We have your circular of 15th, *re* Railways In reply we can only say that having invariably experienced the greatest satisfaction in our dealings with the Railway Department under its present management, we should be very sorry to see a change of any description. We do not of course intend to convey that we see no room for what in our opinion would be improvements in minor matters, but we must say that when we have thought it necessary to call the attention of the Commissioners to such we have always experienced the greatest courtesy; and, speaking from memory, we believe that in every case the suggestions have been acted upon We quite fail to see what more could be done under any management, and as it appears to us that any change can only be for the worse, we think it best to leave well alone. We may add that although we represent a very great number of producers, we very seldom hear a complaint against the management of the Railways.

From W. GARDINER, Sheep Farmer, Tapui Oamaru.

Far better worked as now—free from political control.

From HON. W. H. REYNOLDS, M.L.C., Dunedin.

On the 15th ult. I wrote a letter to the Christchurch Press' which appeared in its issue of the 25th ult. As I think it will fully supply the request contained in your circular of the 15th inst. I herewith beg to hand you a copy It ran thus:—"To the Editor of the 'Press.' Sir. In reply to your request for an opinion *re* Railway Management I am most decidedly in favour of the management of our Railways being under a non-political board, the members of which should hold office under conditions similar to those connected with our Supreme Court judges, and should only be removable by a direct vote of a majority of both Houses of Parliament. "So long as the affairs of the colony are administered by a Government holding office under our present system" of party government I am most decidedly of opinion "that the Railway management, if placed under the Ministry of the day, would be subordinated to political purposes which would tend to be detrimental to their working, and to the public. I have known of several cases where the Minister of Public Works of the day has been applied to by useless individuals for employment under the Government, and they received letters to the Railway Department which were tantamount to an order to engage them. It must be clear to anyone that if the employes on our Railways are to be appointed by a Government or Minister on the recommendation of a friend, or to secure Government or the Minister's individual support, without regard to their qualifications, the travelling public's life would be in jeopardy. If our Ministers were chosen for their administrative ability and integrity instead of as at present for their talking powers, or the number of votes they could bring to secure the formation of a Government and retention in office, then it might be a question whether some modifications might not be advantageously made so as to give the Government a more direct control over the management of our Railways.

In answer to your second question. I feel confident that so long as party government exists it is not advisable to have a Minister on any railway board whatever, as he might desire to take advantage of his position for party purposes, and cause continual wrangling, and destroy the harmony which should exist on such a board.

To your third question I would simply say that upon the whole I think our Railways are at present managed to the satisfaction and safety of the general public."

From T. ROBINSON & Co., Manufacturers, Dunedin.

Re "Management of State Railways." We are of opinion that to alter the present system of management would be a most grievous mistake, and opposed to the interest of the public generally, but more especially the agricultural and pastoral interest, which may undoubtedly be regarded as the mainstay of the colony. During the past week we mentioned the matter to several of our farming clients, and they without exception thoroughly condemned the idea of placing management of Government Railways under direct control of Parliament.

From CHARLES KERR, [unclear: Reid] & Gray, Manufacturers, Dunedin

In reply to your circular, I am strongly impressed with the advisability of keeping the management of our Railway thoroughly apart from any political influence or control what ever. Any political head, or Minister of Railways who might be appointed by Parliament, could not be expected to be an expert, and as the Railways are a commercial undertaking, they should, in my opinion, be managed as such, with a expert or experts at their head.

The present Commissioners are not immaculate and cannot please everyone, but they are men of experience who have successfully piloted our Railways through some very troublous times, and Parliament would be consulting the best interests of the colony by leaving the Railways either in the present hands or in those of others equally capable.

From JOHN F. HERBERT, Sheep Farmer, Ardmore, Kelso.

I approve of non-political control.

From D. McDONALD. Farmer, North Fad Valley.

Re Railway Management. I am in favour of the Railways continuing under a non-political board as it is now.

From THOMAS MUIR, Farmer. Palmerston.

In reply to circular *re* Railway Management I should say keep them clear of political control, as at present. At the same time I think there are many things in connection with the present management which are open for improvement.

From "A FARMER."

In reply to your circular. I think the State Railways should be worked as at present in preference to the Government having the management of it, for they would make a sort of stalking horse of it for votes.

From JOHN MILL & Co., Stevedores, Port Chalmers.

With reference to your circular of 15th ult., requesting our opinion as to the management of the State Railways, we beg to inform you that we are of the opinion that they should be worked as at present, entirely free from political control.

From LACHLAN MACLEAN, Stock Agent, Dunedin.

Your circular of last month has been overlooked by me, on account of having been from home. Kindly accept my apology. My firm and strong opinion is that the Railways should be left under the present management.

From G. L. SISE, Merchant, Dunedin.

In regard to taking the management of the Railways from the Railway Commissioners and giving the control to a political head, I think it would be a great mistake, and a calamity that would entail the loss of many thousands to the country. The present Commissioners are men of undoubted ability, and experts who thoroughly understand their business and stake their reputation on a knowledge of their work. To take the control from these men and give it to a political head who has little or no knowledge of the successful working of Railways, would probably result in the State property becoming a dumping ground for the fads and experiments of Parliamentary supporters, situations given, based not so much on the merit of the applicant as on the political influence he can bring to bear. So far as my experience goes—as a farmer and business man. I believe that the present Railway Commissioners are working for the best interest of the country.

From J. H. MORRISON, Manager Mosgiel Woollen Factory Co..

Dunedin.

In reply to your circular as to the Management of State Railways, I am of opinion that they should be entirely free from any political party control. I can see no reason to change the present system of management by Commissioners, who are subject to the direct control of Parliament, and who are appointed to the management of the Railways by reason of their special expert knowledge.

I very much doubt whether the same efficiency, safety, and fairness to all concerned, as now carried on by Commissioners, would be maintained to the same degree if controlled by the Minister, at the head of any political party.

From MARK SINCLAIR, *Manufacturer, President Otago A & P. Society.*

In reference to the Management of the N.Z. Railways by the Commissioners, my opinion is that the convenience of the public has been carefully considered and provided for by them. I consider it would be a great mistake to have the Railways again subject to political influence or the control of the Minister of Public Works.

Coulls, Culling & Co., Printers and Manufacturing Stationers, Dunedin.

"Women's Franchise." A Short Sketch.

By "Eve Adams."

Dedicated to the Women of New Zealand.

Price Sixpence.

Wellington Lyon & Blair, Printers 1893.

"Women's Franchise."

A Short Sketch.

By "Eve Adams."

vignette

"HAVE you registered, Bee?" in a bright excited voice May Annesley inquired as she entered the drawing-room of her friend, Miss Western, where about half-a-dozen young ladies were assembled, in age ranging from eighteen to twenty-three, with the inevitable afternoon tea-cup in hand. "Have you registered, Bee?" and she turned her fair face, glowing with health and happiness towards her hostess! "Registered *what*, May?" and the young lady addressed, turned a lovely pair of grey eyes on the late arrival, who she greeted with a friendly nod, as she handed her a cup of the fragrant decoction she had been brewing, "Why your vote of course;" impatiently, "to-morrow by four o'clock will be too late!" "My vote;" the expressive grey eyes opened wider in feigned surprise, and a slightly contemptuous smile curled round the ruby lips "*My vote!*" no indeed May, I do not approve of anything so *very* unlady-like! "*Unlady-like*, what nonsense, you're talking Bee;" exclaimed Madeline Joyce quickly, whilst Miss Annesley added merrily, "We are not *ladies*, we are all *women* now!" "And supposed to have a *thinking* head on our shoulders; I feel the responsibility weighing heavily on mine already!" Rhoda Martin's comical look and gesture set the rest of the girls laughing merrily. When the laugh had subsided, a very discontented voice from the large arm-chair was heard exclaiming: "I wish I could vote, but I am only eighteen!" and Eva Western sighed in a doleful manner. "You little goose," laughed her sister Beatrice, "be thankful you are still a baby, fancy *you* voting; why you would only think of taking the tax off toys!" "Now Bee, don't be so *sarcastic!*" "Well Trix, honestly speaking, what *is* your objection to the Women's Franchise?" And May, who generally acted as spokeswoman, turned her pretty head on one side, and looked critically at Miss Western. "Well, to tell the truth May, I don't relish the idea of being hustled and pushed about at the polling-booths, and being jibed and jostled by a crowd of rough men, smoking filthy tobacco, and using still more objectionable language; I really think ladies have *no* business in such places; now seriously, girls, do you consider it right?" "Suppose we all give our opinion upon the evils and advantages to be gained by the softer sex by this wonderful power that has been granted to us women; Rhoda please expound your views on the subject *first*, but let us only use the word *woman*, we will leave the term ladies, which to me is an odious one, for our *washer ladies*, &c., to indulge in. Does my suggestion meet with general approval?" and upon all the girls acquiescing, May leaned back in her chair, and prepared to listen attentively. "Now then

Rhoda, fire away," she said. Upon thus imperatively being appealed too, Miss Martin gave her views in her straightforward brusque style. There was a good deal of the American about Rhoda, indeed that is one of the first things that strike the visitors from the old country, the free and independent tone the young colonials adopt.

"The greatest advantage to be derived from the Women's Franchise that I can foresee," began Miss Martin in a clear, energetic voice, "will be the privilege of getting good, steady men into the House. Up to the *present* the men have had all the power of electing the members, and see what a dreadfully 'scrubby lot' we have been obliged to put up with for the past few years." "But, Rhoda, how do you imagine the votes of the women will in any way influence the character of the M.H.R.'s?" "In this way, Beatrice: women are more independent now-a-days; they think and act for themselves; and if they find out a man—be he high or low, rich or poor—is not straight in his conduct, nor as well-principled, or steady as he should be, not all the caudle lectures in the world will make her vote contrary to her fixed ideas of right!" "In short," said Beatrice, laughing, "when the women make up their minds to put a certain man into Parliament it will be a case of 'scissors' with them. With all due deference to your better judgment, Rhoda, I still think it will make them very unwomanly." "Bee, for goodness sake don't harp so continually on 'unwomanly,'" cried May, hastily; "do you imagine it is more 'unwomanly' to go in a quiet, respectable way and record your vote, and generally help by your good sense and influence to introduce a purer element into the House, or to go on quietly as we are doing at present, calmly allowing the men to do every thing for us? If man were really the superior creature, and Lord of Creation that our grand-mothers are always talking about, I, for one, would never stand against them. But do you girls candidly think that in the present day they *are* our superiors?" "No, indeed, they are not!" chimed all present. "I say they are considerably *my* inferiors," said Rhoda, holding her handsome head up very high. "Oh, Rhoda, you are conceited." "No, Eva, I am not. Look how very unjustly I am treated—for instance, I work the typewriter from nine a.m. till five p.m. I go steadily at it all the day—with the exception of an hour for lunch, I do not waste one moment of my employer's time; not a single shilling do I spend for beer or tobacco, so the room is free of those delightful odours. My *master* has told me more than once that my work is better done and more correct, and yet he pays me £40 a year, while my predecessor—a *man*—used to get £150. Is that justice?" and Rhoda's dark eyes literally blazed with suppressed excitement. "Well, dear," said Madeline Joyce, in her sensible kind way, "is it not reversing the order of things a great deal if all the young women ate to be typewriters, telephonists, post office clerks, doctors, &c. What are the men to do for a living? and after all said and done they are the real bread winners." "Granted, Madeline," replied Miss Martin quickly, "but for the same amount of work the same wages should be paid, be it man or woman." "I quite agree with both of you," said May Annesley, "but whose fault is it that women are obliged to do this work? If the men were contented to live quietly with their families, and take their earnings home, things might be different. But just reflect how many spend pounds in the public house—I beg your pardon, Bee, hotels—shouting drinks not only for friends but strangers as well, the consequence is, money is short at home; perhaps the family consists of four girls and a son, the latter is at once drafted into one of the numerous departments of the Government Buildings at a salary of £40 or £3 per annum, rising gradually, I believe, at the rate of £10 a year, which is only sufficient to keep the young man himself. Then the girls must be as accomplished and well dressed as their neighbours, and as that cannot be managed on papa's salary, they must turn out and work, and though the half are not fitted for more than a general-servant's place, they are (through this over grown system of free education) too proud to seek a situation in their own sphere, and, to be *genteel*, must aspire to be teachers or clerks." May stopped suddenly; "Or worse still," said Madeline, "lady helps!" "Oh, defend me from ever becoming a lady help!" exclaimed Marion Somerton from the depths of the big arm-chair where she had esconced herself beside little Eva Western, and had remained quietly listening and taking all the conversation in to revolve it over at night in her busy brain. "I would far rather be a general-servant at once," exclaimed Beatrice, "and indeed a great number who go out as lady helps are in reality not as refined or well-mannered as many a respectable servant! But I do wonder why the working classes are too proud to be servants, for one can tell at a glance what their position ought to be when one sees them in the telephone exchange, or type-writing, or teachers: and however well dressed they may be, one can always detect the genuine article at *once*!" "Now, there is Miss Marsden," said May, "mother thinks very highly of her; by birth and education she is far superior to the people she lives with as cook. When mother asked why she took that situation she answered very sensibly that she had to earn her living, and as she was not clever at teaching, and had always been fond of making dainty dishes, she much preferred cooking to being a lady help, for she said she had a maid to do the dirty work, and when the dinner was served at seven o'clock she knew her work was over for the day, and she gets three times the amount of wages that a poor lady help receives: but let us return to our franchise business." "Harry Barnett was saying last evening," remarked Beatrice, "that the first use the women will put their vote to, will be to close all hotels, and stop the drink traffic entirely; I quite expect the temperance people will do their 'level' best to attain that object."

"There is no doubt that drink is the curse of this country," said May thoughtfully, "but at the same time I do not see why, because some people make beasts of themselves by drinking to excess, others who *need* the

stimulant, and take everything in moderation, should be debarred from indulging their tastes!" "I am sorry to find you are not a blue ribboner, May!" said Miss Joyce with a serio-comic expression, "as you possess the 'gift o' the gab' to such an extent, see how invaluable you would be on the temperance platform." "No, no, Maddy, I do not aspire to be a public woman, but I hope I shall use the influence I may have in a quiet, sensible way." "Well, I know that *I* should burn all the hotels;" said Eva energetically, "and throw all the publicans into the sea." "Oh you blood-thirsty little wretch I" cried Marion Somerton, playfully pinching her, "it is a good thing for the men that you have no vote." "Well, mother says if she voted at all, it would only be in favour of the Temperance candidate; she says the laws to be properly made and carried out should be administered by a sober intelligent class of men." "But then you see," added Beatrice with a smile; "papa will not allow mama or me to register our vote." "Then Bee I hope a law will soon be passed when a man will be fined for coercing his wife or daughters; I do think it is such a pity that your names are not on the roll!" "I believe Beatrice," interrupted Marion gaily, "your real objection to registering your vote is that everyone will know that you are twenty-one!" Miss Western vouchsafed no reply, but the tell-tale blood mounted to the roots of her hair. "Well, the Temperance people won't get my vote," said Rhoda, "nor will the candidate who wants the Bible read in school." "Oh Rhoda, what a heathen *you, are!*" and Madeline Joyce's blue eyes opened with wonder. "Both my father and mother say that one of the evils in New Zealand is the fact of the Bible being abolished in the State schools. How can the country get on without God's blessing? is what they say." "Don't mistake me girls, I am no heathen," answered Miss Martin hastily, "but the Bible to produce any *good lasting* effect on the children should be read *reverently*, and explained most *carefully*, now this you know could not be done. I do not blame the teachers, there is so little time for *them* to attend to religious instructions; then every [unclear: denomination] would require to have their children taught in *their* own way, so [unclear: the] unless they got teachers specially to attend to the various rules [unclear: and] dogmas of their own particular religion, I fancy it would create [unclear: gre] confusion, and is best left to the Sunday schools, or better still the parents could impart that portion of the education. Besides you all know the real business of the day is to cram or beat into the opening brain, as much knowledge, particularly figures, as can possibly be managed; it is one continual drive, drive from the time one enters the school at nine a.m., till one leaves at three, four, or five in the after, noon." "And if it were such a crime as the Temperance people say to imbibe strong drink," remarked May, her sweet face bright with serious pure expression, "do you suppose for one moment our blesse! Saviour would have performed the miracle at Cana of turning the *water* into *wine*? Understand me, I am not advocating drinking to excess, but everything in moderation is given us for a blessing." "Thank you for reminding me of the miracle May, one is so apt to forget the Saviour's example, in the every day work." "Well if you quote the Bible," said Beatrice, does not Paul say:—"Wives submit yourselves to your own husbands;" he even remarks that women should not go uncovered in public places. Now don't you think the Franchise is carrying things a *little* too far, in making women equal with the men? Certainly there is a great deal to be said for and against, but men will have to rise like the Phœnix from the ashes, a superior and holier being than we have been accustomed to for years now, before *woman* will again bow down and worship him as of old."

As Rhoda paused and gazed thoughtfully before her, May Annesley remarked, "We had a few friends in one evening last week and this 'pernicious school system of ours,' as one gentleman described the Government schools, was very exhaustively discussed; I wish you had been there Rhoda, you would have been as deeply interested in the conversation as I was. One made the same remarks that you have about Bible reading in public schools; she said the master or mistress, as the case may be, would read through a chapter as a mere form without a word of explanation or real thought of the divine truths they had hurried through, it was something that had to be got over before the *real* and more *important* work of the day began; she hoped the Parliament would not make religious instruction law. Both Mr. and Mrs. Marston quite agreed with her, they, you know, were head master and mistress of the——school, mentioning a large town in the Middle Island, and he (Mr. Marston) contended that there was a great deal of useless expenditure in making the standards so high; *free* education, he thought, ought not to go beyond the *fifth* standard, and so far the education should only consist of *real useful* knowledge, such as the three R.'s, with the addition of history, geography, and a little grammar, that would be quite sufficient knowledge for any intelligent boy or girl to carry them through life successfully, should they belong to the working class, and if other classes required more, such as Botany, Chemistry, or any 'ologies, let them *pay* for it; by doing so a great deal of unnecessary taxation would be saved the Colony, and a class of men and women who had had to *pay* for a *thorough good* education would be enabled to earn a competent living." "Yes, that is certainly true," admitted Miss Western, in whose hitherto dormant brain the great question of the day was more plainly and clearly defined by these young friends of hers, than all the egotistical and prosy arguments she had so often wearied of and *dared* not disagree with at her father's table—"you two girls have certainly placed the whole matter of education and Women's Franchise in a very different light, for which I shall always be grateful!" "Then again," continued May, acknowledging the bow and smile of her young hostess, "Mrs. St. Hellier, who is great on Women's Suffrage, Temperance, and certain other things,

made a very good suggestion, that if the education in the state schools stopped at the fifth standard, Government would then be enabled to create a fund for further educating any boy or girl from whatever class (whose parents or guardians were quite unable to do so), the said child or children showing a decided *genius* and *wish* to rise in general knowledge, being taken through all the branches of study and turn out *really clever* men and women, instead of as at the present, giving the mass a smattering of everything, which does no good to themselves nor anyone else." "Well papa says, by the women getting the Franchise," said Eva, "they will lose a great deal of their influence in the home circle, and that the respect shown to them as the softer, gentler sex, will in time entirely vanish; and they will be made to feel their new position very keenly." "Well I can't see how that can possibly be," rejoined May quickly, "the wife, if she loves and *respects* her husband, will, in a great many instances, be guided by his superior judgment, and they will in a great many cases be dram more together if they discuss the affairs of the country; not as it not is, the man going to the polling booth, giving his vote, retiring to the public house and drinks, spending more money in one night than the wife will do all the week!"

"Up to the present," interrupted Rhoda, "men have made all the laws, and see how very unjust they have been to women. It is only within the last ten or fifteen years that the Women's Property Act has come into force. Before that, though the money may have been the wife's before ever she saw her husband, yet when once married, unless he kindly settled it on her, he could obtain full possession of her property, money, or otherwise, and even will it away from her if he chose to do so. Was not that an iniquitous law made solely for the benefit of the sterner sex? I can remember what a fuss there was when it became law that women could retain possession of their own, and for all that we do not hear that they leave their husbands out of their wills, or defy them, and leave home oftener than of yore, though that is what was predicted most solemnly." "Giving the women their own reminds me," said Marion Somerton, "of the Queen most graciously granting pardon to an *innocent* man. I think that is such a cruel farce, and quite on a par with the other." "Well, as we are discussing politics," said Rhoda, "don't you girls think it is very hard on the publicans to close their hotels summarily without granting compensation?" "*Compensation*," exclaimed Miss Western indignantly, "indeed, Rhoda, I think it would be most *unfair* to give it; why we shall be all so heavily taxed that every girl will have to turn out and work, and I am sure I am not so philanthropic that I should like to work, especially for such an object." "But, Beatrice, dear, there are as good Christians and honest people as you will meet though they do keep hotels," replied Miss Martin, smiling good naturedly, "and I repeat it is very hard and cruel to close the hotels without granting some compensation. A case was put very plainly before me last week. A highly educated individual—were he not in an hotel we should pronounce him a thorough gentleman—paid £900 cash for the goodwill of the place, besides that the rent is £8 or £9 per week. He has been in possession some six or seven years, and has never had the police in the house on account of any disturbance, no drunkenness or quarrelling have been allowed on the premises, he and bis family have kept themselves respectably and honestly, and yet if they close that house those people will be turned into the street perfect beggars. Now, girls, would not that be hard? Would you call that justice?" "No, no, indeed, it would not," answered May at once, but the rest of the little party did not seem *quite* to understand the question. They all agreed, however, to think it well over before they met again. "Oh, I had no idea it was so late," cried Madeline Joyce, springing up, "it is half-past five and we dine at six. I have only just time to get home and dress for dinner. I am very sorry to disturb you all, but really I must go."

An immediate move was then made by the rest of the party, and May Annesley, as she kissed and bade Miss Western "good-bye," said with a bright laugh—"We did not mean this to be a political meeting, did we Bee?" but as it has turned out one on a small scale, I think we must put it on our minutes, "That the young women who met at Miss Weston's afternoon wish to express their gratitude and cordial goodwill towards Sir John Hall and Sir Robert Stout, for having so persistently and triumphantly brought to a successful issue the bill granting to the women of New Zealand, the privilege of having their names placed on the electoral roll of the colony." "I second that motion most heartily, joined in Rhoda, I think a monument ought to be erected in commemoration of the event." "I would most willingly make a third to that," cried Eva dolorously, but I am only eighteen, and have no vote, which I consider *too* bad." "We must not leave out of our minutes," remarked Madeline, "all those papers who have fought so valiantly on our behalf, and to render our sincere thanks to them also." "Only think girls what angels we shall be considered for the next few weeks, at least until the elections are over; I for one shall hold my head very high," said Marion Somerton gaily. Amid a banter of merry jokes, and pleasant laughter, with a promise to meet again the day after the elections, to recount their different experiences at the polling-booths, the light hearted quartette left the hospitable house of the Westerns, and stepped into the glowing twilight of a lovely October evening in the year of grace, 1893.

Rome in Politics. A Lecture

On the Manifesto of the Catholic Bishops.

By Geo. Aldridge.

Price - - - One Penny.

Rome in Politics.

It is seldom that I use the platform for any purpose other than the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as I understand it to be revealed in the Bible; but at this juncture in the history of our Colony there are certain great questions pressing upon our attention as citizens which call for some decided utterance from every public teacher. Foremost amongst these is that which is forced upon our notice by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Auckland and Dunedin. Some years ago the Parliament of this Colony introduced the present system of State education, to replace the provincial systems, which in some cases were working very unsatisfactorily. As a result of close and lengthened inquiries, the new system introduced was made free, secular, and compulsory, because it was seen that no true State system could work for the weal of the greatest number if framed to meet the wishes of those who advocated denominational education. In a speech delivered before the House of Representatives, in 1885, the Hon. Robert Stout, then Minister of Education, re-affirmed the canons of State education: "First, that the first great right of the State is to exist and to perpetuate its own existence. Without this there could be no stability in government, and no such thing as social order. If this be granted, then, secondly, the State has a right to do whatever things will tend to preserve its own existence: one of these is to establish universal suffrage, as a recognition of individual rights, and as a necessary condition of its own existence; thirdly, it must provide for universal intelligence and social morality, else universal suffrage will become a curse to the State; fourthly, it must establish universal education as a necessary condition of universal intelligence and social morality; and fifthly, in order to obtain universal education, it must have a system of public schools. And a recent writer has said that 'the true function of the State is to make the most of the citizen. This is its only inexhaustible function'; and if anything is to be made of the citizen he must be educated. These are the grounds of interference by the State with education. . . . To establish such a system as denominationalists ask, of having as many schools as there are sects, all endowed by the Government, would tend, I believe, to social disorder, tend to weaken the ideas of the duties of citizenship, and not tend to the strengthening of the State's position." These remarks I heartily endorse.

When, some twelve years ago, I came to the Colony, I was immediately struck with the superiority of your school system over that of England, where the working of the conscience clause was peculiarly obnoxious to the Radical party. Further acquaintance with your system, and speaking as a father of children (some of whom have received their entire training in, and others are now passing through, the public schools), I may add practical familiarity with its results, have served to increase my admiration for it. I do not mean to claim for it an absolute perfection; there are defects, doubtless, which wise counsels, fostered by time and experience, will remove. But amongst its excellencies stands preeminently its *free* and *secular* character. I say that because I do not believe that it is any part of the duty of the State to teach religion. I say it the more strongly because of the numerous and often conflicting sects into which men are unhappily divided.

This system does not meet with a cordial acceptance from some sections of the community, and efforts are now being made to change it in the direction of securing State aid to denominational schools. Whilst the Anglicans and others are seeking to introduce the Bible or a text-book into the public schools, the Roman Catholic Bishops are making a demand for State aid. It is against the latter claim that I speak to-night. A "pronouncement" has been sent forth by Bishop Luck, of Auckland, containing his advice, and the advice of his brother Roman Catholic Bishop of Dunedin, to the Catholic electors, that at the forthcoming elections they should vote only for such men as will support the Catholic claim "that the Education Act be amended so as to relieve us from the injustice of the Act as it is now in force," which means, according to Catholic interpretation, that as the Catholics form a seventh of the population, they contribute a seventh of the taxes; and therefore a seventh of the education vote should be handed over to them, that they may train their own children, in their own way, in their own schools, away from the influence of what Bishop Moran elegantly calls "the plundering, godless system of education." This claim is not conceded, hence the "injustice."

I wish you to understand that in my remarks I do not wish to say a hard or an unkind word against my fellow-citizens who are Roman Catholics; I am simply to give reasons why we, as their fellow-citizens, having equal interests with them in the good government and well-being of the community, and having equal voting privileges, cannot concede the demand made by their ecclesiastical leaders.

It is therefore from the citizen's standpoint that I speak against this pronouncement. I look upon the leaflet circulated by Bishop Luck as a cast of the gauntlet. It is a declaration on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy that they intend to work for the overthrow of our present school system. Selfishly intent upon their own interests, if they can secure their ends, it matters not though the system now in existence be completely wrecked, and numbers of their fellow-colonists be deprived of that which is to them of great benefit.

One feature of this present agitation is that on the part of Bishop Moran there is an apparent effort not to address himself to the intelligence of his people, but to arouse their passions by an attempt to show that in this matter the Government treats them in an intolerant and prejudiced manner.

In an interview reported in the *Tablet*, the Bishop was asked:

Does your Lordship think that secularists really desire that Catholic children should frequent public schools? Secondly, do you think that the Government and Parliament of the country intend, or ever intended, to make any provision for the education of Catholic children in any schools whatsoever?

The Bishop answers both these questions with a very emphatic negative, and goes on to attempt the proof thus:

If secularists really desired Catholic children to frequent public schools, they would have supplied sufficient accommodation for them in these schools should they go there; and they would also have seen that a fair number of Catholic teachers, in order to inspire Catholics with confidence, should be employed in these schools.

Here the Bishop declares that the Government does not desire Catholic children to attend the public schools, else it would provide more accommodation. Now, I cannot speak concerning the Colony at large, but I affirm on good authority that, so far as Auckland is concerned, this assertion is untrue. There is ample accommodation in the schools of this province for every Catholic child in it. The Board of Education lately gave this fact in their reply to Bishop Luck's request for an inspector to visit his schools, as a reason why they declined it. But there is a further charge, and this is a serious one. It is implied that a Catholic teacher is at a disadvantage in securing a situation under the Boards because of his religious views. Says the Bishop:

It is notorious that Catholic candidates for situations as teachers in these schools have been rejected, on the solo ground of their being Catholics.

I do not believe that statement. If there had been a single known instance of such rejection there would have been a howl of indignation raised by their coreligionists which would have been heard from one end of the Colony to the other. They are not the people to sit easily under such treatment. But, again, we can appeal to facts as they stand in the Auckland province. To my certain knowledge there are several head-masters and assistants who are Catholics employed in the public schools in this city and suburbs; and I am further certain that if a religious census were taken of the teachers in this province, it would appear that they have more than a fair number. But every intelligent citizen knows that the Board seeks to know only the educational attainments of its teachers, and does not worry about their religion—Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and even Parsees are received, if able to pass the examinations. The assertion of the Bishop is without proof, and is to be treated with the same feeling with which we look upon the following inane statement:—

Secularists pretend it is their desire to have Catholics in the public schools, as they are unwilling to have 12,000 or 14,000 bright and clever Catholic children to compete with their darlings, and thus lessen the chances of those darlings monopolising the loaves and fishes.

Rubbish! Really, this Bishop can utter the most egregious nonsense that ever occurred to any creature with brains. One might suppose that an ogre stands at the entrance of every public school, asking each child as it enters what is its religious belief, and turning back the "bright and clever" Catholic child! As a matter of fact, no question is asked of such a nature; and a further fact is that in Auckland half the Catholic children are in the public schools, *in spite of the refusal of the Romish clergy to give the sacrament to the parents who allow their children to attend them.*

Have I not proved that the language is an appeal to the passion of the Catholic people rather than to their intelligence? On this matter I think that the people are more intelligent than their leaders, and will show it by ignoring the pronouncements.

Let me now call your attention to the fact that this Romish demand is no local claim. It is not peculiar to New Zealand. The Roman Catholic hierarchy are pressing for a similar thing elsewhere. In England, although there are denominational grants, in which they participate, they are not satisfied. Like the daughter of the horse-leech, the clergy still cry, "Give." But the people of England are not likely to listen to such demands. The tendency of Liberal opinion is in the direction of the abolition of denominational grants, and the adoption of a system similar to our own. In Canada the like claim has been made, and there it has been largely successful. Dr. Fulton writes that in Canada—

Five Roman Catholics can petition for a separate school. The petition being granted, all Roman Catholics within a radius of three miles every way can be compelled to support it. No matter if they prefer the public school, the law compels them to support the Roman Catholic school. All known Catholics, and all believed to be Roman Catholics, are taxed, and deliverance from the same can only be obtained by a process of law which is irritating if not dangerous.

It is interesting to note that there is a determined effort on the part of the Protestant element to break through this system; not to secure peculiar advantages for themselves, but to put all upon an equal footing. How

the position in Canada is viewed by Americans may well be seen in the words of an American: "We Americans now enjoy the unusual privilege of seeing the garotter who has determined to strangle us to-morrow perform the operation of choking the victim he has selected for to-day. If we are wise, forewarned will be forearmed, and the fingers that now clutch the Canadian throat will be handcuffed before they embrace our jugular vein."

In America a determined effort has been made to establish a system of parochial schools, and to enforce the attendance of all Catholic children. This, although many schools have been opened, has failed in its compulsory aspect, because many of the priests and more intelligent of the laity—educated in the public schools—have opposed the arbitrary decree of the Baltimore Plenary Council. The message from the Pope, confirming the action of Monsignor Satolli on this question, has compelled the parochial school party to back down. There is no doubt that the attitude taken by American citizens has brought forth this mild Papal approbation. As I view it, the Romish hierarchy of America thought their power strong enough to force the question, but they found that they had to encounter, not only a revival of the old spirit of Puritanic resistance, but an unexpected opposition in their own people who had been trained in the public schools. As Rome is yielding enough where not strong enough to compel, expediency has suggested that at present no further open opposition shall be made to the public school system of America. That decision does not affect other States, and so it happens that the Romish bishops of New Zealand think that now is the opportunity to strike a blow against our public school system, and we, who desire to preserve it intact, must gird ourselves to defend our position, and to resist their assaults.

To concede this demand would be to make a breach into a system which has so far worked effectively. By our State system the children are brought together in common school life just at that period when impressions are most easily made. Education being *free and secular*, the existence of class distinctions and religious prejudices is not recognised, and cannot therefore be fostered. The fact that these are ignored must largely minimise their importance, if it does not actually destroy them. It may be true that the child of Wesleyan parentage remains a Wesleyan, but it is certain that sectarian difference's will be mellowed, and he will have in after life a greater kindness for his Anglican and Presbyterian fellow-citizens with whom he was educated. He has conned with them the same lesson in a common school-room, and has joined in the same games in the playground, and by sheer force of circumstances he has early and imperceptibly learned the valuable lesson of toleration. This must be a benefit to the State in serving to weld its people together. The older countries teem with illustrations which show the harmful character of class and sectarian education. Why, where there exist denominational schools it has been no uncommon thing for pitched battles to occur between the scholars, and the antipathy then engendered has been an evil thing for the scholars, and in after years for the State: the existence of religious antipathies often preventing united action to secure a common good. The intermingling of the children under the present system, which knows nothing of religious differences, is a good which is of itself sufficient to make us resist any effort in the direction of introducing sectarianism. Until it is shown that our system results in a positive evil to the State, we are not justified in exchanging it for another which, whatever it may yield to the favoured sect, can only be hurtful to the community at large.

Further, *to concede this would mean that the same concession may have to be made to every other religious community.* The Anglicans Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Jews, Theosophists, and Spiritualists, all would have a perfect right to establish schools where their peculiar tenets should be inculcated, and to demand their share of the education vote to enable them to do it; the office of the State would be that of collector and paymaster, having little to do with the way in which the money is spent. Apart altogether from the thesis (which I have not time to amplify) that the State has nothing to do with the teaching of religion, such a condition of things would not only mean the wreckage of our public school system, but it would mean that many children who now have an opportunity of attending school would then lie shut out completely from any chance of education. Under the present system the cost per head in the town schools is much less than the sum received as capitation grant under the education vote: but the surplus is used to establish and to carry on the schools in the sparsely-populated districts, where the cost is greater than the sum received per head. There are hundreds of schools which are losing concerns; but these draw, so to say, upon the larger ones, and thus are kept going. Under a denominational system this would not be possible. Years ago, in Auckland, before a committee which sat to take evidence on the subject, this was clearly shewn. The Roman Catholic Vicar-General was asked the following question by Mr. Swanson:—

In a district where there are forty children—ten Catholics, ten Episcopalians, ten Presbyterians, ten Methodists—if you had the distribution of the money voted by the State, how would you apply it in educating the children denominationally?

Ans.: I would divide the money proportionately amongst the heads of denominations.

Would not that mean that in such a district, as it would not pay any denomination to establish a school, the children would have to grow up in ignorance? The towns would be cared for and the country be neglected. The present system reaches the country districts, and carries its benefits to all, and for that reason should be

conserved—no breach allowed to be made in it to benefit a selfish community.

The history of denominational grants in Auckland is an argument against it. Many of the older citizens can endorse the words of a venerable Anglican minister, who said to me, "The thing stinks in the nostrils of the people of Auckland." There is no need that, to bear out my statement, I should go into the story which is contained in the Blue Books of the province, but I can assure those who are ignorant of that bit of history that the part taken in it by the Catholic authorities is a shocking chapter of fraud, deception, and maladministration. But the main point I here insist upon is that under that system the education of the Roman Catholic children was not properly attended to. So notorious was this, that the Catholic laity actually complained of the neglect in a petition which was forwarded by them to the Pope. In a speech delivered by Mr. Creighton in the House of Representatives, in 1871, he said:

In the province of Auckland, in the Roman Catholic schools . . . a system of education had been for ten years under the supervision of the clergy of the Catholic Church. What was the result? The educational results were so low, and the schools so inefficient, that the laity actually rebelled against the control of their spiritual superiors, at least in educational matters. There were other causes, to which he need not refer, which influenced the Catholic laity in bringing their clergy to book: but no doubt the principal reasons for the course taken by the Roman Catholic laity was, the general neglect of education in the Catholic schools.

The present bishops may be perfectly honest, but in the change of authorities there is always a danger that there may be maladministration arising from incompetency.

Since this was in type, an extract appeared in the *New Zealand Herald*, quoted from the *Globe*, an American quarterly review, which shows that the parochial school system in America is weak in its administrative department, and so fails to retain the confidence of the people. "Its general, financial, and other management is, as a rule, too exclusively in the hands of individual priests, some of whom are apt to be the most impractical of men, and by their very education, almost exclusively on theological lines, and for religious ends, are in some respects unfitted for the exclusive management of the general education of children" (*N. Z. Herald*, Nov. 18, 1893). The writer of the article is in sympathy with the Catholic claims, and this makes the admission more damaging.

The past history gives a loud-voiced warning which at present is more clamant than the modern pronouncements.

To concede this would mean that the State yielded its right to provide for and oversee the education of the children. Of course, the Roman Catholics' claim means that the State has no right whatever to be the schoolmaster. The *Catholic World* says:

The Church. . . flatly contradicts the assumption on the part of the State of the prerogative of education, and determinedly opposes the effort to bring up the youth of the country for purely secular and temporal purposes. (Vol. II. p. 439.)

Before the committee, already referred to, the Vicar-General of Auckland was asked:

Ques: Suppose a school solely to be composed of Roman Catholic children, would you ask the Council to make such an exceptional case?

Ans.: What the Catholic Church requires is, to have the appointment of teachers, the selection of books, the inspection of the Schools, and its entire management.

Ques.: If the present Act should pass, and a mixed board, consisting in part of Catholics, be constituted for the selection of teachers books, &c., could Roman Catholics in your opinion, with due regard to their Catholicity, avail themselves of the advantages of the schools?

Ans.: If the following condition were inserted in the Act they could:—First . . . the appointment of the teachers, and selection of the books by the patron, namely, the Right Rev. the Roman Catholic Bishop for the time being, or his representative, the Very Rev. the Vicar-General.

This is a pretty large order, and it is well for us to know just what is meant by the demand now before us. If the State is to be simply collector of taxes and paymaster to the denominations, with-out having control of teachers and tuition, then all security as to the nature of the teaching is gone. It is asserted by Americans that the text-books of history which are employed in the parochial schools of the States are specially designed to glorify Roman Catholicism and to vilify Protestantism. That may happen here—perhaps it does so already in the Catholic schools—but we can never consent that the State should be a party to the impartation of instruction which is untruthful. It can never consent to hand over the complete training of the children to an organisation which may have other objects to serve, and can falsify history to reach them. Here I come to an important point.

This claim made by the Romish bishops is not to be looked upon as a question of denominational grant merely, as against a free secular education. I am opposed to State aid to denominational schools, but when we have to deal with Rome it is well to know what she means by her demand for aid. The ordinary arguments against denominationalism do not cut at the root of her claims, Behind and beneath these is something more, to which I now proceed to call attention. It is a familiar theme to those who have read much of the history of the

past struggles for religious freedom, but perhaps some of my hearers know little of these, and it is well to mention at this time the facts and principles which underlie these Romish claims. Some may imagine that the Catholic Church, having erected so many schools, and having made such strenuous efforts to educate the Catholic children, shows a laudable spirit, which ought to be encouraged. It may seem a thankless word if I here say that Rome does *not* really desire to educate the children; that she is not actuated by any supreme desire to remove the ignorance which rests upon the youthful mind, to aid the children to become members of a State which shall be guided by the principles of reason and truth. This, I say, may appear ungracious in view of the facts; but I affirm it. If she now educates, it is only because she is stung into action by forces outside herself, and beyond her control. She educates to keep the children she would otherwise lose. It is a notorious truth, illustrated by the experience of Spain, Italy, Austria, Mexico, and South America, that Roman Catholic priests, when they had their way, never gave a primary school education enough to lit the population for the duties and responsibilities of free government. I do not deny that she has done good educational work, and that there are many names of towering grandeur in scholarship connected with her, but her benefits have been given to the limited few, never to the people. It has been an education of the cloister, the castle, and the palace, never for the peasant's hut. Her policy has been to keep the masses ignorant, in harmony with the time-honoured maxim, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion."

When the Papal States were entered by Victor Emanuel, 80 per cent. of the people could neither read nor write. Think of it! Here the Romish Church had complete control of all affairs, temporal and spiritual, and yet the people were in darkest, densest ignorance. Under the shadow of the Vatican, within which wealth and learning dwelt in a blaze of splendour, lived an ignorant, down-trodden population, yielding but 5 per cent. that could read and write! Look at Spain to-day, where Rome has controlled all education for centuries. She has 16,000,000 people, 12,000,000 of whom can neither read nor write. In 1864 she had 58 colleges, with 14,000 students in them, nearly all priests and monks, being trained to prey upon the ignorance and superstition of the people! In Mexico that Church has had full control for 300 years, with this as a result. Dr. Green, visiting at Pachuca, writing to Dr. King, of New York, says: "Potatoes sell for a penny apiece, and you buy them one at a time, for the seller cannot count!" Three hundred years of Romish education in Mexico, and the people have not learned to count two potatoes! Says Dr. Dille, in commenting on this: "In Ireland they have taught the people to count potatoes and not much else, except the catechism." Why is it that Bishop Luck should mourn the fact that so few of his flock are found in the mercantile community? Why? It is because many of them have come from older countries, where the influence of Romanism is a perpetual down-drag, and where every effort for mental and spiritual freedom is stifled in the birth by that repressive terror—the Romish Church. I repeat it with emphasis, *Home does not really desire to educate*. Stung into activity by Protestants, she now educates. For what? To benefit her children? No; but to keep them under her control, and to fa in their minds the teaching which will tend to keep them in mental and spiritual thralldom to her. There is nothing she dreads so much as that her "bright and clever children" should come in contact with the free spirit of Protestantism, as that is reflected in our public institutions. If she does not educate she will lose them, hence her schools.

Should it be objected that the action or inaction of the Romish Church elsewhere should not be used to condemn her here, my answer is that at heart she is everywhere the same, and that her proud boast is that she does not change; and if she has taught that bread and catechism are enough for the masses, she is of the same opinion still. Dr. Maguire, a Roman Catholic professor, tells a story in the *Dublin Review* (vol. xx. p. 192, 2nd series) of the Arch-bishop of Tuam, who closed a school, and when one of the villagers asked how he was to send his children to school, replied, "*What do they want with a school? Let them learn the catechism.*"

Rome does not change; let me use that further as a reason why the Catholic claim should not be conceded. She does not change in her intolerant attitude towards other beliefs. Said Bishop Moran, in 1883, "There is no such thing as a common Christianity." Of course, the Catholic children are taught this. In some catechisms in use in the parochial schools the children are squarely taught that Protestants cannot be saved. Here is an extract from one printed in Baltimore, under the licence of the late Archbishop Bailey, quoted by Dr. Dille:

Ques.: Arc Protestants willing to confess their sins to a Catholic bishop or priest, who alone has power from Christ to forgive sins?

Ans.: No; for they generally have an utter aversion to confession, and, therefore, their sins will not be forgiven them throughout all eternity.

Ques.: What follows from this?

Ans.: That they die in their sins, and are damned.

What kind of spirit is fostered where such teaching is given? But that spirit is the spirit of Rome, engendered, and fostered, and acted upon by her wherever she has the power. Witness the letter sent by Pius IX. to Maximilian, when it seemed that he would become the Emperor of Mexico:

Your majesty is well aware that in order to effectually repair the evils by the revolution, and to bring back as soon as possible happy days for the Church, the Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the

glory and mainstay of the Mexican nation, to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship; that the bishops must be perfectly free in the exercise of their pastoral ministry; that the religious orders should be re-established, or re-organised, conformably with the instructions and the powers which we have given; that the patrimony of the Church, and the rights which attach to it, may be maintained and protected: that no person may obtain the faculty of teaching and publishing false and subversive tenets; that instruction, whether public or private, should be directed and watched over by the ecclesiastical authority; that, in short, the chains may be broken which up to the present time have held down the church in a state of dependence, and subject to the arbitrary rule of the civil government. ("Appleton's Annual Cycle," 1865, p. 749. quoted by Joseph Cook.)

There you have a picture of the real intolerant character of the Romish Church, and it means that that spirit goes into the schools under her influence, and in accordance with the creed of Pius IV., which declares that out of "this true Catholic faith *no one can be saved*"—a doctrine which has led not only to the teaching contained in the letter just read, but which has fed the spirit of intolerance until, where power is possessed, it has led to the bitterest persecution and the establishment of the inquisition. Now, the question arises, If Rome teaches such doctrines with such results, can the State permit that any portion of its funds shall be devoted to the assistance of any organisation, or be used in the propagation of teachings, which must inevitably tend to the injury and disruption of the body politic? Most emphatically I say, No. Our endeavour must be to secure to our children such a training as will at least cultivate a spirit of toleration. Even though it may be impossible to secure perfect unanimity of thought on all topics, political, social, and religious, we can seek to minimise differences by the cultivation of the spirit of toleration and of charity.

Again, you will take note of the fact that *the training of the young is committed by the Church of Home to a special class*—a class which has little or no interest in the state where its members reside. Who are they? Chiefly priests, members of some Jesuit order, and sisters trained in a convent for the special work of teaching Catholic doctrines—doctrines which do not change. Celibates these, with no family ties, and who, therefore, pass through life with more than half their natures uncultivated, and the other portion trained to full submission to Rome. They are lingers and hands on a wrist which moves thousands of miles away, the impulses of which are sometimes opposed to the interests of the states where they are designed to operate. The Roman Catholic schools are chiefly under the control of the Jesuits, whose private and public influence has been for centuries of so mischievous a character that they have been expelled again and again from many of the foremost nations, both Protestant and Catholic. Knowing this, again I say, We cannot pay over our State funds to subsidise such instructors and their mischievous teachings.

Once more: Who is the gentleman who stands at the head of this movement in Auckland, and who calls upon the Catholic voters to record their votes in favour of his demand? Bishop Luck is a very good man, I have no doubt. I have not a word to say against him. I can, however, fully endorse his own opinion of himself, that he is unfitted for the position of a political leader. What higher praise can I give than to agree with him? But I insist upon one thing, and that is, that although he is the head of the Roman Catholic body in this diocese, he is, after all, but the mouthpiece, the creature, of another. He must move as the strings are pulled by one whom we have never seen, and do not want to see. The bishops of the Catholic Church are bound soul and body to the old gentleman on the Tiber. Do I speak without the book? I think not. Here is a copy of the oath taken by every Catholic bishop:

I, N., elect of the church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, the Lord N., Pope N., and to his successors canonically entering. I will help them to keep the Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order against all men the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. . . . Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord, or his aforesaid successors, I will to my uttermost persecute and oppose. . . . I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years, and give an account to our Lord and his aforesaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly, to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic command. ("Dowling's History of Romanism," pp. 615, 616, quoted by Joseph Cook.)

I suppose the promise "to persecute" is to be understood with the proviso, if he obtains the power. But I ask you to consider what such an oath means when its teaching is put in force through the parochial schools. It may seem a very harmless thing, but no one knows better than the Roman Catholic what this means where there is unhindered scope for its outworking. Twenty years ago Cardinal Manning, preaching on the *Syllabus*, uttered words which might have fallen from the lips of a mediæval inquisitor, and not from those of an Englishman of the nineteenth century. He put these words into the mouth of the Pope:

In His (Christ's) right. I am sovereign. I acknowledge no civil superior: and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and

the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong. (" Sermons on Religious Subjects," published by Burns and Oates in 1873, Vol. III., 97.)

Let all New Zealanders ponder this passage, and ask themselves whether they can permit a single penny of the State funds to go to the support of a school system which will teach the children that they are to be subject to a foreign pontiff before they yield allegiance to the State. Step by step I have led you to see the full hearing of this matter. On principle I object to denominational grants, but this is a more serious thing. It resolves itself into the question, Can we permit our schools to become nurseries for the political power of Rome? The design of this claim is to secure the whole of the Catholic population under the complete local control of a few score ecclesiastics, who are themselves virtually the officers of a foreign pontiff. They seek for political power, and they know that the only way to get it is to have the complete control of the children. Ignorance will serve their turn best; but in a State which insists upon education for all, they seek for State aid to train the children to act as the machines which will move at their will to secure their political ends. Vicar-General Preston said: "The man who gets his religion but not his politics from Rome is not a good Catholic." Well, the bishops desire to make the children under their control *good* Catholics, and that will mean *bad* citizens if the Pope of Rome has their first allegiance. That issue may seem remote; but if New Zealanders are wise they will resist any attempt to get the first step. Rome must dabble in politics, for it is her audacious claim that she is the kingdom of God on earth, and her head is the supreme ruler. In 1863, by virtue of this claim, the Pope declared the laws of New Grenada null and void. In 1856 the laws of Mexico, in 1853 the laws of Spain, in 1862 the laws of Austria, were abrogated by the Pope. Sometimes there has been a checkmate, as when, in 1077, Pope Boniface VIII. wrote to Phillip the Fair of France: "Pope Boniface to Phillip King of France: Greetings.—Know thou, O supreme prince, that thou art subject to us in all things." This aroused Phillip, and he replied: "Phillip to Boniface: Little or no greetings.—Know thou, O supreme fool, that in governmental matters we are not subject to you or any other man." All France re-echoed the scorn of Phillip the Fair, and yet in one generation it sank back into the arms of papal despotism!

Fellow-citizens, New Zealand law must be made in New Zealand, by and for New Zealanders. It is not to our interest that it should be made in Rome or by Romish clergy in our midst: and to secure ourselves from papal intermeddling we must maintain an unyielding resistance to the present demands of the Catholic bishops. Said Bishop Moran, before the Committee on Education, in 1883: "The matter of education in accordance with our principles is one of life and death with us."

Just so; I believe that. The dogmas of Rome and her claim to political supremacy cannot live where they are in open contact with the active thought of Protestantism, and they fade and wither in the free air of our public schools. They can only live when fostered by the priest and the nun, and are drilled into the plastic mind of youth. Is it a matter of life and death? So much the worse for Rome. If the citizens were compelled to choose between the life of that Church and that of our public school system, I am certain that they would say, Let the first die, and be buried—

Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

We remember that there is such a thing as history, and on its indelible record is inscribed the influence of Rome as a perpetual down-drag upon the efforts of the people to attain to knowledge and to self-government. There is not a principle of civil or religious liberty which has fought for a foothold amongst men for three centuries and a-half but she has been its sworn foe, its deadliest enemy. We remember this, and, knowing something of cause and effect, we now protest against her claim; and we believe that the intelligent portion of the Catholic population will join us in our protest at the ballot-box against it. Better do it now, than wait until the intolerant consequences are grown too powerful to be easily uprooted. Our motto must be, "Benefit to the children, toleration for the community, and safety for the State;" and to keep these principles intact we cannot allow State funds to be granted to schools in which the more closely the teachings accord with Romanism the more must such schools be a standing menace to the State.

Some may say that I have spoken too strongly, and have taken pleasure in being a prophet of evil; to such I can say, You have read but little of the long, upward, toilsome struggle of your forefathers, and still less of the unchanging principles of Rome, if you imagine that this protest, is not needed. Let me press upon you the words of Canon Melville:

Make peace if you will with Popery; shrine it in your chambers, plant it in your hearts; but be ye certain as that there is a heaven above you, and a God over you, that Popery thus honoured and embraced is the very Popery that was loathed and degraded by the holiest of your fathers: and the same in haughtiness, the same in intolerance, which lorded over kings, assumed the prerogative of Deity, crushed human liberty, and slow the saints of God.

Are these things so? Then, by every principle of civil and religious liberty which you hold dear, by your desire to see this your nation in the van of progress, proclaiming as its basic principle "equal rights and equal

privileges to all, out of a common fund," vote against this outrageous claim. Every man and woman who now votes at the dictate of any ecclesiastical superior deserves to be disfranchised; and every man returned to the House to act at the dictate of any hierarchy should be expelled, as having no right to a seat in a free Parliament.

Remember, Rome does not change, and Rome in politics means evil—only evil—and evil continually to the State.

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Front Cover

"Perhaps a word ought to be said about discrepancies. A large number of these so-called discrepancies are only so in appear nice. They are not so in reality. A certain percentage may be attributed to defects in the copies of Scripture or to defeats in translation and exposition, sometimes a little additional information would make all perfectly clear A large number have boon satisfactorily explained; others are sure to be cleared up, a few will remain to the end because the needed information is lost beyond recovery While, therefore, it would be too much to say that all difficulties have been removed, and all seeming discrepancies satisfactorily accounted for, we will be bold to say no real error in the whole Bible, as it left its original wiiters, has been demonstrated."—The Feraley Lecture, delivered by the Rev. F. W. Sharr, before the Wesleyynn Conference at Nottingham, July, 1891.

"It" (criticism) "has failed to make good its charge of falschood and contradiction against the Old Testament, On close examination, the alleged fictions have generally turned out to be facts, and the contradictions have vanished."—The Fernley Lecture, delivered by Dr. Randles, Professor of Systematic Theology, before the Wesleyan Conference at Bradford, July, 1892

A Reply to the Lecture

Delivered by the Rev. C. H. Garland,

On "*The Bearing of Higher Criticism on, Leading Evangelical Doctrines.*"

By William Shepherd Allen, M.A.

Auckland: Wilsons and Horton, Printers, Queen and Wyndham Streets. MDCCCXCIII.

Preface.

IT is only right that I should explain my reasons for publishing this short Reply to the Lecture of the Rev. C. H. Garland. After the publication of the lecture two months elapsed, and no answer appeared. A belief then became prevalent amongst the public, that the views stated in it were the views generally held and approved by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New Zealand. This was not the case; but the fact that no notice was taken of the lecture very naturally seemed to confirm it. A letter on the subject of "Higher Criticism," from the Rev. C. H. Garland, then appeared in *The New Zealand Methodist* newspaper, with the announcement that it was to be fallowed by other; and this again seemed to strengthen the idea that the views of the Rev. C. H. Garland, were the views of the New Zealand Wesleyan Methodist Church. I therefore felt it my duty, as a member of that Church, to publish a short reply, and to utter my protest against the views contained in the Lecture, It has been a task of some difficulty, in consequence of the limited time at my disposal, and my inability to deal with some of the points raised in it, as I should have wished, in consequence of almost all my books of reference being at my home in England. This must be my apology for not dealing at greater length, and in a more critical manner, with home of the topics touched upon in the Lecture.

AA LECTURE was delivered last March, before the Wesleyan Conference at Dunedin, by the Rev. C. H. Garland, on "The Bearing of the Higher Criticism on Leading Evangelical Doctrines."

That lecture contains Statements and assertions of a very startling character; statements which, if they were correct, and assertions which, if they could be proved, would go far towards destroying our faith in Christianity, as it is commonly understood amongst those called Christians, It the lecture had been delivered by a man thoroughly imbued with the sentiments of the German Rationalistic school, there would have been little in it to cause wonder or surprise; but coming from the quarter from which it does, it has indeed been a surprise to many, and has caused them bitter pain and grief. It is, deeply to be regretted that, a Wesleyan minister—a minister of that great Church whose orthodoxy was fenced in by her founder with *every* care which the skill of man could devise; a Church whose creed is sharply defined, and whose ministers solemnly pledge themselves to maintain and preach the doctrines that creed enthodies; and a Church which has ever prided herself on her firm and unwavering faith in the Bible as the Word of God; should deliberately send forth to the world a lecture containing views diametrically opposed to those she has hitherto held, and still holds, as to the Bible being the Word of God. It must nut, however, be regarded as in any sense expressing the views of the Wesleyan Conference, for I am informed on high authority that hardly any of the lecturer's ministerial brethren share his views; and, undoubtedly, amongst the laity those views are generally condemned and regarded as unsound.

Unfortunately, however, the public generally are not aware of these facts, and consequently the lecture is considered by many as an official utterance, and as expressing the views of the New Zealand Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The lecturer commences with the words, "What is higher criticism?" and he then goes on to explain what he means by it, and in order that I may not in any way misrepresent him, I will quote his words in full as they stand in his lecture:—

By higher criticism is meant not so much another branch added to these as an entire change of method in the critical study of the Bible. Hitherto (that is for the last three centuries) the method has been dogmatic (that is, a small series of texts has been, quoted, e.g., 2 Timothy iii., 16: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God"; and 2 Peter i, 21: "Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost"); and upon these a theory or dogma has been constructed, into harmony with which every verse in the Bible has had to be brought. By higher criticism is meant the rejection of that method and the adoption of the inductive method, or a reasoning from particulars to generals—the deriving of a general truth from particular facts. It approaches the Bible without any theory of its inspiration or authority—deals with it as an ordinary historical and literary production; critically examines its history, law, prophecies, and doctrines; estimates the intellectual tendencies and national feelings of the writers, and the current thoughts and expressions of the times; and instead of citing the Bible's testimony to its own inspiration and authority, induces them, if they be there, from the facts considered.

Now, as this explanation is rather long and laboured, especially the tremendous sentence with which the explanation is supposed to close, I may venture to give a shorter, and to the ordinary mind possibly a somewhat clearer definition, of what "higher criticism" professes to be. As it is also the definition of one whom the lecturer evidently admires, the Rev. W. T. Davison, he cannot reasonably object to it. Now, Mr. Davison defines "higher criticism" to be

"The examination of the Books of Scripture to determine their date, authorship, and character;"
as distinguished from

"'lower criticism,' which examines only into their words, and the accuracy of the revised text."

The lecturer then goes on to tell us that this "critical movement" began about A.D. 1753, when a work was published by a French physician named Astruc, about whom we are informed that—

Concentrating his attention on the unaccountable usage of the two names, Jehovah and Elohim, translated Lord and (God respectively) he conjectured—it was only a conjecture—that Moses was not the original author of Genesis, but that he had made use of older documents, particularly of two, though he thought he discovered traces of at least nine others.

The lecturer, however, no doubt accidentally, omits to inform us that the hypothesis of Astruc is now held by men of the highest repute to be altogether a mistake, and in support of this statement I may quote the weighty words of one of the most thoughtful and accomplished "Wesleyan ministers of the present day, who has made the Pentateuch his special study, the Rev. W. Spiers. M.A., who writes:—

"The hypothesis originated in a misunderstanding of Exodus vi, 2, 3: 'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by (the name of) God Almighty, but by My name of Jehovah was I not known to them. Commentators of the very highest repute, such as Hengstenberg, Keil, and Delitzsch, explain that it is the Divine character rather than the mere name that is denoted; and this interpretation is in complete harmony with common Hebrew usage. The full meaning of the name Jehovah, all the significance of the Divine grace and goodness, was not understood by the Israelites till, as their Redeemer, He delivered them out of the Egyptian bondage and brought them to the promised land."

It is a curious and suggestive fact that the first attack on the Book of Genesis by the reputed father of higher criticism, originated in a mistake.

The lecturer then goes on to relate an anecdote about himself,—valuable as indicating the character and tendency of his own mind. A little lad was preparing his lesson for the Sunday School, on the subject of David and Goliath, and the lecturer, as he states, "more in jest than in earnest," endeavoured to puzzle him by drawing his attention to some little discrepancies in the narrative. After this suggestive anecdote the lecturer makes this frank admission in reference to "higher criticism," and the dangerous lengths to which some of its votaries carry it:—

Dr. Ellicott fear it, and boldly asserts that it is based on disbelief in the supernatural. Dr. Blaikie, the Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, whose word carries deserved weight beyond his own communion, attributes to it the decline of the evangelical spirit in Great Britain; and Dr. Stalker recently declared that it was emptying the Continental churches, quoting the fact that in the Dutch Church alone there were last year no less than 300 vacancies.

Still, notwithstanding these weighty testimonies to the peril and danger of the path in which he is trending, the lecturer, like the famous French politician, for I will not call him statesman,—*"with a light heart,"* rushes

eagerly on, and after frankly confessing that he "does not possess the necessary qualifications of a critic," he utters this pregnant sentence reapecting his lecture:—

If it have any value, it lies not in its substance, but in its semi-official character.

These words are most important, and suggest matter for very serious reflection to the members of our Church in New Zealand. The lecturer distinctly claims for his lecture "a semi-official character," and till its claim to be so looked upon is authoritatively denied, it will unquestionably be regarded as such by the public at large. There is no doubt that the lecturer has seriously compromised our Church in those islands by his utterances, and it is on this account that, having waited in vain for three months to see if some reply would be made, I have at length, as a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New Zealand, ventured to utter my most solemn protest against his views and conclusions.

The lecturer then goes on to make a very startling assertion:—

The leading evangelical doctrines have been influencend not by one but by there things—the advanced physical science, modern philosophy, and higher criticism.

The thoughtful reader may well ask, What prooft what shadow of proof, there is for this statement? I admit the term "leading evangelical doctrines" is somewhat wide and vague, and in the hands of a "higher critic" might be so skilfully manipulated as to mean almost anything. In its eommion-sense interpretation, however, as meaning" those fundamental truths of the Gospel which we as Methodists, in common with other Churches, hold and maintain I fearlessly assert that "physical science" and "modern philosophy" have not, and cannot change them at all. Truth is the same now as it was eighteen centuries ago, and as it will be to the end of time. The teaching of the Eternal Son is as true now, as it was when He lived on this earth 1800 years ago, and as it will be when He comes to judge mankind. Take, for instance, the grand, central doctrine of the Atonement. "Physical science n and "moral philosophy" can no more alter or influence the fact, that Christ died on the Cross, and made an atonement for the Sins of mankind, than they Cun alter or in fluence the fact that Napoleon commanded the French army at the Battle of Waterloo. I admit, that if "higher criticism" can prove that the Books of the Old Testament are, to a large extent, forgeries, unreliable, and not to be credited; and if they can also prove, as some of them are struggling to do, that Christ Himself was ignorant, ill-informed, fallible, constantly making mistakes and misstatements, and so "limited in His knowledge "as to be untrustworthy as a teacher of truth, that this central doctrine, and all other evangelical doctrines, will be most seriously influenced. Indeed, not only would they be most seriously influenced, but they would be absolutely destroyed, as the common sense of practical men would refuse to credit a Book which was found to be largely made up of forgeries, and to listen to a Teacher who was found to be untrustworthy. Christianity would die, and the only refuge for the world would be hopeless Agnosticism; some believing in the probability, some in the possibility, and some denying altogether the existence of a great First Cause.

At present, however, "higher criticism," notwithstanding its most strenuous efforts, backed up in many cases by the boldest assertions utterly unsupported by facts, has not been able to shake that firm foundation of the Christian faith, the Word of God.

We next come to a most striking sentence, and a sentence the full meaning of which every thinking man should most carefully consider, and calmly ponder over:—

But, furthermore, the bearin which higher criticism has upon the doctrines of repentance, the atonement, and Ihe completion of human redemption is indirect, depending entirely upon the bearing which higher criticism has upon the inspiration and authority of the Bible. And that is a subject which is still sub Judice; to advance conclusions, the truth of which depends upon a problem not yet solved, could lead no man to conviction, but must lead many to confusion.

Now, what is the meaning of these words? If they have any meaning at all they must mean just this, that the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith—repentance, the atonement, and the redemption of man, are at present *sub judice*, or in other words, on their trial before the tribunal of "higher criticism." Bye-and-bye the higher critics will tell us, whether to believe them or not. Does the lecturer see the far-reaching, but logical consequence of his statementt, supposing the Christian world accepts it and acts accordingly? It means nothing less than the paralysis of Christianity, the cessation of all Christian effort, and the giving up of all Christian hope; it may be for ten, it may be for twenty, it may be for a hundred years, till this little knot of hookworms, who nt present can hardly agree on one single thing, shall think fit to tell mankind what they may, and what they may not believe. The lecturer practically asks the Christian world to stand still, and wait in silent; suspense till a few recluses, sitting in their studies, shall decide on the future creed of the world. I may be told that I am misrepresenting the lecturer; but am I? The lecturer tells us that these doctrines, of transcendant importance to us, both as regards this world and the next, are now *sub judice*, which means before the tribunal of "the critics." When a matter is before a judge, it is the custom for the parties interested to wait for his decision; and, consequently, when the lecturer tells us that these matters in which we are vitally interested are now *sub judice*, he practically asks us to pause and wait for the judge's decision. What magnificent self-assurance is shown in

this request. The doctrines of repentance and the Atonement were plainly taught by Christ and His Apostles 1800 years ago; the Christian Church for eighteen centuries has held these doctrines with unshaken fidelity; John Wesley and the early Methodist preachers, and the great Churches they founded, have clung to these doctrines with a firm and unyielding grasp; millions of men have died witnessing with their last breath their faith in the all-sufficient atonement of Christ, But all this is nothing to the lecturer. With supreme contempt he passes it by, and tells us to wait till "the critics" have spoken, for the matter is now sub *Judice*. Truly, a modest demand. We are supposed, however, to have immortal souls, and may possibly die before the tribunal gives its decision, and if so, what then?

The lecturer then, in jocose language, passes on to criticise what he calls

"The story of creation," "with its talking serpent," "and angels guarding with their rotatory sword of fire the empty Paradise."

We are next told that the Bible throws no light on

"The problem of the bifurcation of sex."

A mysterious but hideous phrase. The lecturer then proceeds to mention several apparent discrepancies between the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and in the short space of two pages informs us that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses; assigns a comparatively recent date to the Book of Job; tells us that Dr. Cheyne asserts that David was not the author of a single Psalm; requests us to wait till "the critics" have decided about Daniel; authoritatively announces that the latter part of Isaiah was not written by the prophet himself, and jests "about him sawn asunder a second time." Not exhausted with the destruction he has effected on the Old Testament, the lecturer then hastens on to deal with the New. It is gratifying to find that there is some possibility of the Gospels of St Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke passing comparatively unscathed through the hands of the "higher critics." though even here we are told that

"Students are still busy with the problem of the construction of their narratives."

The lecturer, however, admits that St. John was the author of the Gospel which bears his name, and that St. Paul was the writer of the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians. About the other Books of the New Testament the lecturer says little, so that it seems the only books about which we can be fairly certain are the Gospel of St. John, and St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians? Now for this wholesale destruction of the Bible, it must be remembered, the lecturer does not bring forward a single proof, or a tittle of evidence in favour of his statements, except the conjectures of Dr. Driver, the assumptions of Dr. Cheyne, or the theories of one or two other men of the same type. Assertions of the most startling character are made; statements of the most astounding kind, on the most solemn and important subjects are uttered, and we are asked to believe them, without proof, or even attempt at proof.

All this is startling enough, but we now come to a page of a far more startling character. Christ stands in the way of the lecturer. The words of the former, and the theories of the latter do not agree. What is to be done? Both cannot be right. Which is to give way? Will the lecturer give up his theory, or will he attempt to prove that the Saviour is wrong? Does he hesitate? Not for a moment. Christ differs from some of the theories of some of the "higher critics," therefore, Christ must be in error. The point at issue is a very simple one, "Christ referred to the Pentateuch as the work of Moses." Some of the "higher critics" say it is not. Which is right? The question is one of vital importance. The lecturer unhesitatingly decides in favour of "the critics." The position is, however, an awkward one. Here is Christ; looked at from the standpoint of His humanity, a Man of mighty intellect, a Jew, a profound Hebrew scholar, able to cope with and silence the most learned Rabbis of the day, and with the incalculable advantage of living 1800 years nearer the time of Moses than the critics. Here is Christ also, looked at from the standpoint of His Divinity; the only Son of the Eternal Jehovah, a Being all wise, all holy, possessing all knowledge and all power; and by His own confession existing before the time of Moses, "before Abraham was I am." The lecturer sees his difficulty, but he is equal to the occasion, Skilfully avoiding all reference to Christ as a man, and not alluding at all to the extreme probability that being a Jew, a man of transcendent ability, and possessing a perfect knowledge of Hebrew, and living 1800 years nearer the time of Moses than we do, He would know who was the author of the Pentateuch, he proceeds to propound the theory that Christ, though Divine, was a Being of limited knowledge." At first sight it would seem no easy matter, admitting the Divinity of Christ, admitting that He was "The Brightness of His Father's glory," "The express image of His Person," and that "He made the worlds" to prove that He was also a Being of "limited knowledge." constantly making mistakes and misquotations. The lecturer, however, sees that he must do this, or confess that Christ was right about the authorship of the Pentateuch. The task is a gigantic one, but he at once sets himself manfully to work to prove the ignorance and limited knowledge of the Saviour. Two or three passages from the gospels are quoted in proof of this, and on the strength of our Lord's enquiry of His disciples "How many loaves have ye," and of His question respecting Lazarus, "Where have ye laid him," the lecturer bases his theory of our Lord's "limited knowledges." Of course our Lord in ordinary conversation with His disciples and friends, and others, spoke and talked as a man with men. Christ was not always parading his

omniscience as the Son of the Eternal, at all times and in all places; but the fact that He was not always showing it, is no argument against the indisputable truth that He possessed it. Just in the same way, as the fact that He did not descend from the cross, and put to flight those who had crucified Him, in no proof at all that He could not have done it, and no argument against His omnipotence, The quotation of those passages, however, in support of his theory, is most valuable as showing¹ the desperate shifts the "higher critics" are reduced to in their attempt to prove the inferiority of the Son of God in knowledge, to themselves.

Having thus rapidly disposed of Christ as an authority, the lecturer then proceeds to enlarge on what he states "higher criticism" pronounces as the

Errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects

of the Bible. To this pleasing subject he devotes two pages, and quotes various passages in proof of his statements. It is somewhat difficult at first sight to see, what the lecturer's object has been in introducing these pages into his lecture; but we gather from the sentence,

We must henceforth frankly acknowledge the existence of a human and fallible element in Scripture.

that his object has been to strike a blow at what may be called "The Infallibility of the Bible," The lecturer unhappily leaves us in doubt, as to how far the fallible in his judgment extends; because if he considers it to extend to the teaching of Christ and His apostles, in matters of doctrine, we may well ask, "Where is the element of certainty in the Word of God? Which part is human, and which divine? Which is the true, and which the false? These questions are questions of vital importance to us as Christians; for if the teaching of the future is to be, that there exists an undefined "human and fallible element" in the Word of God, we may well ask, Where must we go for an infallible guide?

Now, with respect to the alleged inaccuracies and errors of the Bible, the great majority of them have been satisfactorily explained again and again; and it is a most striking fact that with respect to various statements, which for centuries were considered as incorrect, recent discoveries—such as that of the treasure cities which the Israelites built, that Cyrenius was twice Governor of Syria, and that there actually was a Chaldean king named Belshazzar—have shown that the Bible was perfectly right, and that the objectors were wrong. In fact, every fresh discovery that has been made in reference to subjects mentioned in the Bible, has invariably shown that the Bible was correct, even in the minutest particular. It is perfectly true that a few difficulties on small and trivial points still remain, but as in time past, the removal of one difficulty after another, has more and more demonstrated the wonderful truth and correctness of the Word of God; so there is no reasonable doubt that as time rolls on, and more light is thrown on the matter, that most, if not all, of the little difficulties which still remain, will be satisfactorily explained. The lecturer boldly affirms,

Matthew has made a mistake;

but he must know perfectly well, that the point he alludes to has been again and again explained. The subject of the alleged "inaccuracies and errors" of the Bible is so important that I cannot refrain from quoting the words of the late Rev. E. J. Sharr, as recorded in the Fernley lecture, delivered by him before the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference, held in Nottingham in 1891:—

"A large number of these so-called discrepancies are only so in appearance. They are not so in reality. Sometimes a little additional information would make all perfectly clear. A large number have been satisfactorily explained; others are sure to be cleared up; a few will remain to the end, because the needed information is lost."

This is a fair and reasonable statement of the case, and taken in connection with the fact that many difficulties, at one time supposed to be insurmountable, have been altogether removed, and many statements which at one time were believed to be unmistakeable errors, have been now proved to be perfectly correct, is practically a complete answer to the charge of the "errors, misstatement, and inaccuracies" of the Bible.

After the various pages which the lecturer devotes to dwelling on what he terms the "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects" of the Bible, and after also briefly alluding to the

Personal spleen and vindictiveness

displayed in some of the Psalms, he passes on to the Prophets, Here, too, he finds something to disapprove of, for we are told:

We see a vagueness, indefiniteness, and a variation between the prophecy and the event that is bewildering.

In fact, the rev. gentleman springs from book to book, and place to place, with amazing agility, and like Noah's dove, nowhere can he find rest for the sole of his foot. The earlier Books of the Bible, he affirms, were not written by Moses; the Kings and Chronicles contradict each other; some of the Psalms contain "personal spleen and vindictiveness"; the prophecies "a vagueness, indefiniteness, and variation that is bewildering"; and with respect to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, he is not at present in a position to pronounce a definite opinion, as "students are still busy with the problem of the construction of their narratives." With respect to Christ, however, the lecturer feels that he stands on firm ground, and has no need to strengthen his position by extracts from either Canon Driver or Dr. Cheyne. Here he can stand alone, and his

unhesitating decision is, that Christ had "a limited knowledge"; that He was ignorant of passing events, and displayed His want of information by misquotations on the most important subjects.

Now, after this terrible indictment against the Bible, and after the lecturer has proved to his own satisfaction, that it is full of "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects," we should naturally expect that he would come to the only logical conclusion which his views about it seem to admit, namely, to reject it altogether. We find, however, to our unbounded surprise, this statement with respect to it:

The seat of authority in religion, we say in general, the Bible is the sole authority.

This is such an astounding conclusion, after all the lecturer has said about its, inaccuracies and defects, that it leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that, in his devotion to the study of "the science of higher criticism," the lecturer has entirely omitted that of "the art of logic." For, if his premiss is correct, that the Bible is full of "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects," the world of thinking men will have common sense enough to say, that a Book full of "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects" is unworthy of credit, and ought not to be believed. Consequently, from these two premisses, the conclusion logically follows, that the Bible is unworthy of credit, and ought not to be believed.

The lecturer may deny this, but irresistible logic is too strong for the wild conclusions, and loose reasoning of "higher criticism." Taking as the major premiss what the common sense of mankind will affirm, and as the minor premiss the statement of the lecturer, the syllogism will stand:

A Book full of "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects," is unworthy of credit, and ought not to be believed,

The Bible is a book full of "errors, misstatements, inaccuracies, and defects."

Therefore, the Bible is unworthy of credit, and ought not to be believed.

This conclusion is inevitable, if the minor premiss is true, as the lecturer says it is, but as I most emphatically deny. Now I am most anxious not to misrepresent the lecturer in the slightest degree, and I know he may reply, These "errors and inaccuracies" exist, "but they are not on vital points. What, however, can be a more vital point, than that Christ and His Apostles should constantly be in error, as according to the lecturer they must be, in assigning portions of Scripture to Moses, when those portions were not written by Moses, but were forgeries of some 900 years later. These are errors and misstatements of the most vital character. They are all important, and the lecturer evidently does not see their far-reaching consequences. We affirm that Christ and His Apostles were right. The lecturer affirms they were wrong; and if he can prove his point, he will do much, to destroy the faith of men in Christ and Christianity.

Then again with respect to Christ, the lecturer affirms "His limited knowledge, His ignorance of passing events, His mistakes, His mis-quotations." The common-sense of mankind will at once say "that a teacher of limited knowledge," who was ignorant of passing events, and who made mistakes, and in reference to the most important subjects, misquotations also, cannot be received as an infallible guide and teacher of truth, The syllogism will stand:

A teacher of "limited knowledge," who makes mistakes and misquotations, and is ignorant, of passing events, cannot be received as an infallible guide and teacher of truth.

Christ was a teacher of "limited knowledge," who made mistakes and misquotations, and was ignorant of passing events.

Therefore, Christ cannot to be received as an infallible guide, and teacher of truth.

Now, these are strictly logical conclusions, and they necessarily follow from the views of the lecturer. A good man reasoning loosely, and in an illogical manner, may still hold on to the Bible and to Christ as the Son of God; but if the views of the lecturer are correct, and his assertions true, it necessarily and logically follows, that there is practically an end of Christianity.

The lecturer may not see this, or rather, may close his eyes to the fact, but, sceptics and infidels see clearly enough, what the inevitable consequence will be. As an infidel said a few days ago, at a meeting to which he had taken the lecture of the Rev. C. H. Garland, "These are just our views; this man says the same as we do."

The lecturer then goes on to inform us, that

The Bible contains the Word of God, rather than is the Word of God;

and having now effectually shaken our faith in the authority of the Bible, and the authority of Christ, he authoritatively tells us that now,

Our standard of authority is the conscience enlightened by the Holy Ghost.

Here, of course, the question naturally arises, as our knowledge of the Holy Ghost is altogether derived from the Bible, and the Bible is full of "errors and inaccuracies," is there any Holy Ghost at all? Is it not possible His existence is one of the errors? How shall we know? The lecturer has proved the existence of a fallible element in the Word of God, or at any rate thinks he has. May not the doctrine of the Holy Spirit have its source from that fallible element? These are questions the lecturer will have to face, for his teaching necessarily leads to doubt and uncertainty, and though as a Christian man he may firmly believe in the Holy

Ghost, others, pushing his views to their logical conclusion, will not only doubt the existence of the Holy Ghost but will also doubt every truth in the Word of God. Some suspicion of possible danger, from the lengths to which his disciples may carry their now creed, seems also to enter his mind, for he asks the pertinent question:

But when the external Authority of the Bible as it now it is removed, what check have we upon the vagaries of an ill-informed and self-opinionated mind? None.

It is refreshing to find one word in the lecture with which all thinking men can agree—None.

The lecturer now comes to the close of his lecture, and in reference to what he terms, "the present outlook," he triumphantly exclaims:

Higher criticism, physical science, modern philosophy, are certainly our allies.

Brave words! Our allies in what? In destroying the faith of men in "the Bible as the Word of God."

A bold statement; a statement without one shadow of proof. Logic, however, certainly is not. Inexorable logic proves to an absolute certainty, that if his premisses are right, his conclusions must necessarily be wrong.

Having taken this rapid survey of the lecture as a whole, and having pointed out what the natural result of the views it propounds must be, I will now examine it more minutely, and deal with its leading points one by one.

Before doing so, however, it is as well to enquire into the present position of "higher criticism," and what it claims for itself. By the admission of the critics themselves, it is a very young science; there is hardly a single point on which its leaders are agreed, and to quote the words of Mr. Davidson, "there is nothing like the consensus of opinion which makes a settled science," Indeed, amongst the few men who pose before the world under the pretentious title of "higher critics," there are men of every possible shade of opinion, from those who, as the same writer says "distinctly repudiate the supernatural," like Wellhausen and Kueueu, to those who, like Cheyne and Driver, "are reverent in tone." We have, therefore, the certain knowledge that the critics do not agree amongst themselves, and that there are the widest possible differences of opinion amongst them, both as to the methods to be applied, and the results that they obtain. It must therefore be clear to every impartial mind, that while these great differences exist, and while they can hardly agree as to a single point they have no right to claim the assent of the different churches to their views, till they can agree to tell us what those views are.

Then, again, it must be borne in mind, that "higher critics" are a class who may be termed specialists, and specialists are always one-sided and dangerous men, Accustomed to look at matters from one special standpoint, they are as a class singularly incapable of taking clear and impartial views of any great question In fact, any man who devotes himself almost exclusively to one branch of study, and looks at that from one special standpoint, will necessarily to a certain degree have his judgment warped; and the more he becomes a specialist, the narrower his range of vision will become, and the more incapable he will be of taking, broad, clear, and comprehensive views of the question as a whole.

So with "the higher critic;" he is a specialist, and a specialist of the most dangerous kind. Generally a recluse, shut up in his study; knowing and seeing little of his fellow-men; ever poring over ancient documents, and ever searching with microscopic eye for minute differences in style and idiom; and if he finds them, or thinks he finds them, magnifying them to the most gigantic proportions, and building on the most unsubstantial foundations the most colossal theories, he is of all men the most incapable of taking a clear, impartial, and comprehensive view of any question as a whole.

I would speak with all respect of Dr. Driver as a most learned man, but let his book be carefully read by any man having a trained intellect, and a judicial mind like one of the great judges of our Supreme Law Courts, and he would tell you that although marked by immense learning, it was all hypothesis based on conjecture, and that conjecture based on minute and fanciful differences of style; in fact, that it was the production of a specialist who looked at the whole question from one narrow standpoint, and whose eyes were closed to everything else. As the learned editor of "The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine" well observes of Dr. Driver, "he credits his own critical faculty with a microscopic penetration, and a power of magical divination of which he gives no proof, and indulges his passion for pulling the Scriptures to pieces and then putting them together in a way which turns Revelation into a perplexing puzzle. His overdose of the critical drug makes him see double, when the healthy optic recognises unity."

There is also another danger. Dr. Driver's book is a book of vast learning, and his hypotheses and conjectures are stated in a very plausible way, and unless they are carefully examined and weighed, are most liable to mislead those who may read them.

Here is a great source of danger. An ordinary man, with no special knowledge of the subject, and a mind not accustomed to weigh evidence, reading an able work of this kind, written from one standpoint and with one object is very likely to be led away by the arguments of the writer and to become a convert to his views. This is the natural result; not because the arguments are sound or the views are correct, but simply because the man, through no fault of his own, has not the technical knowledge, mental acumen, and logical skill to detect the fallacies it contains. In fact, except a man reads some book of equal ability on the other side of the question,

there is every probability of his being led astray by the specialist; not because the specialist is right, but because he only sees the matter from the specialist's point of view.

I must now briefly notice the principal points in the lecture to which exception may fairly be taken, and without dwelling on those of minor importance, though some of these are most objectionable, I will confine myself to the four following:—

First—The authorship of the Pentateuch;

Second—The asserted dual authorship of Isaiah;

Third—The new doctrine of the limited knowledge of Christ;

Fourth—The statement that the Bible rather "contains the Word of God," than is "the Word of God," and the assertion that, for the future, "our standard of authority is the conscience enlightened by the Holy Ghost."

First—With respect to the question of the authorship of the "Pentateuch"—for I altogether reject the lecturer's term, "Sexateuch" as a quiet way of begging the whole question, and assuming, without any attempt at proof, the whole point at issue, the lecturer asserts that the researches of scholars lead us to believe:

That not only was Genesis not written originally by Moses, but the Pentateuch, as we see it, was not compiled by him, but in its present shape is the work of men who flourished at least 900 years after the death of Mosea.

Now my contention is, that the statement of the lecturer, as far as the Pentateuch is concerned, is absolutely without foundation; and that, although some objection may be raised against Moses being considered its author, the mass of evidence in favour of his being so, is absolutely overwhelming.

The argument of the "higher critics" is, of course, the argument of specialists. It is based almost entirely on what I may call "style," and their hypotheses are in direct contradiction to the great mass of historical and internal evidence in favour of the authorship of Moses.

As an eminent writer, who has made this question his special study for years well observes:—

"Their chief arguments are based upon supposed differences of style in the various portions of the Mosaic writings, which differences, however, are in reality nothing more than indications of the mental idiosyncracies of the critics, as appears from the fact that the critics are at such variance among themselves, and arrive at such different conclusions from the same materials."

Now this a fair statement of the ease of "the specialists." They base their argument against the Mosaic authorship on some little imaginary differences in "style," ignoring altogether the overwhelming mass of internal and historical evidence on the other side.

The lecturer alludes to Wellhausen, and his allusion is suggestive. If you start from the standpoint of the German Rationalist, that the "supernatural is incredible" and "the prophetic impossible," it becomes a matter of paramount importance for you to get rid at all cost of the fact of the Mosaic authorship. Hence the shifts to which they and their followers are reduced. To admit the Mosaic authorship, is of course to admit both the supernatural and the prophetic, and in order to get rid of it in any way, they are obliged to ignore all the evidence of an internal and historical character, and to build their theory on some fanciful and trivial supposed differences of style. They treat the Bible in a different manner to that in which they treat all other ancient authors. The differences in style in the Pentateuch, are not greater than the differences between the Iliad and the Odyssey, and yet they do not dispute that Homer was the author of both.

The differences of style in the first five Books of the Bible are not nearly so great, as between the Georgics and the Eneid of Virgil, yet no one disputes that Virgil wrote them both.

Now, my contention is that Moses was the author of the Book of Genesis, writing under the guidance of God, and very possibly making use, under that guidance, of older records; and that the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy were also written by him, with the exception of the small portion at the end of the last Book which deals with the death of Moses himself, and which is evidently an addition; but which does not in the slightest degree interfere with the Mosaic authorship of the rest.

Now, in arguing this point, I will avail myself of the masterly argument of the Rev. W. Spiers, M.A., who has made this subject his special study, and is unquestionably one of the greatest living authorities on the question.

Mr. Spiers is of opinion, that possibly the Pentateuch was revised under Divine control by Ezra, but this of course, if correct, makes no difference as to the fact of the Mosaic authorship.

In the first place, Mr. Spiers proves the high antiquity of the Books, and shows how all the minute historical facts related in the Book of Genesis, are found to be true by the testimony of ancient monuments, ancient hieroglyphics, ancient inscriptions, and minute but most important coincidences, all proving the age of the Book, and the absolute impossibility of any writer, who had forged these books hundreds of years afterwards, being conversant with them, and consequently able to narrate them. In short, as Mr. Spiers well says:—

"The Bible narrative fits in to the facts with perfect precision, and with a correctness which no forger could

have attained."

Then he adds:—

"Wherever it was possible to compare the Bible narrative with the Assyrian and Egyptian records, it has been shown that there is an almost perfect harmony between them. This argument is all the more valuable and striking from the fact, that the allusions to which I have drawn attention are of an incidental character."

And then he goes on to say:—

"The historical portions of the Pentateuch present many undesigned coincidences with such secular histories as we possess, and this too in minute particulars, which would have escaped the attention of a forger."

In fact, the whole evidence to be gathered from ancient tombs, ancient inscriptions, ancient hieroglyphics, ancient monuments, and old antiquarian records, bear testimony to the perfect truth and the perfect correctness, in the most minute particulars of the historical events recorded in the Book of Genesis, and this necessarily proves its great antiquity, as a modern forger would have been absolutely certain to have made mistakes. As Mr. Spiers well says:—

"To say that Ezra, or some post exilian scribe compiled these ancient writings, makes a demand upon us which could hardly be admitted by anyone who attends to all the conditions of the problem. A later writer than Moses, who should have undertaken to arrange or put together such a work as the Pentateuch, must have had within his reach the national records of Assyria and Egypt. This is an hypothesis too vast and too vague for anyone to entertain, who considers what it involves."

In fact, the high antiquity of the Pentateuch is proved by a mass of evidence which cannot be ignored; and as it must have been written about the time of Moses, the question naturally arises, if Moses did not write it, who did?

Then again, Mr. Spiers shows that—

"The internal character of the Pentateuch is in entire harmony with the view that it was written by Moses."

As he justly observes:—

"Its language and style are those of a simple age, and characteristic of the early stages of a nation's life."

And he also adds:—

"Other internal characters of the Mosaic authorship, are those which relate to the customs, institutions, and national histories of the peoples with whom Moses came into contact. The Book bears no traces of a post-Mosaic age, unless its prophetic element be denied. Who is more likely than the man whose life was the introduction of a new era to the world, and the link between the patriarchal and the Sinaitic dispensations, to undertake the task of compiling the history of the past, and of tracing its developments? How vast is the mass of allusions to incidental details of contemporaneous history with which we meet, and which only one who was learned in Semitic and Egyptian lore could possibly have written with unvarying accuracy under such unfavourable conditions! Hengsten-berg, in his "Egypt and the Books of Moses," mentions many matters, all the more impressive because apparently trivial, in respect to which no outsider, and no one of a later age, could have displayed the precision and correctness everywhere observable in the Pentateuch. The Egyptian custom of carrying baskets on the head (Gen. xl. 16), shaving the beard (xli. 14), prophesying with the cup (xliv. 5), embalming the dead and the use of sarcophagi (1. 2, 3), the use of reeds, asphalt, and pitch in making baskets (Exod. ii. 3), the committal of obscenities and crimes peculiar to Egypt (Exod. xxii. 19, Lev. xviii. 23, etc), the building of Hebron and Zoan (Num. xiih 22), the special foods of the Egyptians (Num. xi 5), methods of punishment (Deut. xxv. 2, 3), the peculiar diseases of the time (Deut. vii. 15), and innumerable other details, are referred to in a way that demonstrates a full and practical acquaintance with the national life and institutions of the various peoples with whom Moses held intercourse,"

These are weighty words, and with respect to the Book of Genesis, Mr. Spiers adds:—

"It is crowded with allusions to the interposition of God in the lives of the Patriarchs. It is full of Divine revelations. Its accounts of sublime events which took place before man appeared on the earth give it a distinctly supernatural character; while its unity, its archaizing its details of primeval history, and its general tone of authority substantiate its claims to be considered as the work of one occupying the supreme position of Moses. No other author has ever been indicated; indeed such a thing would have been impossible during the history of the Jews. It is impossible that such an artless story as that, say of Abraham, could have been created in the debased times of the latter monarchies; indeed, it is inconceivably remote from any appearance of fiction or fraud. It is clearly a photograph from life."

We have therefore an overwhelming mass of historical evidence in favour of the high antiquity of the Pentateuch, and we have also the strongest internal evidence of its antiquity as well, and also of its Mosaic authorship.

Then, in addition to all this, there is the fact that from the time of Joshua onward, there are constant references to the "law of Moses," as contained in the Pentateuch.

"From the time of Joshua onwards, there are such references to the law of Moses, as corroborate the

claims of the Pentateuch. When Joshua entered upon his duties as the successor of Moses, he was instructed 'to do according to all the law which Moses commanded,' and it was added, 'this book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth' (Josh. i. 7-8). Accordingly he repaired to Ebal and Gerizim and made proclamation 'as it is written in the book of the law of Moses,' and afterward he read all the words of the law' (Josh. viii. 30-34). When stricken in age he exhorted the people 'to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses' (Josh. xxiii. 6). These early references to the existence and sanctity of the writings of Moses are of high evidential value, and through all the subsequent books of the Old Testament similar testimony is borne. (See 1 Kings ii 3; 2 Kings xiv. 1-6; xxii. 8; 2 Chron. xxv. 4; Ezra vi, 18; Neh. viii, 8), Down to the time of Ezra then, the period when the critics say the Pentateuch began to take shape, there is an unbroken series of attestations to the existence and authority of the Mosaic writings. Similar references are met with in all the later books of the prophets, Joel is generally regarded as the oldest of the prophets. He was the author of the wonderful prophecy quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost. He knows nothing of a fragmentary Pentateuch, nor does he refer to any authority in law or religion equal to that of Moses. He alludes to priesthods and altars, to solemn assemblies, and to many other matters which imply familiarity with the Torah of Moses. If Ezra, or Jeremiah, or any other of the later writers to whom portions of the Pentateuch are ascribed, had really been its authors, we should hardly have found in Joel, their predecessor, such minute acquaintance with these things.

"So we might proceed in regard to Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah and all through the rest of the prophets, and in every one of them we should find the spirit and the very words of the Pentateuch; but we have not space for so extensive a task, and must refer the reader to the lists of passages given in the treatises which deal with the question. Without a single dissentient voice from the days of Joshua till the close of the Old Testament canon, the Pentateuch was accepted as the divinely inspired production of Moses, the servant of God."

Then again, as Mr. Spiers justly observes, there are expressions in the Pentateuch to the effect that it was the work of Moses and to this I commend the attention of the lecturer, who coolly asserts.

The Pentateuch never claims to have been written by Moses.

Again I quote the words of Mr. Spiers:—

"Let us refer to a few of the passages, which put it beyond doubt that the Pentateuch claims to have been written by Moses. Interwoven into the history of the war with the Amalekites are these words:—'And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book (or the book), etc, (Exod. xvii. 14). In Exodus xxiv. 3-7 it is declared that Moses wrote the words of the covenant and the laws of Israel in the book of the covenant, and read them to the people. Again, in Exodus xxxiv. 27, Moses is commanded to write down the words of the renewed covenant, and then it is added: 'And he was there with the Lord, forty days and forty nights, And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.' In Numbers xxxiii. 2 it is said that he wrote by Divine instruction the history of the encampments of the Israelites in the desert. That these events and commandments are specially mentioned as having been recorded by Moses, makes the inference most natural and reasonable that a full history was kept by him of God's dealings with His people. At the conclusion of his last address to the Israelites it is declared that Moses 'wrote this law (though, law or instruction), and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi,' to be read to the people at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 9-13). And in harmony with this it is stated (verses 24-28) that 'it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the Words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord. Saying. Take this book of the law, and put it by the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee,' There was then a book in which Moses was regularly writing by Divine commands, and which was to be sacredly guarded and stately read, by the leaders and teachers of the Israelites, In after days, when they should attain to a settled form of government, their king was to cause a copy of this book to be made, and was to read therein all the days of his life (Deut. xvii. 18). Again and again, is this book or Torah referred to, and always in such a way as shows that it was invested with sanctity and authority."

These passages are a clear answer to the statements of the lecturer that "the Pentateuch never claims to have been written by Moses." Then again, the lecturer affirms, with respect to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch:—

There is no claim made for it by any New Testament writer.

An astounding statement truly.

Here again I must quote the weighty words of Mr. Spiers:—

"The omniscience and even the veracity of Jesus Christ are involved. The Pentateuch and the Gospels seem to stand or fall together. We are driven to the alternative, that either the Pentateuch is essentially Mosaic in its origin, as Christ again and again pronounced it to be, or else that His utterances on the subject are of such a character, as that we could not long hold consistently to His own presentation of His claims."

The writer then goes on to say about Christ:—

"He always referred to the Jewish Scriptures as standing apart from all other books in sanctity and authority, and very often shows the words to have a depth of meaning which the mere form of expression does not fully reveal. Want of space forbids quotations: but let the thoughtful reader turn to such passages as Matthew iv. 4, 7, 10, xxii. 32, xxvi. 56; Mark xii. 26; Luke xvi. 16, xviii. 31; John v. 39, vii. 38, x. 34, 35. In till these instances the Old Testament is placed upon an exaltation by Christ, that sufficiently indicates His views of its uniquely sacred character. What could more strongly evidence this than the statement, which He made at the beginning of His ministry, as though to make clear what the aim of that whole ministry was to be: 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not 'come to destroy, but to Fulfil. For verily I say unto you,' Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no 'Wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.' Had Christ used the term 'the law' in any limited sense, such as now it is sometimes said He did, then He deceived the people, for they knew no other use of the expression than as referring to the Torah the Lau-book, the writings of Mose.

"Moreover, our Lord frequently refers to Moses as the giver of laws contained in the Pentateuch, which were still invested with supreme authority in those times. Moses is declared to have given the law (John vii. 19); he is represented as being actively connected with events recorded in the Pentateuch (Luke xx, 37; John iii. 14, vi. 32); as having prophesied of Himself (John v. 46), 47); and as being judge in matters of morality (Mark x. 3).

"If possible, the case is almost stronger where Deuteronomy is concerned. This is a book to which the 'higher critics' assign a post-Mosaic date. Dr. Driver takes this position, although he inclines to think it was written by one author. And yet on three different occasions our Lord spoke of this book in such a way as to convey the idea that He accepted its Mosaic origin. 'He wrote of Me' He declined at 'a feast,' referring to the well-known prophecy of Deuteronomy xviii, 15: 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto Him ye shall hearken.' How sadly distinct is the echo of these words in our Saviour's laments!—' Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me' (John v. 46); 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead' (Luke xvi, 31). Again, during His temptation, He cited most exactly and solemnly, as genuine, authentic, and decisive Scripture, two passages from Deuteronomy vi. 4-5, words which are given in Deuteronomy as those of Moses. His use of them in so awful a connexion makes it impossible for us to think that He supposed them a forgery.

"Here, then, is Christ's testimony. It is clear and emphatic, and admits of only one interpretation, Our Lord evidently believed, and wished others to believe, that Moses wrote by Divine authority the books which bore his name. How is this testimony dealt with by those 'higher' critics who profess to believe in our Lord's Divinity, for with others we are not now concerned?"

Now I have presented the argument of Mr. Spiers in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as concisely as possible. It is clear, logical, and convincing. In the first place, he shows that there is a mass of evidence of an historical character in favour of its high antiquity, which is practically overwhelming.

In the second place, he shows that the internal evidence of its antiquity is clear and convincing, and that there is also the strongest probability from its contents that Moses was its author. In the third place, he proves that from the time of Joshua down to the close of the Old Testament canon "the Pentateuch was accepted as the Divinely inspired production of Moses, the servant of God."

In the fourth place, he proves beyond dispute that the Pentateuch claimed to be the production of Moses.

In the fifth place, he proves also that Christ Himself, on repeated occasions, alluded to the Pentateuch as being the work of Moses.

It is difficult to conceive evidence of a stronger character, and yet the Specialists reject it all in favour of theories of their own, about which they cannot agree among themselves, based on some supposed trivial differences of style.

Then, in addition to the arguments of Mr. Spiers, which I have just alluded to, I may mention the fact, which also bears on the question, that Manetho and other ancient Egyptian writers, agree that Moses was the "founder of the laws" of the Jews. This testimony is invaluable on account of its high antiquity.

Then again Josephus, the Jewish historian, who was certainly no friend to Christianity, in the catalogue he gives of the Sacred Books of the Jews, especially assigns the first five books to Moses, and we cannot estimate the testimony of this hostile writer too highly, because he was a learned Jew and had the vast advantage of living 1800 years nearer the time of Moses than we do, and if forgery had been at work it is impossible he would not have exposed it.

Then again, the wonderful care with which the Jews guarded these sacred writings, and especially those of Moses, whom they revered with almost superstitious devotion, and whose least word they treasured up with the most scrupulous care, absolutely shuts out the possibility of forgery or addition. It is altogether an incredible supposition, that a forgery in the name of Moses could have been palmed off on a people so devoted to his law, and whose priests guarded it with such extreme care. The whole thing is absolutely incredible, and the

more carefully the historical evidence of the past, of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is enquired into, the more incredible the supposition of forgery will appear. The greatest possible care was taken of the Pentateuch; a copy of it was placed and kept in the Ark; a whole tribe was set apart by God for the care of the law as delivered to Moses, and to watch over its safe custody. It was held to be an unpardonable sin amongst the Jews, even to attempt to alter a single letter of it, and from the time of Ezra the Masorites, the most learned men of the Jews, made the law their exclusive study; and I would ask, in the face of all this care, this scrupulous watching, not by one but by hundreds of men, how is it possible to assign it to any other author but Moses. In fact, one-tenth part of the evidence that exists in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, would be sufficient to establish the authorship of any other ancient book in the world. Yet, on account of some little imaginary differences in style, we are asked to reject all this overwhelming mass of evidence by the specialists, who proudly arrogate to themselves the sounding title of "higher critics."

I now come to the second point in the lecture, to which exception may fairly be taken:—

The examination of Isaiah shows that there are two books, different in style, spirit, and subject; and though there are still some critics who maintain the unity of authorship, and loudly protest against Isaiah being sawn asunder a second time, yet the Isianic authorship of the latter part of the book (from chapter xl.) is now given up by many of the best scholars.

Here again we meet with one of the lecturer's truly astonishing statements, for it is not correct that "the 'Isainic authorship' of the latter part of the book, from chapter xl. has been given up by many of the host scholars."

The lecturer has no right to make these assertions for which he offers no proof. Undoubtedly a few "higher critics," led by Rationalistic scholars such as Wellhausen, have, like Dr. Delitzsch, given it up. They are, however, only a few.

Now with reference to Isaiah, the Jews, proud of their great prophet as they justly were, knew nothing of two Isaiahs. For 700 years before the birth of Christ, and for 1800 years since, the people who above all others ought to know something about the question, have attributed the whole Book of Isaiah to the great prophet whose name it bears, and have known nothing of any second Isaiah. So with respect to the Christian Church, for eighteen centuries it too knew nothing of any second Isaiah. The three great churches of the earlier days of Christianity, the Eastern, Alexandrian, and Western knew nothing of a second Isaiah. The great churches of more modern times, the Roman, the Greek, and the various Protestant Churches, knew nothing of him. In fact, he had no existence till the necessities of "higher criticism" brought him forth, literally as one born out of due time. The circumstances attending his advent into the world are very suggestive. The Book of Isaiah as a whole, was an unpleasant thing for the great German Rationalistic critics to deal with. The latter portion contained prophecies of such a startling description respecting Cyrus, and the calamities which were to befall the Jews, and which had been fulfilled in so striking a manner, that these men felt that if they were to stand on record as the words of the great prophet Isaiah, uttered many years before the events took place, it could not be denied that they were genuine prophecies, inspired by a God who could foresee the future. Now, denying as they did the supernatural, they were placed in a very awkward position. What was to be done? The readiest way out of the difficulty seemed to be to invent a second Isaiah, who should be supposed to write the events after they took place, as a mere matter of history. Thus the second Isaiah appeared in the world, and now we are calmly asked to believe, that "many of the best scholars believe in him."

Now, the historical evidence in favour of the Book of Isaiah having been written by the great prophet whose name it bears is absolutely overwhelming; and if we are to believe any historical fact at all, we can not get rid of it. Here, also, the critics have not the advantage of their favourite argument of "style." In fact, their own argument of style in this case tells against them. The whole book reads like a great whole. The magnificent diction of the great prophet is everywhere found. The same sublimity of language, thought, and expression runs throughout the whole book. The observation of Dr. Cheyne with respect to the latter chapters, "These chapters were evidently added with the view of producing a conveniently large volume, nearly equal in size to Jeremiah and Ezekiel," is simply ridiculous, especially after conceding "that the decision in favour of his hypothesis" (of the second Isaiah) "must depend on other than linguistic considerations." Therefore, as Pearson well observes, "the argument from style is ruled out of court by the higher critics themselves." In fact, the creation of the second Isaiah is one of the most curious results of modern thought. The Jews for more than 2,500 years knew nothing of him; the ancient and modern Christian Churches never heard of him; history is altogether silent about him; but the exigencies of German Rationalism required him; so he appeared on the scene, and now a section of the "higher critics" believe in him.

I am well aware that the testimony of the Apostles has no weight with the "critics;" but with others the fact that St. Matthew assigned the beautiful words we find recorded in the twelfth chapter of his Gospel, to Isaiah, "Behold My servant, whom I have chosen, My beloved in whom My soul is well pleased," may possibly have some little influence in determining their opinion.

I now come, in the third place, to the most important and by far the most objectionable part of the lecture, that which the idea of supports "*the limited knowledge of Christ.*" This, too, is a new doctrine. Of course, there always have been men, at different stages of the Church's history, who took low views of Jesus, some denying His Divinity, some explaining it away.

Amongst those who may be called orthodox Christians, however, Christ has been always regarded as the only begotten Son of the Father, a Being of infinite knowledge, wisdom, holiness, and power. This orthodox view of Christ, as a Being whose advent was foretold by prophesies of the most sublime character; and a Being in whom the "whole fulness of the goodhead" dwelt: and whose wisdom, knowledge, holiness, and power were alike perfect and infinite, was inconvenient to the advanced section of "the critics." The words of Christ were in direct opposition to some of their pet theories. The position was unpleasant. They saw that if Christ was right, they must be wrong. What was to be done? There were two ways of getting out of the difficulty. One was to affirm that Christ was wrong; the other to confess that they were. Now, it is a peculiarity of the specialist, that he always considers himself in the right. Always looking at matters from one standpoint, he becomes blind to everything that can be urged on the other side. Accordingly, they set themselves to the task of proving that a number of the Saviour's statements, with respect to Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms were incorrect. A gigantic task it was. Here was Christ even looked on as a mere man, yet by the confession of his enemies, a man of stupendous intellect. Then, again, he was a Man of high attainments, possessing a perfect knowledge of Hebrew; a Man compared with whom the most learned scribes and Rabbis of the day were as children, and said in wonder, "How knoweth this Man letters," or in other words learning or literature.—for I presume the lecturer will not deny that the Greek word $\mu\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$ means learning.

Then, again, this Man of wonderful intellect and high attainments, a Hebrew scholar, a perfect master of Hebrew literature, had the incalculable advantage of living 1800 years nearer the times of Isaiah, and David, and Moses than "the critics;" so that, even looking on Christ from the standpoint of a mere man to prove that He was wrong on points of Hebrew literature, and the authorship of Hebrew works, was a colossal task.

But they had a far harder task than this. By the general consent of Christendom for more than 1800 years, Christ had been regarded as the only begotten Son of the Eternal Jehovah, "the brightness of His glory," "the express image of His person," a Being of transcendent majesty, power, holiness, knowledge, and wisdom. This, moreover, was not all. When Christ clothed Himself with humanity and took on Himself the form of a man, the Holy spirit of the Eternal was seen in the likeness of a dove descending from Heaven, and lighting upon Him, and the voice of Jehovah was heard, declaring from on high: "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

But even this was not all. As if to remove all possibility of doubt as to the truthfulness of His teaching, Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, anointed with the Holy Ghost, solemnly declared: "The Father which sent Me, He gave Me a commandment, what I should say and what I should speak."

Truly the specialists had a prodigious task to perform. They had not only to prove that Christ—looked on as man, but a man of vast intellect, high attainments, a perfect master of Hebrew lore, living 1800 years nearer the times of Moses, Isaiah, and David—was wrong; but they had also to prove that Christ, as God, the second Person of the Trinity, was wrong. They had also to prove not only that Christ, but also that the Holy Ghost, which had descended upon Him and dwelt in him, was wrong; and they had also to prove that the eternal Jehovah, "The Father which sent Me," and "gave Me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak," was wrong also.

A stupendous task; but the "higher critics" were equal to the occasion. They had invented a new prophet; why should they not invent a new doctrine as well. Accordingly they girded their loins manfully for the work. Scripture was ransacked for the occasion. At length a passage was found; one of the most solemn, touching, impressive, and wonderful passages in the "Word of God. A passage suggestive of thoughts of the most solemn character, and one calculated to make us bow in lowliest reverence and deepest thankfulness before that Christ who was crucified for us. In the second chapter of the Epistle to the Phillippians these words are found:—

- Let this mind be in you which was also In Christ Jesus:
- Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God:
- But made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men:
- And being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.
- Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which, is above every name:
- That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;
- And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Now at first sight it would seem almost Incredible, that the perverted ingenuity of men should attempt to

found on this magnificent and awe-inspiring passage, the new doctrine of "the limited knowledge of Christ." It is, however, on these very words that they have attempted to do so, The words in the seventh verse, "made himself of no reputation," are in the revised version translated, and rightly so, "emptied Himself." Now of course the true meaning of the Greek words, Greek Script translated "emptied Himself," is that he laid aside for a time the form of God, and took upon Him, as the next sentence says, "the form of a servant," The two things are placed in sharp and clear contrast; He "'emptied Himself' of the form of God, and 'put on' the form of a servant." Christ still remained God, but He divested Himself, He "emptied Himself" of the form, the appearance, the majesty, the glory of the God He was, and "took on Him the form of a man.' 'a servant.'" As the great commentator whedon well says:—

"Of what did he empty Himself? Not His Divine nature; not His essential equality with God; not His attributes; of them He could not divest Himself. He did not cease to be God, but He laid aside phenomenally the form; veiling His ineffable glory; hiding His awful majesty; and foregoing the exhibition of Himself to men as God."

Now this is clearly the meaning of the words "emptied Himself:" that He did not come in the form and glory and majesty of God, but, still remaining God, He came "in the form" of "a man" of "a servant."

It seems difficult to see how even the ingenuity of specialists could twist and pervert these touching words, which every Christian man should read with awe and reverence; but they have done it, and on these two words they base their new doctrine, Of course it is contrary to one of their own canons to base any doctrine on any isolated passage; but, though specialists may bind other men by rules, they never bind themselves. They, therefore, on these two words found their new doctrine of the "limited knowledge of Christ," and their contention is that Christ "emptied Himself" of His knowledge, or, in other words, that when He came as a teacher of truth, He divested Himself of that very attribute of knowledge, which it was absolutely necessary for Him, as a teacher of truth to possess.

Now, this explanation of the words "emptied Himself" is so manifestly absurd, that it seems difficult to imagine how men could for a moment adopt it. It shows the incredible lengths to which specialists will go, to establish a theory and support an hypothesis. It would be just as rational to suppose that Christ, when "He made the world," first divested and "emptied Himself" of the attribute of omnipotence; or, that when He "shall come the second time" to judge mankind, He will first divest or "empty Himself" of the attribute of justice, as to suppose that when He came as the great teacher of truth He first divested or "emptied Himself" of the attribute of knowledge, which alone could enable Him to accomplish the great work He came to perform.

As Dr. Gregory, one of the most learned, and unquestionably the foremost of living Wesleyan Methodist divines, has well written:—

"Our Lord stripped himself of 'the form of God' in which He had existed from eternity, and took on instead 'the form of a servant,' being 'made in the likeness of man,' not of God; and 'being found in fashion as a man,' not as God, or even as an angel, He continued the stupendous mystery of humiliation till it culminated in 'the death of the cross.'

"This interpretation—as severely scientific, as it is honestly straightforward—has the immeasurable advantage above the 'higher critic's' gloss, that it exactly accords with the rest of the New Testament.

"Yet all this availeth 'higher critics' nothing—even the most moderate of them—if they may not also empty Him of the Divine knowledge, without which He must be utterly unfit to be what He came to be, and what He claimed to be—the all-trustworthy Teacher of all ages and of all mankind! If His most solemn attestations and pronouncements—even with regard to the foundations of His own religion, and the truthfulness and trustworthiness of the preparatory revelation—cross the pathway of their own changeful and crudescent and fermenting speculations, their unpropped 'probabilities,' their graduated 'possibilities' and 'plausibilities' and dogmatised 'imaginings,' then the Divine-human Teacher must forthwith give way, and yield them up possession!"

"And it is this, the grandest, the most awe-inspiring, the most heart-subduing text of all, that the 'higher criticism' has turned into an appliance for limiting and lowering the Divine authority of Him who has 'the name that is above every name.'"

These are strong words, but not too strong for the occasion. For the sake of establishing some baseless conjecture, some unfounded hypothesis of their own, "the critics" endeavour to pervert the true meaning of this, one of the noblest and touching passages in the Word of God, and by making it mean what it manifestly never was intended to mean, to establish their own new doctrine of "the limited knowledge," or, in other words, "the ignorance" of Christ.

In addition, however, to these two words, "emptied Himself," on which the "critics" endeavour to base their new doctrine of "the limited knowledge" of Christ, they attempt to strengthen their position by the words of Christ Himself as recorded in the 13 chap, of St. Mark, v, 32, "of that day, and that hour knoweth no man no not the angels which are in Heaven; neither the Son, but the Father." These are the words of Christ, and instead

of militating against His strict truthfulness and accuracy, they most strongly confirm them. For reasons which the mind of man cannot fathom, for struggle as it may, the finite cannot grasp the infinite, even God the Son did not know "of that day." But this very statement of Christ, that on that one particular subject He did not know, is the strongest proof of His truthfulness and accuracy about all other things, which He distinctly affirmed He did know. Christ distinctly declared that of the one single fact "of that day," He did not know; but with equal emphasis and distinctness, on repeated occasions, he declared His Divine authority as a teacher. Christ taught "as one having authority." He claimed that His words should be received as the words of the Son of God, speaking the words of eternal truth. What can be more clear and explicit than His words, "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen."

On all occasions Christ assumed the attitude of a teacher of Divine truth, from whose words there was no appeal. The fact is indisputable that He claimed Divine authority for His words, and claimed also that He was the Son of God.

"I and My Father are one." "I am that Bread of Life." "That all men should honour the Sout even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoueth not the Father that sent Him." "The Father that sent me, He gave Me a commandment what I should speak. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father hath said unto Me, so I speak." "He that loveth Me not keepeth not My sayings, and the Word which ye hear is not Mine but the Father's which sent me."

These passages, and many others far too numerous to mention, all prove that Christ claimed and asserted in the clearest and most distinct manner that He spoke and taught as the eternal Son of God: one with the Father; speaking for the Father; and that His teaching was true: absolutely, indisputably, infallibly true. There can be no mistake on this point. The claim of Christ to be regarded as a Divine teacher, from whose word there was no appeal, is clear, distinct, and cannot for a moment be doubted. It is in distinct opposition to the express teaching of Christ that the "higher critics" set up their new doctrine of Christ's "limited knowledge," and they base it on the unsubstantial foundation of two passages; one grossly perverted from its right meaning, and the other a striking proof of the perfect truthfulness and accuracy of Christ, and, consequently, one of the strongest proofs of His infallibility as a teacher.

I must now deal briefly, in the fourth place, with the very objectionable statement.

"The Bible contains the Word of God," rather than: "is the Word of God."

This idea of the Bible practically removes everything like certainty from the Word of God. Once admit this idea, and all the teachings of the Bible become vague and indefinite. The questions naturally arise. How much of the Bible is the Word of God? Which part of the Bible is the Word of God? Here is a large and bulky volume; how shall I know which part of it is, and which is not, the Word of God? Who can tell me? Who can answer me this all-important question? To these questions there is no answer. Take away from a man the belief that "the Bible is the Word of God" and substitute for it the belief that "the Bible only contains the Word of God," and you take away from him, the only certainty he has of knowing the will of God in this life, and obtaining everlasting glory in the life to come. You take from him the bread of life, and you give him a stone. You take from him that certainty, which springs from a knowledge of the fact that his feet are planted on the solid rock of eternal truth, and you leave him in a miserable state of uncertainty, floundering about in the quicksands of doubt and unbelief. I would here quote the wise words of one of the most able and thoughtful Wesleyan ministers of the present day:—

"The Bible claims to be the Word of God, which is a very different thing from merely containing it. The distinction seems to me to strike at the very root of the doctrine of inspiration. It is the basis on which rest all the methods of modern rationalism. To yield this point is to open the gates of the citadel to the wooden horse of destructive criticism. Once admit that the Bible is merely the vehicle of revelation, not the substance of it, and you throw upon the human reason the sole responsibility of adjudicating between one part of Scripture and another. It is a case of human reason versus inspiration. In a word, every man is to make his own Bible, which is equivalent to having no Bible at all. This distinction appears to me to be fictitious and dangerous, and threatens to lead us to the point already reached by critics like Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen."

These are wise and weighty words, and the lecturer practically admits their truth, for at the fifteenth page of his lecture we find the following striking words:

Our standard of authority is the conscience enlightened by the Holy Ghost.

A marvellous statement truly, and one which it is manifest the lecturer does not realise what it means, and what it logically leads to. It involves far more than at first sight it appears to do. It makes every man his own standard of authority, his own Bible, and his own God. The lecturer may deny this, but let him ask any judge accustomed to weigh evidence, or any man trained to reason, closely and logically, and they will tell him that is the inevitable result.

The lecturer practically admits this in the following sentence:

But when the external authority of the Bible as it now is is removed, what check have we upon the vagaries

of an ill-informed and self-opinionated mind? None.

The question "what check" is there, is applicable to far more than those whom the lecturer calls "ill-informed and self-opinionated." What check have you on any man? and the answer must be the same—None. The external authority of the Bible "being removed," as the lecturer asserts it is, you have no authority left. The lecturer may attempt to set up a God of his own, which he may describe as the "conscience enlightened by the Holy Ghost;" but what does this really mean? It means simply this, that every man may do what is right in his own eyes, This is the plain English of it. This is the practical, common-sense view of the matter. External authority being removed, internal authority takes its place. Man is now his own Bible, his own God, his own standard of right and wrong.

I admit the lecturer uses the guarded phrase, "conscience enlightened by the Holy Ghost," but I would ask any Christian man, whose mind is not warped by the subtleties of "higher criticism," whether the Holy Ghost is likely to "enlighten the Conscience" of any man who, instead of receiving the words of Christ with the meekness of a little child, accuses his Saviour of ignorance, and haughtily assuming his own superiority in knowledge and information, rejects the external authority of the Word of God, and in its place sets up the internal authority of his own conscience. The words of Christ are clear and definite. It is idle presumption to suppose that God will bestow His Spirit on those who reject His Son, by denying His infallibility as a teacher of truth.

At the conclusion of the lecture we find these words:—

Higher criticism will alter in some degree our theological ways of thought. It will not long suffer us to hold with confidence any doctrine that is based on solitary passages.

What is the meaning of the words "any doctrine that is based on solitary passages?" Does it mean a doctrine based on a single passage? If so, will the lecturer tell us what doctrine he alludes to? Does he mean a doctrine established by isolated passages, found in different places in the New Testament? If he does, will he inform us what number of passages are sufficient to establish a doctrine? Is it two, or three, or five, or seven? As we are now deprived of "external authority," an authoritative utterance on the point from the Rev. gentleman would be most valuable. Will he also tell us how it is that, as "higher criticism will not suffer us to hold with confidence any doctrine that is based on solitary passages," it founds and rests the new, and all-important, and tremendous doctrine, in its far-reaching results of "the limited knowledge of Christ," on one solitary passage, "He emptied Himself," and that passage plainly and manifestly perverted from its right meaning.

"Higher criticism," notwithstanding its pompous title and bounding pretensions, and loud and blatant arrogance, must not presume too much on the ignorance and gullibility of man kind. Baseless assertions, unproved statements, vague hypotheses, and arrogant assumptions, may impose on men for a time, but the imposition will soon be discovered. As a great writer puts it, we are "accustomed to the dogmatism of experts, and their stereotyped formula, 'all scholars are agreed,' 'all competent to form a judgment are of opinion,' and so on, and have 'learned to smile at such assumption.'" Historical facts; internal evidence of the strongest possible kind; the testimony of men who lived near the times at which certain documents were written; the common consent of mankind for centuries on centuries; evidence far more than sufficient to establish the authenticity of any ancient writings in the world, is all cast aside as worthless, in order to establish the dreamy theory of some restless recluse.

Take the case of the 110th Psalm. The Jews assigned this Psalm in to David. Christ, living 1800 years ago, a Jew Himself, ascribed this Psalm to David. Christ was a man, as I have said before, of the loftiest intellect; a scholar able to cope with and silence the most learned Rabbis of the day. In addition to that He had a perfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. Christ spoke in the presence of educated and learned men, the critics of that day, who would have been delighted to have tripped Him up if He had made a mistake, or assigned a Psalm to David which was not written by him, These men were silent when he quotes it, and their very silence proves that they held the same opinion that He did, that David was its author. Now is it more likely that Christ, with His scholarship, His learning, His perfect mastery of the Hebrew tongue, continued as He was by the unanimous verdict of the Priests and Rabbis and Sadducees, many of whom were His bitter opponents, and living 1800 years nearer the time of David than we do, should be right, or a studious dreamer like Dr. Chheyne, who, sitting in his study, is ever propounding some new theory, some fanciful hypothesis unsupported by facts, and contradicted by his fellow "critics;" as to its authorship.

The whole weight of evidence is on one side, and only the fanciful theory of the specialists on the other. Critics, as I said before, are peculiar men, and "higher critics" possess the attribute of peculiarity in its intensest form. They are specialists in a superlative degree. The very nature of their avocation unfits them for anything, but their own special and peculiar work. Recluses, shut up in their studies, living apart from their fellow men, ever dwelling on the small and the minute, devoting all their energies to the detection of little differences of style and expression, and small and trivial variations of idiom; they become *from* the very character of their work, and their devotion to it, mentally incapable of taking broad and comprehensive views of any question as

a whole. The minute appears gigantic, and the trivial assumes colossal dimensions. They cannot help It. They are the victims of their own surroundings, and hence we find them ever propounding new theories, new hypotheses, new suppositions, and because some little paltry point of style or idiom seems to favour their view, they at once pronounce it as unanswerably true, entirely ignoring the irresistible mass of historical and other evidence on the other side. The creation of the second Isaiah, which I have already alluded to, is a case in point. The Jews knew nothing of him, the learned Kabbis of 2000 years ago had never heard of him. The book is evidently a magnificent work, the production of one great prophet of unrivalled genius. It was absolutely impossible that it second Isaiah of the same transcendent genius could finish the work of the first, without it being known to the men of his day. Even Dr. Cheyne is forced to admit that the "linguistic differences:" are trifling and small; and yet on the vague supposition, that there is a minute difference in style between the first and the last part of the Book of Isaiah, the theory of a second Isaiah is started, and the whole mass of evidence to the contrary absolutely ignored.

I am well aware that some of the more pious and devout of the "higher critics" affirm, that one great result of their "criticisms" will be to drive men more and more to Christ "as the centre and foundation of their faith and hope." It is difficult to see by what process of reasoning they arrive at this conclusion; because, the question logically argued out, lends necessarily to precisely the opposite result. Christ is at present the great centre, the All in All of Christianity; and it is utterly impossible, by lowering Him in the estimation of men that you can make them look up to Him in a greater degree, as the centre of all their hopes.

The Christ, in whom we believe, is the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, a Being of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, holiness, and love; whose teaching was true, and whose words were the words of the Son of God. The Christ of the "higher critic" is One, who was ignorant of passing-events, ill-informed, constantly making misquotations on the most important subjects, and altogether a Being, whose knowledge was imperfect and limited, and whose teaching was therefore unnecessarily untrustworthy. The "higher critic" may, for a time, innocently dream that he is leading men to Christ by destroying their faith in the Bible as the Word of God; but he will surely find, when it is too late, that he has driven them from Christ, by undermining that rock on which the sure foundation of their faith was built. It is truly absurd to suppose that, by lowering Christ in the estimation of men, and by teaching them to regard Him as "limited in knowledge," ignorant of passing events, and constantly assigning the Scriptures to authors who never wrote them, that you can the more easily lead them to regard Him as the centre of their hopes, their All in All, their one true and infallible Guide.

I have no fear for the Bible. Not the least. The present craze will have its day, Like the delusions of Johann Southcote, or the revelations of Joseph Smith, or the teaching of Worthington, it will cause a sensation for a time and will then die out. The wants of man cannot be supplied by the conjectures of Dr. Driver or the hypotheses of Dr. Cheyne. The needs of man require certainty, and not supposition. Man requires firm ground, on which he may tread on his journey through time to eternity. There is only one infallible guide and that is the Bible, "the Word of God." There is only one solid foundation on which he can build for the eternal future, and that is the rock, Christ Jesus. Destroy his faith in the Bible as the sure revelation of God's will to man, and you leave him with no guide, no compass, no chart, by which he can steer his course. Destroy his faith in Christ as a Saviour of infinite power, wisdom, and love, and you take away the only sure foundation, on which he can rest his soul's eternal destiny. Destroy his faith in the Bible and in Christ, and you leave him no certainty, no rock, no sure foundation. All is shadowy and unsubstantial. The future is unknown and uncertain. The prospect is full of darkness and gloom. Infidels have attacked the Bible, sceptics have attacked it, Rationalists have attacked it, and still the Bible remains. The present attack by "the higher critics" is the deadliest that has been made, because it is not made by foes from without, but by foes from within. The battle is now carried to the gate. The attack is made on the very citadel of truth, but there is no fear for the result. Many will indeed be led astray, and will wander helplessly away among the mists of doubt and unbelief. Many will make shipwreck of faith, and be stranded on the shoals of uncertainty and error, All this is unspcakably sad; but the rock will stand, the Bible will remain safe and unshaken. The Drivers and the Cheyness, and their speculations and conjectures, will soon be forgotten. The little ripples they caused in the great sea of time will soon pass away, but the Bible will remain and still retain its hold on men as "the Word of God," The Bible has stood the assaults of eighteen hundred years; it stands now; it will stand to the end; because it is the representative of the great "I Am" amidst the passing interests of time; the sure revelation of His will to man.

The lecturer appears to be a firm believer in what is called "Evolution;" at least, we may conclude so from his remark respecting "Physical Science," that "it has likewise banished for ever the false conception that God can be an occasional visitor on the earth." Of course, with respect to "the evolutionary theory," men take widely different views; some pushing it to an absurd extent, some holding it to a very limited degree. The fact, however, that the lecturer is apparently an "Evolutionist" accounts for many things in his lecture. There is a tendency in many minds to accept theories as facts, and hypotheses as realities. As Professor Huxley well observes:—

"A ruling principle in 'the criticism' is, that the religion of the Israelites was an evolution from the simple and rudimentary to the complex and mature, being in its lowest form in the time of Moses, and its highest in the post-exilian priestly code." "The dates and authorship are made to square with the requirements of this theory."

Here we have the secret of the lecturer's views with respect to the authorship of the Pentateuch. Holding the evolutionary theory, he applies it to the Pentateuch, and casts historical and internal evidences aside for the sake of the theory, that the religion and ritual of the Jews was gradually evolved, instead of handed down. He rejects the Mosaic authorship, and asserts a later date, thus adapting the facts to the theory instead of the theory to the facts. The same process will of course be applied to Christianity. Indeed, the lecturer's words on the closing page seem to hint at this:—

"Higher Criticism" will compel us to expose every article of our creed to the light of the central doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. It will encourage us to hold as free opinions some doctrines which heretofore have been considered essential dogmas, and thus breaking down artificial barriers which have separated Christian man from Christian man in worship and in service, will do its Master's work in helping to rear a common temple, whose dome shall be as broad as the blue heavens.

This seems to hint that, in the lecturer's mind, the evolutionary theory is at work, and that he looks forward to the time when, one doctrine after another having been swept away, nothing will be left but "the Fatherhood of God." Repentance, the atonement, faith in Christ, the forgiveness of sins, a future state of rewards and punishments, all gone, and nothing left but "the Fatherhood of God." This will be the result of the evolutionary theory as applied to Christianity. Pure and simple Deism alone will remain.

I am most scrupulously anxious to avoid misrepresenting the lecturer on this most important subject; but this seems to be the natural construction to be put on his words. The term "Fatherhood of God" is a very wide one, and may mean very different things to different men. I would here quote the weighty words of a man who is venerated and esteemed by all Methodists, the Rev. W. Arthur, who says:—

"What do you mean? What does the word father-hood mean? In the minds of a great many I find that the word 'father' means a certain official in the family who shall say everything will in the long run be right; and so, the son the forger, and the son the seducer, and the son the drunkard, and all other bad sons, shall in the end be as sure of a good place in the family estate as the good sons. That is their idea of fatherhood. I say a father like that is a monster, and a family which is under such a father would be in ruins in next to no time."

Is this the Father the lecturer means? and is this his idea of "the Fatherhood of God?" Our idea of "the Fatherhood of God" is, that God our Father is a Being of infinite power, knowledge, holiness, wisdom, justice, and love; a Being who looked on man, sinful man, with such intense pity and boundless love that He sent His only Son to suffer and to die, so that "whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." A Being who has given to man, the revelation of His Will, in a Book called the Bible, written by men, inspired, moved, and directed by the Holy Ghost; a Book which contains the plan of salvation, devised by God's matchless love, clearly, plainly, distinctly pointed out; and a Book which teaches us with equal clearness the solemn truth that a day is coming when, in accordance with the perfect justice of God, every man will be rewarded "according as his work shall be."

There can be no "evolution" as regards the religion of Christ. What was true 1800 years ago is true now, and will be to the end of time. Truth cannot change; it is in nature changeless and eternal.

Evolution is, after all, a dangerous thing' for even an expert to meddle with. The thing is apt to go wrong. As one of its chief priests, Herbert Spencer, says, "It is more than liable to relapse." The prospect of this, even to its most ardent votaries, must be unpleasant. It may be delightful to the cultured mind of the intellectual evolutionist to ponder on the marvellous manner in which he has been evolved from his ancient ancestor; but the exuberance of his joy will be chastened by the thought of possible relapse.

I must now bring my reply to a conclusion, I have most carefully endeavoured not to misrepresent the lecturer, or to attribute opinions to him which he does not hold. This must be my apology for making so many, and such lengthy extracts from his lecture. It will be manifest even to the most careless reader, that one fault runs throughout the whole of the lecture, and that is that everywhere the lecturer begs the question at issue, and assumes as proved the very points in dispute. This fallacy is found on every page, and everywhere we find assumption and assertion instead of facts and proofs. Dr. Driver starts an hypothesis, Mr. Davison hazards a conjecture, Dr. Cheyne ventures on a supposition, and forthwith the lecturer loudly asserts that these hypotheses, conjectures, and suppositions are all proved and indisputable facts, about which all good and learned men are agreed. This style of writing may impose on some, but it will have little weight with those who require sound argument and well proved facts. The lecturer speaks as though the "higher critics" were agreed amongst themselves, whereas it is well known there are the greatest differences of opinion amongst them. Dr. Driver differs from Wellhausen; Mr. Davison differs from Dr. Cheyne; Dr. Delitzsch differs from himself; at one time thinking one thing and at another time thinking another thing. On almost every conceivable point "the critics" disagree amongst themselves, as is shown by the following extracts from the Fernley Lecture of

1891:—

"Hupfeld condemns Knobel; Ewald condemns Hupfeld and Knobel; Knobel condemns Hupfeld and Ewald."

Then, with respect to the way in which the Pentateuch was compiled,

"Astrue thought he detected two main sources, but thought he could detect fragments borrowed from ten other sources. De Wette was content with three; Ewald argued for seven; Graf and his followers demand three chief contributors and an editor; Wellhausen refines on that, and thinks the two main documents ran through three editions."

With respect to its date again,

"Eichhorn, De Wette, Ewald, Bunsen, Bleek, admit that it is of the age of Moses; Delitzsch believes it was written soon after the chosen people entered the Promised Land; Wellhausen and his followers contend that it was never really in existence till after the Captivity."

These differences of opinion the lecturer judiciously ignores. It must not be supposed that the hypotheses and suppositions of the "higher critics" find favour with the great mass of the ministers and laymen connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Great Britain, for they certainly do not. They may find favour with a few, but by an overwhelming majority they are regarded with distrust and dislike. I would speak with all possible respect of Dr. Beet and Mr. Davison as good and learned men; but on this subject they must not be regarded as in any sense the leaders of theological thought amongst Wesleyan Methodists in Great Britain. Their views on the subjects touched on by "higher criticism," though far more moderately and modestly expressed than those of the lecturer, are held by few, and are regarded with suspicion by the great majority. The real leaders of Wesleyan Methodist opinion in the Old Country, shrink with abhorrence from the views of the advanced "higher critics."

Dr. Randles, probably the most trusted of the professors at the Wesleyan Theological colleges in England, writes thus of the methods of the "higher critics:"—

"Instead of adapting his theory to the facts, he adapts his facts to the theory, and calls the operation 'criticism.'"

Dr. Gregory, now that Dr. Pope is laid aside, unquestionably the ablest, most learned, and most trusted Divine in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Great Britain, speaks thus of "higher criticism:"—

"Under the fair flag of 'freedom of enquiry' it drives a wondrous carrying trade in huge and unsustained assumptions, assertions destitute of proof, and crude, fermenting guesses with the alluring brand 'results.'"

The Rev. Stringer Rowe, the able and accomplished governor of the Wesleyan Theological College at Headingley, also writes as follows in reference to "higher criticism" and its boasted results:—

"Conclusions are stated with much dogmatic energy, and applied destructively with unhesitating confidence to large portions of the Bible. We have carefully traced back wards the several paths by which these conclusions are reached, and have thus come to certain points where we felt that some well assured reason was absolutely needed to warrant the course we had been traversing; and in the place of such reasons we find an affirmed probability, a learned hypothesis; or we are met by a canon of the critical science which declares, a priori, that certain things cannot be accepted, and therefore that any Scriptures which contain or imply these things must be dropped. In fact, we have great and portentous pyramids of theory and dogma which, with a learned skill, are wonderfully made to stand upon their apex."

These are the wise and weighty words of three of the ablest and most trusted divines in the British Wesleyan Methodist Church, and they are words which are endorsed by the vast majority of ministers and laymen in Great Britain.

Contrast also the views of Mr. Davison with those of the lecturer, and the modest and moderate manner in which the former states his views, compared with the self-assertive style of the latter. Mr. Davison in a recent publication writes as follows:—

"Extreme rationalistic critics claim to have revolutionized the whole of the traditional views concerning the origin and dates of the Old Testament. According to them Moses gave no law, David wrote no Psalms, the prophets may have preached, but they did not predict. Such criticism may 'claim' a great deal, but it has 'achieved' very little. Beginning with rationalistic assumptions, ruling out miracle and prophecy as antecedently incredible, they do not find it hard to reach rationalistic conclusions, in which no prophecies or miracles are to be found. But when their arguments are stripped of these tacit or overt assumptions, they are found to be very weak and carry no conviction to the mind of a man who believes in the living God and in His power to assert Himself in history by the mighty hand of miracle and the wonderful voice of prophecy speaking in His name."

If the lecture of the Rev. C. H. Garland had been delivered before the British Conference, it would have aroused a storm of disapprobation; and, to say the least of it, would have called forth many indignant replies. As a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher, who for a number of years has toiled hard for his Church; as one whose parents and grandparents were members of the same; and as one who has fondly hoped that his children

would live and die consistent, God-fearing, Bible-loving Wesleyan Methodists, I protest in the most solemn and emphatic manner against the news of the Rev. C. H. Garland as stated in his lecture. I protest against them, as tending to destroy the authority of the Bible, and to foster a spirit of doubt and distrust with regard to its inspiration and truth. I protest against them as tending to lower our idea of the character of Christ, and to lead us to place less faith in Him as an infallible teacher. God Himself, and sent from God. Lastly, I protest against them as contrary to the views held by the Wesleyan Methodist Church; and as opposed also to that doctrinal standard which our Church has held firmly since her foundation; and which, whilst we continue Wesleyan Methodists, by every principle of honour we are pledged to maintain.

vignette

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A Paper Read before the Federated Institution of Mining Engineers

By George J. Binns.

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Mining in New Zealand.

By George J. Binns.

PART III.—COAL-MINING.

Richly as the colony of New Zealand has been endowed with metalliferous ores, and plentiful as the natural stores of hydraulic power undoubtedly are, a great want would have existed had the deposits of mineral fuel been either deficient in quantity or quality, or so situated as to be approximately inaccessible. This latter point is not perhaps of so great importance, for while poor quality and small quantity are defects which can never be overcome, means of transport can always be devised. And this is, in the present case, fortunate, for while the coal-fields near the populated districts contain usually the inferior class of fuel, viz., the pitch coals, brown coals, and lignites, the true coals are found only on the inhospitable west coast of the South Island, to which reference has already, in a former portion of this paper, been made. The dangerous rivers and rough topography of this locality have greatly retarded progress, even in the case of metalliferous mining (where such comparatively small quantities of material have usually to be dealt with); and in the case of coal-mining (where a great bulk must be moved to render the industry profitable), the hindrance has been even greater. Still, notwithstanding the great natural obstacles, and in spite of the cheapness of imported supplies, the coals of New Zealand are slowly but surely making their way, and establishing in the colony a healthy, steady trade, not subject to the violent fluctuations and vicissitudes of gold-mining, but growing and strengthening year by year,

In this paper the following order will be observed:—

- —Geology and distribution.
- —General notes on the coal-fields.
 - Auckland coal-fields. North Island.
 - Mokau coal-fields. North Island.
 - Picton coal-field. South Island.
 - Collingwood and Takaka coal-fields. South Island.
 - West Coast coal-fields. South Island.

Canterbury coal-fields. South Island.

Otago coal-fields. South Island.

Southland coal-fields. South Island.

- —Methods of working.
- —Machinery.
- —Legislation.
- —Accidents.
- —Total consumption, output, imports and exports, etc.
- .—Quantity of existing coal.
- —Wages, strikes, benefit clubs, condition of the miners, etc.
- —Conclusion.

1.—GEOLOGY AND DISTRIBUTION.

The geology of New Zealand is both interesting and complex, and although the Director of the Geological Survey (Sir Jas, Hector, F.R.S.) has, with the small staff at his disposal, done wonders, it cannot be expected that in an exceedingly rough country like the one under discussion, anything like the detail of the British maps should have been attained. As the age of the coal-beds has, at various times, been disputed, it will perhaps be better to give the Director's own words on this important question:—

"THE LOWER GREENSAND AND CRETACEO-TERTIARY FORMATIONS (CRETACEOUS SYSTEM OF ROCKS).—The true and almost only coal-bearing formations of New Zealand. It is no doubt true that there are valuable deposits of fossil fuel occurring in various parts of the colony that have been variously referred to different geological periods during the past history of the Geological Survey, and the age of which is not yet satisfactorily determined. Some of these are now known to be of younger date than the Cretaceo-Tertiary period, viz., various deposits of lignite in the Wellington district of the North Island, and possible occurrences of the same material in the Nelson and Westland district of the West Coast of the South Island; also a deposit of the same nature found at Castlehill station in the Trelissick basin, Canterbury, and a bed of lignite overlying the marine beds of Miocene age within the watershed of the Upper Parcorn, South Canterbury.

More doubtfully to the same period must be referred the lignites or inferior brown coals of the Hakateramea and Waitaki valleys 45 to 50 miles inland from Oamaru.

There are also the thick deposits of fossil fuel occupying or found within the interior lake-basins of Central Otago, which have been generally referred to the Tertiary, sometimes to the late Tertiary, period; but the evidence is by no means clear that all the known occurrences of such should be so referred. Again there are, farther to the south, in the Taieri, Clutha, and Mataura valleys various and sometimes very thick deposits, in some places a mere lignite, in others a second or third-rate brown coal, which are usually considered as belonging to the Miocene period, but which in more than one instance, will in the future have to be placed in the Cretaceo-Tertiary formation. There is even now no decisive evidence that the Mataura lignite near the railway-line opposite the township of that name is not of Cretaceo-Tertiary date, and it is certain, from the abundance of ambrite (derived from a coniferous tree closely allied to the Kauri of the North Island, but which has long since disappeared from the South Island) occurring in the deposit, that the vegetable matter composing it differed but little from that which formed the coal-seams of Green Island and Shag Point. The same remarks will apply, and with even greater force, to the country north-west of Mataura, and flanking the Hokonui hills within the watershed of the Makarewa stream.

Exceedingly modern-looking deposits of lignite are found along the eastern shore of New Harbour, between Invercargill and the Bluff, but the very modern date which has been assigned to these deposits rests on no further authority than the but slightly compressed condition (comparatively speaking) and inferior quality of the lignite.

The brown-coal formation farther to the north-west at the Nigsteaps, Morley Creek, and Centre Hill, there can scarcely be any question, belongs to the Cretaceo-Tertiary period; but there are farther deposits more to the west, and on the coastline towards Riverton and Orepuki, respecting the age of which there may justly be a difference of opinion, as the geology of this district has been worked out in the light of recent discoveries.

But, besides in these localities named, it has been contended that the North Island coals wholly, and those of Nelson and the west coast of the South Island in part (excepting the bituminous coals), together with all the coals of the east coast, saving those found in the Malvern Hills (Canterbury), at Shag Point (Otago), and at Mount Hamilton (in the Southland district), should all be referred, not to the Secondary epoch, nor to a Cretaceo-Tertiary formation, but to some part of the Tertiary period.

Practically, it matters not whether we consider our coal-fields to be Tertiary or Cretaceous, as regards the period when the coal-seams were deposited; but it is of the very greatest importance whether they belong to one

or two or more periods, and it is this that, under guise of a controversy as to the age and nomenclature of the beds, is the point at issue, and it is to prove the identity of the principal coal-formations of the colony that the Geological Survey has laboured during the past fifteen years. Indeed, so far as my own views on the subject are concerned, they have ever been what they are now—that we must regard all the great coal-deposits of New Zealand as belonging to one sequence of strata, or otherwise involve any systematic consideration of them in inextricable difficulty."

Report of Geological Explorations during 1886-87. (Sir Jas. Hector, K.C.M.G., M. D., F.R.S., Director), pages xxxii-xxxiv.

For convenience of classification and reference, the coals of New Zealand have been divided by Sir Jas. Hector as follows:—

- —Hydrous (coal containing 10 to 20 per cent, of permanent water).
Lignite.—Shows distinct woody structure, laminated, or shows that structure on desiccation; very absorbent of water.
Brown Coal.—Rarely shows vegetable structure. Fracture irregular, conchoidal, with incipient lamination; colour, dark brown; lustre, feeble; cracks readily on exposure to the atmosphere, losing 5 to 10 per cent. of water, which is not re-absorbed; burns slowly; contains resin in large masses.
Pitch Coal.—Structure compact; fracture smooth, conchoidal, jointed in large angular pieces; colour, brown or black; lustre, waxy; does not desiccate on exposure, nor is it absorbent of water; burns freely, and contains resin disseminated throughout its mass.
- —Anhydrous (coal containing less than 6 per cent, of water).
Glance Coal.—Non-caking, massive, compact or friable; fracture cuboidal, splintery; lustre, glistening or metallic; structure obviously laminated; colour, black; does not form a caking coke, but slightly adheres. This variety is chiefly brown coal altered by igneous rocks, and presents every intermediate stage from brown coal to anthracite.
Semi-bituminous Coal.—Compact, with laminae of bright and dull coal alternately; fracture, irregular; lustre, moderate; cakes moderately or is non-caking.
Bituminous Coal.—Much jointed, homogeneous, tender and friable; lustre, pitch-like, glistening, often iridescent, colour, black, with a purple hue; powder, brownish; cakes strongly, the best varieties forming a vitreous coke, with brilliant metallic lustre.

Although it is only the anhydrous coals which are of value for purposes of export, the pitch and brown coals, and even the lignites are, for local purposes, when their greater bulk is not an insuperable obstacle, very important factors in the prosperity of a district.

Bituminous coal is found almost exclusively on the west coast of the South Island, at the base of a great marine formation underlying limestone, clay, and sandstone. The whole series has a thickness of several thousand feet, and contains, wherever it is found in contact with the older rocks, which are much metamorphosed and of indeterminate age, valuable seams of coal. As in other parts of the world, the quality of the New Zealand seams appears to vary very much, according to the amount of disturbance and dislocation that they have suffered since their deposition. Thus the lignites and inferior brown coals are comparatively free from faults; the pitch coals and glance coals have been more disturbed, and the true coals have been in some cases subjected to great changes and dislocation.

Lignites occur in many places, principally in the South Island, where they are found occupying the ancient rock-basins. They contain large fragments of wood, sometimes almost indistinguishable from recent specimens, and although they burn slowly, and with a somewhat unpleasant odour, are of the greatest possible local value in the interior, where the great height above the sea renders the climate exceedingly rigorous, and timber exists either sparingly, or not at all. Deposits are also found in the Lower Waikato basin and near Raglan, both in Auckland Province, and in Wellington and North Canterbury.

Brown coal is widely distributed, and is found on the Waikato river in the province of Auckland, at Kaitangata in Otago, and also in Southland, as well as in considerable profusion in Canterbury.

Pitch coal, which is a really excellent fuel for local use, has been found at West Wanganui and Reefton in Nelson Province, at Shag Point in Otago, on the Waikato river, and at Wangarouiti Auckland, and also in Southland.

It will be hardly practicable to consider in detail the deposits of the colony in any other than their geographical order, commencing at the north.

2. GENERAL NOTES ON THE COAL-FIELDS. NORTH ISLAND.

(1) *Auckland Coal-fields.*

The province of Auckland, which exhibits such a profusion of metalliferous ores, is but poorly provided with coal, for while the deposits are fairly numerous, the quality, except in the cases of Kawakawa and Hikurangi is inferior, and even in these two instances, it cannot be described as actually first-class. There are five districts; in the extreme north Wangaroa and Mongonui, next Kawakawa at the Bay of Islands, with Hikurangi between that area and the Whangarei field. Lastly Drury and Waikato, including Miranda.

The Wangaroa and Mongonui fields do not at present require notice, for although the coal at the former place is of fair quality, it has not been worked.

The Kawakawa coal-field is on a different footing, as the output has been largely used by ocean-going steamers. The pit is now on the eve of exhaustion. Plucky efforts have been made to discover either an extension of the seam, or fresh deposits, by the aid of the diamond drill, but to no effect, and the output has declined to 28,254 tons in 1891, raised by 70 men. The total since the commencement is 737,249 tons, in twenty-six years, during which time the concern can hardly be said to have been a commercial success.

The coal is brought to bank by an engine-plane, and the pumping is (or was, for the writer fancies it is now stopped) carried on by means of heavy pump-tng-gear in a shaft to the dip. The seam was originally 13 feet thick, but varies much, and the workings were pillar-and-stall. The roof is bad, and the slack very prone to spontaneous combustion. The port of shipment is 8 miles from the mine, and the produce is conveyed on a Government railway, which cost £86,283. The seam was originally found in 1868 by a person in search of Kauri gum, and it is a matter of deep regret that a good coal, worked by an enterprising company, under capable management, should not have brought a better reward. Two samples of the coal gave on analysis:—

The Hikurangi coal-field has been known for many years, but it was opened out only in 1890. In 1891, two mines were on the list, but as the railway was not then finished, the output had only a local sale, and was very limited. In fact, one mine put out nothing at all, and the other 576 tons. The pit in operation was worked by an adit and horse haulage, and employed no machinery. The seam is 6 to 11 feet thick, and gives the following analysis:—

The area of the field is stated to be 10 square miles, and no doubt when railway communication is established, the output will be considerable.

The Whangarei district has the advantage of a railway leading to a port from which the coal can be shipped, and has been worked for about twenty-eight years.

The Cretaceous-Tertiary rocks which lie unconformably on the slates, are much obscured by newer volcanic formations. Formerly two mines were at work, but one of these is now closed, and the Kamo mine has the whole trade. This concern put out in 1891, 15,652 tons, which was a decrease from the amount raised in former years: the reason appears to have been that during that year a creep extended over the workings, and caused a cessation of work.

The seam consists of a lustrous black coal, and is found to range up to 14 feet in thickness: a little explosive gas is found, and the slack takes fire spontaneously. The shaft is 240 feet deep, and the cage is fitted with safety-catches and detaching-hooks. The system employed in working is bord-and-pillar. The analyses of a few samples are:—

To the south of Auckland city, and situated both on the large river Waikato and on the railway which skirts it for so many miles, is the Waikato coal-field, which is likely in the future to play an important part in the commercial history of the colony.

The coal produced is clean-looking, black and lustrous, suitable either for household use or steam purposes. It is, however, of low specific gravity, and desiccates so rapidly on exposure to the air that it is useless for storage. In the mines it is subject to spontaneous combustion.

The seams were originally worked where they crop out on the banks of the Waikato river, and are found from 6 to 65 feet in thickness. In 1891, five mines were in operation, which yielded a total of 55,859 tons, and employed 164 men. This number includes the Miranda mine. Two are worked by shafts, the others by adit level. At the Taupiri Extended mine the shafts, recently sunk was put down with considerable difficulty, as it was necessary to force down iron cylinders, which met with obstacles in the form of driftwood. Before the second shaft was sunk a circle of boreholes was made, to see if any similar obstruction existed. The cast-iron segments were then lowered, and the sand and drift removed by a dredge, without any water being pumped. The Taupiri Reserve mine, which turned out in 1891, 17,221 tons, worked under Luke Kimihia. By boring, the cover over the seam was found to be from 48 to 77 feet thick, mostly strong fireclay. The bonds are 14 feet wide, and the pillars 21 feet, and of the 18 feet total thickness of the seam 5 feet is left for a roof. It thus appears that laterally 40 per cent, of the support is removed, and it is reasonable to suppose that by flaking of sides and driving of cross-cuts another 10 per cent, will be lost. This makes the spaces and pillars equal, which seems rather risky.

At Maramarua creek, near the Miranda Kodoubt, a mine was for some time worked on a seam 54 feet in thickness, or even more, but it was closed in 1890, after a somewhat disastrous career. The output for that year

was 228 tons and the total 20,668 tons. The pit was sunk on the edge of the Maramarua creek, a tributary of the Waikato river, and a canal costing £1,800 was cut to bring the coal to the main stream, by which it was brought down in punts to the railway siding at Mercer, where steam cranes raised the boxes from the punts and emptied them into the railway trucks. The lease consists of about 1,000 acres, and the coal is of good quality; but the mine appears to have been injudiciously worked, or else it should have done better. Water, too, constituted a considerable drawback, and in 1837 it was necessary to draw water for 16 hours out of the 24. This work and the small sheaves which were used wore the winding rope out in two months. The following is an analysis of Waikato coal:—

(2) Mokau Coal-fields.

In the Mokau district, which is situated at Taranaki, coal-seams have been known for upwards of fifty years, but the opening of the field was for many years retarded by the native ownership of the soil, and by the inaccessible position of the outcrops, which are on the Mokau river, 24 miles from its mouth, and far from railway communication. The tide ascends the river for about 24 miles, and small steamers carrying 25 to 100 tons go up to the mine. The coal is of fair quality, with the following composition:— but containing a good deal of sulphur.

The seam worked at the Mokau mine is 8 feet thick, with a bond of shale in the centre, from 2 to 3 feet in thickness, but gradually decreasing as the seam is followed into the hill. Another mine, called the Co-operative, is stated to be in liquidation. In 1891 the two undertakings put out 3,718 tons.

Remarks on North Island Collieries.

Until population becomes sufficient to render the trade in Whangarei and Waikato coal much larger—and with these must be included the Hikurangi district, which is as yet hardly touched—the output from the North Island will be small. In 1891, the yield was 104,064 tons, or 15.5 per cent, of the total colonial output. This shows a decrease of 11,853 tons on the output for 1800, which was the largest annual production known. In 1878, the percentage of the whole colony was 36.3, but this proportion has almost uniformly declined ever since, owing to the superior quality of the fuel obtainable elsewhere.

South Island.

Although the deposits of the North Island have proved of great benefit in the past, and will no doubt as settlement progresses become still more valuable in the future, it cannot be expected that by their aid any great export trade will be established. In the South Island, however, the case is different. On the west coast are seams, the produce of which can hold its own with that of any existing mines, and nothing is required but cheap methods of working and transport to enable these coals to compete successfully in the great markets of the world.

Before passing to these busy and successful centres it will be requisite to take a passing look at the coal-fields of the northern part of the South Island, the first of which is that of Picton.

(3) Picton Coal-field

On account of its unrivalled harbour and geographical position, the presence of coal at this place caused great excitement and resulted in the formation of a company. Unfortunately the geological features of the locality were utterly unfavourable, for the coal exists, so far as is known, only in a triangular patch cut off by faults on all sides, and containing an area of about half a square mile. In all 700 tons of coal were raised, of excellent quality, but much faulted and crushed, and the works were soon abandoned, not, however, before a considerable sum of money had been lost in an undertaking, which, had the oft-repeated advice of the Geological Survey Department been followed, would never have been commenced. The analysis of the coal was as follows:—

(4) Collingwood and Takaka Coal-fields.

A small coal-field exists at Takaka, on the shores of Golden Bay, but it was for many years unworked, as the coal is of poor quality. The total output for 1891, when two mines (both opencast) were at work, was 410 tons. The seam contains a band of sand 21 inches in thickness between two layers of coal, which measure respectively 2 feet and 2 feet 6 inches in thickness.

The Collingwood coal-fields proper may be divided into an eastern and a western portion, the latter known

under the name of the West Wanganui coal-field. On the western side of the inlet bearing this name, which is of considerable extent, but almost devoid of water when the tide is out, are found seams of coal which dip into the hills between the inlet and open water. Natural facilities for working are not great, and the coal is not of the very best quality, so the place has been neglected for many years. The analyses of two samples of coal from the locality are:—

On the eastern side of the range is the Colling wood coal-field, which comprises the Lower Coal-measures, containing bituminous coal, while the upper beds contain the pitch coal of West Wanganui. In the lower beds the seams, though of fine quality, are mostly thin, and contain numerous intercalations of bituminous shale. The lease of the one mine working in 1891 contains 990 acres, held direct from the Crown at an annual rent of £16, and a royalty (the writer believes) of 6d. per ton.

The seams dip 1 in 10 into the hill and are worked longwall, the output being delivered by an adit level which cuts the seams. Two of these were worked in 1891, each having a thickness of 2 feet 6 inches, but not of clean coal. The workings are mostly to the rise, but a small dip area is drained by syphons. The total output up to the end of 1891 was 39,704 tons and the output for 1891 was 2,918 tons, produced by twelve men. Analyses of two samples of coal are:—

The field is principally remarkable for the number of seams and their small vertical extension when compared with others in the colony. The harbour at present is fitted only for the smallest class of vessels, and the coal trade of the district—which contains some of the most valuable minerals found in New Zealand—is small and apparently stationary. In the northern portion of the field are some further outcrops which have received attention. The locality is known as Seaford, and the including strata are very much the same as those at Collingwood, that is to say, brown micaceous sandstones with pebble and grit-binds, all resting on a massive conglomerate. Two seams are known, the upper 2 feet in thickness, resting on a soft sandy clay, and the other as follows:—

As indicating to some extent the conditions of mining in this neighbourhood, it may be interesting to reproduce an estimate which was made in 1887 on the subject of working these seams:—

Hector, *Report of Geological Explorations, 1887-88*, pages 12 and 13.

The analyses of two samples of coal are:—

(5) West Coast Coal-fields.

These actually extend, in broken masses, all the way from Colling wood to Jackson's Bay, but the first-named district has already been dealt with. The West Coast proper has two great coal-mining centres: Westport on the Buller river and Greymouth on the River Grey. A small outlying district at Reefton may also be referred to.

The Buller coal-field extends from the river of that name on the south, where the seams occur principally at an elevation of 1,800 to 3,000 feet above the sea, to the Mokihinui river on the north, where they descend to sea-level. The only exceptions to the elevated position on the southern portion of the field are some detached masses of crushed and faulted coal occurring at the Waimangaroa and Ngakawau rivers. This is geologically interesting, but of small commercial value, as the product is so soft and incoherent as to be considerably lowered in value. Notwithstanding this defect, the Waimangaroa mines yielded 8,865 tons in 1891, but that at Ngakawau (which is owned by a Sydney, New South Wales, company) did not turn any coal at all, the reason given being that the seam has, in the dip, decreased in thickness to such an extent as to be unworkable. This seam was some years ago 16 to 18 feet in thickness, of which 8 feet was worked, the haulage being performed by a 6 inches double-cylinder engine. There is said to be a large area of high-level coal, to reach which will require very extensive and costly works. The pit was worked many years ago without profit, indeed at a very heavy loss, and remained idle for a long time, but has been recently revived by the Westport Ngakawau Coal Company, whose object was partly to make coke for shipment to New South Wales for the Broken Hill mines, and partly to erect smelting works at Westport, to which silver ore from New South Wales might be brought as return freight.

The writer is unaware to what extent these intentions have been carried out, but fears that the proposal to use New Zealand coke as fuel has not been a commercial success. This view is induced by the following extract from the annual statement for 1892 of the Minister of Mines for New Zealand (the Hon R. J. Seddon, M.H.R.):—

In reference to our bituminous coal-fields, it is deplorable to see the waste of coal that is carried on at some of the mines. It will be recollected by some honourable members that when Mr. Kennedy, the managing director of the Brunner colliery was giving his evidence last year before the Gold-fields Committee on some of the measures of the Coal Mines Act which was passed East session, he stated that about 500 tons of slack was emptied into the Grey river every month from the Brunner mine alone, which ought to be utilized and converted

into a marketable commodity. There is a large market for coke of good quality in the Australian colonies, and by a proper system of manufacture the slack from the mines on the West Coast would make the finest coke in the world. I called attention to this in my last statement, and the facts are fully borne out, by the statements in a letter addressed to the Hon. John Lee, the treasurer of New South Wales, by the secretary of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company, which has been published. In this letter it is asserted that the Broken Hill Company is using 1,000 tons of coke per week, but that all the colonial coke that has been tried is far inferior to that of either English or German manufacture, on account of the slack not being washed, prepared, dressed, and burned, so as to make it more dense and hard. Colonial coke is found to contain about 6 per cent, more ash than English coke, and this is found to be equal to listing so tons more of the colonial than the English article every week, reducing the capacity of the furnaces by 70 tons of ore per week, and also necessitating 70 tons more flux being used for the same period, or, as the secretary states; "The use of colonial coke instead of English would mulct the company in the sum of £645 weekly, made up as follows: So tons at £5, £400; profit on 70 tons of ore at £2 10s, per ton, £175; 70 tons of (flux-iron and lime, £70," The secretary to the company estimates the loss with English coke at 7 per cent, and colonial coke 13 per cent., while he states that most of the colonial coke can stand no burden, but crumbles up quickly in the furnace, and fills the space around the tuyeres with fine coke, causing large losses in lead and silver, both chemically and mechanically. He further states that they find it inferior to such a degree that its use to a great extent is entirely out of the question, and leaves no other course open to the company but to use either the English or Continental manufacture.

The whole of the blame must not in this case be borne by the New Zealand coals, for the New South Wales seams are exceedingly proline in ash, as may be seen on reference to the papers by Messrs. G. Blake Walker and S. H. Cox.

Trans. Fed. Inst., vol. ii., pages 268 and 321.

The Mokihinui coal-field, on the north, was many years ago the scene of an attempt to work, but the river is not a sufficiently good port for any large trade to be established, and it was only when the Government recognized the necessity of extending the railway from Ngakawan, a distance of 7 miles, that the future of the place began to look more bright. Two seams are known, one 23 feet thick, and the other less; in 1891 the output was 4,510 tons. The Mokihinui Coal Company has been to considerable expense, having spent, among other things, £25,000 on a railway from the port to their mine. This is comparatively useless until the connecting link with the Government line, which will cost £36,600, shall have been completed. The analysis of a sample of coal gives the following composition:—

Coalbrookdale Colliery.—To the average British mining engineer this coal-field would perhaps be the most interesting in the colony, not only on account of the splendid quality and great thickness of the seams, but on account of the wonderful situation of the mine. Two thousand feet above the sea, on the top of a bald bleak plateau of coarse quartzose grit, covered only by thick moss and scattered mountain scrub, and intersected by vertical ravines of enormous depth, round which the seams crop out, is a large and flourishing colliery village, with large hotels, a school of mines, library, offices of the miners' union, bakeries, stores, and schools. The history of the Westport Coal Company, Limited, who own this mine, offers an example, if not of rich returns and uninterrupted prosperity, at least of extraordinary persistence and perseverance in the face of great natural difficulties. Commenced about the beginning of 1878, several years elapsed before the works were in a state of completion. Bad weather, an excessively rough country, and numerous other obstacles retarded operations. Eventually coal was sent down, and then the prosperity, which was to have poured in, was for some time delayed by the defects in the Westport harbour, by the unsuitability of machinery, by faults and changes in the seams, and by a hundred other unforeseen sources of trouble and loss. In order to meet the difficulties it was agreed to write off a certain amount of the capital, and the concern now may be said to be doing moderately well. In January, 1892, the chairman stated that during the preceding ten years the company had worked 1,000,000 tons of coal, had expended £850,000, while the dividends paid had been £33,260, or a little less than 2 per cent. per annum on the capital. It is gratifying to note that for 1892 the profit was £22,043, which added to £6,358 brought forward from the previous year, was sufficient to pay a dividend and bonus amounting to about 10 per cent.

The existence of coal in this district was known to the early settlers, but nothing systematic was done until the year 1874, when a detailed topographical and geological survey was undertaken by the Government, and carried out at a cost of over £5,000. The result of this was to prove the existence of coal-seams over a large area, which is, however, very much cut up by enormous denudation. The deposits occur principally at an altitude of 1,800 to 3,000 feet; but towards the north, as has been mentioned, they come down to sea-level, and dip below it. The mapping of coal areas was unusually simple work, for numerous gullies and ravines caused the outcrops to be readily traceable. On receiving the reports of the Geological Survey Department the Colonial Government at once decided to proceed with the construction of a railway from Westport along the coast northwards to the Ngakawau river, a distance of nearly 19 miles, and also to improve the harbour, the average

depth of which on the bar in 1879-80 was only 12½ feet. At the same time private enterprise was not dormant. Numerous leases were taken up, many by speculators without the means to work them. Finding, in 1877, that no effort was made to develop the field, the Government took steps to force the hands of the lessees, in order that the ground taken up might be either worked or relinquished. Many of the leases were then amalgamated, and a new proprietary, known as the Westport Colliery Company, took over the leases and liabilities of several of the original holders, and guaranteed to spend in two years £10,000 and produce a minimum output of 20,000 tons. In August, 1880, coal was brought into the market, and since that date the works have been so energetically carried on that in 1892 working single shift no less than 198,000 tons was put out from the Coalbrookdale mine. This required a total of 302 men, which gives 637.7 tons per man, or counting the underground staff only (238 men), an output per man of 809 tons per annum. Unfortunately, there is no means of ascertaining on how many days the pit worked, but presuming this to have been five days per week, or 260 days, the daily output per man for a mine with exceptionally lengthy haulage would be 3 tons 2 cwt. 1 qr., or taking it at 4 days, 3 tons 17 cwt. 3 qrs.

Finding the original capital insufficient the company was some years ago re-formed, with a nominal capital of £400,000, and although the return has not been so great as the shareholders deserved, yet prosperous times seem now to have dawned. This is in great measure due to the increased depth of water on the harbour bar, which averaged 23 feet in 1892.

The coal is a free-burning, lustrous, fuel, good for steam or household use, and the following analysis shows its purity in a striking degree:—

It is largely used for war vessels, and has great steaming power. The late Sir Jno. Coode, in his presidential address in 1889, before the Institution of Civil Engineers, said; "The bituminous coal found on the west coast of the South Island is declared by engineers ... to be fully equal to, if not better than, the best descriptions from any part of the world. The wonderful escape of H.M.S. 'Calliope' during the hurricane at Samoa, when her engines were tried to the very uttermost, has been attributed by her captain and the people of New Zealand, apparently with good reason, to the superior quality of this coal, which was being used at the time."

Proc. Inst. Civil Eng., vol, xcix., page 23.

The company owns two leases—one, the Coalbrookdale and Kawatiri of 2,479 acres, in which the present mines are worked; and a new lease, as yet untouched, known as Granity Creek, and comprising 2,951 acres. The term is ninety-nine years, and the royalty 6d. per ton on large and small coal. The minimum rent merges in the royalty, but the company has a large dead rent to pay on the Granity Creek holding. Wages are high, and the men make a good deal of money. In 1889 the price for getting coal, large and small together, was 2s. 10d. per ton, and day wages were 10s.

The writer is unaware whether any important alterations have been recently introduced into the haulage arrangements of the Coalbrookdale colliery, but as a detailed account of the appliances at work in 1890 was published by Mr. T. J. Watciss, F.R.G.S., managing engineer at that time,

Proceedings of New Zealand and South Sea Exhibition, Mining Conference 1890, G. J. Binns, Hon. Sec. a short abstract may be included,

The general system of mine haulage is endless-rope, which replaced an endless-chain formerly used and abandoned because of its frequent breakages, sometimes thirty in a day. The main plane is (these data refer to the early part of the year 1890) 1 mile 60 chains in length, and is worked by a 3½ inches circumference plough steel-wire rope, of Lang lay, travelling at 2½ miles an hour. The engine has one cylinder 20 inches in diameter by 48 inches stroke, and the driving wheel is 6 feet 8 inches in diameter, and lagged with cast-steel segments. The road varies much in gradient, the steepest being 1 in 10, and the difference in level is 90 feet against the load. Two branch systems are worked with separate engines, one known as the iron-bridge road, opening up the field to the south-east, is worked by a pair of 6 inches cylinder engines, and has a total grade of lift feet against the load, with a maximum of 1 in 5. The Coalbrookdale section is worked by a single 6½ inches cylinder engine, and runs in daylight up the bed of a creek, with the coal cropping out on each side, and numerous adits along its course. The rope travels at a speed of 1 mile per hour.

Chains are used instead of clips, which were difficult to accommodate to the curves and gradients, Mr. Waters designed a very useful arrangement (Figs. 1, 2, and 8, Plate III.) for attaching the chain, by means of which the attendants are enabled to hang the tubs on as conveniently when the rope is moving as when it is at rest. His description of the arrangement is as follows:—"It consists of a short length of chain, on one end of which is welded a ring, and on the other a hook. At each hanging-on place a pair of light steel springs are bolted to a cross sleeper. The loose ends of these springs are made to fit the rope and embrace it when pressed together. The hanger-on passes the chain three times round these springs where they embrace the rope, which slips between them as it runs, without imparting any motion to the chain clip; hence the hanger-on is enabled to pass the hook end through the ring on the chain, and make it fast to the truck at his leisure. At the proper time the truck is pushed forward a few inches by hand, when the chain-clip slips off the steel springs and holds fast

on to the travelling-rope, drawing the truck with it."

The trucks are made of galvanized steel, 22 cubic feet in capacity, with cast-steel wheels of 24 inches gauge. The rails are 25 lbs. per yard on the full side, and 18 lbs, on the empty, with fished joints. The curve-rollers are of cast-steel 2 feet in diameter, placed at an angle of 30 degs, from the horizontal, so that the outside of the pulley is under the inner rail.

The surface-inclines are on a large scale and have been very successful. As the mine mouth is about 2,000 feet above the sea, gravity is sufficient to lower the output, but the country is of an excessively rough nature, and great expense was incurred in making a road to accommodate railway wagons containing 6½ tons of coal, and having a gross load of 11 tons. The total length of the incline is 1¼ miles, and the fall 1,800 feet to the level of the railway at the foot of the hills. The upper incline—for there are two—is 33 chains long horizontally, with a drop of 834 feet in that distance; the maximum grade is 1 foot in 1 foot 4 inches. The drums are 10 feet 6 inches in diameter, with cranks keyed on to the ends of the shafts, and attached by connecting-rods to two 12 inches pistons working in cylinders fitted with cataract-governors. This is found to be infinitely superior to the hand brakes formerly used, giving a much greater approach to safety, and a longer life to the ropes used by nearly 100 per cent., besides which the hand brakes repairs amounted to over £300 per annum. The lower incline is 50 chains long, with a drop of 864 feet and a maximum grade of 1 in 2. The time occupied in running is 2 minutes for the upper and 2½ minutes for the lower section, but both are run simultaneously. The road is 3 feet 6 inches gauge, laid with 40 lbs, or 42 lbs. rails.

The Gravity Creek inclines will be on the endless-rope principle, and are estimated to cost £50,000, which, with another £50,000 for rolling stock and opening up the mine, will make nearly a quarter of a million sterling spent in haulage and works. The mine tubs will come right down to the foot of the hill, and two inclines will be employed; the upper one 70 chains long with a fall of 700 feet, and the lower one 51 chains long with a fall of 960 feet. Hydraulic brakes will be employed. It is expected that coal will come down about the end of the current year, and the total output from the mines worked by this Company at Westport will shortly be probably nearly half a million tons per annum.

About equidistant from Westport and Greymouth is the Reefton coalfield, situated on the Inangahua river. This area is limited in extent, and lies in patches on the upturned edges of the Maitai (Carboniferous) Slates. The coal is of very excellent quality, being in some cases bituminous.

The following analyses will give some idea of its quality:—

During the year 1891, thirteen mines were at work, employing 20 men, and yielding 4,556 tons, most of which was consumed by the quartz-crushing machinery attached to the adjacent gold mines, The seams vary capriciously in thickness and dip.

Other outcrops are known in the Upper Buller district, but they have been only locally worked to a very small extent.

Greymouth District.—The next district to consider is the Greymouth coal-field, second in importance only to that of Westport, and while the seams at the latter place are mainly far above the sea, and are therefore worked level-free, those at the former lie to the dip, and are approached by shafts or dip drives. It is true that the Brunner coal-mine, which is the oldest in the district, and has furnished by far the largest output, was for many years worked above water-level, but the bulk of the field will undoubtedly require haulage.

The seams occur in grits and conglomerates, dipping in a westerly direction at 1 in 3, and the field is a good deal cut up by faults. The principal seam is 18 feet thick, and is exposed in the upper gorge of the (Grey river, where it was originally worked and whence the coal was brought down the river in barges. At the present time the Government Railway, which is 8 miles in length, takes the output from the mines to the port of Greymouth, where there is a fairly good harbour.

At one time there were four mines, but they became merged into one company, and in 1892, for convenience in working, only two were open, viz., the Brunner and the Coalpit Heath, which are practically one mine.

The Brunner colliery has been at work twenty-nine years, and had yielded to the end of 1891, 868,072 tons. The workings In 1891, when the output was 75,729 tons were confined chiefly to the extraction of pillars, and the ventilation was produced by a Schiele fan, a 16 feet Guibal fan formerly employed having proved insufficient. The engine-plane is fitted with a pair of 14 inches cylinder engines with 18 inches stroke, and an electric haulage-plant is in operation, but of this latter the writer has no details. There is also a rope-driven pump with a pair of 9 inches by 24 inches double-acting rams which raises the water 170 feet. The surface-work comprise a large brick and tile plant, where very excellent firebricks and gas retorts are manufactured, which find a ready sale not only in New Zealand but in Australia.

A slack-washing and briquette plant has been erected, and it was intended to use the bye-products of the coke in the manufacture of briquettes, which are also made by the company at Christehureh on the east coast. In the early part of 1892, the demand for this class of fuel was stated to be very brisk, and the output, which was

then 6 tons per day, was said to be finding a ready sale.

In 1889, a committee of the House of Representatives took evidence on these mines, and among other details the following facts were elicited:—The average number of days worked was $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 per week, and the minimum wage was 12s. per day.

The Coalpit Heath colliery, which was originally in private bauds, has now become the property of the Grey Valley Coal Company, Limited, half of which belongs to the Westport Coal Company, Limited. The workings He to the dip of the Bran ner colliery, and the coal is raised by the hauling-engine attached to that mine. At one time a rectangular shaft measuring 10 feet by 6 feet and 280 feet deep was used with a single (18 inches by 3 feet) cylinder engine. But the whole arrangement was crude and inconvenient. The seam is 18 feet in thickness, and of excellent quality. The workings were laid out on the bord-and-pillar system, and the pillars have to a great extent been removed. In 1891, the output was 69,592 tons, and since the commencement 429,901 tons have been raised. The workings are ventilated by a Schiele fan, and the pumping appears to be heavy, as there are on the published list no less than seven engines for this purpose varying from 10 inches ram and 4 feet stroke, to 4 inches ram and 12 inches stroke.

On the opposite side of the river to the Coalpit Heath mine is the Greymouth Wallsend colliery, now standing. It is a matter of great regret that this pit should have been set down, as it is no doubt the most advanced example of mining in the colony. The shafts are circular, 11 feet and 14 feet in diameter. The downcast., which was sunk in 1885, was lined for some distance with concrete blocks, grouted in with cement, instead of with cast-iron tubbing.

"Coal-mining in New Zealand," by G.J. Binns, *Trans. N.E. Inst.*, vol. xxxv., page 194.

The winding-engine consists of a pair of 30 inches cylinders with 60 inches stroke working a 16 feet cylindrical drum fitted with steam brake and steam starting-gear. The boilers are of steel, 30 feet by 7 feet, and of the Lancashire type, working at 60 lbs. pressure; head gear of iron, lattice girders 68 feet to centre of pulleys, which are 14 feet in diameter. A 30 feet Guibal fan airs the workings, and there is a small air-compressing engine for rock drills. The last output appears to have been raised in 1890, when 26,690 tons was the amount. Altogether only 205,530 tons has been raised from this fine pit, a large proportion of which must be credited to a small engine which worked a single shaft many years ago. When the coal trade expands, this property will be able to assume a worthy position.

A small pit known as the Tyneside colliery, to the rise of the Grey-mouth Wallsend, has been abandoned for some years.

Farther up the Grey river, and some distance from it on the north side, is the Blackball colliery belonging to a company recently floated on the London market; there are two seams 4 feet 6 inches and 12 feet thick respectively, and a cross-measures drift 1,232 feet long has been constructed to cut them. In 1891, only 30 tons of coal was produced, but the works are not yet connected with the railway. In a colonial newspaper of recent date, the company is stated to be making fair progress with an aerial tramway, presumably for the purpose of carrying the coal across the Grey river. A bridge 47 chains in length was originally proposed for this purpose, but the former method seems to have been preferred; the first cost will no doubt be less, but whether it will prove an economical method for the purpose is a matter of opinion.

The following average analyses of Greymouth coal may be given:—

On comparing these figures with the previously given analyses of the Westport coal, it will be seen that the latter contains less ash, and is poorer in hydrocarbons. On account of its richness in the latter respect the Greymouth coal has been largely used for gas-making, and for many years it commanded 7s. to 8s. per ton more than that from Newcastle, New South Wales, but a very good gas-coal was recently found at Stockton, New South Wales, which ousted the Greymouth coal from the Australian markets.

A yet undeveloped coal-field occurs at Point Elizabeth, on the sea coast, a few miles north of the Grey river. The harbour at that place is variously stated as being the best in New Zealand, and as being utterly unsafe. The writer has no personal knowledge of the locality.

Owing to the uncertainty of the harbour at Greymouth the pits work very irregularly, not, it is stated, averaging 4 days per week. Mr. M. Kennedy, managing director of the Grey Valley Coal Company, recently stated that 12s. was the minimum earnings for a day of 7 hours.

After leaving Greymouth the known areas of coal on the West Coast are scattered and comparatively small. Near Hokitika an attempt was made to work some thin seams, but without success, and in the neighbourhood of the Haast river outcrops are found, but in such a rough and inaccessible position that any prospect of working them is remote.

(6) Canterbury Coal-fields.

Although, as has been stated, the West Coast coal-fields alone supply coal of first-class quality, there is

much fuel of a valuable nature to be found on the eastern side of the great axial range of mountains known as the Southern Alps.

In the Province of Canterbury the principal development in this direction has been in the Malvern district, where the following four classes of coal are found:—

- Anthracite.
- Altered brown coals, in which the percentage of water is not high.
- Altered brown coals in which the percentage of water is high.
- Brown coals.

The working of the first class is confined to a small pit, whence the supply for a sheep station is obtained, and the output from which has averaged only 10 tons per annum since the pit started, the return for 1891 being *nil*. The locality is geologically interesting as the anthracitic quality of the coal is directly traceable to a dolerite flow, which overlies the seam. The analyses given vary very much, fixed carbon being returned as constituting from 65.8 to 88.91 per cent, of the total, and ash up to 24.25 per cent.

Of the second class the output has ceased, as the seams formerly worked dipped at very high angles, and were soon exhausted to water-level, below which it did not pay to follow them. The analysis shows:— but the composition probably varies very much.

Of the third class, a little has been raised for the requirements of a sheep station.

The brown coals which constitute the fourth class were at one time largely mined, but the trade seems to have greatly fallen off, and in 1801 the production was only 11,710 tons from 6 mines, whereas in 1884 it was more than double. The following analyses of the Springfield coal may serve as an example of the quality:—

Though there are in the southern portion of Canterbury sundry small mines, none of them merit much attention, and it must be allowed that the mineral resources of this province are but poor. Fortunately, the natural agricultural advantages are so great as to amply compensate for mineral poverty, and a judicious and elaborate irrigation scheme has materially assisted agriculture.

(7) Otago Coal-fields.

There were in Otago, in 1891, no less than 80 coal-mines on the official list, of which 20 did not produce, or at any rate were not returned as producing, any coal. The total yield was 164,870 tons, or 11,558 tons less than in the preceding year, but of this total 110,042 tons came from 5 mines, leaving 54,828 tons, or an average of 731 tons each for the remaining 55 working pits. Many of these are mere opencast excavations, into which carts are driven, and where the fuel is got as cheaply as it is probably possible for it to be obtained under any circumstances.

There are, however, several collieries which have attained an output of more respectable dimensions, and at which the appliances are of a superior character. Continuing this southward course adopted, the first of these is Shag Point colliery, situated on the seashore, about 10 miles north of the city of Dunedin, and close to the main line of railway, with which it is connected by a short branch. The coal is of very excellent quality, for a pitch coal, and has the following percentage composition:—

The measures dip E.S.E., at 10 degs., below the sea, where they have been explored to a small extent, and where in all probability a very large area exists. Rising to the west they form an anticlinal arch, which is terminated westward by a syncline, from the base of which they again rise, at high angles, into the hill known as Puke Ivitai. In 1880, the output was 36,066 tons, but it has since considerably fallen off, and in 1891, only 7,814 tons was raised, making 4,298 tons less than the pre-ceeding year, and a total of 228,242 tons since the opening of the workings—Two seams are mined, with a thickness varying in one case from 2 to 12 feet, and in the other from 1 foot to 4 feet. The output is raised partly by a shaft measuring 16 feet 6 inches by 6 feet and 200 feet deep—(lately, the writer believes, this has been deepened)—and the water in tanks which automatically fill and empty themselves. The workings are free from gas, but the slack is remarkably subject to spontaneous combustion, and great trouble and expense have resulted from this fact. The roof also is very bad.

In the same district, but in the trough of the syncline to which reference has been made, is the Allandale coal-mine, commenced about the year 1887. This seems already to have outstripped the older mine in output, for in 1891, the production was 10,735 tons. The seam is 7 feet in maximum thickness, and is worked by a dip drive, up which a small fixed engine draws the wagons. By now the pit-mouth is, presumably, connected with the railway by a train road.

The extension of the coal-measures beneath the Palmerston flat is a matter of conjecture, but it is to be hoped that this may prove to be the case, for the coal at this locality is of good quality and the situation favourable.

No further important deposit is known until the city of Dunedin is passed, about 6 miles from which centre, on the main south line, is the Green Island coal-field. The coal here produced is of inferior quality, but the seam

(only one is worked) is 19 feet thick, and the measures consist of sands, clays, ferruginous gravels, shales, and fireclays, resting unconformably upon the upturned edges of highly metamorphosed rocks of unknown age, and dipping to the north-east at an angle of 1 in 10 beneath a thick sandstone of Tertiary age, which is again overlain by the volcanic rocks of the Dunedin basin.

The field has been opened for about thirty-three years, and very numerous pits have been commenced, many of which have been lost owing to spontaneous fires, which are very rife. The tenure of the land is freehold, and the royalty usually 1s. per ton. A very large proportion of the seam is lost, as only 7 feet to 8 feet is worked in the first place by the room-and-rance system, and 3 feet more is got in coming back. In 1891, eight mines were at work, employing 138 men, who turned out 50,318 tons, a considerable amount less than the output in some former years.

Of these eight mines only three were connected with the railway, and one (Abbotsroyd colliery) has private telephonic communication with Dunedin. The produce of this field has, when first got, a lustrous appearance and dark brown colour, but desiccates rapidly on exposure to the air. It burns freely with a slightly unpleasant smell, and leaves a bulky incandescent ash. Notwithstanding these defects, it is a fairly popular second-rate fuel in and about Dunedin.

The mines are entirely free from explosive gas, and accidents of any kind are rare.

The analyses are as follows:—

The Clutha coal-field, which next comes under consideration, is of large area, extending from the Clutha river on the south to 9 miles north of the Tokomariro river, a distance of 20 miles.

The formation consists of conglomerates, sandstones, clays, and shales, with coal-seams, forming ranges of hills 700 feet high in the neighbourhood of Kaitangata, and of less altitude to the north where they rise again on the flanks of Mount Misery, which is composed of schists.

The first mine was opened in 1858, and although enjoying the advantage of financial assistance from the Provincial Government, was not a success.

In 1891, thirteen mines were at work, but if the output from the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Company's mine (58,945 tons) be deducted, the remainder is under 10,000 tons. The mine belonging to this company is a good example of a successfully-managed Colonial colliery, at which the coal is by no means first-class, but the working of which has been for many years highly profitable. Originally two companies held rival interests, but in 1880 the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Company bought out the neighbouring proprietors, and have since worked the whole area.

The workable seams are four in number, the uppermost 3 feet 6 inches in thickness, and about 250 feet below this is a 9 feet seam which has not been worked. At a further depth of 250 feet is the main seam, upwards of 35 feet in thickness. From the small seam about 7,000 tons was taken in 1876-77, but it has been for many years abandoned. About 150 feet below the main seam is another, 19 feet in thickness which was discovered by chance in 1889, but this enterprising company would appear not to be contented with even these quantities of coal, for the recent Dunedin papers state that they have purchased a diamond drill, capable of boring 2,000 feet, in order to prove the lower measures. The main seam is a good deal broken, and in places highly inclined; the roof is a hard quartzose conglomerate, 70 feet thick, and auriferous, though not sufficiently so to be workable. The floor is moderately hard. In the original mine the seam dipped at 1 in 7, and on approaching the dip Look a plunge at 45 degs. Inclines were driven on the full angle and levels on the strike close to the roof; from these levels bords were driven to the floor. These workings eventually were closed, owing to a very heavy weight which came on. In the flat portion of the lease, the system was ordinary bord-and-pillar. About 8 feet of coal was got at first, and afterwards as much of the top coal as possible. It will readily be understood that during this operation the working-places were of enormous height, and hence some change became necessary, when the following system was tried. At the first operation about 10 feet vertically was taken and sufficient laterally to bring on a weight which crushed the pillars into the floor; the whole area was allowed to settle, and the upper portion of the already partially-worked bords was then taken out. Of course, an enormous proportion of the seam was sacrificed by this system, but this appears unavoidable in cases of so thick a deposit. The coal is raised by an engine-plane 1,076 feet long and 9 feet wide by 6 feet 6 inches high, dipping 1 in 5 through the conglomerate and measures. This road, which is very hard in places, and in which some water was met with, was constructed by means of rock drills driven by compressed air, in six months.

The seam gives off some explosive gas, and the slack ignites very readily. In a paper made in 1890, Mr. Shore, the manager, gives some interesting details on this point, one of which may be reproduced:—

A few years ago an incident occurred having a remarkable bearing on the rapid generation of spontaneous combustion under favourable circumstances. Pending the erection of air-compressing machinery, steam was temporarily conveyed along a dip tunnel for pumping purposes; 3 inches pipes enclosed in a 12 inches by 12 inches wooden box filled with sand were used. The loaded trucks by accident left the tram rails. Anxious to get operations started, the men turned one of the trucks, loaded with wet dross, over on top of the box containing

the steam-pipe. The temperature of the tunnel, which was used as an upcast, was 74 degs. Fahr. Twenty-two hours from being turned over the truck was found to be on fire. When removing the truck the dross (about 7 cwt.) had the appearance of newly-prepared asphalte.

The machinery at this mine is very complete, and the following may be given as an example of what is used. In 1886, the shaft-engines which were used only for drawing water, consisted of a pair of 9 inches by 14 inches cylinders, while the coal was raised by a pair of 9 inches by 12 inches engines geared to a 12 feet drum. In case of accident to this engine, the haulage could be carried on by a single 20 inches by 54 inches engine used for compressing air in an 18 inches cylinder. From this compressor at that date, two Tangye pumps were worked, one 1,300 feet distant, and the other 1,000 feet. In the mine was a pair of 12 inches by 24 inches hauling-engines, also to be worked by compressed air, if required. A Harrison coal-cutter had been tried, but the writer believes that it has not been subsequently much used. Since that date the company appear to have been extending their operations, for so lately as February 9th, 1893, a notice appeared in the Dunedin papers of the purchase of a compressed-air pumping-engine, manufactured in that city by Messrs. A. & T. Burt. This engine seems, from the description, to consist of a 20 inches air cylinder with 24 inches stroke, coupled tandem on to a double-acting 5½ inches ram, and is to deliver 10,000 gallons per hour to a vertical height of 700 feet. It appears that this would give a somewhat excessive speed, but probably a pair of rams are used. The purchase of this pump has been necessitated by the deepening of the shaft which has been continued from 400 feet to 700 feet. In 1891, the output was 58,945 tons, and the undertaking has produced 629,051 tons in fifteen years. The means of transport is furnished by a private railway 4 miles in length, on which the company spent £26,000, and the bulk of the coal is sold in Dunedin, which is about 50 miles distant from the pit's mouth, where it is a great favourite. It is black and glossy, with a conchoidal fracture and dean to the touch; it burns freely with a cheerful blaze, forming a hot fire, and leaving a bulky incandescent ash. The following analyses were made in 1890 by the writer after the coal had been for some time exposed to the atmosphere:—

In addition to the property described above, the company owns a freehold coal-bearing estate of 2,200 acres near Tokomnriro, 41 miles from Dunedin.

The working of the Kaitangata colliery has been for many years very free from accident, but in 1879, before the enforcement of mining regulations by Government, a disastrous explosion occurred, which killed 3 persons, and left the 31 remaining in the mine to die of afterdamp. In a few weeks the sum of £15,378 was subscribed in the colony for the benefit of the widows and orphans, £10,000 of this sum being raised in Otago alone. In the beginning of 1890, £14,631 had been paid in direct alimony and £563 in expenses; and notwithstanding this large disbursement, there was £11,645 left to the credit of the fund. The writer gathers from the Colonial newspapers that legislative action has been taken, and that the capital has been placed in the hands of trustees as a fund for general mining accidents.

Near the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Company's mine, a company known as the Castle Hill Coal-mining Company has of late years been engaged in sinking a shaft. Some time ago a borehole proved the coal at 400 feet, and a small shaft was put down, striking a good seam. Since then a 13 feet circular shaft has been commenced, which was to cut the coal at 600 feet. Brickworks were established and a railway built to connect with the existing private line. Unfortunately a great deal of water and running sand was met with, which overpowered the pumping appliances, and when the sinking was resumed, after standing for some time, the sides were found to be damaged. Information under date February, 1893, is to the effect that the shaft is abandoned, and the workings will lie approached by a cross-measure drift dipping 1 in 4½.

Scattered throughout the interior of Otago are numerous small mines, many of them openwork, and employing only u man or two for a short time.

(8) Southland Coal-fields.

The coal-fields situated in the province of Southland are mostly only of local importance. Exception to this may perhaps hu made in favour of the Nightcaps Coal Company's freehold mines which produced 14,185 tons in 1891. There appear to be three separate mines close together, working seams varying from 8 feet to 15 feet in thickness and employing 33 men. The fuel is bright, black, clean-looking, burning well and containing—at any rate as regards one seam—much fossil resin. The analysis is as follows:—

3. METHODS OF WORKING.

The almost universal system of working is by bord-and-pillar, or the Scottish room-and-rance, which is very similar. Generally the pillars are left much too small, but sometimes the plan is properly laid out and n fair proportion recovered. The roofs vary very much: on the western coast of the South Island, hard gritty rock; in the Kaitangata mines, hard coarse conglomerate; at Kawnkawa, sandstone; in the Waikato and in many of the

brown-coal-mines, running sand.

There are on the official list 161 coal-mines, but of these 20 are dormant, and the remaining 141 may be classified as below. In some parts of the official reports two or more pits are occasionally grouped, which accounts for the discrepancy noticeable between this table and that given on page 105.

4. MACHINERY.

Of the New Zealand coal-mines, only twenty-five in 1891 utilized engine-power for raising the mineral, and this is accounted for by the fact that so much outcrop coal is found level-Free, and at present horsta or hand-power is usually found sufficient. In a few cases good winding and hauling-engines are employed. As regards ventilation, it appears that there are three fans, five furnaces, one steam-jet, one steam-jet and furnace combined, while two mines owe their ventilation to steam-pipes in the upcast shaft. Compressed air is occasionally, but seldom, employed; electricity as a motive power in the one case already noted. Electric signals are common. A Harrison coal-cutter was tried at Kaitangata, where also power rock-drills were very successfully introduced. Mechanical stokers were tried at Greymouth and abandoned. Telephones are very largely utilized.

5. LEGISLATION.

In many respects the law for regulating collieries in New Zealand (The Coal-mines Act, 1891 is similar to that at present in force in Great Britain, but as the minerals are in almost every case Crown property, the subject of leases forms a not unimportant portion. The valuable coal-fields of Westport and Greymouth are under the control of the Harbour Boards established for these places, and although leases may be granted by the Minister of Mines, the application must first come before the local body interested, and (apparently to guard against a monopoly) any proposed amalgamation of leases may be vetoed by the Legislative Assembly.

The following are, shortly stated, the usual terms of lease. (1) Term not to exceed sixty-six years; (2) area not to exceed 2,000 acres, and dead rent to be not less than 1s. or more than 5s. per acre; (3) royalty to be not less than 3d. or more than 1s. per ton on all coal raised; (4) when the royalty exceeds the dead rent, the latter ceases; (5) no wayleave or surface rent is paid, but only such surface as is actually required shall be taken; (6) any person requiring "free access, egress, and regress" upon the land leased for the purpose of constructing any adit or tunnel, shall have power to do so, on obtaining the sanction of the Minister of Mines (on the recommendation of a Warden or Commissioner of Crown Lands), but coal-mining is not to be interfered with; (7) all timber required for mining purposes may be cut, but otherwise timber on leases is reserved to the Crown; (8) all minerals other than coal are excepted; (9) power is reserved to the Crown to resume possession on paying compensation; (10) in case of neglect on the part of lessees to work during three months, notice may be given to resume: if this be neglected for an additional three months, the lease may be determined, and "the Queen, the Governor, or the Minister may enter on the demised premises and take possession of all buildings and improvements thereon." The next clause, however, states that the lessee shall be allowed two months to remove plant, but not buildings. (11) If at any time "the lessee neglects or refuses to pump the water out of any underground working for three days after the inspector has given the lessee notice in writing to do so, the inspector may, if it shall appear that such neglect or refusal to pump the water is likely to be prejudicial to the safety of any adjoining mines, or to the prejudice of the Crown, as proprietor, enter upon the mine and take possession of the pumping machinery, and employ men to work such machinery for pumping out the said workings, at the cost of the lessee; and any costs so incurred shall be deemed a debt due to Her Majesty by the lessee." (12) The lessee is bound, if so required, when the mine is being worked, to supply the Government, or any private railways or any steamships with coal at current rates, each railway or vessel with not more than seven days' supply—strikes excepted.

Inspectors are to be appointed, every one of whom is to be the holder of a first-class certificate, and the clauses relating to the appointment of managers are similar to those in the British Act.

A board of examiners is appointed by the Government, and the examination fee is £1, which enables the candidate, in case of failure, to have a second try, within three months. The questions set by the examiners are reasonably easy (see Appendix A). There are two grades of certificates, three in fact, as in case of a mine employing six men or less, a "permit from the inspector" is required, Not only for managers are certificates requisite, but also for engine-drivers, who raise men either in a shaft or plane. Due provision is made for certificates of service in both cases. "Any person of good repute producing a certificate of competency from any duly constituted and recognized authority outside the colony" can obtain a certificate either as manager or engine-driver.

No female and no boy (that is, under 13) shall be employed in or about any mine, and the next section

enacts that "no boy or youth (that is, under 18) shall be employed for more than forty-eight hours in any one week, exclusive of the time allowed for meals, or more than eight hours in any one day, except in cases of emergency. But no person shall be deemed guilty of an offence against this Act for a contravention of that part of this section relating to the time for which persons shall not be employed below-ground, if he prove before any two justices, not being interested in any mine in which such person or persons are employed, that there were special circumstances to render such contravention necessary for the proper working of the mine; and that such contravention was not injurious to the workmen employed in the mine."

Section 29 enacts that no person under 18 is to have charge of an engine used for lowering or raising persons, but this is somewhat superfluous, as General Rule 21 forbids any person under 21 to have charge of any steam-engine or boiler used in the working of any mine.

No person in charge of steam machinery shall work for more than eight consecutive hours, exclusive of the time used in raising or exhausting steam and of meal times, and of "any time in which such person is employed in case of breakage or other emergency."

Section 31 provides for the usual registers of "boys employed in connexion with the mine," but as section 27 directly prohibits the employment of any boy "in any capacity," these registers will not be largely used, and the numerous references to this class of labour might well have been left out.

Section 32 contains the General Rules, which are prefaced by the "reasonably practicable" clause.

General Rule 1 defines the "adequate amount of ventilation to be not less than 100 feet of pure air per minute for each man and youth, and horse, pony, donkey, or mule, which shall sweep undiminished along the airway through each working-place."

By General Rule 15 cage covers are defined as "constructed of iron not less than one quarter part of an inch thick, and shall be securely hung on hinges and fitted with sloping sides, so as to be readily lifted upwards by persons within the cage."

General Rule 20 requires ropes and chains to be tested "to carry twice the weight of the ordinary load" before being used, and also, where men are raised and lowered, a similar test is to be applied once in every three months.

Boilers have, according to General Rule 32, to be subjected to a hydraulic test once in every six months. It may be mentioned that inspectors under "The Inspection of Machinery Act, 1882," make regular examinations of all steam-boilers, and grant a certificate, beyond the pressure stated on which the boiler is not to be worked. A charge is made for this certificate, exceeding—(the writer speaks from memory)—very considerably the premium paid in England by boiler-insurance companies for examination and insurance.

In mines liable, "in the opinion of an inspector," to an inundation or inburst of water, such escape roads as may be prescribed by the Minister of Mines are to be constructed, and also provision for the safety of the men during the period of any inundation or inburst of water in such mine.

General Rule 41 contains the "two hours before commencing work" examination clause.

General Rule 44.—All safety-lamps are to be of a pattern approved by the inspector.

Special rules are not framed as in Great Britain, but are contained in an appendix to the Act. There is, however, power for framing any additional rules which may be advisable.

Section 44.—It is compulsory on the inspector to immediately investigate any complaint from a miner.

Section 45.—Every mine where there are underground workings—(N.B.—In 1891 there were ten mines on the list, all with underground workings, and furnishing a total output of 369 tons, or under 37 tons each per annum)—is required to keep a plan, which must be made up every six months by a certificated manager, a duly-qualified mining engineer, or a surveyor authorized as such by the Surveyor-General, A copy to be sent to the inspector, who may, if he thinks fit, have a check-survey made, and if the original plan should prove to be incorrect the inspector can recover the cost of the check. Power is reserved for the cancellation or suspension of certificates.

Section 52 provides that "Any accident occurring in a mine shall be *prima facie* evidence that such accident occurred through some negligence on the part of the owner."

Section 53 provides for compensation of employes injured through non-observance of the Act, and may best be given *in extenso*:—"If any person employed in or about any mine suffer any injury in person, or be killed, owing to the non-observance in such mine of any of the provisions of this Act, such non-observance not being solely due to the negligence of the person so injured or killed, or owing in any way to the negligence of the owner of such mine, his agents or servants; the person so injured, or his personal representatives, or the personal representatives of the person so killed, may recover from the owner compensation by way of damages as for a tort committed by such owner; and the amount of such compensation with the costs of recovering the same when determined, shall constitute a charge on the mine and mining plant, in or about which such person was so employed, and all charges arising under the provisions of this section shall, as between themselves, be paid rateably."

Such compensation may be recovered under the provisions of 'The Deaths by Accident Compensation Act, 1880,' or 'The Employers' Liability Act, 1882,' which shall respectively be; applicable, according to the circumstances of each particular case; subject, however, that notice of injury having been sustained may be given under the last-mentioned Act at any time within three months from the occurrence of the accident causing the injury, instead of within six weeks as in the said Act mentioned.

Nothing in this section contained shall take away from any person any right to take proceedings in respect of a claim for compensation for injury or death by accident, which he may have under any other Act other than this, if he prefer to proceed under such Act, but in such case he shall forfeit any right he may have to take proceedings under this section.

Notices of accidents and the provisions of coroners' inquests are as usual, but as distances are so great the Minister of Mines may authorize some person to act for the inspector. The writer remembers a case when a police-constable, who acted in this capacity, reported that the evidence "disclosed no blame to the Mines Department." Where practicable one-half the jurors are to be miners.

Section 59 deals with the resumption of land for mining purposes, and has an important bearing on the question of mineral rights. The provisions are as follows:—

- All lands which, previous to the commencement of this Act, have been alienated or agreed to be alienated from the Crown, whether by way of absolute sale, or lease, or for any lesser interest, shall, with the consent of the owner or occupier thereof respectively; and
- All lands which, after the commencement of this Act, may be so alienated, or agreed to be so alienated, from the Crown, but not expressly for coal-mining purpose, shall, without the consent of owners or occupiers thereof respectively; and
- All native lands which have been alienated since the 30th day of August, 1888, or which hereafter may be alienated by the native owners thereof, to any person other than Her Majesty, except lands alienated expressly for mining or coal-mining purposes;

Shall be liable to be resumed by Her Majesty for coal-mining purposes on paying full compensation to the owner and occupier thereof for the value of the land and improvement so resumed.

Section 60 enables the Governor, on behalf of Her Majesty, to contract with the owner or lessee of any coal-mine either in native, private, or Crown lands for the acquisition of such mine, "Provided that resumption and acquisition under this and the preceding section shall not be complete nor take effect until a resolution of the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives shall have been passed sanctioning the same, Any land so resumed or acquired may be worked by the Minister on behalf of Her Majesty, unless the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives shall by resolution otherwise determine."

Section 61 deals with the question of access to and wayleave through lands required, and is of great interest as bearing on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, whose report has recently been published, "Where, for the purpose of working any mine, it is required to carry any work on, or over, or under any private land, or to take any such land, or any part thereof, for mining works in connexion with such mine, the Governor, on the application and at the proper cost and charges of the owner of the said mine, may take such land, or any part thereof, under "The Public Works Act, 1882,' as for a public work within the meaning of such Act. All provisions of the said Act shall apply accordingly for the purpose, but the effect of the Proclamation taking the land shall be to vest such land in the applicant instead of in Her Majesty, and all proceedings after the aforesaid Proclamation in respect of compensation and otherwise in respect of complying with the said Act shall be had against the applicant, who shall be deemed to be the respondent, and shall be liable in respect of such taking in the same manner and to the same extent as Her Majesty or the Minister for Public Works would be in respect of taking land for a Government work under the said Act."

Section 63. (Encroachment.) This section authorizes the Minister of Mines, on affidavit of any person claiming to be legally or equitably interested in any mine, to authorize the inspector, together with a "mining surveyor or experienced miner," to enter and survey, but the complainant is first to deposit a sum not exceeding £100 as security.

Section 65 deals with the flooding of adjoining mines, and enables any owner of a mine, who shall have left a barrier not less than 33 yards thick along his entire rise boundary, to recover from his neighbour, who may wilfully or negligently allow any water to overflow or percolate, a proportionate amount of the cost of pumping such water.

Section 68 requires the usual annual returns and also "any other information connected with the mine the Minister may from time to time require," and it authorizes the Minister to publish the result of such returns.

Section 69 is perhaps the most remarkable provision in the Act. It is a direct and heavy tax on a particular industry, and goes beyond the contract entered into between the Crown and the lessees, opening up a question of the gravest importance. As an attempt to relieve distress it is no doubt admirable, but, as was expressed by a leading mining man in New Zealand in a recent letter to the writer, "The principle of such a fund I do not object

to, but I think it should be subscribed to by all parties concerned, starting with the lessor and ending with the men."

Its provisions are, shortly stated, as follows:—The owner of every coalmine shall contribute one halfpenny per ton on the output of bituminous mines and one farthing per ton on any lignite sold during the preceding three months, and shall pay this into the Post Office Savings Bank to the credit of a fund to be called the "Sick and Accident Fund" in connexion with the miners' association of the district. In case of there being no miners' association the money is to be paid to the credit of a fund known as "The Coal Miners' Relief Fund." These moneys are to be operated upon "only by the persons appointed in that behalf by the miners' association of the district, in accordance with regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor," and where no such association exists the Minister of Mines and the Public Trustee are to act. The inspectors of mines are empowered to examine colliery accounts in order to see if the owners pay up regularly, and the penalty for not doing so (which goes to the credit of the fund) is two pounds for every pound or fraction of a pound not paid. There is one redeeming feature. In case of damages for injury, the amount to which a workman may be entitled from the accident fund is to be taken into account.

The final section in the Act provides that no contract for the supply of coal shall be binding in case of a strike.

6. ACCIDENTS.

As will be observed on reference to the following tables, coal-mining in New Zealand is subject to approximately the same proportion of accidents as occur in other countries, but owing to the limited number of men employed, the death-rate per thousand is very variable (Fig. 4, Plate III.). Many of the fatalities have occurred in small mines, where the owners have neither sufficient capital to provide proper appliances, nor in many cases the skill requisite for using them, were they at hand. Thus, in 1888, when there were four deaths, half this number took place in two mines, with a joint output of 30 tons.

Prior to 1879, statistics of mining accidents were not kept, and the following table therefore commences with the year 1880:—

The following tables show the classification of accidents to the end of 1887:—

Of deaths alone the percentage for that period was as follows:—

Thus 77.26 per cent, of the total fatalities is due to falls of ground.

The average number of men employed per life lost from 1879 to 1891 (inclusive) was 4287, and the average tonnage raised per life lost was 149,524 tons.

7. TOTAL CONSUMPTION, OUTPUT, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, ETC.

With only one very small exception, the total consumption of coal has gone on from year to year steadily increasing, as will be seen on reference to the following table and to Fig. 5, Plate III.:—

The total output (Fig. 5, Plate III.) also shows a steady increase, except in the year 1889.

Imports.—The imports of coal into New Zealand will probably never entirely cease, for though the native coal is plentiful and good, New South Wales fuel will always command a market. This arises mainly from the fact that the latter colony is a very large customer for New Zealand farm produce, and the vessels, rather than come back empty, bring coal as a return freight. The following table and Fig. 6, Plate III., show the history and position of the trade:—

Exports.—In considering the exports of coal from the colony, it is necessary to distinguish between that which is actually exported of a foreign country there to be consumed, and that which is put on board the direct steamers to be burned on the voyage. In Table A, this quantity is counted, where obtainable, as consumed within the colony; and in table B, it is treated as export. (See Fig. 6, Plate III.)

The following table gives details of the countries to which the above amounts for 1891 were sent:—

Of this, 2,968 tons, valued at £3,348, was foreign coal, the rest was New Zealand produce.

The following tables, and Fig. 5, Plate III., show the output of coal percentage increase or decrease *per annum* for each island:—

The following table indicates more clearly how the ratio of increase in the South Island exceeds that in the North:—

The following table gives some details of the outputs of the various districts for the years 1890 and 1891, and the approximate total output since records have been kept:—

The following table classifies the different varieties of coal:—

The following table gives an indication of the relative number of men employed and average output per man in the different sized mines. It supports what the writer has mentioned relative to the inconstant

employment and consequent small output of the very small pits:—

The discrepancy between the number of mines given above and that given in the table on page 90 has been already explained.

8. QUANTITY OF EXISTING COAL.

The difficulty of determining the total quantity of coal contained in any country has been well exemplified in the case of Great Britain, and it is obviously impossible in a place like New Zealand to make even [unclear: ai] approximate estimate. Sir James Hector, however, whose knowledge of the coal-fields is unequalled, has published his opinion on this point,

Report of Westland Coal-fields Committee, 1889, page 104.

[unclear: is] follows:—

9. WAGES, STRIKES, BENEFIT CLUBS, CONDITION OF THE MINERS, ETC.

Wages have already been referred to, and vary from about 12s. per day on the West Coast, where living is expensive, to 7s. below ground and 6s. above on the eastern side of the South Island.

The following are some prices for contract work in 1890:—Stone-drift, 6 feet by 6 feet, mostly conglomerate, dipping 1 in 7, haulge supplied by owners, otherwise the price includes labour and explosives, £3 10s. 6d. per yard; drifting, 6 feet by 6 feet in coal shales, including timbering, £1 19s. per yard; coal-heading, 4s. to 7s. 6d. per yard, and 4s. per ton for coal, and 1s. for slack; coal-getting (in Canterbury), 3s. per ton for all-over 1 inch riddle, regular work.

It is always difficult to calculate the earnings of miners, especially when the number employed is somewhat variable, as is the case in New Zealand. The method employed in the last Mines Department report of the colony is as follows:—The total quantity of coal raised in tons is multiplied by six shillings, which is supposed to represent the average cost in wages of getting a ton of coal. This gives £200,638, and as 1,693 men were employed (1,277 below and 416 above ground) the average earnings of each is £118 10s. 2d. per annum, a very large sum, but one which, when the cost of living is taken into account, must be heavily discounted before being compared with the remuneration in Great Britain.

Strikes unfortunately are not unheard of, and have been carried to a pitch unknown in England. An institution known as the "complete boycott" has been established, which requires some explanation. [unclear: i] and B (say) own a coal mine, and also a woollen factory. A is also a partner in a merchant's business. The men at the colliery strike or are locked out. The labour leaders give notice that A and B are to be boycotted. No member of any carriers' union is to touch a bale bound for the factory or a package from the store. No railway or steamship is to carry a single article bearing the name of either the woollen company or the merchant's business, under penalty of an immediate cessation of work on the part of all hauls. This desperate style of warfare which involved workmen who had nothing whatever to do with the matter under dispute, and imply amounted to a display of strength, wrought its own cure, and ended in a bitter disappointment to the men—ruin in fact to many—enormous loss of trade to the Colony, and great privation for women and children. The capitalists at once rose to the occasion and worked their undertakings with "free labour."

On the West Coast of the South Island in 1891, it became necessary to employ non-union men, working under police protection, and housed and fed on the works. In order to ensure their safe transit from the railway train to the mine, special constables were enrolled and the somewhat unusual course was adopted of swearing in, as temporary guardians of the peace, about 100 of the most prominent union men, who were accordingly drawn up in line to preserve order, while those who were coming to take their work marched between.

Benefit societies and sick-and-accident clubs were common at all the larger works, but the direct taxation of the owners to provide for requirements of this nature will presumably have checked, if it has not killed, these organizations.

As regards wages, money is tolerably plentiful, and men can, if they like, save. The West Coast is wet and rough, and living is expensive; houses too, as in all new countries, are at a premium, but land can easily be obtained, and the style of dwelling considered in the colonies sufficient for a small family does not take long to run up, and is easily sold. In the agricultural districts, the colliers frequently have a piece of ground and often keep a horse, while shooting and fishing are in places to be had at very small cost. Free education for children is usually at hand, but if not, and there should be a railway, they travel free to the nearest station where there is a school. Libraries and reading rooms, schools of music, and other means of passing the time profitably are plentiful, and there are so many local bodies that a considerable amount of attention is taken up with what may be called "parish politics."

While colliery working in some parts of New Zealand is an operation requiring great perseverance and large capital, there are many places among the brown coals and lignites where a pick and shovel, with a few days' or weeks' labour, will suffice to open what is undoubtedly a coalmine. Nearly all over the interior of Otago are patches of lignite, sometimes hidden by the surface-soil and vegetation, and sometimes exposed in the beds of watercourses. When these seams penetrate deep into the soil an adit is required instead of a simple opencast working; and then, in addition to the actual tools required for breaking ground, comes the necessity for the purchase of a truck, a little sawn timber for rails, and some prop-wood, which is very dear in places, costing as much as 1s. per foot for a 5 or 6 feet prop. Even in this case the requisite outlay is not large, and for men who have a love of independence, an undertaking of this nature, even though it may not hold out any prospect of riches, offers the inducement of freedom with frequently a comfortable living. Many proprietors of these small concerns get the coal, tram it out, and cart it to the consumer. This system dispenses entirely with the middleman, and brings to the fore a class of self-reliant hard-working men who occasionally are fortunate enough to escape over-competition, and by dint of perseverance and labour attain a competency.

As years go on the opportunities of working without capital will grow less plentiful, and as railways increase the trade will fall into the hands of the larger companies.

10. CONCLUSION.

The writer trusts that in the foregoing pages he has given an impartial and fairly accurate account of coal-mining in New Zealand. The figures dealt with are in many cases small, as compared with the armies of workmen and stupendous output of the mother country, but the colony is equipped with stores of mineral fuel which will some day materially help it to assume its proper position among the nations which are springing up under the old flag. As an integral part of this great empire its future prospects cannot be without interest to those who desire to see English speaking miners and mining engineers supreme in all quarters of the globe.

PART IV. KAURI-GUM.

As a fossil resin dug from the earth kauri-gum has undoubtedly a place among the mineral productions of the colony, and, as will be seen from the following table, it forms a by no means unimportant article of export. It is the fossil turpentine of the Kauri (*Damumara australis*), which is still found growing in the northern portion of the colony, and occurs as far south as Taranaki. Though used principally in the manufacture of varnish, it is stated to be employed as a substitute for amber, which it very much resembles. As the method of mining for kauri-gum is very simple—nothing more is required than a spear with which to find it, a spade to dig it out, and a sack to carry it away in—it is a frequent refuge for people who have not sufficient capital to embark in any other industry, who are not over-fond of work, but like a free and open-air life, and who desire to obtain something which is readily convertible into cash. As the climate of the region where it occurs is very mild, and the country comparatively open, but little hardship need be encountered by the "gum-digger."

Apropos of kauri-gum, the mineral ambrite may be mentioned, though it has not as yet been commercially utilized. It occurs plentifully in many places, and has been described by Dr. von Hochstetter,

New Zealand, 1863, English edition, page 79,

as follows:—"Fossil resin embedded in the coal, sometimes in pieces from the size of a fist to that of a man's head, but usually only in smaller groups. It is transparent, very brittle, and has a conchoidal and quite glossy fracture. Colour changes from a bright yellow to dark brown; is easily ignited, much more so than kauri-gum, burns with a steady fast-sooting flame, and develops a bituminous rather than an aromatic smell. Mr. F. Chard Maly found us a mean of three chemical analyses of this fossil resin:— yielding the formula $C_{32}H_{26}O_4$. It shows great indifference to solvents; by friction it becomes electric; hardness, 2; specific gravity, 1.03 at 12 degrees Reaumur. It is sufficiently characterized to deserve a special name, but it comes so near to real amber in composition that it deserves the name of ambrite."

The writer has now to conclude with a word of explanation what has been to him a congenial labour. The colony of New Zealand is [unclear: arextensive] and varied tract of country, embracing every variety of topography, a complex and representative geology, and a very large number of mineral products. In endeavouring to lay before this Institute an account of the present condition of mining in that colony the greatest difficulty experienced has been not in obtaining materials for a paper, but in choosing from the great mass available, sufficient to give an idea of the mineral riches and methods of working them, without drifting into prolixity and superabundant detail. The writer has had perpetually before him the fear of incurring reproach by referring in too eulogistic terms to the future prospects of New Zealand mining enterprise, while it has been his constant endeavour to do justice to the resources of the country in which he lived and laboured for so many years.

To the small but intrepid army of geological and mining workers, of whose publications he has made full use, he begs to make every acknowledgment, and to the Agent-General in London for New Zealand (Mr. W. B. Perceval), he desires to return his most cordial thanks for information courteously and freely rendered.

Appendix A. Examinations for Mines Managers' Certificates Under "the Coal Mines Act, 1891," of New Zealand.

The examinations last four days, and there were in 1892 ninety-one written questions, as well as an oral examination on the provisions of the Act. The following are examples of the questions:—

(1) Describe your operations in detail in sinking through the following strata: Surface clays and gravel, 13 feet; strong sandstone, 60 feet; soft clay, 40 feet; strong sandstone, 20 feet; conglomerate, 40 feet, (This is one of seven questions occupying together three hours.)

(2) How would you work a coalscam 12 feet thick, with good roof and pavement lying at 1 in 20? Give all dimensions, and state what percentage of coal you consider you could win.

(3) What area would you have supported on timber in working the pillars in a 6 feet thick seam of hard coal with an ordinary sandstone roof? Explain when and how you would draw the props.

(4) An upcast 20 fathoms deep has a chimney 60 feet high added to it: what is the difference in water-gauge and volume of air circulating if 5,000 cubic feet was passing at first?

(5) What is the condition in the character of a coal that renders it liable to spontaneous combustion, and what condition of the mine is chiefly instrumental in allowing this property in the coal to come into action?

(6) Explain the method of using, and give sketch of, the clip you prefer in endless rope haulage.

(7) Does the workable coal of New Zealand occur in one or more positions in the coal-formation?

(8) Give the composition of an average lignite and of a brown coal. What is their distinguishing feature from a bituminous coal, apart from caking? (9) The candidate must produce a plan showing the style of workings in a colliery, with the surface taken up for at least twenty acres in the vicinity of the shaft, and the underground workings in different coloured ink. He must describe how he would connect them with the surface in the event of there being only one shaft. The levels and main heading must have assumed tranverse calculated in detail, and showing latitude and departure for each bearing.

(10) 10 degs., 200 links 4 degs., 700 links; 3 degs., 200 links; all rang at an angle of 80 degs.; thence a drive runs 186 degs., 100 links, also rising at an angle of 10 degs.: what are the vertical and horizontal distances between start and finish?

(11) What is the 130421 and the 29791?

Appendix B.

As Parts I. and II. of this paper do not bring the exports up to the end of 1891, the following table is given as showing the total mineral production of the colony, to the latest date available:—

Corrigenda.

Trans Fed, Inst. vol., iv., page 81, line 13, for "check" read "cause."

Mr. T. E. FORSTER said he had had the pleasure of seeing one of the New Zealand coal-mines, by the assistance of Mr. Biting, who was kind enough when he (Mr. Forster) was in Dunedin to show him the Kaitangata colliery mentioned in the paper. He was interested by the ingenious way in which the manager had contrived to overcome many of the difficulties. He would like to ask Mr. Binns whether all the coal on the West Coast was capable of being made into coke. He gathered from the paper that the proposal to supply New Zealand coke to Broken Hill had not been a success; if the coal was so free from ash, as stated, it seemed strange that it had not been able to compete with English coke. Mr. Binns showed how the Colonial Government took over and resumed land for the purpose of colliery-railways or mining-works. The law was practically the same in Australia so far as railways were concerned, but it must be remembered that the physical characteristics of the country are very different from those existing at home. Everything which gave employment in Australia was considered as a matter of public utility, but that standard of excellence had not been yet attained in this country.

Prof. HULL said Mr. Binns' paper seemed to contain a most valuable synopsis of the coal-fields of New Zealand, in which the writer had gathered into a very small space a large amount of useful information. It was a remarkable fact, notwithstanding the proximity of the two countries, that the coal-fields of New Zealand should be geologically of much more recent date than those of Australia. The great coal-bearing tracts of Australia were either of the same Carboniferous age as the coal-fields of the British islands, or very nearly verging

thereon, but those in New Zealand were very much more recent, being of the period on the borderland between the Secondary and Tertiary rocks, consequently they could not expect the coals to be so highly mineralized as they were in Australia, in the British Isles, or in America. He would not have considered the Westport coal to be a good steam coal, and it was remarkable that it should have given such excellent results as were indicated on page 77. He was going to venture on a generalization which he hoped might not be considered out of place. It was to the effect that wherever the Anglo-Saxon race had colonized, whether in America, in Australia, or in New Zealand, that race always seemed to find at hand the materials necessary for the development of its industries to the highest degree. These coal-fields in New Zealand might have lain for incalculable ages useless in the hands of the Maoris, for many years would have passed before they would have developed a steam-engine or sunk a shaft.

The PRESIDENT moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Binns for his excellent paper, which was an exceedingly valuable contribution to the *Transactions*, and, he thought, would form a useful work of reference in connexion with the working of mines in New Zealand.

Mr. T. E. FORSTER seconded the motion, which was cordially adopted.

Mr. BINNS said he was exceedingly obliged to the President for proposing, and to the members for carrying, the vote of thanks. He thought it a sufficient privilege to be allowed to publish what little he knew in the *Transactions* of the Institution, without being specially thanked for it. The West Coast coal made very good coke, but the freedom from ash was not always the same as in the Westport. Grey mouth coal contained from 3.81 to 6.45 per cent of ash, and that seam was made into coke to a large extent, but it did not appear, from the recent report of the Minister of Mines, to have been a success.

To illustrate M.G.J. Binns' Paper on "Mining in New Zealand"

Isitt, THE SHRIEKING PROHIBITOR!!

And how

He Pocketed £42,

By his Harlequinade and Merry Andrew Performances,

At the Theatre Royal, Nelson,

Exposure and Refutation

Of his Clap-Trap, Rant, and Cant.

By F. Buxton, C. E., M.S.L.A.S.

Writer Against the Abuse of The Liquor Traffic,

In

The Fortnightly Review, The Daily Graphic and other of the London Press.

Price, Threepence.

Printed at "The Colonist" Office, Waimea-street, Nelson.

Temperance v. Prohibition

Or The Rev, H, M Asitt, methodist Parson

As others see him.

When you wake with heavy the head, take a B. and S. in bed,

It will cure you of the dizziness you felt, sir!

Then to breakfast you can go O11 a little bloater roe,

As a relish for a pint of hock and seltzer.

And of course you won't refuse just a drop of green Chartreuse,

Or a Kummel or a little drop of noyau;

Or perhaps, if you prefer not to meddle with liqueur,

Trying a fizzing little bottle of the Boy oh!

WWHO, that has lived in London, has not heard the immortal Arthur sing the above comic at the Gaiety in the character of "a parson about town," who, as "he winked the other eye, took his liquor on the sly." And who has not beard of the costermonger from the back slums of Whitechapel, who was converted into and became a Methodist parson, but who, nevertheless, continued to "always find it handy to begin the day with brandy, and out of his 'collection' pay, take on the spree a little girl to Hampstead for the day." Yet this Methodist parson's orthodoxy was considered unimpeachable, and, as he "winked the other eye," consoled himself with the belief that his way of getting a living was quite as respectable as being on the Stock Exchange, or proprietor of a newspaper. He was a veritable Thor and Odin in the pulpit and on the platform, and his fervour in preaching "Prohibition" reminded one of the Aissowa Arabs who eat scorpions for a thrill, and swallow red hot coals by way of a sensation.

Madame Blavatsky might have been able to afford us an intelligent solution of the Protean' performances in the Theatre Royal here during the past week, and tell us whether the Astral spirit of this costermonger Methodist parson had not been transmitted from the invisible world, or rather, in this case, the corridor of Hades, to the earth plane of Nelson, into the form and person of another "Prohibitionist Methodist parson," L. M. Isitt.

Mr Isitt, at his performances on the stage of the Theatre, has painted Nelson as a hecatomb of sots, of irreclaimable drunkards; a people who are a reproach to the white skins of the world. This reverend traducer of our Christian citizenship told us this, and a good deal more, and for it, and the rest of his foul insults to the men and women of this fair city, he has got away, not only with a whole skin, but with a substantial lining to his breeches pockets of some £42 odd or more into the bargain.

Psychometrists are rare, and the most gifted would be baffled by the palimpsest of impressions this protoplasmic "reverend" has left on our minds. His picture of us must have been communicated to him by his departed brother parson, who is now "winking the other eye," in the vestibule of hell, for I need not explain to you that there is no impossibility in the instantaneous communication of intelligence from one brother in the inferno to another of the sixth sense on earth. To some it comes in the form of clairvoyance, to others as clairaudience, whilst to the third it comes in the shape of what is called automatic writing, or telepathy.

We will vivisect Mr Isitt, and show that what he has painted black is in reality white; that his mendacity is as stupendous as his Biblical jeers are impious; that truth and his impudent assertions are as far as the poles assunder; that the lever with which he works is a rope of sand; his pretended facts and figures chimerical and mendacious. We will show that Prohibition, where tried, both in the Old World and the New, has proved a dismal and costly failure, a legislative abortion. We will show that it has brought about increased drunkenness, excessive taxation, increase in crime, extra police, retrogressive movement, the exclusion of emigrants, and almost utter ruin to countries which have tried it.

Before proceeding to vivisect the rev, Methodist calumniator, and, under the hypnotic state, extract from him a complete refutation of his pretended facts and figures, let us see what an eminent authority says on Temperance or moderate drinking:—

In the June number of *Blackwood's a Magazine* there is an article by Dr Farquharson, member for Aberdeenshire, on moderate drinking:—Dr. Farquharson protests against the "staggering sot" theory, and, as against the visionary preachers of a pure water Utopia, defends the use of alcohol both as a harmless pleasure and a physical at necessity in the modern development of man We are," he says, "artificial products of an artificial age, often depressed and worried, eating bad food badly cooked, breathing bad air, and crushed down by money difficulties, At these times, when responsibilities are around us, and the troubles of the world begin to close in over our heads, a cheering glass, in strict moderation and at carefully selected times, is of real use, and can be defended both by physiology and common Bense.

On the chemical properties of alcohol, not only as a stimulant and sedative, but as a food, Dr. Farquharson strongly insists. "Alcohol," he says, "has every right to be called a food. We can prove it in this way: A certain amount of alcohol enters the body, and hardly any, if any, can be shown to leave it unchanged; what then becomes of it? Science gives the reply. Within the organism it is used up, consumed, or oxidised, thereby developing vital force and heat, and interfering so far with the oxidation of other substances as to lessen tissue waste and make nourishment go further, so as to be not only a food but a food-saving substance. This is clear and definite enough and admits of no denial, and it is confirmed by common observation. We do not need a professional diploma to remember cases, more especially at the extremes of life, where wine and spirits seem to enable an utterly insufficient dietary to keep people alive. Consumptive boys in particular will subsist on port wine long after the power of digesting nourishment is practically suspended." And when we put aside the

excesses which all must loathe, the 'four-bottle men and boozy judges, soaking gentlemen and neckcloth-loosers.' think of the merriment, the rich warm tints, the full-bodied accomplishment of the men who could take their liquor. Summon them up, from Horace to Tennyson, names taken at random—Shakespeare, Scott, Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Lamb, Coleridge, Byron, Burns—how many immortals are in the list?

Coercion is required when individual liberty overlaps the safety and convenience of others, and drunkards must be shut up when they become dangerous to themselves or neighbors. But to tell a peaceful working man, who takes his glass of beer with his dinner and feels the better for it, that he must have no more cakes and ale because somebody else cannot stand a glass of gin would be tyranny unworthy of a civilised country. This is just how the matter stands. A large section of the community partake moderately of stimulant and feel that it does them good; they cannot explain why, but they know perfectly well that if they leave it off altogether they decline in health and seem to live less happy lives. This argument is backed up by the universal craving of every tribe of people, be they savage or cultivated, for something in the way of stimulant or sedative. Alcohol, no doubt, is an acquired taste; but all varieties of the animal creation quickly acquire it, and those who are not forbidden by their religion to touch the 'accursed thing' soon find out for themselves how to extract it from root or herb. And many of those who have no scientific knowledge, when asked why they drink, cannot give any other answer than that they like it, and it does them good. We all remember the old Scotch story of three or four men entering a publichouse; 'bring me a glass of whisky,' cries one, 'because it is a cold day;' 'and me one,' cries the next, 'because I am thirsty;' 'and me,' explains the third, 'because the doctor tells me to drink it. 'But,' roared the fourth, bringing his clenched fist down on the table with a bang, 'Bring me a glass of whisky, because I like it.' "

What strikes the intelligent traveller in New Zealand is that it is over-legislated, and now this Isitt and his wretched little clique would howl for legislating for the domestic conduct of the individual. In spite of all the Isitt maniacal shrieking to the contrary, in spite of all the ignominy he would cast upon the country the economies we have effected have enabled us to carry on our marvellous material development not only without leaning unduly on the Banks, but absolutely, in the year 1892, furnishing the Banks, in the shape of deposits, enough money for the whole of their New Zealand business, leaving their subscribed capital and accumulated funds to go, in the shape of banking accommodation, to the relief of our fellow-colonists in Australia. Is it necessary to say any more? Yes; it is important to declare that our accumulated capital must now be expended in the further development of our natural resources, else we shall soon find ourselves becoming mere shrivelled money-grubbers in a land flowing with milk and honey, whilst others more enterprising, not nearly as fortunately placed, will have cut us out of our markets, and relegated us to the ignoble position of the pawnbrokers of the Southern hemisphere.

Further on will be found how wonderfully the consumption of spirits has decreased with the prosperity of the country; that, whilst the consumption of spirits in the United States is 1.34 per head of the population, it is only 0.78 in New Zealand. Mr. Isitt, in declaring the contrary to be the case, must have known the trick he was playing upon those of his audience who trusted him—if any.

His "carryings on" in the Theatre Royal here during the past week takes one back to the buffo-comic, harlequinade, and juggling performances got up for the special benefit of "Jack ashore and his Poll" at the old Vic. on the Surrey side. He reminds us of the howling Dervisher of fanatical Mahomedan lands; of the Fakir of India running a-muck under the hellish influence of bang, with blood-red ptyalistic secretions issuing in maddened foam and froth from mouth, nose, and nostrils until the fiend within him is exorcised by expiation with the wild beasts of the jungle.

If Mr Isitt were not posing before the world as the "servant of Christ," it would be impossible to treat his "carryings on" other than those of an itinerant demagogue stumping the country for what he could get out of it. As it is, however, and as he is still a Methodist parson, he says, and not an actor pandering to the obscene ribaldry of a fourth rate music hall or "penny gaff" in the Seven Dials, or Ratcliffe highway in Whitechapel, we can only look upon his conduct as an odious and impious insult to religion and morality, and to the respectable part of the audiences to which he played. No man with an atom of religion about him would have held up Daniel and the Prophets to the contempt and derision of the multitude as did the rev. performer. I will not soil the minds of my readers by repeating his wretched and miserable jests on Scriptural matters He insulted and scandalized the men and the women of Nelson by his coarse, low, vulgar, and blasphemous bellowings. He bellowed to the tune of money, however, for, as I have already said, he got away from Nelson with a lining to his breeches pocket of £42 odd. Now, if he can manage to diddle "little Nelson" out of £42 in a week, how much will his bellowings diddle out of larger towns and cities? His diddling performances against the bottle and the Bible bring him in something like £2,000 a year. And this, too, by an easy, irresponsible, and rackety life. It pays, you see. The rev, to his name is the bait, the means to the end. He is not a "drivilling lunatic," he said, nor does he "spout stuff that fits him for a lunatic asylum," Oh! no; his "lunacy" brings him in £2,000 a year. There is method and astuteness in his madness Look at him as he "winks the other eye!"

"Servant of Christ" call'st thyself! Out! hypocrite, out! His pure life thou besmerchest! We read in St. Mat. of the hypocrite "compassing sea and land to make one proselyte," and that that proselyte is "two-fold more the *child of hell*" than the hypocrite himself. I might quote Scripture from the beginning of the Old to the end of the New Testament to show that Mr Isitt is a mocker of Holy Writ in more ways than that of holding it up to ribald ridicule. Our Saviour himself advocated the use of drink, and made wine at the marriage of Cana, His Apostles advocated it in moderation, and the patriarchs of old drank, and grew, and brewed wine. Wine is to this day the drink, the only drink in Palestine and the Holy Land. They know nothing of tea, these brewers of wine. Mr Isitt, however, the rev. performer at the Theatre Royal, said he would rather be a scavenger in the streets than a brewer or dealer in wines. He "prohibits" that which our Saviour expressly commanded; he, Isitt, takes upon himself to set himself up against our blessed Lord and Saviour. Out I hypocrite! out! Go to scavenging. It, at least, would be an *honest* life.

Though I am an upholder of the liquor traffic carried on in a legitimate manner, I am dead against its abuse as manifested in the sale of a vile compound bought in Holland by English traders, and bartered to the Natives of Africa at 9d. per gallon under the name of whisky, rum, and gin.

On my return from exploring in Africa two years ago, I wrote strongly on the subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Christian Commonwealth*, and other of the London Press, secular and religious. The matter was brought before the House of Commons, and a Commission of Enquiry was to be sent out, of which I was asked to be a member. I spoke at an institution for the suppression of the abuse of the liquor traffic amongst native races, of which the Duke of Westminster is President, and the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, Chairman. I also addressed another similar Society, with which the Prince of *Brewers* and philanthropists is associated. Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart., M.P.

I have documents, papers, letters, and other matter with me from those of eminence and distinction in these matters, and whose names are as household words to us. I have also letters in French from distinguished Frenchmen on the subject, and I have critiques by the Press on my writings. One critic writes:—"The pride of Britons is severely physicked by Mr. P. Buxton in the December number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Strong feeling is manifest in his representation of the state of things created or connived at by British authority; but there is nothing to account for the vigour of expression except the reality of the facts disclosed. And these facts would warrant any degree of forcible speaking."

All true advocates and lovers of the Temperance cause must deplore the proceedings of such as this Isitt, just as truly as the loyal and patriotic Irish deplore the proceedings of the enemies of their cause and country—the traitor and paid Agitator.

Sir Henry James, the great legal authority, said just recently: "I assure you I am as anxious as any member of your Association to see the cause of *temperance* (not prohibition) prosper throughout the land. We differ only as to the best means of supporting the cause. Intemperance can never be checked by intolerance. To attempt to restrain men by individual or legislative intolerance produces a sense of wrong and a determination to resist the restraints imposed. The Government Bill appears to me to go far beyond the desirable end of lessening the opportunities of excessive drinking. It seeks to deprive the temperate man of all power to obtain any intoxicating liquor at all. So long as I enjoy the full privilege of consuming such liquor in my own house at my own will I know of no right which justifies me in depriving my fellow-man of exercising, even under different conditions, the same right. Still less can I, whilst approving of the rich man being allowed the opportunity of exercising this right at his club or at an hotel, deprive the poorer man, only because he is poorer, of any power to exercise the same right under exactly the same conditions. I also regard the attempt to destroy property without compensations to holders as unjust in the extreme I know that you will reply there is no property in a publichouse business. In one sense that view is correct, but there is an equitable interest which, in all justice, must now be regarded as property deserving protection. It is too late to maintain the contrary. The continuous renewal of licenses unless misconduct causes them to be determined, the vast sums paid to the State by licensed victuallers when exercising their trade, prevent any one saying that the trade is so immoral that the property connected with it should be confiscated. I think the sense of justice of the people of this country will defeat the Bill. If it should pass, it will take the Temperance cause years to recover from the effect which a sense of intolerant action and injustice will produce. The mere fact of the introduction of the Bill has already provoked results much to be regretted. A powerful trade interest is naturally arrayed in active opposition to a measure so calculated to injure or perhaps destroy its property. The working classes are also strongly condemning the Bill as restrictive of the freedom of individual action. Contest with such forces by the friends of Temperance must be at the expense of their cause."

Prohibition was tried in certain parts of the Continent, with the result that every house became a distillery. The banks of that classic lake, Lac Lemane, immortalized by Byron, began to reek with the fumes of bad spirit, illicitly distilled from garbage and other foul matter; fumes that penetrated the very walls down to the dark and watery dungeon of the "Prisoner of Chillon." I have passed along the road from Vevey to Clarens, and the health

resort of Montreux, when one might be overpowered and the brain almost paralysed by the intoxicating vapours unlawfully emanating from the crude still of an outraged peasantry. Prohibition there became, not a blessing, but a curse. Now, however, that the infringement of the rights of the populace is repealed, and *Government have the direct control of the liquor traffic* the country is prosperous, and the people contented and sober.

Prohibition in America has been a dismal failure. Mr. J. R. Jones, druggist, of Kansas Avenue, Topaka, says that prior to the introduction of Prohibition into the States of Maine and Kansas, theirs was a city advancing rapidly; since then it has been retrograding. There is in Prohibition States more drunkenness and more crime than before. Taxes have been increased, and the police doubled in trying to carry the law into effect. Men that were sober men in licensed districts having gone to work where they found Prohibition, immediately set to work to find whisky and get drunk, thinking it a "smart" thing to evade and break the law, and in this way thousands of young men have become drunkards. There are men who so long as they can get a thing do not want it, and do not care for it at all, but the moment you say you shall not have it, they make up their minds they will have it, and you cannot prevent their doing so; they will not be forced. Men who had never been known to be drunk previously to the passing of the Act, were, after the passing of it, to be seen in a state of blind drunkenness in the public streets. Prohibition having been proved abortive, a costly trampling on the rights of the people, the whole liquor traffic will now be put in the hands of the Government. The Americans have proved, as those in the Old World have proved, that it is a mistal on idea that by removing the publichouses you have taken away the temptation, or the possibility of creating an appetite for strong drink.

Prohibition cranks are too ignorant of history to know that in past ages Prohibition has been tried over and over again to as often ignominiously fail. Mahomed established the strictest Prohibition Government yet known, and those disobeying his commands with regard to drinking received a hundred blows each on the soles of their feet, yet his efforts to establish teetotalism amongst his enthusiastic followers were, as we know from history and the literature of Mahomedan kingdoms in Europe and Asia, ineffectual. Powerful is was the sway of Mahomed, Prohibition was as great a failure with him as it was in any of the neighbouring Christian States.

Archbishop Walsh is strongly against closing publichouses, even on a Sunday, because the evils of the "bogus club" spring up at once, he says. With reference to these bogus clubs, we read that in the course of a discussion in the Dublin Corporation, on June 6th, Councillor Tallon said that there were at present in Dublin 56 clubs. He had a list of 38 of them with a membership of 8,257 houses. These houses were only open when the houses of legitimate traders were closed. A club in Francis street was opened one morning at 6 o'clock and closed at 2 o'clock, and during these hours 926 men entered. They opened again at 7 o'clock, and closed at midnight, and during that time 617 entered. The James, Gate Brewery-men's Court, Usher's Island, opened at 6 a.m., and closed at 2 p.m., and during that time 1,2651 men entered, and from 7 to 11 o'clock 315 entered. At the Labourer's Club, 55 Bolton street, from 6 to 2 o'clock yesterday 1,533 men entered, and from 7 to 12 o'clock 614 men.

Mr. Isitt said that the consumption of spirits per head in the United States was below that of New Zealand. The very contrary, however, is the case. The United States consume 1.34 gallons per head, whilst that of New Zealand is only 0.78. Mr. Isitt has denounced this Colony at the expense of every principle of truth, and I am at a loss to find expressions in the English language strong enough to reprobate his proceedings. The Colony, in spite of what Mr. Isitt says, is thriving wonderlully, Its prosperous condition is due solely to the habits of industry and economy of the people. A careful analysis of statistics proves this. For our encouragement and a stimulus to strenuous effort let us chrystalise the experience of more than a decade, so that he who runs may read. Take the consumption of spirits, wine, beer, coffee, chicory, and tea, and consider the evidence of thrift afforded. The comparative returns from the year 1878 to 1892 show tht consumption of imported spirits, wine, and ale has decreased to the remarkable extent, exhibited in the following table, with marked evidences of economy in other articles of consumption:—

Curiously enough the convictions for drunkenness have fallen very much in the ratio of the consumption of spirits. Does not this show that for the most part we are a sober people, and that the excessive drinking was done only by a limited number?

Now, it ia this limited number of excessive drinkers Mr. Isitt should get hold of and convert. Remove temptation by shutting up every publichouse in the land bawls Mr. Isitt from his dunghill. Do *not* remove temptation, said a righteous and God-fearing Judge here the other day. We are here to be tempted, said Judge Richmond, and it is for us to *resist* temptation, Christ was tempted, but He taught us how to resist temptation. The late Bishop of Manchester advocated *not* tee-totalism, *not* prohibition, but "*temperance.*" He could, belaid, preach a much better sermon after be had had a glass of sherry than he could without one. That good Bishop reclaimed thousands of drunkards, and made more converts to temperance and morality than all the paid ribald agitators in the world ever did, or ever will do. When he died, rich and poor of every sect and denomination followed him in mourning to the grave.

There is a Publican Parson in England, In the heart of Sussex stands *a uayside inn kept by a clergyman of*

the Church of England. It is called the Anchor, and stands on the old turnpike road from Lewis to London. The rustics play "Shove-a-penny" on an evening for beer, and they have a room with papers, cards, dominoes and draughts, &c. The curate of the parish often spends an hour in this room initiating some of the young into the mysteries of chess. The vicar, the Rev. Frederic Willett, is a man in the fifties, with a healthy, jovial face, and no suspicion of the bigot or faddist about him. He is a man who understands human nature, gained by many years parochial work in manufacturing towns. For many years he laboured among the miners and ironworkers of Wolverhampton, and there he saw what convinced him that a properly conducted public-house was a greater power towards temperance than the teaching of teetotalism. He therefore, 11 years ago, bought that public-house and became a licensed victualler. When he came there the Anchor was a source of trouble, but now drunkenness has almost ceased, and there is neither poverty nor sickness in the parish. At the same time the proceeds from the public-house have more than doubled. Mr. Meynell-Ingram, Burton-on-Trent, has just opened a public-house on the same principle as this publican parson. Yet the "Rev. Mr. Isitt" pretends to tell us that he would sooner be a scavenger than a publican and brewer. Well, the sooner he turns scavenger and commences to earn an honest living the better for humanity, for morality, and religion. "Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is *within* the cup and platter," for "within thou art full of hypocrisy and iniquity"—Mat. xxiii.

Mr. Isitt's sensational experiences and marvelous anecdotes may be true; I do not say they are not, but they lack the ring of the true metal, of the metal of truth. A mother, he says, wished to give her ailing son a little wine, but he, Mr. Isitt ordered the boy not to touch it. "*Honor* thy father and thy mother says the Sacred Commandment. *Dishonor* them says the Rev. Mr. Isitt! It is Mr. Isitt's business to go out into the highways and the byways and reclaim the individual drunkard. Does he do this? No! he "winks the other eye, as he looks on, on the sly." It would not suit his book to try and convert the individual. He has his living to get, and must pose before the world! that is his game. Why should he denounce the brewer, and the publican, and the poor man, as he does, and leave the rich man and the clubs alone is universally asked? He knows better than to attack the rich and the clubs, they say. That would not suit his book either. He attacks the helpless and the poor, the dying; those lying in the throes and agonies of death. He denounces, in his exalted claptrap jargon the dying States man, Mr. Ballance. The weak, the poor, the helpless the credulous, the ignorant are the game he flies at. He has said things so libelous, so provocative, and so untrue, that I wonder he got away from Nelson without a horsewhipping. He has insulted the whole city, dragged its fair fame in the mire, scandalised the community, this breeder of mischief between husband and wife, child and parent, and he has exploited the inhabitants of £42 into the bargain. I knew of a rather similar case at Amiens, in France, where an English crank, a remittance man, took upon himself something in the Isitt style of business, with this difference, however, that he traded on his own money, and not on that of other people. He went on with his jibes, and jeers, and insults, and lying, and interferences, until the victimized and outraged women put a summary stop to his little game. Their indignation against the fellow led them to yell *à la fontaine* with him, and at the sound of that significant threat from scandalized women, he was glad to sneak off over the frontier as fast as his legs could carry him. For *a la fontaine* means, not lynch him exactly, not tar and feather or tin-can him, but to the horsepond with him!

F. BUXTON, C.E., M.S.L.A.S.

Nelson,

21st July, 1893.

vignette

Front Cover

Paper on the "Management of Large Schools in Scotland."

Read to the Members of the Auckland Branch of the

New Zealand Educational Institute,

On 30th June, 1893.

Auckland: Wilsins and Horton, General Printer, Wyndham Street. MDCCCXCIII.

Preface.

THE Auckland Branch of the NEW ZEALAND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE, having ascertained that Mr. John Hastie, Organist and Secretary of the National Association, held a distinguished position in the Old Country as Head Master in one of the largest schools under the Govan Parish School Board, Glasgow, invited him to read a paper to the members on "THE MANAGEMENT OF LARGE SCHOOLS IN SCOTLAND." He kindly complied with

this request: and at the first Quarterly Meeting of the combined Auckland Branch of the Educational Institute and the Teachers' Union, which took place in the Young Men's Christian Association Rooms, on 30th June, 1893, the paper was read. It received much favourable comment; and the meeting unanimously resolved, with the Author's approval, to have the paper published in pamphlet form for dissemination among teachers and educational bodies in the Colony. By this means, it is confidently believed that professional brethren and others associated with them in the administration of Education, will be largely benefited by the perusal of Mr. Hastie's interesting and valuable paper, wherein his extensive experience and practical knowledge are succinctly delineated.

R. B. Heriot, President.

Arthur Edwards, Hon. Secretary.

The Management of Large Shools in Scotland.

MR. President and Friends:

When the deputation from your Educational Institute waited upon me some months ago, to solicit a public exposition of my professional experience, I was somewhat surprised. I had assumed that a "recent arrival," with less than two years' sojourn in the country, would have remained unnoticed and unknown to his professional brethren for some time longer. It appears, however, that I have prematurely passed that interesting stage of Colonial probation, which all "new chums" have to undergo in a young Colony (whether they are in quest of health, or, to their mind, more favourable condition a of life), before they are ingratiated into that happy bourne of felicity and confidence, which, with many ulterior blessings, appear to have gradually dissipated with the lapse of space between the old home and the new. Be that as it may, the persuasion of Mr. Hames, your former worthy secretary, drew a reluctant consent that I should attempt, amid my multifarious public duties, to prepare and read a paper on "The Management of large schools in Scotland," to the Members of your Institute.

Unfortunately, I have been considerably hampered in its preparation; and only last week I got summary notice to have it ready for this meeting. Yet, though I present it in a crude, unpolished, and mayhap imperfect shape, I trust my professional brethren may, at least, learn something from the experience of one, who has, "from his youth upwards," and until a comparatively recent revolution of circumstances, and antipodean translation, been almost constantly associated with, and for twenty years been at the head of, two of the largest educational establishments in Scotland. Thus you will not be surprised, that I view those before me as fellow workers and co-adjutors in the noble army of preceptors and tutors, whose constant aim is to train and educate the young recruit for the stern battle of life. The young and rising generations may well be compared to tender little reeds, which have to rely for the first few years on faithful attention from the husbandman. Happy is that teacher, who, by pattern and example, succeeds in straightening, even by judicious application of the "bending" process, the lives of those to whom he (or she) stands in *loco parentis*.

EDUCATION PROPER.—Before descending into the minutiae of School Management, I should like just to add further, that Education proper, as viewed by your present expounder, means much more than the engrafting into the young mind the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, and their accompanying subjects as required by an Education Act. More, I say, because long experience has shewn me, that education, to be efficient and complete, must comprise within its scope, an essential co-efficient—that is, the moral training, side by side with the intellectual. An educationist of authority has defined it thus:—"Education implies and comprehends the educing, leading out, and bringing forth those innate, though undeveloped, faculties and powers, which are acknowledged by the wise and good, to be of essential service, not only to the individual, but to the world at large."

You will thus perceive, that T view the aims and objects of efficient instruction from a two-fold standpoint—or rather, that true education, whilst encouraging, must be repressive; whilst stimulating, it must at the same time crush; though it opens the mind, it must also confine. It leads into walks of light, but must battle with the powers of darkness. Some of you here, may question such logio; but to one who has spent nearly all his life-time in the profession, it is confirmed to him more and more as an absolute necessity and reality.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS.—In treating my subject proper, namely, "the management of large schools in Scotland," it will be more practical to begin with those requisites having universal application, as the root and foundation of good management. The firsts though not necessarily the most important, is the school building—the architecture, plan, or interior construction of which affects, in large measure, the daily routine of

management In this country, where large buildings, having accommodation for a thousand (or more) pupils, are solitary exceptions, rather than the rule, as in the Home country, no fair comparison can be made. But contrasting the larger schools I have seen in the Colony, with those of a similar size in Scotland, I fear my opinion is distinctly unfavourable to the New Zealand structures. Some of these are long straggling buildings, answering the appearance of military barracks, an asylum or hospital. The interior arrangements for class movement, concentration, and supervision, are equally unsatisfactory to my mind, the long lobbies and passages being perhaps the most objectionable of all, and aggravated further by the evils arising from the material used in the construction. The vibration and echo from footsteps, etc., all tend to hinder the temporary cultivation of peace and quietness, or the unrestrained and genuine merry laugh, to be licensed not unfrequently in the best regulated schools, where law and order are supreme.

Now, such disadvantages, though not wholly removed in our modern Home establishments, are reduced to a minimum. Indeed, the external appearance and internal arrangements partake of a palatial character. As a rule, the school-building consists of one great square block, or of a T shape, two and often three storeys in height, with stone walls of about two feet in thickness. The whole edifice displays the like massive and substantial proportions. The staircases and lobbies are almost invariably centrally placed, access to and from playgrounds being free and easy by separate entrances for the sexes. Again, each class or department is focussed from the lobbies or landings, through separate doorways, the sexes (except in the Infant department) being isolated almost as if two different schools existed.

The interior arrangement and equipment are even more elaborate and advantageous for perfect organisation. The more recently built schools have class-rooms of a size varying to accommodate from 60 to 100 pupils each. By a very simple contrivance, however, the rooms in each department can be thrown into one large room for collective lessons, such as music, Scripture and moral lessons, standard examination work and revision. This arrangement, so beneficial to a large school, is secured by means of sectional sliding partitions, resting on a grooved pedestal about three feet high, and movable backwards, flush with each other to the wall while projecting three or four feet out into the room. The partitions are constructed of light wood, and frames with obscure glass, and are easily run out and in as required. The floor of nearly every class-room is terraced or galleried by three or four stages, allowance being made for a clear passage behind the row of writing-benches in each terrace. For writing lessons and criticism of the work of individual pupils, all practical teachers know that such an arrangement is invaluable. Again, there is always sufficient floor space in front of the desks to admit of free movement for the teacher and class *ad libitum*. The black-boards, or slate-boards, are mostly permanent fixtures on the walls, so located that the pupil has no difficulty in deciphering what is posted thereon. In like manner, the teacher's position at the board needs no special effort to discern by a side quiet glance round the benches, what a Scotchman calls "mischief," and a Colonial terms "larrikinism," Such is but a meagre description of the school buildings now being erected by the Glasgow and Govan School Boards. They surpass anything you are ever likely to have in this Colony. Indeed, in no other part of Scotland, or the world, have skill and inventive genius been more exercised to bring to perfection every adjunct for assisting organisation and sanitation. I shall only add to this description, by informing you, that attached to each school is a perfect arrangement of outside lavatories and latrines. The most recent innovation in this direction, is a swimming bath, situated underneath the school. There is also a Janitor's house of comfortable dimensions. The Janitor is in constant attendance at the school, and is responsible to the Head Master as the caretaker as well. The playgrounds, though naturally limited in area by ground values, are of sufficient size for arrangement of classes; and they provide ample breathing space for the combined scholars. Novelties in the heating and ventilation might be enlarged upon; but the ordinary furnace and hot-water pipes prevail, to circumvent the rigour of the trying winters; while the latest and most perfect novelty in ventilation is a suction fan, planted in the roof at a concentrated air shaft. This fan receives its rotary power from a little gas engine, and expels the vitiated air. Herein you have a faint conception of the varied and complicated contrivances at work in the transfusion of intellect, so to speak. To sum up, the cost of one built a few years ago, was close upon £20,000; and the only building at all approaching them in New Zealand, that I have had the privilege of inspecting, is the new Art School in Wellington, which is a credit to this young Colony.

APPLIANCES AND FURNISHINGS.—These are appendages that come next in the ascending gradation of perfectness to be aimed at in the management of schools—large or small. It is a trite saying, that the tradesman must have his full set of tools, to shape and manufacture the article passing through his hands. So with every profession in life, and essentially more so is it in the art of teaching. By appliances and furnishings, I mean not only a full supply of maps, diagrams, blackboards, etc., but skilfully designed desks and forms, graded to the average ages of the pupils. The more modern designs possess the merits of lightness and gainliness—qualities secured in seats and desks of short length and size, that *one* person may conveniently handle. All seats have backs or supports, serviceable to rest betimes the tender supple frame of exhausted humanity. The instructions from "My Lords" of the Education Department, to their large army of Inspectors in regard to such matters, are

clear and emphatic. Any School Board refusing to comply with the recommendations of Inspectors, or failing to remove causes of criticism, runs the risk of the annual grant for the specified school being suspended, reduced, or refused, according to the degree of culpability defined in the Inspector's Annual Report, or that of his visits without notice.

STATUS OF INSPECTORS.—Most of you are probably aware that the position, powers, and duties of the Home Inspectorate, are much more responsible and onerous than those in the same branch of the educational machinery for this Colony. At Home, the appointment of Inspector comes direct from the Education Department. There are four grades of Inspectors—Chief Inspectors, who have controlling power over a large area; Inspectors in charge of specified districts; Sub-Inspectors, and Inspectors Assistanta. The first two grades are of themselves, as for the Education Department, the "all in all" of constituted authority on whom School Boards and Teachers generally rely for guidance. Yet abuse of such arbitrary power is seldom heard of; genuine complaints are rare, though occasional smothered grumbling *does* now and then find vent. Should a teacher unfortunately feel aggrieved, he must appeal or lodge a complaint with the School Board, who may (if they see fit), report the circumstance to "My Lords" of the Privy Council, or "the Scotch Secretary of Education." The complaint is referred back to the Inspector for explanation, and there it generally ends. But if, in isolated cases, it has to go further, the Chief Inspector for the divisional area or district, becomes the final arbiter. Thus the matter is decided for weal or woe—but mostly for woe to the teacher. In justice to Inspectors, however, it must be admitted that teachers are not infallible, are often over-sensitive in their zeal for a high pass, and become irritable, at finding a capable pupil ignominiously failing, when one with less ability had struggled through. Are you astonished at that? As practical teachers, we all know, that the *same* results by the *same* tests, from any single standard on two different days cannot be secured. The reason is, that in so much variety of intellect, constitution, and other influences, the mental barometer is constantly changing. In my own day, I have been subjected to every variety of the inspectorial "pruning knife." My experience covers eight Chief Inspectors, many Sub-Inspectors, and a formidable array of Inspectors' Assistants. Always two, and often three Inspectors officiated at the same time, the examination commonly lasting from four to six days. The Assistants invariably pruned well down at a uniform depth, while the Senior Inspector gauged the general work and tone of the school from a higher, and in my opinion, broader and sounder basis. If, in such a variety of experience as this, I were able to admit that I had lived all along in an Inspectorial paradise, my position would be unique. Nevertheless, I have passed through this "teachers' fiery furnace" practically scatheless, and have nothing but praise to bestow upon a branch of Her Majesty's service, which represents, individually and collectively, men of broad practical principles and sound judgment, high moral character and integrity, coupled with intellectual gifts and varied ability. For many of them I cherish a warm regard, some are personal friends, and all I respect. As experience matures, the conviction grows, that under whatever variety or mode of inspection, the standard of general results expected is never materially affected. The royal road to this paradise is mutual sympathy and confidence between School Board, Inspector, Teacher, and Scholar. The school Board comprised fifteen members, including two ladies; and their frequent visits to the School were always marked by courtesy and kindness to their various teachers, which, in presence of the classes, was an excellent object lesson to all affected. The administrative staff consists of the Clerk, or as you more appropriately designate here, the Secretary, who is the responsible head. There are also the Treasurer, Inspector of Works, a staff of Clerks, and School Board Officers.

STAFF.—The practical stage of Management is opened out, when the staff and its distribution over the school has to be considered. The Scotch Education Code fixes a compulsory standard of staff supply, according to the average attendance for the year. The Govan Board made a more liberal allowance, and the following scale was in operation when I left in 1891:—

School Staff Allowance—Art. 32 (c) of the Code of 1887 fixes the staff which must be provided for each school, viz.: After the first 60 scholars in average attendance, a Certificated Assistant Teacher or two pupil-Teachers is sufficient for 86 scholars; an Assistant Teacher fulfilling the condition of Art. 79 (a) or (b), for 60 scholars; and an Assistant Teacher fulfilling the conditions of Art. 79 (c), for 50 scholars. This staff is the minimum required by the Code, and should it at any time fall below the requirements, a reduction of grant may be made.

The Board have agreed to the following scale: Including the Headmaster, each Certificated Teacher counts for 65 scholars in average attendance, an ex-Pupil-Teacher for 45, a Pupil-Teacher for 30, and a Sewing-Mistress for 50.

The Board will determine the staff in each of the Higher Grade Schools, and in so doing will consider the number of classes beyond Standard VI., and the number of scholars studying Latin, French, German, and Mathematics.

Not more than two Pupil Teachers are apprenticed for each certificated Teacher on the staff. In a school with 1,220 on the roll, and an average attendance of about 1,070 for the year, such as the one I had the honour

of conducting, the staff (including Head Master and Infant Mistress) usually comprised 12 to 14 Certificated Teachers, and nearly as many Pupil Teachers. With one exception—that of Infant Mistress appointed by the Board to the Infant school—the Head Master has a free hand in the allocation of this staff over the school. Thus, his skill in organising, and judgment of the varied merits of Teachers is at once exercised. In the tactical discrimination of his choice for the respective standards, lies his faculty for organisation; and his decision operates upon the success of the whole establishment, Endless irritation accompanies indiscretion in selection; and peace and contentment reign supreme by the Head Master's requisite display of wise allotment. In my own case, I was usually fortunate in having under me an able staff, Some of them clung to the school with sacrificing persistency for many years—chiefly those trained in the school. This has disadvantages, in that there is a danger of teachers falling into a self-satisfied, yet mistaken groove or method in school management. I am not with these who believe in the necessity for relegating the most accomplished and capable teachers to the higher standards, nor in higher ratio of salary having a preference. Further, I have frequently found a female teacher competent to handle a class of boys, as skilfully as a male teacher; while on the contrary, a male teacher has succeeded with a girl's class, where the authority of a lady teacher was less respected. The first golden motto, which all successful teachers have to observe, is found in the scriptural injunction—"Order is heaven's first law." I venture to assert, that perfect order and discipline can never be secured by noisy punishment or harsher methods of treatment. The steady glance, the slightest sign of the finger, a pause in discourse, or the quiet yet decided words of reproof, in most cases suffice, and [unclear: aie] the secret springs of sound discipline, as well as mutual understanding between teacher and taught.

ORGANISATION OF DEPARTMENTS.—The staff having been cart-fully adjudicated to the respective classes, I shall now summarise the method of organisation generally adhered to. The School is divided into four departments—Senior, Junior, Juvenile, and Infant—each with a separate time table. The Senior consists always of two and sometimes three contiguous rooms; the Junior and Juvenile, four each, all convertible into one (applied to departments) as formerly explained. Standards V., VI., and Ex. VI, occupy the Senior rooms; III. and IV. the Junior; I. and I. the Juvenile rooms. Ex. VI. pupils (those who have passed VI) are not examined in readings writing, and arithmetic, but [unclear: aa] eligible to qualify for three specific subjects. There is in the Code a choice of eight or nine specifics, but Latin, French, Mathematics, and Mechanics (the latter now withdrawn), were commonly chosen. Standard V. might optionally prepare for examination in one of these subjects, and Standard VI. in two.

Except in VI. and Ex. VI., the boys and girls of each standard are taught in separate classes respectively, and by different teachers, as the classes or standards (boys and [unclear: gir.s] inclusive) usually average from 150 to 180 pupils. In subjects such as dictation, composition, history, geography, etc., the boys and girls of their respective standards may be, and often are, taught collectively. The proportion of scholars in VI. and Ex. VI. is generally low, and never more than 6 or 7 per cent of the whole school, while Ex. VI. rarely exceeds 2 per cent. When only one Certificated Teacher can be allocated to any single standard, two senior Pupil Teachers take the vacant place, and bear the charge of the Certificated Teacher. Again, where the two classes in any standard are above the average size, the services of an additional Pupil Teacher are utilized for both classes.

INFANT SCHOOL.—In recent years, greater interest has been awakened in the proper training of Infant children. To the enthusiasm and fostering attention to this subject by [unclear: H.N.] Inspector (Mr. Jolly) for our district, the efficiency attained in the Infant Department of the Govan Schools was largely attributable. The Infant Department consists of one large room, and several class-rooms. The feature of the main room, is the capacious gallery for collective teaching, and the ample floor space for physical exercises and musical drill. Kindergarten work is taught systematically, and to great perfection. The ages of the little ones are from 4 to 7 years, with any admitted to the School physically weak who are 8, and on rare occasions 9 years old. With these exceptions, the age limit is 7 years; and now that individual examination in Standards is, for percentage passes, abolished, the age for the Infant department may be raised higher. The Infant Mistress is assisted by a Certificated Teacher, and three or four Pupil Teachers all under the supervision of the Head Master. It goes without saying, that the burden and responsibility attached to this great educational machine, weighs heavily upon him; and doubly so when there is a weak spot in management or organisation. Yet even this he may largely lighten by cultivating, inculcating and practising habits of forethought, kindness, and prudence, as indispensable appendages conspicuous in his bearing to Teacher and Pupil alike. Thus mutual trust and confidence are engendered; self-interests are obliterated; and the uneven path of responsibility is made all the smoother by this harmonious leavening.

TIME TABLES.—Coming to the subject of time tables, it may appear a very simple contrivance to frame one for each Standard. You must bear in mind, however, that the different departments have to be organised, so that no section clashes with another. Collective lessons, intervals, rotation of writing and drawing seats, standard accommodation, and innumerable matters of detail, require to be provided for. The New Zealand Education Code is elaborate enough; and the Standard requirements higher, because of the greater average age of the

children at admission; but the Scotch Education Code is even more elaborate. The school hours are fixed at 9.30 a. m. to 4 p.m. with an hour's interval between.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.—In all the Board Schools of Scotland, religious knowledge is taught. The Education Department demands, that the hour for this instruction must be recorded on the time table. The Govan Board fixed the hour from 9.30 to 10 a.m. for all the departments, except the infants, which is from 10 to 10.30 a.m. An elaborate syllabus is framed, graded for each Standard, and religiously adhered to. The instruction is tested by a deputation from the Board each quarter. The exercise in Bible lore is an incalculable boon, if imparted in a proper spirit; and this is the secret spring, I am confident, of what is noble and refined in the Scotch character. I am further convinced, that some sort of religious or moral instruction, introduced into your Schools, would elevate the character of the New Zealand [unclear: natioi] of the future, sweeten the lives of those entrusted to your care and relieve your burden of responsibility.

MORAL LESSONS.—By instruction of the Board, these are given at least once a week—usually on the Friday afternoon. The course embraces such subjects as obedience to parents, kindness to animals, respect for the aged, halt, and blind; habits of cleanliness, cautions against stone-throwing, and many other subjects applicable to every-day life. Here are the instructions of the Education Department and of the Board in regard to this

Special attention should be directed to the following extract (Article 19 A) of the Scotch Education Code: "To meet the requirements respecting discipline, the Managers and Teachers will be expected to satisfy the Inspector that all reasonable care is taken, in the ordinary management of the school to bring up the children in habits of punctuality, of good manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness, and also to impress upon the children the importance of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act."

Headmasters, Mistresses, and Assistants in charge of departments are required to give, on the Friday of each week, a short lesson on the points referred to in the above extract, and the time for such instruction shall be inserted in the time-table. The Board wish to direct the special attention of the Teachers to the lessons on temperance in the reading books, and to the suggested list of lessons on morals, and instructions as to using the *Manul of Maxims of Manners And Moral*.

I would recommend you to read the little book of Maxims in Morals and Manners referred to; it was published in Aberdeen and is universally adopted in Scotland.

SECULAR INSTRUCTION.—Along with the ordinary subjects of secular instruction, provided for in the time table, there are the specific subjects formerly mentioned, and Elementary Science. Sewing for all Girls, according to a very elaborate schedule—too elaborate in many Standards, and a severe strain on female teachers—with Domestic Economy, and Practical Cookery for the Senior Girls. Physical Exercises and Musical Drill are given to all, while Military Drill is added to the exercises of the Senior and Junior Boys. Music from the Sol-fa system) is taught by a visiting master, with supplemental help from the staff. The Drawing is examined by a Special Inspector, generally the month before the annual school inspection. The time table also provides for an interval of five minutes at the end of each hour, and thus a constant whirl of excitement is kept up. There is no scarcity of distracting causes, and the Head Master's responsibilities in such a position are no sinecure. Further, he must not forget his functions as general inspector, for he should examine each Standard and class in the school at least once a month, retaining a record of the passes and state of each class, etc. This duty is laborious and nearly constant; but by this means he comes to know the weak spots in the school, better than any Inspector's report is capable of furnishing, which at the best gives but a reflection of the Head Master's opinion.

HOME LESSONS, ETC.—I should have liked to refer in detail to such burning questions as "Home Lessons," "corporal punishment," "keeping in," and other important departments of school management, but time has not permitted. I will content myself by quoting the instructions of our Board to their teachers on these subjects:—

Home Lessons.—The Head Master shall make regulations to be observed in giving out home lessons, which should be adapted in number and extent to the ages and home circumstances of the children. Difficulties occurring in the reading lesson, in grammar and analysis, new rules in arithmetic, etc. should be thoroughly explained, and this lesson should form part of each day's work. Home lesson should be given regularly throughout the year and there should be no "keeping in" beyond the hours of the time-table for the purpose of coarsening backward scholars in view of the annual inspection. Backward children might receive more personal attention during school hours, seeing a sufficient staff is allowed under the regulations of the Board. Exercises and sums should be most carefully corrected, and praise awarded when deserved.

Corporal Punishment.—The Board have hitherto refrained from laying down a rule on this subject. They are, however, strongly of opinion that corporal punishment should be avoided as much as possible. The Board would consider it to be one of the best evidences of satisfactory discipline that the Head Master was able to carry into practice rules framed for the school staff, whereby the work of the school was conducted without resorting to the necessity of corporal punishment. Pupil Teachers are on no account to be allowed to administer

corporal punishment, and in no case must the cane or pointer be used by any Teacher as an instrument of punishment. If any Teacher is charged with the undue punishment of a child, the Board, in the event of finding the complaint well founded, will consider the question of instant dismissal. The Head Master shall read this rule to all new Teachers and pupil Teachers on their appointment.

From these instructions you will at once rightly conclude that we were fortunate in having over us a practical, sensible, and considerate body of men and women. Regarding Home Lessons, personally I feel that while they ought not to be abolished, no writing exercise should be made a home task, except it were meant only to draw out the substance of instruction previously imparted in the school to the pupil.

In regard to corporal punishment, I feel I am treading on delicate ground. Theorists who know nothing of childhood except from books, believe in moral suasion; but practical men and experienced teachers know perfectly well that the abolition of corporal punishment would be fatal to efficient discipline and school management. As well might the theorist argue, that the laws of our land should be enforced without the aid of constables and handcuffs. Still, there is always a medium course; and punishment should never be resorted to, without due consideration of the fault, and an opportunity of explanation from the culprit. It is subversive of sound discipline to chastise a pupil before he knows his fault; it is worse to allow the guilty to escape. [*unclear: 'et]* much wrong may be done in a school which is ruled by continuous fault-finding, and the eye and language betraying [*unclear: suspicbn]* The rule should be to apply corporal punishment as seldom as possible, even where other forms of punishment partially fail. A continuous application of the cane is ruinous to healthy discipline. Neither am I a believer in the efficacy of the "keeping in" system, so much in vogue. You will observe in the instructions quoted, that the cane, stick, or pointer is condemned as a weapon of punishment. I understand the cane is the ordinary instrument here; and I would strongly urge its displacement by the more kindly and probably more effective weapon—the tawse—the only one tolerated in Glasgow, Govan, and other leading Boards throughout Scotland.

EXERCISES.—Had time permitted, a paragraph might have been devoted to other forms of punishment, as well as to methods of correcting home and school exercises effectively, and with the minimum labour to the teachers. Though I have repeatedly corrected hundreds of examination papers at a push in my [*unclear: wn]* home, it was a distinct instruction to the teachers to utilise their spare time in school for this as far as possible, without resorting to home labour.

REGULAR ATTENDANCE.—One important branch of school management, in which you must all be interested, I cannot [*unclear: unit,*] and that is the methods adopted to secure regular attendance. Our Scotch School Boards employ truant officers, who, in the large cities and towns, devote all their time to visiting absentees [*unclear: ces]* at their homes. The teacher of each class makes a weekly report of irregulars on a prepared form. There you record the number and page of the register, name, address, and number of days the child is absent. The officer fills in the report of his visit on a blank column attached. These lists are returned every Friday, when a new list is supplied. Meanwhile the names of all reported to the officer as "back to school" during the currency of the week are posted on a sheet, to be verified by the teacher with a "yes" or "no," as the case may be. By this method deception is impossible, unless through omission or carelessness. That meets the case of absentees of two or three days; but all teachers know that the most annoying forms of irregularity are those "one day a week" or "Friday" absentees. I had a plan for dealing with this, which reduced absence to a minimum, and kept the percentage comparatively low—averaging from eight to twelve per cent, in ordinary circumstances. I went round the classes every Monday morning; and the teachers had the absentees of Friday with their *line of excuse* each in hand ready for me. The excuses were promptly examined, care being taken to discriminate between the young culprit with the proverbial "sore hand," carefully covered to hide its perfect symmetry and soundness, and another beside him with the "genuine article." I need not enumerate the variety and comicality of excuses volunteered. Suffice to say, that this form of censorship is a "terror to evil-doers," and another object lesson to every child in school. Its administration requires [*unclear: tact]* and firmness, tempered with consideration; but to be effectual it must have continuity of application. Here I might mention, that the school Board have a printed instruction to parents and teachers, that parents must deal directly with the Head Master in regard to all causes of complaint; and that letters or notes from parents must be addressed to the Head Master, if on school business of any kind.

REGISTRATION.—The subject of registration, though so very important, and one in which I was specially interested, I have barely time to touch. We had the ordinary Daily Registers, General Registers; and Weekly, Monthly, and Yearly Summaries. The Weekly I adopted was one of my own arrangement, showing the returns for each class and standard at a glance. The monthly return had to be made to the Board, and it detailed everything from the staff downwards. The Yearly Summary was chiefly useful for the annual Government returns, which had to be prepared for the Inspectors, as for the end of the school year. "Many hands make light work," and it was no uncommon accomplishment to have the returns for our large School completed within a day or two after the year's registers were to be numbered with the past.

PUPIL TEACHERS.—This paper might be considered incomplete without some reference, however slight, to the training of Pupil Teachers. In Scotland, the age limit of candidates is fourteen, and the full term of service four years; but the apprenticeship may be shortened, if candidates satisfy the age and educational requirements of the first or second year's schedule of examination. The School Board yearly hold a preliminary test of candidates from all their schools. Each school is thus fairly well represented; but the Head Master cannot always induce the most capable pupils to compete, though the proportion of female candidates largely preponderates. The selection is made by merit in the competitive examination; and candidates are then allocated to the needful schools on approbation, or until the appointment is confirmed by H.M. Inspector, who annually examines all, under the Scotch Code Schedule. The tuition of Pupil Teachers mainly devolves upon the Certificated Male Teachers in school, supplemented by lessons in school management and other subjects from the Head Master, who holds periodical tests upon their course of studies. This instruction is usually given in the morning from 8.30 to 10. The requirements for each year increase in difficulty; and Pupil Teachers are likewise encouraged to attend Saturday and Evening classes in connection with the Science and Art Department. When the term of apprenticeship has been satisfactorily completed, they are eligible for the candidates' examination for admission to a Training College. Merit again decides their fate, as only a limited number can be admitted to this two yearn' course of study and training, to qualify them an Certificated Teachers. Those who fail to secure admission, or have been prevented by illness or other causes, generally find employment under the designation of Ex-Pupil Teachers, until they pass an examination in the subjects prescribed for students in Training Colleges at the expiry of the first or second year. A short term of probation is then exacted before the parchment certificate is granted.

CONCLUSION.—I know that the teacher, who may have but the faintest conception of the responsibility resting on his (or her) shoulders, must be often oppressed with feelings of disheartiuent in warring against the bands of ignorance and evil. From my own experience, however, I have every reason to offer you encouragement in your allotted task. Unquestionably, it is one of great magnitude, and fraught with stupendous consequences to your young country. In a progressive and rising colony such as New Zealand, I conceive that your troubles are enhanced, because of the difficulty in blending together the natures, habits, and customs of the various nationalities of the Old World, from whom your young forces originate. Withal, lose not your faith in your powers to overcome; it is a Divine mission—that of educating the young. And thus the greatest philosophers in ancient and modern history agree in affirming that "education is the most comprehensive elevator of the human race; and that the men and women engaged in the seience and art of training and moulding the minds of children have the highest, most responsible, and probably the most difficult task to fulfil among all the missions of public life." To he numbered in the ranks of such a noble culling is to you indeed a great honour. Again I beseech you to appreciate your trust, as one fraught with far-reaching consequences to the young and rising generation committed to your care, and to the aspiring Colony, whose citizens of the future you now educate, to make or to mar its untold destinies.

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Front Cover

Signs and Portents Bring the Labour Question from an Australasian Point of View.

By James Izett.

RUSSELL & WILLIS PAINTERS & PUBLISHERS, CATHEDRAL SQUARE. 1893

Preface.

WITH the exception of three articles—those on State Lawyers, Labour Members and The Future—the papers which make up the matter of this pamphlet were originally written as far back as the middle of 1891. Circumstances have contributed to delay their publication, but as advantage has been taken to incorporate in the work references to events of a highly important nature in their bearing upon social and labour questions which have subsequently transpired, the time that has elapsed can scarcely be held to materially depreciate whatever of value they may possess.

It need scarcely be said that, in such a work as this, there is no aspiration to "lift up Olympus "; there is no pretension to an accurate knowledge of "the strings that move in States the wheels of human things "; nor is there any seeking to pose as an Adam Smith or a Stuart Mill, although the world has moved apace since their day; but as through a variety of circumstances the writer has been called to devote a considerable portion of his thought to the study of public questions, there is a hope that the conclusions arrived at, and the suggestions ventured, may be esteemed of value, if only as the humble medium of arousing thoughtfulness upon the part of others.

Every day that passes witnesses thousands of literary productions poured forth upon the world. The volume

of expression emanating from the daily Press alone—" words! words! words! "—is incalculable in its immensity. In all civilised lands the minds Of most analytical thinkers are constantly Btrained in search of the new; to it has come that he who appears with a new theorem to propound or a new truth to inculcate is regarded somewhat in the light of a benefactor of his race. Even the promulgation of one new idea is held sufficient to excuse much that may be imperfect or supererogatory. As, not improbably, at least two or three now ideas may be found put forward in these pages, perhaps nothing further need be urged in justification of their publication.

James Izett.

Christchurch,

February, 1893.

Puplishers' Note

We are prepared to make specially low rates with Liberal Associations, Labour Unions, Trades Councils, or Booksellers, for quantities of not less than 100 of this pamphlet. Or, we will print large quantities of individual papers in the series at low prices. Prices on application.

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Index.

Class Legislation.

The Parliament, in regard lo Class Legislation, is like a man in a field riddled with pitfalls; no sooner does lie escape from one hole than he tumbles into another.

NNOW and then—when one is very much in the humour to be merry, it is amusing; not infrequently it is exasperating—very exasperating; generally, it is said to note the language, sometimes to be read and sometimes to be listened to, employed on the subject of class legislation. It is asserted here that, with the exception of the few laws relating to the protection of the person, the law which has not been long on the Statute Book relating to divorce, and perhaps one or two other Acts such as that providing for the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths, the whole of the legislation which the world has seen up to this period has been what is now denominated class legislation. Those who have enacted the part of legislators have been drawn exclusively from a class by a class, and, in the nature of things, nothing could be expected from them in the way of legislation but an intense devotion to the interests of those who chose them—interests which were their own. The protection of "Proputty, pro putty, proputty," in all its various shapes and forms, and the ministering to the pride or aggrandisement of "Proputty, proputty, proputty "holders, have occupied entirely the attention of legislators for the past six centuries. The how that is raised to-day against class legislation, does not emanate from those who have suffered—cruelly, outrageously suffered—from the evils of that class legislation, but from those who have largely benefited by it; those who—by their statements—assert themselves as the inheritors of a policy under which the: legislation of the future, like that of the past, shall go on, controlled by the class *rights* (so called) and the class interests which are peculiarly their own.

Those who have been the victims of class legislation have moaned away their lives in darksome mines; they have groaned in factories; they have "sweated" when "the stars shone through the roof," "when the cock was crowing aloof;" they have shrieked one last, long despairing shriek as the rotten-bottomed and heavily-insured ship has gone down into the depths of the solemn secret-keeping sea, but notwithstanding all this it is not from those who live by toil that the cry of class legislation arises. No, it is not from the masses, who are familiar with suffering and long endurance, but from the classes who have filled the Parliaments,

shaped the Statute Book, and seized the whole administration of the State under which the rich have become Tidier and the poor poorer Surely the display of anguish which wrings the vitals of a few people at having to pay a few extra dollars (if, indeed, they have to pay them), in return for having the great bulk of the laws for their protection and the settlement of their disputes, together with nearly the whole administration of the State working for them, would prove intensely funny, if the thoughts which the spectacle calls up were not so sad—so very, very sad!

Before offering a few observations upon the tendency of some of the legislative efforts achieved in these beautiful southern lands, which at least bear a suspicion of having been designed in the interests of a class, it may not be altogether unprofitable to take a necessarily brief glance at what history reveals of somewhat similar performances in the grand old Mother Land. In 1265, Knights of the Shire were first summoned to the English Parliament, together with representatives from boroughs. The property qualification required by a Knight in order to enable him to be chosen a representative of a shire was an annual income of not less than £600, derived from the possession of freehold estate. Before the intersection of the country with railways within the present century travelling was a slow process, difficult and dangerous, and this, together with the expenses and losses attending residence in the capital, rendered it impossible for any but wealthy citizens to be chosen a representative of boroughs. Parliament was therefore in the nature of a close corporation, in which the esteemed rights of property, more especially freehold property, were supreme. Under the feudal system the barons of England held their lands upon the tenure of military service. Presently the Parliament swept that tenure away; the barons agreeing to pay to the Crown a land tax as a substitute, as being more convenient to them and more serviceable to the State; then the barons swept away the land tax, got their lands for nothing, and cast their burdens upon the people. What did the people get? From 1265 down to a few years ago what single measure was passed having for its object the lifting up of the people morally or educationally, or with design to the amelioration of their temporal condition? Is it not the fact that as century after century has rolled away, the condition of the humbler masses has been found very little advanced from what it was when the first Parliament met? They have been left to shift and do the best they could for themselves, whilst the attention of the representatives of the classes was exclusively devoted to matters affecting their own interests. Open the pages of history where you will, the story revealed is the same. There were endowed universities for the sons of the noble and the wealthy, whilst the children of the trader, artisan, and labourer were left to find stick education as their parents could afford to pay for from the local dominions—the dominions which held an almost despised class. This state of things continued down to quite a recent period. In the Public Libraries there are time volumes constituting indexes of the statute laws, in operation in England, Ireland, and Scotland down to 1817, and the curious in class legislation will find mines of buried treasure there. Has not Charles Dickens exposed the condition of education in England fifty years ago by his picture of a Yorkshire school? All honour to the name of Dickens, who by one stroke of the mighty pen led the way to the establishment of systems of education for the benefit of peoples, from which have flowed material and other advantages and blessings now enjoyed by many millions! Have not all the offices around the Court and in the administrative service, in diplomatic circles, in the army, navy, and in the Church been in the hands of the privileged few, and has not every office and position connected with government been used for purposes of aggrandisement? Sir Robert Peel declared in the House of Commons that it was natural for a man to vote in the direction of his own interests, and it was absurd to suppose that any man would do otherwise. There can be no doubt of the truth revealed in this candid statement, and, bearing it in mind, let a glance be cast upon the constitution of the British Parliament prior to the passing of the Reform Bill of 32. At that time it was a comparatively large constituency that could poll 300 votes. Two nobles held in their hands the power of returning no fewer than twelve members, and in many instances a deserted public house, an old mill, a broken down wall, constituted a constituency. The masses in England are not represented in Parliament now. The total votes (4,750,000 say) polled during the general election that has just taken place, do not amount in number to more than about two-thirds of the population of London alone!

Taking the case of New Zealand, can it be honestly declared that, with all the superior advantages which the difference in the character and intelligence of the people display, the history has been materially different? How does it come, for instance, that in that new land there are more large estates than even in England? In a popular text-book published in '41, it is stated:—"To sound reason it is evident that every person must be allowed some resting place on the earth; hence, as long as any place is left capable of affording support to another individual, the proprietor cannot arbitrarily deprive a fellow-being of that support." Now, on what principle were the lands of the colonies parted with in early days, when their affairs were controlled by men having engrained in their hearts class prejudices and class interests? Is it not notorious that in the early days, of which sometimes so much is heard, there came to New Zealand men of "family," possessed of some little capital; that in certain quarters it was felt a duty to have a solicitous regard for them; and that this was done in the parcelling out of the land and in the manner of offering it for sale? Can it be honestly claimed that in this

respect those in authority (university men they might be) ever bestowed one thought upon the interests of those who might come—either by immigration or as a native to the soil—after, and who might possibly desire to win subsistence for themselves and their families by the cultivation of land? Is it not the truth, that in the famous Province of Canterbury one man went so far as to have a Land Ordinance framed in language to suit his own special interests; nor did he fail to avail himself of his opportunity—constituting himself, thereby, a class in his own proper person?

In Victoria things were managed very differently from what they have been in fertile, and very much old Tory governed—New Zealand. Responsible government came into force in that colony in September, 1856; it was almost immediately followed by a popular demand to "Unlock the Lands." and for ever after, the acquisition of large estates became almost a thing of impossibility. In 1862, a Land Act was passed giving "Homes to the People" under free selection in any part of the colony up to 320 acres, at 20s per acre on deferred payments. Almost simultaneously, the colony was divided into shires, and the work of roads and bridges construction was thrown upon the local bodies. It is true the Government subsidised the local bodies to the extent of £1 for £1 on (the rates levied, but in no case has local taxation ever been less than 6d in the £ on the net annual value—very generally it has been 1s—and therefore it has not been a flimsy pretence of taxing themselves. Of course, it is admitted here that a country must have roads and bridges, and that the general community—even the artisans in the towns—derive benefit from them; on the other hand it cannot be denied that property acquires very great additional value from such works, just as it does from the construction of railways. In New Zealand, not only have large estates been created so as to bring into existence a wealthy and oligarchical class, but borrowed money to the extent of between three and four millions, besides large sums from the Consolidated revenue, have been thrown to them for roads and bridges. Not a penny of borrowed money has ever been spent on such works in Victoria, nor in New South Wales, either. These works are very largely for the benefit of a class, and of a wealthy class too, and the general community in New Zealand have had to pay the interest on the borrowed money so expended. It has been said that in addition to the three or four millions of borrowed money spent on roads and bridges in that colony large additional sums have been expended on what may be called "local works" out of the Consolidated revenue but still there are no indications of satisfaction at the attempts which have been made to fill this ever open and gaping maw, this "take-all," for in the course of his speech on the financial proposals this session, Mr. Rolleston, the leader of the Conservative party in the New Zealand House of Representatives, complained that the remnant of the loan remaining had not been expended on roads and bridges. In very great measure the railways are paid for by those who use them, and the profit derived from working not being sufficient to meet the interest, is supplemented from the general revenue; in this respect the holders of large estates are in no worse position than any other section of the people; but by railway construction their lands are certainly improved in value, and that is a consideration that no other class can be said to receive.

In view of all this where, it is now asked, does the cry of "class legislation" come in? Who are they who are howling? Is it they who have suffered, or they who have received the chief consideration and the largest gain?

The Wrongs of labour.

The wages of national sinfulness in the neglect of the poor are poverty and disease, profligacy, vice and despair, irreligion, corruption, and rottenness in every class of the people.

THE works of Emile Zola do not commend themselves to English taste; those, however, who seek a vivid and powerfully drawn picture of the treatment to which the children of Labour have been subjected, even in quite recent times, will find it in "The Germinal, or Master and Man," the story of a strike. There are in this tale of course the realistic incidents and impurities common to the Zola productions, such as no modern English writer would dream of incorporating in his work; but in this particular instance there is some excuse, for vice and depravity, extreme and various, are the natural outcome of long hours of laborious toil at low wages, necessitating poor food and the herding of the sexes, degraded below the level of the brute, in hives immediately contiguous to each other. Terrible as the story of suffering and debasement seems—too terrible almost for belief—it is however founded upon truth; and true as it is regarding the lives of the mining population at one time in France, it is no less a faithful representation of the condition of the same class of people at the same period in that dear and grand old Mother Land which all of us love so well. In these high and palmy days of '92, it is counted "bad form" by Tory papers to make reference to the wrongs which Labour has silently endured in times past; it is discreetly held to be wisest and best that such uncanny things should be forgotten. Of a truth they are forgotten by, or, haply, never came within the knowledge of the present generation. To answer present purposes, however, it is essential that certain facts should be recalled, if only in order that some fair measure of honour should be rendered where great honour is justly due. It is forgotten, no

doubt, that up to some fifty years ago women were employed to draw trucks like beasts of burden in deep and darksome mines; that they lived in caverns, rarely ascending to behold the light of day; that children were born to them there, and died there, never in the brief period of their wretched existences having once beheld the glorious radiance of the sun, nor the perfect beamy of a flower if they succeeded in struggling through the period of infancy, they too were harnessed to draw the truck as soon as a small modicum of physical strength became manifest. It almost passes belief that in a Christian land such awful human degradation could be possible; yet, whilst the public prints of '92 are almost indecent in their eagerness to feast thy people with every detail of the latest horror, it is "bad form" to make reference to murders most foul and abominable, legally committed under the glorious principle, of "freedom of contract," when that principle was in unquestioned dominancy.

As in the mines, so in the factories. Women worked; children, still of tender years, were employed. The rooms in which they laboured were low, small, ill-ventilated; the bacilli of consumption, typhoid and cholera covered the walls; disease and death haunted they were. But the long-delayed day of salvation dawned at last when Elizabeth Barrett Browning took tip her pen to write "The Cry of the Children." How many of they that labour with their hands have read that "Cry," or know aught indeed about it? It tells its own piteous story. Here, but one or two lines, the refrain to as many verses can be quoted:—

*For, all day, we drag our burdens tiring
Through the coal-dark underground—
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.*

*And all the day the iron wheels are drying;
And sometimes we could pray
"O ye wheels," (breaking out in a loud moaning)
"Stop, be silent for a day!"*

*Still, all day, the iron wheels go onward,
Grinding life down from its mark;
And the children's souls, which God is casing sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.*

*Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple shows your path!
But the child's sob curses deeper in the silence
Than the strong man in his wrath!*

"The Cry of the Children" reverberated over the land; the great heart of the people was touched, and it thrilled at the touch. A Legislature controlled by a class representing capital, cowering and ashamed, hurried to the passing of mining and factory laws." This surely is true!

But look here, here upon this picture! It is a woman in—yes, a woman in a garret! Pale, emaciated, hungry, and scantily clothed she toils for a wretched pittance insufficient to hold soul to body. Listen, she is a sweeter; a sweeter trying by toil incessant to win the means of sustenance at two pence per shirt. There are very many slaves such as she is in this great, free, enlightened, and magnanimous country. Perhaps she too has heard of the piteous "Cry of the Children," and, learned with a thankful heart how the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled—Waring in mind how laws should be equal—were hastening to pass remedial measures to relieve from their heavy burdens all the women and children who labour, and perchance the happy thought has crossed her mind that somewhere, far away yonder among the stars shining through the roof, there exists a Power that will in the near future raise up a "Cry" for her and all the poor who suffer. Hark! Even whilst thus she prays a song bursts upon her and penetrates the skies. It is Hood's "Song of a Shirt":—

*With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags
Plying her needle and thread.
Stitch—stitch—stitch!
In poverty hunger and dirt,
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch—
Would that its tone could reach the rich—
She sang this song of a shirt.
It's oh to be a slave,
Along with the barbarous Turk,
Where woman has never a soul to save.
If this Christian work!*

Once again was England thrilled, and once again there was a rustling of dry bones in the Parliament, where class legislation was wholly unknown! No doubt, it may be said that the case of the shirt-makers was exceptional but when Thomas Hood wrote, there was "sweating" in all trades, where "sweating was at all practicable," particularly amongst the tailors and shoemakers.

"You sea, men are so wonderfully and fearfully made that they work, they throw their best work, they bring all their powers, their inventions, and their contrivances, and lay them at the feet of their employer, though they know him to be a greedy grinder and a sweater—Yes, and they will sell the finest invention, just as they will sell the most wonderful book, or the most splendid picture—whether on a canvas or in a print—for next to nothing, to the first crafty man who comes to buy it." The words are those of Walter Besant, and they are quoted for no stronger purpose than to enable the remark, that the greatest inventors—and therefore the world's greatest benefactors—have come from the ranks of labour. The capitalist has never invented anything.

"Necessity," it has been said, "is the mother of invention," and so, no doubt, the history of the world proves. Necessity, it is; that compels poor Jack to find a ship when all his earnings from last voyage have disappeared. When he again goes aboard there is a hole called a bunk for him to repose in, and "hard bake" and "mahogany" for his food. Midst arctic snows and tropical heats poor Jack baa to do his duty, and at all times and in all seasons he has braved the dangers of the deep without giving forth one word of complaint. He has no meetings with a lord or a mayor in the chair; no eloquent speeches to crowded audiences; no resolutions duly proposed, seconded, and enthusiastically carried; no petitions to present; no strong-voiced public opinion to support him in the exposition of any possible wrongs he may have to endure; he is removed from the ordinary interest of men, and only the loving eyes of wife or mother or sister or child follow him across the seas. But one man of all has appeared to give thought to the wrongs which have been perpetrated upon the sailor, and today there is not a British ship upon the seas that does carry not the honorable mark of his noble work.

These facts have not been set down for the purpose of calling up rancorous feeling or the stirring up of class animosities; nothing of the kind. It is desired to point out here the deep debt of gratitude due by the children of labour in every land where the English language is spoken, to those who, although they cannot properly be said to have belonged to the ranks of Labour, have each achieved more substantial and material gains for the working classes than all other of their champions put together. Indeed, their names are worthy to be printed in letters of gold and hung over the family altar in the home of every son of toil, so that not for a day nor an hour they may be suffered to fade into a shameful and ungrateful forgetfulness!

ELIZABETH BARRETT BOWNING,
THOMAS HOOD,
CHARLES DICKENS,
SAMUEL PLIMSOLL.

As one by one the conditions to which Labour was reduced came to be exposed in all their horrible deformity, it was promptly and emphatically denied that the capitalistic employer derived any advantage from such a state of things. It was persistently and loudly asseverated that he gained nothing, and he was in no way responsible. The excuse put forward was that the great public beyond him insisted upon production of every kind being cheap. That to improve the work rooms and dwellings of their employes, shorten their hours of labour and raise their wages, would involve such an outlay and weekly expenditure that the work of production

and of manufacture could not possibly be carried on. Mark this, and mark it well, for it is the second and most important point to be evolved. The asseverations of the capitalistic employer have been proved to be one vast mistake. During the past fifty years women and children have ceased to labour in mines; the small, low, disease-infested workrooms of the factories have disappeared from human knowledge; the sweating system has, been almost wholly suppressed; over-laden and deck-laden and rotten-bottomed ships are known no more; education has been diffused and spread abroad with a liberal and no less beneficent hand; lastly, the hours of labour have been shortened, and wages almost doubled. What consequences have flowed from these changes? Has production ceased? Have manufactures diminished? Is the capitalistic employer "clean wiped out?" Answer? Is it not rather the case that so far from an overwhelming and blasting ruin having overtaken him, the capitalistic employers have never since history first began been so wealthy, prosperous, powerful, and numerous (it may be added) as at this hour! It is true, every word of it, The story of past suffering, of hideous poverty, of intolerable misery, of confinement, disease, and death, is true, it is supported by testimony given at the time; the excuse put forward is on record and is undeniable; the facts of today are plainly to be seen on every hand. What follows? This, that immediately any claim for further consideration is put forward on behalf of those who labour, it is met by the same old, old assertion that to grant it is impossible; that to yield would undoubtedly destroy industry; that factories would be shut up and mines closed; that ruin and nothing but ruin, absolute, and complete would overtake the country. Pause, O gold heaper; stay a moment and reflect! You have said all this before, in the long ago now so nearly forgotten, and you know now that you were hugely, utterly mistaken. Is it not just possible that you may be mistaken again? Be less positive in assertion; prove more considerate in action!

The free Labourer.

*The good old rule
Sufficeth him. The simple plan
That should take who has the power
And he should keep who can.*

It is only a comparatively few years since the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed. The mere fact that such an Act was required to relieve a very large body of the people from civil disabilities is sufficient to suggest the state of society which then existed. About that period, too, the repressive laws which forbade combination upon the part of either employers or employes were repealed, and a new era of human progress began. Labour, upon the repeal of the combination laws, did not immediately enter upon the work of forging bonds union; education had not yet sufficiently advanced, and the strength derivable from combination of resources and unity of will was [unclear: vi] imperfectly understood. At length it dawned upon comprehend and Unionism as a consequence developed. In 1859 the great strike in the building trades occurred, and a brief reference to the events that took place in Parliament on the subject will very well serve present purposes. On the 2nd August in the year above stated, in the [unclear: Hora] of Lords (see *Hansard*, vol. clv., p. 846) Lord Brougham, among other remarks, observed:—

"If, as seems to be the case, the object of the movement (the strike) was to obtain by means of combination ten hours wages for nine hours' work, nothing could be more utterly absurd, nor nothing more inconsistent with justice as well as common sense. He [unclear: Doi] advised any person concerned against any movement of the kind. And he spoke upon this subject with greater confidence, because [unclear: b] had always been their steady and zealous supporter, when in the right They had always, as they knew well, had a friend in him. He had consistently supported the abolition of the combination laws, and [unclear: jj] done all in his power to make legal combinations free, and to get [unclear: hi] of the trammels to which workmen and employers had been previous subject. He had always maintained that workmen were entitled [unclear: i] combine for proper objects—provided the combination left those [unclear: who] did not choose to join free to work for such wages and for as many hours, and, generally, on such terms as they thought proper."

To the remarks of the noble Lord, Earl Granville, in the course of his reply, said:—

"It was impossible to deny that the power which workmen not held to combine and to 'strike' must exercise a wholesome [unclear: induem] on the masters. Still, the justification for any particular strike, [unclear: lib] that of a war, depended upon all the circumstances that belonged [unclear: u] it. It was criminal in men to strike without good and sufficient cause because, if there were not good foundation for so doing, and [unclear: grouofc] which enlisted popular support in its favour, they inflicted a great injury not only upon themselves but

upon their families, and upon the whole community. Their object, it was stated, was to reduce the hours of labour from ten to nine, receiving the same wages as if they had worked ten hours, and the object in view was to give labour to [unclear: i] large number of the same class of workmen who were now out of [unclear: a] ployment. It was impossible to believe that any combination of this sort could succeed. Wages could only be paid out of the capital of the employer, and by diminishing the number of working hours, and paying the same wages, the employer could not afford an extra shilling to those who were out of employment."

Now, although the speeches from which these quotations are made were delivered some thirty-three years ago, were any labour conflict [unclear: s] break out tomorrow the very same ideas would find expression, so little has the position changed. It will be observed that Lord Brougham, when he used the words, "Provided, the combination left those who did not choose to join free to work for such wages and for as many hours and generally, on such terms as they thought proper," makes acknowledgment of the right claimed on behalf the free labourer, aright—so called—which has been energetically and determinedly insisted upon by employers all over the world, and as determinedly repudiated by Labour Unions.

Lord Brougham did not pause to demonstrate upon what ground the right of the free labourer was based, neither has any employer nor employer's supporter taken the trouble to do so, apparently holding that the claim was so morally, abstractly and evidently just that to do so would be entirely a work of supererogation. On the other hand the supporters of Trades Unions have never very closely analysed the claim put forward on behalf of the free labourer, nor made it clear to the reasoning mind that, instead of being based upon justice and in fact an incontrovertible and just right, it was founded upon gross wrong, and that under the circumstances of the position the free labourer was not entitled to any consideration whatever. They have felt the action of the free labourer as an outrageous wrong; they have recognised him as one whose existence has not only irritated but called forth the most angry and vengeful feelings; but the reasons upon which others ought to hold him as a wrong have never yet been set forth to demonstration. This is the position, so far at least as this writer is aware, today.

Philosophers, jurists and legislators have, from time to time, written upon and attempted to define the rights of men from the moral government of God to the statute law in its latest development. In connection with the subject under consideration it is not required to extend attention beyond what are the generally allowed rights which pertain to the individual, rights with which neither despot, Parliament, vote by majority, nor any other authority has any allowable claim to interfere, until they have become forfeit (the first can never be forfeited) by the commission of crime. The natural laws comprehend—first, the right to render gratitude, thankfulness, reverence, worship to God according to conscience; second, the right to defend one's self from assault, to preserve home inviolate, to seek the acquirement of knowledge, wisdom, and virtue; third, the light to live, to the use of his limbs to go whithersoever he listeth, to the use of air, fire, and water, to eat, drink, and rest as he pleases, and to the produce of his personal labour. It is repeated that these comprehend the inalienable rights of the individual—they have been so held from very ancient days down to the present hour—but all rights and laws are overshadowed by that Divine command which should enter into the life of professing Christians everywhere:—Thou shalt do no wrong to thy neighbour, but love him as thyself.

As has been stated, a man has the right to the produce of his [unclear: own] individual labour, but lie has no right to take the produce of [unclear: other] labour without rendering consideration, or without consent; in other words, he has no right, without recompense, to gather of the crop [unclear: which] others have sown, to drink of the wine which others have produced. Man, in his relation to his fellowman can only acquire rights [unclear: through] labour or sacrifice. Sacrifice is the foundation of all right. Such [unclear: is] the recognised and accepted moral law, and it must commend itself the reason and judgment of everyone who thinks.

Well, how does the case now stand?

It can scarcely be denied that, in nearly every branch of [unclear: labour] workmen, by combining their financial resources, taking [unclear: counsel] together, and by efforts sometimes entailing severe struggle and [unclear: much] suffering, have been successful in shortening the hours of labour, [unclear: and] maintaining, not infrequently increasing, the payment of wages. [unclear: In] *all this, the free labourer has gained in common with all others.* [unclear: He] has contributed nothing; made not one effort; stood aloof; but [unclear: when] all has been accomplished, he has serenely accepted his share of the advantages which others have won. He is in the position of one [unclear: who] has idly, economically, and safely stood aside—contributing [unclear: nothing] sacrificing nothing—whilst others have sown and reaped, milled [unclear: the] grain and baked the loaf; then, with much satisfaction, he has [unclear: eate] of the bread. Where is the moral law that will recognise such [unclear: a] "right" as this is claimed to confer?

As a matter of fact, however, the position of the "free labourer," as he has been sweetly named, is infinitely worse than this displays. The Unions, by effort and sacrifice, have been the means of giving [unclear: him] a better dwelling to live in, a more comfortable bed to sleep in, [unclear: and] better food than ever graced his table before; all these advantages [unclear: he] and his little ones enjoy, and—how does he repay his

benefactors. By seeking to bring to the ground—even though it bury himself [unclear: and] all belonging to him in the ruin—the whole fabric that has been [unclear: raised] If the individual has the "right" to sell his labour on such terms generally as pleases him, without reference to any moral consideration as to how injuriously the exercise of that right is certain to [unclear: operate] against his neighbour, then it follows that the repeal of the [unclear: combination] laws was a cardinal mistake, and consequently, action should [unclear: be] immediately taken to ensure that henceforth all labour shall be [unclear: free] Were this done then, no doubt, very speedily the situation of fifty [unclear: years] ago, as it has been shown in these pages, would be restored. Who [unclear: is] the man who will venture to propose this logical solution?

Now, in order to bring this matter more closely home to [unclear: some] minds, let it be supposed that in a certain community there are 100 capitalists, and of these 1000 capitalists 800 agreed to form a company for the achievement of certain highly beneficial results. They held meetings, appointed a managing directory, subscribed capital, and [unclear: went] on exposed to public criticism, and not infrequently to vituperation The association, left be said, proved a success and a dividend was declared, in the payment of which the 200 who had not joined were included equally with those who had subscribed the capital and done the work. Again the company saw their way to still larger gains; again from amongst themselves the necessary capital was raised; again proceedings went forward, and again success attended them. Once again to the 200 who had not expended a penny nor raised a finger in support received their full share of the dividend in common with the others. Once more an effort is to be made, once more is capital subscribed, but this time the difficulties in the way of success appear to be insurmountable, and a severe and arduous struggle is imminent. Behold, in the forefront of the opposition appear the 200 capitalists who, without having paid one shilling of the calls have received fully of the dividends, and it is boldly alleged for them that in this matter they have "rights!" Through the action of the 200 non-subscribers there ensue failure and loss to the company, whose success would also have been theirs. Rights! of course they have rights. They have exactly the same right that the dynamitard possesses who enjoys your bed, eats of your table, drinks of your wine, and in gratitude leaves an explosive bomb behind him to blow you and your whole house into a thousand fragments. No sophistry can give to any one the right to inflict an injury upon his fellowman, more particularly when that man is one to whom he is under deep obligation, and when at the very moment when the injury is designed to fall upon him he is actually engaged in striving to benefit his wronger equally with him self. It is astonishing that it should be necessary to write of the bearing of the moral law at such a time in such a place as this!

Through Unionism the working man of to-day has undoubtedly secured for himself shorter hours of labour and higher rates of wages, and to him these gains constitute a property; they are a house which he can contemplate with pleasure and under the shelter of which he finds health, rest, comfort, and satisfaction. The moment, however, he ventures to make an effort to increase the conveniences of his newfound dwelling, or stands up to protect it from the assaults of those from whom he has won it after long and arduous endeavour in the great high court of public opinion, his fellow labourer—who ought in such an emergency to be found standing by his side to aid him—appears with axe o'er shoulder ready to help to hew it down. However much others may question it, that is the position as it presents itself to him. Is it any wonder that, under such circumstances, the natural feeling of antagonism which the Unionist bears toward his legitimate opponents—whom he seeks to fight fair and honest—fades into insignificance and melts away under the influence of the great rage which swells in his heart and bums in his brain at sight of the traitorous blackleg whenever he makes his appearance on the scene? Is it any wonder that, notwithstanding his intelligence and law-abiding proclivities, the moment the blackleg shows himself he becomes lost in paroxysms of fury, saying and doing the things that would never suggest [unclear: themselves] to him in calmer moments? There is a degree of irritation [unclear: which] passes beyond endurance; as the proverb hath it:—*Furor fit [unclear: lease] saepius patientia*. Think of it fairly, O reader. Is it at all [unclear: reconcilable] to sense that (a comparative handful of inconsequential, [unclear: miserable] wretches excepted) the great body of the workmen of to-day, who [unclear: are] not entirely without reading and intelligence, would be found hounding down members of their own class, some of them saying things and [unclear: do] ing acts in violation of the law, exposing themselves to long period [unclear: of] imprisonment, shedding their blood and running the risk of [unclear: losing] their lives, if they did not regard what Unionism has won for them [unclear: as] a property to be defended and the free labourer as a traitor and a [unclear: the]—the most unequivocal scum of the earth?

Suppress the free labourer, and what would be the result? "Oh," shout some fear inspired people, "the mob would be rampant, [unclear: the] working man would trample over everything, the Unions would [unclear: prove] inexorable tyrants, capital would be driven to the wall or out of [unclear: the] country, existence would become intolerable." Now, is this really [unclear: turly] Or merely the veriest rhapsody? Have the Unions ever put forward any claim which could be considered as wildly, atrociously [unclear: unreasonable], which, if granted would have been productive of great [unclear: social] misery? If they have, remember the fearful errors of which capital has been guilty before launching into too heavy condemnation, and consider that it is now

proposed to establish courts of conciliation and arbitration, before which all future differences are to be taken. [unclear: It is] to be supposed that these courts, when they come into existence, [unclear: will] do strict justice in adjudicating upon the claims of either the capitalistic employers or the workmen of the Unions, when appeal is made [unclear: to] them. The workman represented by his Union, and the employes organisation will stand equally before the law, disputes will be settled justice will be done—where then, is the necessity for this third party the free labourer? What wrongs follow upon society through [unclear: his] obliteration? Surely he can be spared, and "never be missed. Abolish the Unions and what happens then? Labour at once [unclear: goes] back to the competition of individualism; the struggle for a [unclear: wretched] subsistence goes forward, until a return is made to the sweater in [unclear: his] garret, disease, infection, and all the evils of a devoutly to be wished forgotten past. Can anyone doubt that this would be so? [unclear: Under] such circumstances, is there any lover of his kind who is prepared [unclear: to] cast a vote for the suppression of the Unions? Are you, O [unclear: Reader] ready to vote so? If you cannot affirm that the Unions ought to be swept away, if you feel constrained to admit that Unionism is [unclear: a] necessary institution, why prate of the rights of the free labourer, [unclear: who] is an enemy of Unionism, seeking to bring its existence to naught?

Viewed in a true light the free labourer is a backslider, an [unclear: ingrats] and a traitor to his order; as such he is felt not only by the workmen of the Unions, but even by himself. He knows—none better—of [unclear: the] benefits he has received and the nature of the return he makes in the conduct he is pursuing. He knows—none better—that the indignation and the immeasurable scorn which his conduct excites is justly merited, and he dare not look his fellow labourer of the Unions fairly in the face, eye to eye. The free labourer is supported by the capitalist, and it is fair to say that the capitalist may quite believe that, at any time, and without any consideration for past or present circumstances, a man has a right to sell his labour as he pleases. This writer, however, is persuaded that it would be extremely difficult to rind many—if any—capitalists, who would consent to accept for themselves a similar antagonistic position to the mass of their order, when banded together, that the free labourer does to his fellow workmen. To understand this matter accurately the position has to be brought home to one's self. To comprehend adequately the indignation which the thought-of the free labourer—the blackleg, as with a bitter scorn he is called—produces in the mind of the Unionist, one has to endeavour to realise the depths that Labour has risen from, all the gains that have by struggle been won, and the condition of things which "freedom of competition" in labour would inevitably bring about.

Competition.

Competition is the plan
By which man strives as best he can,
To ruinate his fellowman.

WWHILST the capitalistic employer is enthusiastically clamorous for the "rights" of the free labourer, it is interesting to note that, with singular magnanimity, he puts forward no claim for freedom for himself. If freedom is held to be a blessing as well as a right for labour, and for society through labour, why should not a similar blessing be extended to capital? It is sad, however, to reflect upon the rigorous manner in which in this liberal age the operations of capital have come to be hampered and bound. If the capitalist proposes investment in mining, there are Mining Acts with which a strict observance is required; if he contemplates going into manufacture, then the State insists that his buildings must provide certain breathing spaces for his employes, and be well ventilated and drained; if he could have ships to sail the seas, there are Shipping and Plimsoll Acts and Navigation Laws to which regard must be paid; there are inspectors and other inconvenient officials appointed to look after his boilers and his engines, and they must be satisfied if he would not have his movements brought to a full stop Over all this fabric of restrictive legislation, which is of quite recent development, there are troublesome general laws which fix upon him responsibilities, and under which, in certain contingencies, he is liable to be cast in damages. Even in the choice of the materials of a house in which to dwell he is not left wholly free, and in the size of some of the apartments, the drainage, and other matters he is not suffered to be without control. In short, it is difficult now to discover any branch of production, manufacture, or industry in which it can be claimed for the capitalist that a thoughtful and jealous legislature has left him without care, obligation, or restriction. But this view of the actual situation vexes the soul of the capitalist not at all; he surveys and endures his slavery to enactments with a patient and high-minded shrug entitling him to unqualified admiration; but, when it is proposed in any way interfere with rights and liberties of the free labourer then and only then, his emotions overcome him, and he surges into passionate

indignation—wholly untainted by any consideration for supposed interests affecting his class—against such an intolerable most atrocious, outrage!

Here it may not be without advantage to bestow a little attention to the remark that fell from Earl Granville in the speech (already quoted), which he made in reply to the utterance of Lord Brougham: "Wages could only be paid out of the capital of the employer, and by diminishing the number of the working hours, and paying the same wages, the employer could not afford an extra shilling to those who Were out of employment." Now, at the time these words were spoke there were certainly logical grounds for believing in their everlasting truth. The logical grounds remain, and the statement of the noble lord is repeated over and over again in different forms, and it might receive unreserved acceptance but for the circumstance that facts [*unclear: are*] against it. Of course it is reasonable to suppose that a reduction [*unclear: is*] the hours of labour, and a rise in the amount payable for wages, would have the effect of making the outlay in turning out manufactures very great deal higher. So no doubt it does, but the manufacture meets the altered circumstances of his position by raising the price of his manufactured article. It is not the manufacturer, therefore, [*unclear: but*] the consumer that has to pay the additional cost of [*unclear: production*] "Yes," it is urged, "that is all very fine, but the raising of the cost of production at Home lets in the competitor from abroad, [*unclear: and the*] manufacture locally in consequence suffers total extinction." It [*unclear: is*] admitted that, logically, that is the justifiable conclusion; the [*unclear: conclusion*] which forced itself upon the mind of Earl Granville, and [*unclear: has*] forced itself upon the minds of many thousands of other intelligence people at that time and since.

But facts are more powerful than even the laws of logic. It is [*unclear: perhaps*] not too much to assert that wages in England have always been a trifle higher than the rates paid in continental countries, yet English production and manufactures have in no way suffered. Wages of late years have been considerably raised, whilst the hours of labour have been decreased, and instead of the ruin that was to have befallen the country, the great and grand old Mother Land was never more prosperous. In the colonies of Australasia the rates of wages are at least 100 per cent, higher than in the Mother Country, where the capital required for erection of buildings, machinery, other appliances, and coal is very much less, yet, singularly enough, manufactures are not unknown in these southern lands. Of course, there are freight, wharfage, cartage, Customs and other charges to keep the British manufacturer from our markets, but nevertheless they are not sufficient to sweep away wholly the local disadvantages under which the Colonial manufacturer labours. The freetraders of New South Wales claim that even without protective duties manufactures in their colony have kept at least equal progress with those of Victoria, but of course, logically, that is impossible to be correct. But the case by no means ends here. In addition to the comparatively cheap labour machinery, coal, &c., of the Mother Land, Colonial manufactures have to compete with the still cheaper labour, &c, of France and Germany, for the *Messageries Maritimes* of the former country, and the *Norddeutscher Lloyds* of the latter (subsidised lines), have for some years been running fleets of large and powerful steamers to Australia. Under such circumstances it is evident that, logically, there should be no manufacturing industries in Australia. How it comes about that, despite the very much cheaper labour, &c., in other lands, local manufacturers, taken as a whole, are fairly thriving, is one of the mysteries. The simple facts are sufficient, however, to base a suspicion that those who work themselves into a state of alarm over the supposed dangers arising from the competition of outside cheap labour are disturbing their minds with legends belonging to a bygone period of the world's history,

The repeal of the Combination Laws at once left both employers and workmen free to unite their several elements of strength for the accomplishment of such common ends and beneficial purposes as to them seemed best. Artisans and labourers have constituted Trades Unions, the avowed objects of which are to maintain the advantages which have been already secured, and to attain other benefits of a similar nature, as occasion may present through the abrogation of competition. Competition, it has been felt, in all the different branches of manual employment, has resulted in the sinking of wages to extremely low rates, and the debasement of the labourer to a level very little removed from that of the brute. On the other hand, for a century or so, competition has been held to be in the highest degree to the interest of the general public. But is competition really so? Is it not possible that competition may be carried too far, and assume a very unhealthy shape? For example, there have [*unclear: been*] employers of labour who have followed what is known as [*unclear: the*] "cutting" business; that is to say they have "cut" the prices [*unclear: of*] their goods down to such figures as to leave the smallest margin [*unclear: and*] profit. The hope which has animated them was that they might, [*unclear: by*] pursuing such a policy, attract the purchasing public and build up [*unclear: for*] themselves a large connection; they have been possessed of the [*unclear: idea*] that, in consequence of their selling cheap, crowds would flock to [*unclear: their*] places of business, and the quantity of goods they would thereby dis pose of would yield the same financial return, if not a greater, than [*unclear: if*] they sold at the legitimate prices of the trade. Such efforts [*unclear: have*] generally ended in disastrous failure, and those who have supplied [*unclear: the*] "cutters" with goods, together with those who have been [*unclear: employed*] by them, have suffered loss. Then, experience having failed to bring wisdom to the "cutters," they have gone to other towns pursuing their

cutting tactics; for a time demoralising legitimate traders' businesses, failing again and again, bringing loss to too confiding merchants. Now, it is affirmed by the advocates of free competition that in [unclear: all] such cases, if merchants and others lose, the general public gain [unclear: inasmuch] as the prices of goods having been reduced to a very low rate, cheapness has been secured, and thus the principle of competitions [unclear: has] been justified.

It is, however, quite a popular mistake to suppose that the general public approve of the cutting principle. No doubt there are a few [unclear: in] every community who are always on the search for cheapness; [unclear: to] whom the securing of bargains constitutes the business of a [unclear: lifetime;] who are unattached to any business house or particular trader, and [unclear: as] long as the cutter is enabled to carry on it is to be expected that [unclear: he] will have the business support—whatever it may be worth—of [unclear: such] people. But if cheapness really was the talismanic magnet that it [unclear: is] erroneously supposed to be, how is it that the labouring and the poorer classes are not found hurrying in dense masses to the business premises of the "cutter?" How is it that the shops still maintaining legitimate prices are not all deserted and the proprietors do not fail. As a matter of hard fact the general public are not consumed with the ravenous hunger after cheapness that has for so long been supposed. Certainly, it is not to the interest of the public that the conduct of the business of legitimate and fair-dealing tradesmen should be suddenly demoralised by the irruption of reckless cheapmen; nor does the general community gain by losses sustained by the merchant. The people neither gain anything from nor desire anything of the sort. To the legitimate tradesman, the merchant and the capitalist, the "cutter" stands in almost precisely the same relationship that the "sweater" does to the mechanic, and the time has about arrived when this position should be distinctly recognised. The Trades [unclear: Unions] have waged an active and not wholly unsuccessful warfare against the one, and the Employers' Unions will shortly have to attempt [unclear: the] suppression of the other. In thin matter the capitalist has a large interest, and no one could blame him for exercising his powerful influence in the direction indicated, Labour has entered into combinations to fix and maintain standards of remuneration for the performance of almost every kind of manual work, and the efforts which labour has put forward, taken as a whole, have proved successful; why then should not standards of prices be fixed for the advantage and protection of the trader, producer, manufacturer, capitalist? Of course, there are difficulties standing like lions in the way, but difficulties were only ordained for the purpose of being overcome. The licensed victuallers afford an instance of an occupation in which uniformity of prices can be established and maintained.

In the different Legislatures of the Colonies Bills are being introduced (in New South Wales an Act is in operation) for the settlement of disputes between Labour and Capital by the establishment of Courts of Conciliation and Arbitration, and there can be little doubt that through the operation of these measures peace, for a considerable time at least, will be sustained. Employers' Unions will therefore be shortly released from the necessity of bestowing the whole of their energies on resistance to labour claims, and will be in a position of being able to give some little attention to questions affecting their interests in other directions. Should they decide to attempt the establishment of standards of prices of all goods to be charged to the consumer, there can be little doubt that the assistance of the Labour Unions will be frankly extended to them, indeed, it is difficult to conceive upon what grounds those who have so stoutly, so warmly, and so successfully insisted upon a standard of prices for themselves, could refuse to cooperate in assisting others to achieve the same end. The result of these considerations therefore is that a mitigation, if not an entire abrogation, of the principle of unrestricted freedom in competition, promises to constitute a prominent feature of the new condition of thing to which society is rapidly progressing.

Borrowing.

Interest is a devouring thing,
Like a foul cancer it eats into the body
Wasting and destroying.

LOOKING Backward," and "Looking Forward; "looking east-ward and looking westward; looking northward and looking southward; looking upward and looking downward; looking and watching, and waiting! Such is the aspect presented by the peoples to-day, wherever man is to be found in highest development. In England, America, France, Germany, and the great colonies of the Mother Land, the close of the nineteenth century shows the people in a state of anticipation of impending change of a radical and impressive character. It may prove beneficent or malevolent, bring peace and love or enmity and disruption, but whatever the shape it

may assume clearly it is not prudent to entirely disregard the writing so plainly displayed upon the wall. Surely, if change is indeed imminent, a sound judgment would prompt to a close examination of what elements of danger may lie hidden within the confines of our own national edifice, and if any be found to east them quickly forth so that, whate'er may betide, our house at least may be found set in order against the coming time.

The unequal distribution of wealth—the heaping up of vast riches into the control of a few for expenditure upon selfish gratifications, whilst masses of people remain buried in sodden poverty, ignorance and vice—that, obviously, is the source of present irritation and unrest. The spectacle of the rich richer, the poor poorer, has excited the attention of men—stirred to dissatisfaction, begotten envy, aroused cupidity, inflamed to madness—before to-day, and now the difficulty presents itself of how to adequately cope with an obviously great and rapidly increasing evil; an evil which, like a cancer, threatens to eat into the very vitals of the body politic. This is the cause of present manifestations, and to in some way counteract its insidious tendency the thought of the thinking world is to-day directed.

In these new lands, far removed from the populous, glowing, and glorious centres of old world civilisation, it may perchance be thought that the dangers which threaten and the difficulties which encompass the settlement of problems should concern but little. Our crops, no doubt, will grow, our fruits will ripen, our gold will glitter, our mutton fatten, our fleeces yield, and markets will be found for our products somewhere on the world's surface, no matter how empires are "founded, flourish, or decay." This, however, is a view as superficial as it is selfish. We have started to build these new States upon old world models, and if the faults clearly displayed in the model have been repeated in the foundations already laid, it is surely wise to take heed to it, so that, as far as human judgment and forethought may avail, the treacherous errors may be rectified. Then the evils certain to follow upon them may be to some extent at least avoided.

All wealth is derived from the products of the earth, through the carefulness and the labour of man; but the wealth that is flowing so lavishly into England to-day is chiefly the result of capital invested in and lent to other lands. For instance, the Governments of the seven colonies of Australasia—New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia and Tasmania—owe to the people of England no less a sum than £189,483,928 the interest payable upon which reaches to something like £7,580,000 per annum. In addition to this, there are loans to the great city corporations, to harbour boards and other public bodies, besides capital invested in banking and insurance companies and in other ventures, so that it is not too extravagant to roundly estimate that, apart from all considerations of commerce or trade, an annual income of at least a million a month is steadily derived from the seven colonies of Australasia alone; the total population of which at last census was only 3,811,149.

The rise, development and decadence of the National debt of the Mother Country is full of interest, and not without valuable lessons to all who bestow thought upon public affairs. In 1688, when William III. of glorious memory ascended the throne, the total indebtedness of England was only £664,263; but in the short period of 128 years—that is to say in 1816—owing wholly to the Continental and American wars in which it had been thought to the welfare of the people to engage—it had attained to its maximum—900 millions. As every one knows, the money was borrowed in the most reckless and extravagant manner, and, had even ordinary prudence been exercised, hundreds of millions might have been saved to the State. The important point to be remembered, however, is that the Government raised its loans from within its own territories; that, the power of England being on the seas, the borrowed money expended on the navy went back to the people for circulation; that the borrowed money expended on the army also went back to the people for circulation; that in short the whole of the loans raised by the Mother Country were laid out in the building of ships, the erection of barracks, the supply of war material, salaries and wages, stores, &c., and so never went out of local circulation; that the whole of the interest—which in 1817 represented an annual charge of over 32 millions—went back to the people, and was not lost to them as it would have been had the debt been contracted with financiers in other lands. A very little reflection is necessary to realise what an enormous difference would have resulted to the people of England had the 900 millions of loans raised been expended amongst other people, or even the millions required to be paid annually for interest been with-drawn from circulation through having to go to public creditors in other countries. In Victoria, in early days, gold "booms" were of comparatively frequent occurrence; these were followed by silver "booms," and more recently still by booms in land, but all this "booming," did not take one shilling out of the country. Money changed hands, some people foolishly squandered their money in the purchase of allotments at perfectly ridiculous prices, which allotments being quite unproductive, were of no practical value afterwards; but the cash paid went into the pockets of other people within the colony who became the richer. Where the country really lost was in the plentiful crop of embezzlements, frauds, failures, and the demoralisation resulting to which such reckless speculation gave rise. In the same way, hundreds of thousands of pounds change hands every year through the medium of the Melbourne Cup, but as the money does not leave Australasia—is not withdrawn from local circulation—the colonies are not one whit the poorer through such gambling, however much such investments, as gambling,

may be deserving of condemnation.

Of course, it is recognised that, in the circumstances in which they were placed, it was impossible for any of the colonial Governments to pursue any other policy than to go to the English market for the capital necessary for the construction of public works; and, equally of course, it is not very difficult to feel how very different the position would be if, through the borrowed money having been raised locally, some £1,800,000 had not to be sent annually out of a colony, like New Zealand for instance, to pay the public creditor. It was essential to the progress of the colonies that railways should be constructed, and it may be assumed that New Zealand has in public works full value for at least a considerable portion of her thirty-eight millions of debt; practically, however, the position is that England has contracted to execute the whole of the railway-carrying work of the colony, and the people have to send her some £1,800,000 a year in payment for the performance of such work. If the contractor lived in New Zealand, and spent some considerable portion of what was paid him within her shores, there would then be no actual loss to the State, for the money paid would still be there; but obviously, to withdraw from circulation such a large sum, year after year, constitutes a very heavy drain on the financial resources of the people. The cash that represents their earnings has to go from amongst them.

During the last session of the New South Wales Parliament, a Free-trade orator, seeking to illustrate his argument, demanded to be informed if any member would seriously propose to pay 5 per cent interest for money raised within the colony when the loan required could be got for 4 per cent. in England. The suggestion was received with laughter and shouts of applause. It is, however, a serious question whether, when all the circumstances are considered, it would not be wiser to pay a little more for interest to the local lenders, and thereby keep the circulating medium within the country, than to continue to pursue the policy of past years.

It the manner in which the National debt of England increased by leaps and bounds is astonishing, the manner in which it has decreased is no less so. As has been stated, the close of the Napoleonic struggle in 1816 saw the debt at something over 900 millions; in the 75 years that have passed since that period this huge indebtedness has been decreased—notwithstanding additions made when slavery was abolished, and during the Russian war—by no less than £218,919,941, so that in April of last year the total liabilities of all descriptions stood at £681,080,059. This is a result which no statesman of forty years ago would have believed to be within the scope of possibility. But a very little consideration will show that every reduction made makes the task of further reduction easier; for, as year by year the resources of the country increase, and as year by year there is less required to be paid in interest, so the funds necessary to repay a portion of the principal can be found with less and less difficulty. The Bank of England's indebtedness has now been broken, and it is estimated that, if the rate of reduction is maintained, the end of twenty years will witness the total liability reduced to a little over 400 millions, and that when one hundred years shall have elapsed from Waterloo, all that will remain of the great debt will be an insignificant fragment. Surely the contemplation of such a performance should give hope to the public men of these debt-overladen colonies, and inspire an earnest desire to follow in such honourable footsteps. If the record of debt extinction of the Mother Land is brilliant, surely in these young and progressive States, with rapidly increasing populations and immense resources, it can be rendered still more so.

A good deal has appeared in the public prints of New Zealand recently regarding the distress amongst the unemployed in Sydney. Why Sydney should have been subject to such pertinacious reference it is difficult to say, but the fact is, that the distress in Sydney has not in any way approached to that which has obtained in Melbourne and Brisbane. In the early months of the current year, witnessing the condition to which Queensland had been reduced, a millionaire—Tyson by name—waited upon the Treasurer of that colony and patriotically offered to assist the Government of the land in which he had amassed his wealth, in extricating it from financial difficulty. It was promptly pointed out to him that the easiest and most effective way in which to do so, would be to take up some of the debentures which the Government had found some difficulty in issuing, and Mr. Tyson, it is stated, at once invested some £200,000 or £300,000 worth in the manner indicated. Now, the question arises:—Is practical patriotism in the colonies confined to Mr. Tyson? There are not wanting millionaires in New South Wales and Victoria, and there are many wealthy men in New Zealand; why should not some inducement be offered to them to take up some of the liabilities of the colonies in which they have become rich beyond their most sanguine dreams, and thereby endeavour to some extent to [unclear: keep] the payment of interest within the country? The reduction of [unclear: the] national debt of England has been very greatly facilitated by the [unclear: issue] of "terminable annuities;" why should not some such system [unclear: an] "terminable annuities" be tried in the extinction of colonial indebtedness? It will be replied that money so invested would be withdrawn from circulation here and spent in England in the redemption of [unclear: the] loan, but, precisely the same thing will be said of any attempt that [unclear: is] made at debt extinction. If money is required for farming or [unclear: sheep] grazing, for purposes of commerce or trade, no sensible person [unclear: would] leave it in the bank for a fixed period, and no scheme likely to [unclear: be] suggested would affect the investment of that capital. But the [unclear: money] lying at interest in the Savings Banks and other institutions—a [unclear: very] considerable sum—is evidently not needed for investment in [unclear:

settlement] or industry, and if transferred to the payment of the public creditor [unclear: in] England, the amount annually paid in interest would at least [unclear: remains] for circulation in the colony. Probably, better terms as an [unclear: inducement] to invest would be expected by the purchaser of a colonial [unclear: annuity,] but, as has been seen, there are advantages to the colony which [unclear: count] balance to some extent compliance with them. In 1816 the [unclear: National] debt of England averaged £45 per head of the population: the public debt of New Zealand now averages £60 per head of the [unclear: population;] but the purchasing power and value of money in England in 1816 [unclear: was] very different from what it is in New Zealand in 1892, and [unclear: if the] Mother Country, at the close of the continental war could [unclear: immediately] enter upon a policy of debt extinction, New Zealand and all other [unclear: of] the colonies should be equally able to do so.

It is exceedingly gratifying that both the political parties in New Zealand are at one upon the subject of a non-borrowing-from-outside-of-the-colony policy, and that already a beginning has been made [unclear: in] the work of reducing the public indebtedness. It is true it is but a [unclear: small] amount that has been paid off, but it is extremely valuable as [unclear: a] beginning. When one-fourth of the debt shall have been paid, [unclear: there] will be something like £500,000 a year saved from the payment [unclear: of] interest, and this sum will be available for appropriation for [unclear: the] payment of a portion of the principal. That fact should lend [unclear: a] stimulus to effort. The fact that when the public debt has been [unclear: very] largely reduced, the surplus revenue derived from public works will [unclear: be] sufficient to provide for railway extension throughout the colony on [unclear: a] very liberal scale ought to afford a further encouragement. If the indebtedness of New Zealand could [unclear: be] reduced one-half, there would be a fund equal to about £300,000 a year derived from profits from [unclear: the] railways available with which to push forward with new works, [unclear: and] this money would remain in the colony instead of being sent away [unclear: as] at present. Surely the prospect of attaining to such a state of [unclear: affairs] is worthy or the most strenuous effort.

There is one more fact that ought to be noted in this connexion. If New Zealand has come to the end of a borrowing-from-abroad policy, the other colonies have not. Nowhere in Australia has a voice yet been raised in deprecation of the raising of further loans. Of a truth the present circumstances of the larger colonies are so desperate that they must borrow; but were the circumstances otherwise it would make no difference in their policy; they would go on borrowing—as they will go on borrowing—until their applications meet with an emphatic refusal, or the price asked for money becomes too exorbitant even for them to pay. The fact appears to be ignored in Australia that, before there can be a loan contracted there must be those willing to lend. The moral of this is, that the distress prevalent in Australia to-day is but the initiation of still heavier troubles to come. Resort has already been taken to Treasury bills discounted in the English market, and on the immediate track of the issue of her bills Victoria has been forced to appear as a suppliant for more money on debentures. In view of the paralysis—if not catastrophe—that is imminent in Australia, it only needs that New Zealand shall go steadily forward in the financial policy adopted to find she has become an object of the deepest interest to thoughtful minds; then, in the gloomy days that are approaching, those in Australia who have not lost everything will seek to cross the sea that divides, and a still larger population than forsook New Zealand shores during recent years will come streaming in, bringing a tidal wave of prosperity along with them. The position of the last few years in New Zealand is on the turn for reversal—Australia is entering upon a period of such severe trial as few as yet can foresee, whilst New Zealand is happily emerging from trials past, Presently she will become the attraction of attractions, and many thousands will seek refuge from the financial storm upon her fertile shores. It may be anticipated then, that under a patriotic policy and judicious management the average indebtedness of the population will soon rapidly and largely decrease; that trade with strident steps will speedily revive; that money will become more plentiful, revenues increase, and the ability to repay obligations will strengthen so that the task of debt extinction will become correspondingly easy. It is the evident duty of the Government to look these events, so clearly foreshadowed, in the face, and to have every door that opens to employment and to the development of the resources of such a bounteous land thrown wide, so that there shall be no fatal pause to the new colonists of these beautiful islands when they come.

Development of Resources.

Work is Worship.

IN Victoria, in early days, several individuals—the Clarkes, [unclear: Chirnsides], Ormondes, Glasses, Wilsons and others—were fortunate [unclear: in] being enabled to acquire a large extent of territory easily and cheaply; in New South Wales down to 1876, if not to a much later period, the state of the law was such that squatters could buy up the lands they held on lease at the rate of over 1000 acres annually until an acreage

larger than many a German principality came into their ownership; but to fertile New Zealand must be extended the equivocal honour of being peculiarly the land of big estates. In this beautiful land, the property of the people—the property essentially necessary for the support of the people in the hereafter—has been thrown into the hands of a few with a reckless carelessness and want of prevision equivalent to a crime. In the hall or the Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand, hangs a map displaying the original settlement in the County of Selwyn, Province of Canterbury. The land is shown parcelled out in sections of from 5000 up to 30,000 acres in extent, with the names of the first holders!

The large tracts of country held by the barons in England and on the continent i came into the possession of privileged families as [unclear: one] of the natural results of the Feudal System. As all wealth is originally derived from the soil, so as states progressed the lands inquired increased more and more in value, and the families in whose hands they were became richer and richer. In the Mother Land the rapid accumulation of the National debt, and the extremely extravagant manner in which it was raised—from 1792 to 1801 the average price of 3 per cent, stock was £57 17s. 6d., and from 1803 to the close of the war £60 17s. 6d.—enabled those who were fortunate enough—the landed gentry principally—to be in a position to assist the Government to very greatly increase their incomes; and this again has been followed by the opportunities afforded through the developments of the century in India, America and the colonies, together with production manufactories, and commerce until, as the result of financial investments, wealth is found flowing in upon the country in great streams. It is evident that, throughout the whole of history, the holders of big estates have had all the advantages; that they have continued [unclear: rich] for generation after generation, whilst the great bulk of the people [unclear: hi] remained sunk in hopeless poverty; that when at last the condition of the mass of the people—through invention and industry, all their [unclear: one] —gradually improved the values of their property, and the opportunities for profitably investing the capital derived through their property was still more largely increased, at length the spectacle is reached which the Old World presents to-day of vast accumulations of wealth in few hands upon one side, and starving millions upon the other, so that the minds of statesmen, philosophers, and thoughtful men are perhaps a little perplexed and sometimes a little apprehensive of what the end will be. Forty, fifty years ago—although the position was not so acute as it has since become—all this was very well known by public men, for books had been written upon the subject, and more particularly upon the rights asserted and held by the few to close up the development of the resources of the soil to the labour and the necessities of the many. Yet, notwithstanding these obvious facts, in all the colonies the richest and the fairest portions of land have been apportioned to a favoured few to the disadvantage of the many of to-day, and the millions of the future. Having thus blundered egregiously—having thus carefully sown the seeds of future division into classes and masses—having laid the foundation of the nation that is to be upon rottenness at the very inception of our occupation of the country, surely it should be held by every patriotic colonist as a first duty to sedulously seek to undo the mischief that has been done? Surely no one desires to see the spectacle of the rich growing richer, the poor growing poorer, repeated in these new lands? Surely every fair minded man is anxious that, in the future, his children's children will witness wealth distributed upon a fairer basis than that which now obtains in the old countries of the world? Surely it is infinitely wiser to seek now to ensure peace, content, and happiness than to persist in a line of action certain to lead to discontent, bitterness, the ebullition of violent passion, and possibly revolutionary disruption? Let every reader ponder this thing; then, not improbably, he will conclude that the task of reacquiring the large estates—upon a basis founded upon the most absolute justice—must be insisted upon as a leading feature of the policy of his country, whether it be so-called Liberals or so-called Tories that hold the reins of power.

In the three most populous colonies a very few years more will see only a comparatively few acres left in the hands of the Crown to dispose of; except, perhaps, for recent legislation, the whole estate of New Zealand would have been in the hands of a numerically small but politically powerful class; and already landlordism, to a considerable extent, has made its baneful appearance. Under landlordism the owner of the soil lives in luxury and ease, whilst others toil to sustain him. The story of the landlord and his bailiff or factor, as told by Burns. "is extant and writ in choice Italian" all over the face of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent of Europe, and no one need be told of it. To secure, as far as practicable, the more equal distribution of wealth in the future, it is essential that the great fountain from which it flows should be broken in order that the fructifying waters may radiate in as numerous sprays as possible, and as [unclear: measr] as possible be refreshed in its life sustaining moisture.

It forms no part of the design of these papers to [unclear: consider] question of the tenure upon which Land should be held; it is [unclear: enough] to point out the evils certain to develop in any land where the [unclear: use] the soil is held in monopoly. It may be said here, however, that [unclear: a] writer, if he desired to become a land owner, is quite confident of [unclear: the] nature of the tenure under which he would prefer to hold; this [unclear: measr] however, be quite a sentimental selfishness upon his part. No [unclear: down] throughout the colonies, there are thousands of others who quite share with him upon the question of tenure, and the feeling may

[unclear: poasi] be quite a sentimental weakness upon their part. The question is what is best calculated to meet the views of this individual or that [unclear: cha] of people, but what is best for the whole population. Practically, [unclear: the] land belongs to the people; the people derive their interest in it [unclear: from] the fact that it is upon the produce of the land they are [unclear: dependent] subsistence. No man has a moral right to close the land [unclear: against] labour of his brother so that he is left on the other side of the [unclear: wall] starve. No doubt, if practicable, it would be far better to [unclear: have] landlordism of the State, which at all events would be [unclear: governed] general principles and be based upon a measure of equality, than [unclear: to] exposed to the rapacious graspings of individual landlords. [unclear: The] Nationalisation of the land is an idea based upon strict justice, [unclear: and] one time or another there is reason to believe it was in [unclear: practice] operation in every country. The difficulties interfering with its [unclear: and] now are the reacquisition of the lands which have passed into the possession of individuals, and the vast amount of work which [unclear: would] cast upon the State in valuing, classifying, inspecting and [unclear: collection] after the land had been reacquired and indisposed of upon some [unclear: often] tenure. Finance and administration are the questions which [unclear: appred] to govern the situation and stop the way in this direction. If the [unclear: status] enters upon the work of reacquiring the big estates, and instead [unclear: of] selling the land in small farms leases it, then it is evident that [unclear: the] rentals paid by the lessees must, in the aggregate, not only [unclear: provide] amount sufficient to pay the interest on the money expended [unclear: in] acquisition, but a balance, however small, to go towards the [unclear: repayment] of the principal outlay, otherwise it is clear that in operations of [unclear: the] kind the public indebtedness will be considerably increased. On [unclear: the] other hand, if the State, upon the leacquisition of large acreages [unclear: subdivided] into small holdings and again sold upon the freehold [unclear: tenus] the payments made by the purchasers would refund the money [unclear: paid] for reacquisition, and enable the work of forwarding a more [unclear: extensive] settlement to go forward with far greater rapidity. The obvious [unclear: objection] to this plan is that, when the work had all been done, there [unclear: would] be nothing to prevent a wealthy man who desired to possess an [unclear: extecsize] freehold property from purchasing the small lots from [unclear: the] individual holders, and so the whole scheme might come to naught.

In Victoria, the "Miner's Right," which coat 20s. annually, conferred upon the digger a privilege to occupy a quarter of an acre anywhere upon Crown Lands, and very valuable buildings have been erected upon no other title than this. All the digger had to do, was to take proper care that his "Right" was renewed from year to year, and he held an indefeasible title of the simplest kind. Of course, if his "Right" was not renewed, his land, house, orchard, every fixture that was his, was "jumpable." Although, in times past, the jumping of mining claims was of common occurrence, this writer is not aware of any instance in which, through the coveteousness of his neighbour, any man's home was ever assailed in this way. This is an instance, in quite modern times, of free selection without survey, an unassailable title upon payment of an annual rental, with the cost of collection and administration reduced to a minimum.

In the beginning of the year one of the present dispensation, Great Britain contained about one million semi-barbarians. During the 1892 years that have passed away since those days of darkness, very many thousands of the Anglo-Saxon race have left her well-loved shores, and to-day her children—despite slaughters and pestilences—may be counted by the 100 million. At the census taken in April of last yearf the population of England, Wales, and Scotland, was reckoned at 33,023,725, and now upon the surface of the globe there is no spot of earth of the same extent that can in any way compare with Great Britain for the wealth which that one island contains. The wealth and material greatness of the country is amazing. Now, as the hope may fairly be entertained that neither foreign or domestic wars ner decimating pestilences will interfere to check the development of population in these fair islands of the Southern seas, but instead a steady flow of immigration to increase the parentage, a very few years ought to prove productive of very great change. A few days ago a Minister of the Crown, speaking in his place in the Parliament of New Zealand, estimated that when 1907 shall have been reached, the population of the colony will be one million; but this surely is making no allowance for the immigration that may be anticipated, and must be regarded as a very moderate computation. Any way, there will come a time when New Zealand will contain a population of many millions, and no doubt the country will be enabled to afford to its people very comfortable support. New Zealand contains an area of some 15,000 square miles more than Great Britain; her soil is equally productive, and she is plentifully blessed with conl, gold, iron, and other mineral treasures; therefore, it would indeed be wonderful if she did not contain within her shores the capacity to sustain a population ol" many millions m circumstances of great prosperity. New Zealand is here taken for purposes of convenience, but these observations apply with equal force to the other colonies. From these considerations it naturally follows, as the night the day, that in a land so spaeious and so endowed, every man, woman, and child of the 626,000 her soil con- tains to-day should be rich, They are in the circumstances of [unclear: the] semi-savages of Great Britain 1900 years ago, absolutely [unclear: surrounded] with all the elements of wealth if they only knew—and, [unclear: knowing] how, put forth

their energies—to develop them. That 600,000 [unclear: people] in such a bounteously fertile—such a treasure-invested land—[unclear: should] with their knowledge of appliances, have had to pass through [unclear: such] period of abnormally severe depression as that from which New [unclear: Zealand] is now happily emerging, argues the grossest [unclear: mismanagement] somewhere.

New South Wales is just about three times larger than New [unclear: Zealand], whilst the latter is 16,148 square miles larger than Victoria; [unclear: but] what New Zealand lacks in territory as compared with the [unclear: Mothe] Colony, is more than made up in other ways. For instance, in [unclear: Australia] it takes three acres to feed one sheep; whilst New Zealand grasses can carry three sheep to the acre. As Mark Twain would [unclear: say] this marks an "awful discrepancy." Again, in agricultural [unclear: productstion] the yield of New Zealand soil and climate is as 30 to 10 [unclear: compared] with that of any of the Australian Colonies; with such a liberal [unclear: marging] it is difficult to realise how Colonial Governments—let them [unclear: struggle] as they may with the imposition of protective duties—can [unclear: every] succeed in shutting out New Zealand productions from their [unclear: market] The geographical position of New Zealand—right in the track of c[unclear: omerce] and more closely in the vicinity of the islands of the [unclear: Southern] Ocean—must give to her a great advantage in the future.

Now, is this brief summary of the position and resources of [unclear: New] Zealand to be regarded in the light of a fairy tale, or is it true? [unclear: Those] who hold it to be no more than the light exuberance of a lively [unclear: fancy] are certainly to be excused, but if accepted as the simple truth [unclear: there] what a stimulus it must give to confidence and energy on the part [unclear: of] the people of the colony! Let them awake, arise, and go forward [unclear: to] the achievement of the destiny that lies openly before them!

As far back as 1865, the colony of Victoria arrived at [unclear: something] like finality in the matter of Land Bills. In New South Wales, at [unclear: least] until lately, if the land laws were liberal to the people they were [unclear: as] less so to the capitalist, the squatter, and the jobber. In New [unclear: Zealand]—the colony *par excellence* of big estates—the Legislature in its [unclear: last] session was found still struggling with Land Bills; but in the matter [unclear: of] Village and Special Settlements New Zealand has led the way, [unclear: and] the Governments of both the colonies above referred to are at [unclear: this] moment engaged in studying the lesson she has taught them in [unclear: this] respect. Whilst they are so engaged it may perchance be worthy [unclear: of] consideration whether the principle which has proved so [unclear: successful] when applied to village settlements—that of the State lending [unclear: assistance] and encouragement to the individual—is not capable of [unclear: expansion] The State lends money to local bodies, which are no more than [unclear: as] aggregation of individuals—and individuals, too, specially endowed [unclear: with] the power, and quite able, to meet all financial difficulties by [unclear: the] simple process of taxing themselves. If the State can do tins thing with a number, how can the State logically refuse to do it with the few, until the individual *solus* is reached? Is it the fact that the number is constituted of more or less wealthy land owners that makes the difference between those worthy of assistance and those who are not?

In Victoria there are at present at least three firms in a position to tender for the construction of locomotives for Colonial railways. In New Zealand, in 1885, before the imposition of duties of a protective nature, a Christchurch firm successfully executed a contract for the manufacture of ten locomotives. In New South Wales, about the beginning of 1890, the Free Trade Government of Sir Henry Parkes, by the offer of most liberal terms and most advantageous considerations, sought to induce the establishment of locomotive and engineering works upon a large scale. Success at one period promised to attend the effort, but at the last moment the company, which was almost incorporated, abandoned the enterprise, lu one respect, however, Hew South Wales, thanks to the spirit of one or two individuals, has advanced beyond any other of the colonies. Samples of her iron ores having been sent Home for analyses and test, they were pronounced of excellent quality, and thereupon an expert was sent out to report on the colony's resources in iron. Again the report was satisfactory, and but for the discouraging aspect thrown upon the labour question by the great strike, it is almost certain that British companies would have undertaken the establishment of smelting works. The development of this great and most important manufacture in New South Wales is only delayed for a time, and once it is fairly initiated the practical results to industry that will follow in that colony can scarcely be over estimated. On all the earth's surface there is probably no land so rich in minerals as New Zealand, and probably there is no land where so little has been done to seek to develop resources in that direction. In Australia, diamond drills, prospecting votes, and the encouragement of offered rewards are liberally given to the miner, but the Parliament of New Zealand appears to have consisted of men whose whole political vision has been concentrated upon sheep, and cattle, and craps as comprehending the entire elements of national prosperity, Nevetheless, it must be evident that no country can ever attain to greatness in production, manufactures or commerce until labour has been successfully applied to the realisation of the wealth that lies hidden under the soil as well as to that which grows upon its surface.

Wealth lies hid in the mountains, it grows in the trees,
It waves in fat pastures, it swarms in the seas,
It is borne in the tall ships that bend to the breeze,
It shines in the golden crops rich with their grain,
It speaks in the cattle that graze o'er the plain,
And no one should lack it nor seek it in vain.

During the past twelve years there has scarcely been a [unclear: session] a Colonial Parliament in which the greater portion of the time [unclear: has] been spent in the discussion of "fads. Instead of accomplishing the [unclear: practical] work of developing the vast resources of the colonies and so [unclear: rendering] them attractive to suffering peoples in other lands—instead of [unclear: doing] the real work for which they were designed—the whole efforts of [unclear: the] political machinery have been devoted to apparently futile [unclear: endeavouring] to perfect itself. Now woman's suffrage, local option, and [unclear: similar] questions may be right enough in their way, but both [unclear: Government] and peoples would be much better in position if some [unclear: considerable] portion of their vast resources were turned into cash. It is to the [unclear: material] interest of every one that there should be a change in this respect, [unclear: and] every one can contribute some influence to bring it about. Let [unclear: electa] insist that their representatives, ceasing to squabble and fight over [unclear: fancy] questions, shall give their attention to the real work of [unclear: development] and it will be done. If it be true that he is a public [unclear: benefactor] who causes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before then, not improbably, the man who opens up a new field of production or starts a new industry, giving employment to hundreds—[unclear: perchance] indirectly to thousands—is of more genuine advantage to a young country than the labours of a whole session of its Parliament. It is perhaps, not too much to affirm that the man who first succeeds [unclear: is] establishing iron smelting works upon a profitable basis, will [unclear: confer] greater and more lasting benefits upon his colony than any [unclear: statesment] that Australasia has yet seen. Colonists are themselves to blame. [unclear: If] they will continue to be pleased with a rattle and tickled with a straw, what is to be expected but that their Parliaments shall furnish only too faithful reflections of their humour? Once let the people of any one of these young communities wake up to the fact that they would all be richer, and the whole State in an infinitely more prosperous position, if its attention was concentrated upon the practical work of development and their colony will at once bound forward upon a career of uninterrupted progress and prosperity.

State Education.

O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And bust protection, this imperial realm,
Whilst she exacts obedience, shall admit
An obligation on her part to teach those who are
Born to serve her and obey! Binding herself
By statute to secure to all her children whom
Her soil maintains the rudiments of knowledge;
So that none, however destitute, shall be let to
Droop by timely culture unsustained, or be left
Without the aid of intellectual instruments and tools,
A savage horde amongst the civilised,
An enslaved mass amongst the lordly free!

JJOSEPH ADDISON died in 1719; he will, therefore, readily be recognised as one of those divine intellectualities who occasionally appear on this earth with thoughts and aspirations many generations in advance of their time; for,—whatever may have been achieved in the Australasian Colonies and New Zealand—it can scarcely be claimed for Great Britain that she has yet attained to that state of advancement when an obligation to convey to all her children the rudiments of knowledge has been, by statute, frankly admitted. Still, if the magnificent conception that entered the brain of the essayist who wrote some 200 years

ago has not yet reached the stage of realisation, it is gratifying to know that, in the colonies, amongst those who labour with their hands, the acquisition of "intellectual instruments and tools" is now pretty general, and it must be confessed that, upon the whole, the power which the "tools necessarily give, has been used with more or less wisdom to the moral and material welfare.

Fifty years—a short half century—ago, to meet with men and women who, from their circumstances, had been debarred the opportunity of acquiring the rudest rudiments of educational "implements and tools" was of painfully frequent occurrence. It was necessary for the world that from this condition there should be a large advance, and it has taken place. To-day, in the colonies at least, the man, when found, who can neither read nor write is entitled to be regarded as something of a curiosity. The spread of education—limited, in a comparative sense, as that education may be esteemed—has been followed by a lifting up of the masses. As the for ages neglected and debased children of toil have learned to read, so their eyes have [*unclear: gradually*] been opened, and they have realised how wretchedly naked mentally naked—indeed they were. With the acquisition of knowledge has developed a desire for better things, and with this desire—natural, reasonable, laudable, it must be allowed—has been manifested [*unclear: as*] impatience for which, considering all the circumstances of the past some generous allowances must be made. Surely those born to [*unclear: positions*] affording far greater educational advantages—those to whom [*unclear: a*] much wider reading has necessarily given far larger comprehension—should be able to find very little difficulty in discovering excuses for the errors and passions of their fellow men who, smarting under a sensed wrong—a mistaken sense, possibly—use the dull weapons they have just acquired in a manner now ridiculous, now offensive, now, perhaps tragical? "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," but "knowledge, in every land, constitutes the noblest wealth and best protection." The view of this writer is that at present, from an educational aspect in the privileges of the working classes a merely initiatory stage has been reached. The children of labour are only emerging from the A.B.C. class; they must be brought on and called up higher. It is scarcely possible—it is not in the nature of things—that the condition of the working classes should remain as it is; there must be movement backward or forward. Considering this, and all that is owing to the progress of education in the past, it seems desirable that the present facilities for the educational improvement of the working classes should be examined, and the possibility of further advantageous development ascertained.

In Victoria—the colony to the brilliant early days of whose history Australasia owes so much—in 1872 the first free, secular, and compulsory Education Act was passed. Some years later New Zealand followed with a similar measure. It must be matter of notoriety that in New Zealand, up to this period, the compulsory character of the Act has been completely ignored. In Victoria some three years were suffered to pass before any attempt was made to enforce the compulsory sections of the statute; then inspectors were appointed, each having charge of several school districts. The duty of these compulsory officers was to obtain copies of the school rolls, ascertain the parents whose children did not attend school, or attended an insufficient number of times at spasmodic intervals, which did not meet the requirements of the law, and take proceedings against them. There have been prosecutions to compel parents to send their children to school in Victoria, but hardly ever in New Zealand. Of course, to compel the attendance of children at school whose parents were too poor to provide the necessary books and requisites would partake of the nature of tyranny, more especially when it is remembered how heavily the cost of such books and requisites fall. For instance, in New Zealand, when a child is raised from, say, the fourth to the fifth standard, a sum of from 10s. to 14s. is required for books, drawing instruments, &c., and in cases where there is a large family, the necessary expenditure would mean a great deal to poor parents. In fact, there are many families now in New Zealand where the children do not go to school because of the expense. The Victorian Government, in anticipation of such circumstances as have been indicated, very properly provided that books and requisites should be found for the children of parents who were unable to pay for them. Under a compulsory system of education this, manifestly, was the only course that could be pursued with justice. In New Zealand, not only has there been no attempt to enforce attendance, but there has been no assistance offered by the provision of books, &c., to induce the poor to send their children to school.

It does not seem to have occurred to the governing authorities of the public school in New Zealand that, unless the most strenuous efforts were put forward to prevent the appearance of favouritism, that evil was certain to become manifest in the conduct of the various classes. More especially in the classes conducted by female teachers might favouritism have been anticipated. Some teachers become attached to certain children because their parents are well-to-do, and "highly respectable"; others, to children who come to school nicely dressed; others to children because perchance they have pretty faces, or sweet endearing ways; others for reasons which they themselves could not define beyond an admission of a mere woman's fancy. Young gentlemen teachers no doubt show a partiality to certain children for similar reasons, and others beside, such as plucky boys and those who show superior quickness in mastering questions, and greater attention to their studies. It is—it must be—scarcely necessary to point out that marked partialities of this character are

productive of much bitter jealousy and cruel heartbreak to sensitive minds and tender hearts such as the young possess, and that the more the most sedulous efforts are put forth to advance certain favoured scholars and to save from punishment tor offences for which others suffer, the more other scholars by that favouritism are discouraged and driven back. Such favouritism is a wrong which perhaps only those who have suffered can understand.

Now, in New Zealand, if a child is remiss in not bringing to school the books that are held to be required, suffering—usually it takes the form of the cane—in some way is the result. Possibly, a child's parents could not find the money at that particular juncture, but there is no allowance made for that, the child suffers rebuke or sterner punishment. Now it is asserted here that all of these evils might have been anticipated, and precautions might have been taken to obviate them. By regulations, or a code of instruction, or by circulars addressed to all teachers from time to time, or by impressing it constantly and strongly on head-masters, it might have been earnestly sought to avoid the appearance of showing favour in school to one child more than to another. Certainly it might have been provided that if the State really could not undertake to find books for those children who unfortunately had not got them, they [*unclear: were*] no means to be scowled at, roughly handled, or corporally [*unclear: punished*] if they had been guilty of some very serious moral offence. [*unclear: These*] precautions which would obviously occur to intelligent minds [*unclear: have*] never yet been taken—this writer believes—in New Zealand at [*unclear: least*] The chief value of these observations is to be found in the fact [*unclear: that*] an attempt were seriously made to secure the enforcement [*unclear: of*] compulsory sections of the statute, necessarily this state of this would require radical alteration. To compel the children [*unclear: of*] parents to be sent to school without books; to refuse in such [*unclear: cases*] provide books; and then to punish the children—cane them, [*unclear: perhaps*] as is done to-day—for not having books, would mean the [*unclear: institution*] a system of intolerable cruelty. For the children to be sneered [*unclear: at*] looked down upon contemptuously, subjected to small nameless [*unclear: slights*] weak, thoughtless, and careless teachers, because forsooth their [*unclear: parent*] were of the poor, would be a wrong of only a lesser degree.

Yet these evils would certainly be found in full vigour in the [*unclear: public*] schools if conducted as they now are. In Victoria, the whole [*unclear: powers*] administration is vested in the Department presided over by [*unclear: the*] Minister; the duty of the local board—the Boards of Advice—is [*unclear: an*] their name signifies, of an advisory character only; and it is [*unclear: right*] to say that in that colony there is more uniformity of [*unclear: management*] more effective supervision and control exercised, and greater [*unclear: succes*] achieved than in New Zealand under a divided, complex, and [*unclear: cumbrous*] system which apparently has resulted in nothing but [*unclear: weakness*] neglect, and indifference, Any way, what is affirmed here is, that [*unclear: the*] public schools of the colonies are paid for by the whole people for [*unclear: the*] education of the whole people; and, that it is to the interest of [*unclear: the*] whole people that the whole people shall derive all the benefits to [*unclear: be*] obtained from the full administration of all the principles of the [*unclear: law*] as it was originally designed. The time has corae when the [*unclear: people*] shall insist upon a better state of things than now prevails; a stated [*unclear: of*] things under which greater value will be rendered for the money [*unclear: paid*] and under which it will be more firmly ensured that of the children [*unclear: of*] the poor none shall be left to rot "by timely culture unsustained."

Notwithstanding that throughout Australasia education is [*unclear: now*] compulsory, secular, and free, it does seem to be a [*unclear: somewhat*] extraordinary circumstance it should be held advisable to refrain from hanging up to view in every classroom the elements of a simple code of morals to which no sect could possibly take exception, Love and reverence for the Creator; love, duty, and respect for fellowman; love of country, and the obligation imposed to a faithful discharge of all the duties of citizenship; these, surely, are leading principles which commend themselves to the acceptance of all, and could not possibly cause offence to the religious feeling of any.

Through the princely liberality of a Victorian squatter, who gave £15,000—if memory serves—for the purpose of erecting a "Working Men's College" in Melbourne, the cause of education in that colony has been largely advanced. By his will, the same gentleman left £10,000 to the noble institution which he had founded. This same gentleman, in addition to many other munificent benefactions, found the money for the erection of a truly palatial edifice on the University Grounds, which bears his honourable name—Ormonde College! At the Working Men's College, conveniently situated near the centre of the city, the classes are open to all upon payment of some 5s. a quarter; the hours of instruction are fixed to meet the necessities of those for whom the institution has been principally designed; and the classes embrace almost every subject of education, languages and mathematics, the fine and the mechanical arts, from architecture and music to engineering and carpentry. In Sydney, a similar institution—the Technological College—has been established by the Government. Of the value of these two institutions it is scarcely possible to speak too highly; but—to the mind of this writer at least—their chief value consists in the fact that they point to still better things—they are merely initiatory, in fact. Why should not Working Men's Colleges be more general? Why should not there be a Working Men's

College in every town that is the centre of a large and populous district? Why in a colony—like New Zealand, for instance—should colleges, designed for the instruction of working men, prove striking institutions only by reason of their absence? Why, indeed?

In all the colonies the establishment of Public Libraries in centres of population, and of Museums in the cities, constitutes a marked feature of the efforts which have been put forward to advance the education of the people; efforts honourable in the highest degree. It is to be feared, however, that the educational benefits to flow from the Museums are very greatly in the future; the stream of visitors which flows through the galleries to-day being stirred by no other motive but that of the merest curiosity. Possibly their children may use them for a more profitable purpose.

In the twelfth century—just about the time King Henry II. was ascending the throne of England—the first Universities, those of Bologna and Paris, from very small beginnings were rising into notice. A hundred years or so later, when Simon de Montfort was unconsciously creating the House of Commons by summoning for the first time Knights of the Shire to the great Kingdom, the foundations of the two great Universities of the Mother Country were laid. In these very early days, it need scarcely be said, the thoughts and aspirations of the noble youth of the land were almost exclusively occupied by deeds of prowess and brave feats of arms. Private tutors, wise and grave fathers of Holy Mother Church, no doubt they had, and mayhap there were few who could not contrive with more or less mental agony to work out the meaning of a scroll, but not much beyond this performance could the bulk of England's noble youth boast of learning. As the Universities grew into favour, support, and strength, Colleges were established. "The origin of the Colleges," it is recorded, "was due to [unclear: benevo] persons who desired to relieve poor scholars from some of the [unclear: hardship] of their life at the mediaeval Universities, and in order to do [unclear: that,] Tided a building in which such scholars could live a common life, [unclear: as] also an endowment for their maintainanee." Where, it may be [unclear: asked] are the colleges for "poor scholars" to-day? Alas, it is feared [unclear: that] the "noble youth" of England, the children of the wealthy, [unclear: have] grasped them all! The atmosphere at the English Universities [unclear: and] Colleges has become decidedly—fatally—unhealthy for the poor [unclear: schols] that received so much consideration—such quarters, such [unclear: provising] such far-sighted endowment—so that, driven forth to [unclear: educatioally] perish, fchey are left without a home!

In Scotland, the lectures of the professors at the Universities [unclear: were] free to the public. As a consequence of this liberality the [unclear: children] poor people were enabled by diligence and care to acquire a first-[unclear: class] education, and the Scottish nation attained to a position of [unclear: education] eminence and fame that the savor of it still clings to the land. [unclear: Presently] there was an awakening to the astounding fact that the [unclear: sons] weavers, spinners, and others of that class no less really [unclear: possessed] better education than the sons of the barons, which—considering [unclear: the] the sons of articans achieved their instruction greedily and at [unclear: some] sacrifice, whilst the sons of the aristocracy attended the classes [unclear: in] perfunctory, careless, half-hearted spirit—can be readily [unclear: understood] The privilege of free lectures was thereupon withdrawn from the [unclear: people] Readers of the works of Sir Walter Scott are no doubt familiar [unclear: with] the fact that in some of the novels from his prolific and versatile pen [unclear: can] in the periods of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he [unclear: represents] Scotchmen filling the humble social position of cooks and [unclear: butchei] speaking the Latin language quite glibly. Laurie Linklater, for [unclear: instance] was "'prentice to old Mungo Moniplies, the fleslier at the [unclear: wanta] West Port of Edinburgh," and he is made to confess, "besides [unclear: my] skill in art I owe much to the stripes of the rector of the High [unclear: School] who imprinted on my mind the cooking scene in the [unclear: Heauton] menos." The author of the "Fortunes of the Nigel" was not [unclear: likely] to bo guilty of a grave historical mistake such as he most [unclear: assuready] would have done if the condition of education hi Scotland had [unclear: not] warranted the portraiture of Linklater and other similar [unclear: characters] Of course it is not contended here that a knowledge of the classics [unclear: is] at all likely to render a man more proficient in the art of cookery [unclear: or] the smallest degree more virtuous or happy, but a knowledge of [unclear: mathamatics] in its higher branches will probably prove of service to [unclear: the] humblest artizan. What is sought to make clear here is the high [unclear: state] to which education had attained amongst the people of [unclear: Scotland] centuries ago.

The Education Act of Victoria contains a provision that upon [unclear: any] boy distinguishing himself at school, the Board of Advice appertaining to that school may submit to the Department a recommendation, [unclear: and] upon that having been done the boy recommended shall be entitled to complete his education at the University without coat to his parents. This, no doubt, is a very liberal provision, but this writer has never heard of one instance in which a Board of Advice has ventured to exercise the privilege thus given, and unless the privilege was exercised to a considerable extent, the boys who were sent to the University under the free auspices of the State would probably prove fair objects for commiseration.

The Universities as they exist to-day are essentially class institutions—they are for the special advantage of

that class ever eager and loud in its condemnation of Class Legislation. In Australasia, with a population of a little more than half that of London, there are no fewer than three of these institutions. Of the two in Australia prominent public men—such as Sir Henry Parkes—have not hesitated to express their opinion that they have completely failed to give tone—exercise that healthful, elevating influence—to Parliament and people which was hopefully expected from them upon their foundation. The Melbourne University, founded in 1854, received an annual vote of £100,000 from the public revenue, and the vote no doubt is continued to this day. The Sydney University is also supported by an annual money endowment. In Christchurch the support of the institution is derived from endowments in land. But whether directly or indirectly, the people in every case have to pay pretty heavily for University education, the advantages of which are wholly in the possession of a class—and that the most wealthy of all the classes. Now, of course, no one, it is to be hoped, would be so short-sighted as to deprive a country of the advantages of high-class education; nor is it suggested here that masons and bricklayers should be constrained to go to the University and learn Latin; but surely whilst the people continue to contribute so liberally to the support of these institutions they have a right to expect to obtain all the advantages that can be drawn from them. The country pays a learned doctor, say £1000 a year in addition to his quarters; surely the same lecture that costs the country £20 to deliver to 50 scholars could be listened to with advantage by 500? To shut out no fewer than 450 who would gladly drink of the educational waters is clearly the grossest national waste. Is it really too much for the people of the colonies to ask that the privilege—let it be called a privilege—which proved so productive of blessing in Scotland should be tried here; or that, as in Victoria, the University should be thrown open to the children of the State schools in certain cases? Let it be remembered that the people are just awaking to a sense of the value of education, and they are disposed to march on. Where their marching will ultimately lead them to no one can definitely say; but one thing is certain—the property that is theirs—the institutions that are theirs—they mean to have put to the most profitable purposes for the advantage of the whole people. In this aspect the University is just as much a socialistic institution as the Post Office, the Railways, or the Savings Bank. What the [unclear: future] may develop for the Universities it may be difficult for the [unclear: present] predicate, but in all probability the people will shortly claim a [unclear: restoration] to some extent to early days; that in the twentieth century [unclear: the] "poor scholar" shall at least receive as much consideration as [unclear: was] extended to him in the thirteenth: and that without seeking to in [unclear: any] way force high class education upon the masses, certainly the [unclear: opportunity] will be presented freely to all to acquire all the education [unclear: that] their parents or they themselves may esteem necessary or desirable. These, however, are but a few fugitive suggestions; let everyone think the subject out to definite conclusion for himself.

State Banking.

The use of that which is mine own.

ABOUT the year 1858 the Land League of Victoria put forwards policy for the acceptance of the Liberals of the Colony, and amongst the planks of this political platform were two lines which ran together as follows:

The Establishment of a Royal Mint.

The Establishment of a State Bank.

The organisation of the Land League extended all over the colony, and when the great Convention met in Melbourne under the presidency of Mr. Wilson Gray the policy which it had submitted was adopted. As everyone knows, a branch of the Boyal Mint was established; best the plank which had been associated with it has been a lifeless things this hour. Now, as this writer happened to be an enthusiastic member of the committee of a branch of the Land League, it became his duty to study the various principles which it advocated, and amongst the rest to bestow some consideration upon the State Bank proposal. He did so, with the result that he not only saw no reason at the time to dissent from the principle, but in various ways has advocated, it ever since.

As most people are aware, Banks are of three kinds, namely:—(1) A Bank of deposit, which receives money to hold safe for a depositor until his requirements constrained him to take it hack again. The goldsmiths of London, in early times, were bankers of this descriptbn; they took tbe money, bullion, plate. &c, of customers and friends for safer custody than their own homes afforded. (2) A Bank of Discount, which advances certain amounts, not being the full value, shown upon promissory notes and bills of exchange, or upon mortgages or other securities. (3) A Bank of Circulation issues bills or notes of its own, intended to be the circulating currency or medium of exchange, inseed of gold and silver. Generally, however, the banking

institutions of today combine all these branches of business. Strictly, when the Government of a people, or the municipal authorities of a city, such as Amsterdam, have the direct management of a bank, the credit of which is bound up and associated with the Government of that of public authorities, and used for assistance in the collection and disbursements of the revenue, it is a public bank; banks carrying on business under the authority of a charter have, however, come to be considered as also public banks. There is in England but one public bank, where as in the United States most of the banks are public, but in some of the States private banks of circulation are permitted by law. The Savings Banks established in connection with Post Offices throughout the colonies are banks of deposit only.

During the Crusades the principle of banking first came into development, the necessities of warriors pledged to the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre constraining them to enter into other pledges. It will occur to memory that the hatred Shylock bore to Antonio was very greatly founded on the fact that "in low simplicity, he lends out money gratis, and brings down the rate of usance here with us in Venice." The Bank of Venice was established in 1171, for the express purpose of lending assistance to Crusaders. It was strictly a public bank of deposit only; the Government became responsible for the deposits, and the whole capital was derived from a public loan; the funds of the bank being made use of by the Government which established it. This bank continued in successful operation until the dissolution of the Venetian Republic in 1798. The Bank of Amsterdam, established in 1609, was brought into operation in consequence of the clipped and worn state of the currency, which, being of uncertain and fluctuating value, affected exchange and the operations of trade. The object of the bank was to give definite and unquestionable value to a bill drawn on Amsterdam, coin being received on deposit at the institution, and credit given according to its weight and fineness, a trifling deduction for seigniorage being made. It is a noteworthy fact that during the whole period which has passed since the establishment of this bank, no speculation, or breach of trust, or attempted fraud of any kind, has ever happened on the part of any director, and the management is in the hands of four burgomasters or aldermen, who count and give receipts for the money in the institution on coming into office at the beginning of every year. The Bank of Hamburg was established ten years later than that of Amsterdam, and, like it, was merely a bank of deposit and transfer, the deposits being made in coin or bullion at a certain fixed rate, and the expenses of the institution being detracted by a charge of a certain rate per page of the bank-book of every depositor. This bank was plundered by the French General, Davoust, in 1813, but in anticipation of that event many of the depositors had remitted their valuables to England or Copenhagen. Those who remitted to England were exceedingly fortunate, for they nearly doubled the amount of their capital by the subsequent rise of exchange.

The Bank of England, as every one knows, is a bank of deposit, discount, and circulation. It was established in 1693, under an Act which secured to such persons as should advance £1,500,000 certain advantages and recompenses. The subscribers became stockholders to the amount of their respective subscriptions; eight per cent interest was paid by the Government for the money (£1,200,000) advanced, and an additional bonus of £4,000 annually was allowed for the management of the loan, which, as matter of fact, constituted the capital of the institution. The amount of loans to the Government of course increased with the capital of the Bank, which, unlike the Banks of Amsterdam and Hamburg, was from its inception an engine of the Government, and not a mere commercial institution. In addition to the Bank's importance to the State as a public creditor, and in the management of the finances and National debt, the collection of taxes, and the payment of interest and annuities, it is without doubt a most powerful auxiliary to commerce and industry. In 1787 the capital of the Bank was £11,642,400, and of this amount no less than £10,672,490 had been permanently loaned to the Government, leaving only £669,910 available for loans to the public, but the means for additional loans were derived from deposits and circulation, and the means derived from these sources were ample. The payment of the revenue through the Bank at this time, if the money were supposed to remain in the institution for one day only, gave a fund equal to £166,666; the deposits of individuals and companies of course added immensely to this fund. In addition to these considerations the Bank of course has the advantage of the excess of the circulation over that of the specie necessary to be kept in the vaults to redeem bills presented for payment, and for a State Bank, like that of England, it is held to be quite an ample provision for its circulating notes and bills to keep 20 or 25 per cent of the amount of such circulation where its discounts are for short periods of three months. Fifty years ago the Bank of England had an available capital of £20,000,000 in addition to the money lent to the Government. Thus on a capital stock of eleven millions, the Bank received interest on between thirty and forty millions, including the interest of the Government loans, besides the sums annually paid to the Bank for its agency in financial concerns. On the 21st October of last year the capital of the Bank was £14,553,000; its reserve was £3,200,000; its notes in circulation, £25,851,563; notes unemployed, £12,332,230; and the gold and silver, coin and bullion at the head office and all branches, £22,796,402. The dividend for the year was at the rate of 11 per cent., and the price of bank stock £388.

The Bank of the United States was incorporated by Act of Congress approved February, 1791, The beginning words of its charter ran as follows:—"Whereas the establishment of a bank will be very conducive

to the conducting of the national finances, will tend to give facilities to the obtaining of loans for the use of the Government in sudden emergencies, and will be productive of considerable advantages to trade, and industry in general, &c." Instead, therefore, of this bank being merely a commercial institution, it was from the first designed as essentially and mainly of a financial and political character, and it was upon that ground that its constitutionality was defended. In short, the origin of the Bank was in all respects similar to that of the Bank of England, and immediately upon the institution coming into operation it exerted a potential influence in establishing the credit of the Government. In 1811 Congress refused to renew the charter, which thereupon expired by its own limitation, and, as a consequence, during the war which ensued the want of a national Bank was most severely felt, not only as an agency for the collection of revenue, but more especially as a medium for the transmission of funds from one part of the country to another, and also as an important basis for the sustentation of the public credit. So powerfully did the absolute necessity for such an institution force itself upon the public mind, that the members of the same political party which had refused to renew the charter of the old Bank passed an Act of Congress (approved April 10, 1816) chartering the present Bank of the United States with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars.

Of course the information contained in the foregoing observations has been taken from a reliable source, almost in the actual words employed, and it is only necessary to add that whilst the Bank of the United States is representative of the financial interests of the General Government, so highly are these institutions esteemed, and so necessary are they held, that almost every State in the Union boasts its State Bank.

During the mighty struggle for the maintenance of the Union of the States, not only the Bank of the General Government but all the State Banks then in existence played a not inconsiderable part. At the time hostilities began nearly the whole of the ammunition and stores had been thoughtfully removed to the Southern States, which were also the possessors of great wealth. The Northern States therefore were suddenly brought face to face with the necessity of not only immediately raising large armies but of finding absolutely everything that was requisite to enable those armies to take the field. One at least of the conditions of emergency originally contemplated in the charter of the first Bank of the United States had for the second time arisen, and for a period of four years the Government of the North was compelled to rely almost wholly upon the national bank for financial assistance. During this gigantic encounter, initiated [unclear: without] the slightest preparation and so long continued, such tremendous [unclear: calls] upon its resources the Bank of the United States had to [unclear: sustain] amounted to a strain unparalleled in the history of financial [unclear: achievements]. This will be understood more readily when it is stated [unclear: that,] before the war began by the attack on Fort Sumter on the 11th April, 1861, the debt of the United States was of the most nominal [unclear: description]; but, on August 31st, 1865, after deducting the cash in the hands of the Treasury, the National indebtedness amounted to no less than 2,756,431,571 dollars. This is to say that, during the short period of four years four months and a half, a debt equal to about £574,256,535 was compiled. It is the truth that, in such desperate circumstances as those in which the Government of the country was placed, the Bank did continue to issue what were called "greenbacks", long after the coin and bullion which, under a sound condition of affairs, they should have represented had disappeared, and as a consequence the value of the paper circulation fell very low.

Now, it is highly important to notice these facts, because the whole, and the only, argument, as it is deemed, put forward in opposition to the proposal to establish State Banks in the Colonies, is based upon the circumstance that during the period of that terrible and unexampled strife, the ultimate end of which baffled human wisdom to foresee, the greenback circulation fell to very slight estimation. It would have been a most extraordinary manifestation indeed if it had not so fallen.

Surely those who so seriously talk and write of a State Bank as a proposal to set up a printing press and run off greenbacks *ad libitum*, do themselves very little honour, whilst they pay an excessively poor compliment to the intelligence of State Bank advocates. Singularly enough, it appears to have not occurred to the memory of these very wise objectors that on Sunday, the 26th of February, 1797, an order arrived at the Bank of England suspending specie payments; that the order of the Privy Council was approved by Parliament the following day; and that this suspension of specie payments in England continued for no less than 22 years! During that period the value of the Bank's paper fell 14 or 15 per cent below the asserted amount in gold. Had the Bank stopped, it would have overwhelmed the kingdom in one vast commercial, financial, and economical catastrophe; but, supported by the State, it carried on and brought the country through an awful crisis, just as the State Bank of the United States did.

The fact has already been referred to in these papers that in 1815 the Government of England was selling its £100 bonds bearing a high rate of interest at £50 17s 6d. What argument, therefore, is conveyed to the reasoning mind by the circumstance that the purchasing power of American greenbacks fell considerably below the value represented upon their face during a fearful period of internecine paroxysm? Simply this, that the State Bank, in America as in England, proved the very salvation of the country; that, had it not been for the existence of the State Bank, it would have been quite impossible to offer any appearance of struggle in the face

of a terrible emergency. That is the argument, and the only argument, to be found in this connection.

If it could be shown that the Oriental, the Glasgow City, the Baring's, the Real Property and Estate and many other Banks which have come to grief bringing ruin and disaster into thousands of homes, were "State Banks; that the State Banks of England and America which have helped their Governments through periods of panic and storm, and been assisted by their Governments in return, were in reality only semi-public or private Banks, and in the end had been compulsorily wound-up in hopeless insolvency, then, of course, there would be an argument. But no one to-day is in a position to assail the financial and economic advantages of State Banks in America, England, or in any other part of the world, which, if they need it, have the whole power of their Governments behind them.

No sane person now proposes to establish a printing press and reel off bank notes regardless of consequences. What is proposed is to establish a State Bank that will be governed by the same financial considerations that control the operations of other banking institutions. The simple issue is *that the people shall have the advantages of the use of their own money instead of handing over those advantages to private corporations*. That those advantages are considerable is proved by the anxiety of the unprivileged corporations to obtain a share of the Government account.

Only the other day, in New Zealand, a banking corruption showed its eagerness in this matter. When a loan is raised, for instance, it is not immediately paid away; it has to lie until contracts are entered into and completed, and so the banks have it at short interest. Again, every department of the Government necessarily requires that monies shall be lying to its credit to meet claims, and these balances not unfrequently run into hundreds of thousands of pounds. There is much profit capable of being derived from the advantageous use of this large capital. Why should not the people have that profit themselves?

Now, there are State Savings Banks—banks of deposit only—already in operation in all the Colonies. In New Zealand the amount lying to credit of depositors at December, 1891, was £2,695,447. With reference to the £2,659,447 deposits in the hands of the New Zealand Post Office Savings Banks at the close of 1891, it should be stated that no less than £2,609,137 had been invested in securities of the Colony, the nominal value of which was set down at £2,625,939. The Government in fact has taken the money—borrowed it—and spent it on public works, and there is really nothing in its stead in the possession of the Bank authorities except certain bits of paper called debentures, or bonds, redeemable at stated periods, and bearing interest. Of course it is not denied that this finance is perfectly safe, but it is claimed that to have held a portion of this large sum in reserve, and issued notes upon the strength of that reserve through the medium of a State Bank, would have been equally safe. A portion of this money might even now be released and applied to State Bank purposes, but in any case there is the money in the Post Office account and in the hands of the Postmasters (£86,210), and that represents to some extent a capital.

In the same Colony there is the amount of the Sinking Fund, a considerable portion of which at one time—if it is not now—was invested in the bonds of other Colonies—such as New South Wales, Canada, &c. There are the balances lying to the credit of the various departments, and there is the whole amount of the revenue which would flow into the bank. These resources alone are sufficient to constitute a capital to justify a note circulation upon ordinary banking principles. All other banks begin operations upon a capital raised by loan; it is "subscribed" and advanced on interest, the interest taking the form of "dividends" payable annually or half-yearly. Here is a capital ready to hand, and an organisation already at work. Of course payments have to be made from Government balances, and deposits are liable to be withdrawn, but, to quote an authority, "experienced bankers can tell with some precision the average deposits upon which advances can be made, and upon which to regulate their note circulation." There is the statement already quoted that, "a bank having resources and advantages for collection of specie, it is quite an ample provision for its circulating notes and bills to keep in hand 20 to 25 per cent of such circulation." It is repeated that with regard to a State Bank what is proposed is to conduct its operations upon well ascertained, regular, and definite banking principles.

In a Colony like New Zealand, where the Government already advances loans to local bodies, where private individuals are financially assisted by the Government under village settlement and other schemes, and where a considerable acreage of the public estate is held under leasehold, it must be obvious that a State Bank would be productive of very many and real advantages.

It may be confidently predicted that almost as soon as the federation of the Colonies takes place—an event that is now within a few years of consummation—a State Bank of Australia will be amongst the first of the institutions brought into operation.

By resolution carried by 39 votes to 32, the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales has decided to sweep away all limitations imposed upon the amount of money that may be deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks of that Colony; also declaring that the Government should be authorised to issue notes based upon the amount of deposits thus practically affirming the policy of establishing a State Bank.

Now, what has been put forward here is all true. What it lacks is the merit of being new. Every

unprejudiced mind that has bestowed thought upon the subject has no doubt arrived at the same conclusion as this writer.

Where then is the difficulty?

There is indeed a very definite stop; for any Government to put the establishment of a State Bank in its political programme would practically be to sign its own doom. With pain and with shame it must be confessed that the foreign banking associations which now hold the financial ground in these Colonies are too strong for both Governments and peoples. Only the other day (August 18) it was asserted in evidence that a Colonial Treasurer wanted a loan from one of the banks; the manager had no objection, but expected his institution to obtain a share of the Government Account; that, the Treasurer thought, could easily be arranged provided the management of another banking institution offered no objection. Subsequently, the managers of the two banks held an interview on the subject, when one is reported to have stated that if they agreed to act in combination, they "could command a sufficient number of votes to ensure the account being shared between them!" Now, if only two banks have such power to command votes, it is not difficult to gather some idea of the power all the banks of a colony could exercise when combined in resistance to a project they might hold to be injurious to their interests.

At various elections it has been felt that the banks could wield a tremendous power—aye, it has been realised before to-day what influence one bank alone could bring to bear. If a Government ventured to appeal to the people on such a cold-blooded, unsympathetic question as a State Bank, they would find the electors running mentally hither and thither upon all sorts of side issues in their usual sensible fashion and in the end the banks would settle the issue for them. Even if successful at the polls, the Government would still have to encounter the power banks can exert from behind the scenes in the House, in the face of such obvious facts what Government is likely to be fool-hardy enough to rush to their own destruction by taking up a question that nobody takes the slightest interest in?

The subject is dealt with here for the reason that it is properly a subject for State Socialists to consider, and even those who are not State Socialists—in view of the fact that State Banks have existed and proved most beneficial in operation for centuries—may be brought to the very simple conclusion that after all the people might just as well have the use of their own money as foreign capitalists and foreign corporations.

State Lawyers.

Justice is the foundation, or mainstay, of kingdoms, the rock upon which kingdoms are founded.

THE consideration of the extension of the educational and [unclear: banking] institutions at present carried on by the Government for [unclear: the] convenience and profit of the people, involves State [unclear: Socialist] questions properly so called; the subject now to be dealt [unclear: with]—although it does to some extent affect society—might [unclear: perhaps] more justly held a mere matter of reform involving the [unclear: interests] of only a few, and that few belonging to a class which seldom [unclear: succeeds] evoking much sympathy. This subject, however, differs from [unclear: those] that have gone before in at least one aspect, that is to say—if the [unclear: view] put forward in regard to the matters dealt with heretofore were [unclear: true] they were not new; but now, if the views advanced may not be [unclear: accepted] as true, they have at least the negative and interesting [unclear: advantage] being new.

There has been an idea extant and it has continued to this [unclear: have] extremely popular that, in all cases where the law has been violated, [unclear: any] person charged with the offence is held to be innocent until [unclear: he] has been proved guilty. Than this idea there has never been a [unclear: greater] mistake. From early times, through the medium of property-[unclear: representing] legislatures, property has taken the very best care of its [unclear: interest] if only in such trifling and innocuous little matters as the [unclear: enactment] of game laws. Down to quite a recent period the punishments [unclear: inflicted] for crimes committed against property were at least as severe as [unclear: for] those against the person. That this has been so is somewhat [unclear: notorious] Although the criminal code has been to a very considerable [unclear: extent] humanised, yet it is a fact that the foundation upon which it [unclear: was] originally built remains the same, the vengeful spirit against [unclear: possible] offenders is still an active power. If any individual is charged [unclear: with] transgressing the sacred rights of the person or the no less [unclear: sacred] rights of property, the whole action of the State from that [unclear: hour] based upon the presumption of his guilt; the responsibility of [unclear: proving] his innocence is altogether his affair. Of course the laws in [unclear: force] must be respected, and punishment for their violation must be [unclear: inflicted] upon the transgressor; no one—not even the criminal—doubts [unclear: that] but what is suggested here has relation to the person arrested [unclear: being] held innocent until he has been found guilty, and the course which the State follows upon that hypothesis. The constable who makes the arrest and who represents the State believes him guilty; the

deactive employed by the State to work up the case believes him guilty; the gaoler who receives him does the same; so also does the inspector before the Magistrate, and the Crown Prosecutor before the [unclear: Judge.] The State pays all these people, and all the vast machinery of the State—telegraphs, telephones, Post Offices, railways, police, gaols, officers in offices—are employed to bring the wretch to what is called justice. At last, when no single stone has been left unturned to secure the conviction of the accused, he is face to face with the Supreme Court, and with a gentleman—an able, eloquent gentleman, who through a long experience in the conduct of many similar prosecutions is not likely to overlook a single point—he is brought to trial. It is the simple truth that though by a beautiful legend he is still held to be innocent, the State has put forth the whole of its resources against, and done not the smallest thing for him. If the popularly-supposed to-be-innocent accused has the good fortune to possess money and friends, it is open to him employ them in the conduct of his defence; but, however he may be situated, it is scarcely possible that his resources can equal those of the State employed against him. If unfortunately he has neither money nor friends, then—Heaven help him! There is also a popular belief that, in such desperate straits as have been indicated, the accused may have counsel allotted to him by the Court; but if the case be simply of the vulgar complexion of burglary, forgery, larceny or assault, his application is not likely to receive much further consideration than a shrug of contemptuous indifference. If, indeed, the charge against him was of a highly sensational and capital nature—if, for instance, he was charged with all the murders of a Deeming—then, of course, the position might in this respect be different; time would be granted, counsel allotted, and many other considerations allowed. There are certain privileges for the great criminal, but none at all for the small one. It may be urged that such a case as that of a Deeming would involve a trial for life, but what does that matter so far as equality in the administration of justice is concerned? To many, the loss of liberty—the loss of honour—is even worse than death. Then, if it should so happen that in a minor case an accused person did apply to have counsel allotted to him and his request was granted, the learned counsel—even if he took up the personally unprofitable undertaking with the keenest interest and the very best heart—would labour under every disadvantage. How could he be expected to do anything beneficial for a prisoner he had probably never seen before and with the details of whose story he was perfectly unfamiliar? Compare his position with that of the representative of the State who has had weeks, possibly months, in which to imprint every salient feature against the prisoner upon his mind. Now, it will scarcely be questioned that many innocent persons have stood at the bar of justice, after undergoing ordeals every one or which were punishments, and the question asked here are:—What has the State done to help them to prove their innocence? Were they not justly entitled to look to the State for as energetic and careful a defence as prosecution? Is it not far more [unclear: to] the interest of the people that he should be proved innocent—if the proof of his innocence is possible—than that he should be proved guilty? Why should exertion be strained by the State upon the hypothesis that he is criminal, and not a finger be advanced by the State upon the hypothesis that he is innocent? Is it not the fact [unclear: that] the State does absolutely nothing to help an accused to vindicate himself, a proof that the spirit of revenge which found such large expression for ages still remains in our law and in its practice?

What is asserted here is that, upon the principle of strict and equal justice, the State ought to do at least as much on behalf of an accused as it does against him. If all the resources of the State are employed to prove him guilty, those same resources should be equally employed to prove him innocent. That if the State provides at the expense of the people a learned, experienced, capable and [unclear: equally] counsel to prosecute, an officer at least as gifted should be found by the State to conduct the defence. It is better that ten guilty should escape hanging than that one innocent person should suffer. This is the accepted doctrine upon which the laws of all civilised States are supposed to be based, but in their administration it is not so. The State requires someone to pay the penalty for the commission of a crime, and, in its eagerness in the pursuit of the criminal, omits to afford to a suspected person that just protection which is his due. Again, when at the sacrifice of all his financial resources, the accused has succeeded in demonstrating that the State has been entirely wrong in its conclusions, he is flung from its grasp without the shadow of compunction to starve, or become the law breaker he was supposed. That the Queen—who is the head and front of the State—can do no wrong, is another of those delightful little fictions which have come down to this present from remote and semi-barbaric periods; it was originally invented, no doubt, to protect the State from the consequences of the blundering of the State; but why the State should not frankly "own up" to its blundering? and make adequate and just compensations for its wrongs, is one of the things which even the most intelligent minds will find a difficulty in reconciling to reason.

In New South Wales the administration of the criminal law has been amended to admit of a prisoner, when the case for the Crown has been concluded, going into the box and giving evidence in his own defence in precisely the same manner as has been ever allowed in civil cases. Surely it is a reflection upon the acumen of our age that a reform so obviously just and necessary has been so tardy in coming into operation? Some two years ago, at the first sessions of the Supreme Court in Sydney after this amendment of the law had come into force, an undefended prisoner was placed upon trial, against whom the evidence seemed very clear and led

conclusively to the guilt of the accused; so much so, indeed, that there were few in court who entertained doubt of his urimuality. He claimed the right which the amended law allowed and gave evidence; he was subjected to cross-examination by the Crown, and his facts—which, while not contradicting any of the previous testimony, threw quite a new light upon all the circumstances—were found perfectly consistent and could not be shaken. The prisoner was almost immediately acquitted, His Honour the judge said, he quite concurred in the verdict of the jury, and the proceedings in that case allowed conclusively the wisdom of the new law, which for the first time had been tested by practical operation. He congratulated the lately accused upon the fact that he had had the advantage of a law which enabled him to establish his innocence, and he congratulated society that a law had been passed which thus promised to operate so satisfactorily in ensuring the acquittal of really innocent persons. Since the time of that first case, there have been several trials in which prisoners have given evidence with a like result, until one shudders to think of the thousands who have gone to a deathlike captivity, or to death itself, with gagged mouths for crimes of which they have been guiltless.

Very little reflection, however, will suffice to convince that even such an amendment of the law as this by no means meets the requirements of the position. A prisoner entirely innocent of the charge preferred may be slow of apprehension, dull of intellect, weak in nerves; he may have the fatal gift of loquacity, or prove equally stubborn in taciturnity; he may be liable to fits of excitement, hysteria, epilepsy; or the prisoner may be a woman of a too timid disposition, and wholly unconscious from extreme sensitiveness to all that is taking place before her. Under such circumstances of what advantage is the right to go into the box and tender evidence? Most readers of modern fiction will remember the story of "Dark Days," by Hugh Conway. It is that of a woman upon whom the conviction slowly forces itself that during a period of delirium arising from fever she had slain her first husband. Her second husband, a doctor who had been her lover before her first marriage, firmly believed that she had committed the crime, for he had found her hot upon that fatal night standing in a dazed condition beside the body with the still-reeking instrument of death in her hand. Upon the news reaching them that a man had been arrested for the murder, and was about to be tried for his life, husband and wife immediately hasten to England to reveal the truth and save the innocent. They obtain entrance to the Court not a moment too soon; the interrogatory is put to prisoner, "guilty or not guilty;" he is about to reply in the negative, but upon sight of the woman to her amazement and the utter bewilderment of her husband he pleads guilty; and it was even so, he was the actual and sole perpetrator of the crime. This is fiction of course, but truth is sometimes even stranger than fiction, and it is scarcely possible for anyone who reads "Dark Days" to fail to realise that the story might very easily [unclear: have] been true. What then? Here is the illustration of a case known [unclear: to] only two persons, and both are thoroughly convinced that one of [unclear: them] was guilty of the perpetration of a crime, and in that belief they [unclear: purposed] making a surrender to justice; had the actual criminal [unclear: not] pleaded guilty, how would the cause of justice have fared then? [unclear: It] seems a vain thing to attempt to provide for every possible contingency but at least the appointment by the State of a defender who would have brought the experience of an acute analytical mind to their assistance would not have been productive of injury to the cause of justice and truth.

No doubt practical experience is necessary to bring fully home to the mind the gross partiality of the action of the State in criminal prosecutions. One needs to stand in the dock an innocent man, with out money and with but a few helpless friends, and survey from that precipitous eminence the learned Crown Prosecutor, and all the [unclear: host] of officers of justice who have gone before him in the struggle to secure conviction, before the wholly one-sided action of the State in the proceedings can be at all adequately realised. Yet a very limited imagination can do much to picture the terrible horror of such a situation. Those who suffer unjustly, very fortunately may be few; they go to their doom, and, like the noble steed that is broken, very speedily become case-hardened and utterly callous, so that when liberty comes to them again—if it ever does come—they have no heart to point out how a great free people has been perfectly even-handed in its course to ensure justice, and with every shred of character torn from them and trampled in the mud, no one would heed them if they had. The time is surely coming when the intelligence of people will awaken to the fact that their State does nothing to ensure protection to the innocent, and they will insist that if the Crown lifts a strong left arm to smite the guilty, a powerful right arm shall also be exerted to shield the innocent; that if there are learned and experienced Crown prosecutors to give assistance to the strong, there shall be equally learned and experienced Crown defenders to protect the weak; so that no mortal—however destitute—shall be hustled into moral destruction without an effort being made to ensure that all has been done for him that was really possible. This writer may not live to see his idea in this respect carried into full fruition—he will soon pass away, but his words will not. Other minds will see this thing in its truth, and other tongues and other pens—more able, more powerful, more eloquent—will take up the theme and carry the work onward. For ages the criminal code has been a shocking illustration of the horrible cruelty and revenge of semi-barbaric times; the progress of reform—at first instituted with a sweeping hand—has since been desultory and slow, until it has lately reached a full stop; but the partiality, the leaven of the old spirit of vengeance is still found in the administration of our criminal laws, and

the humanitarian principles of just and thinking men will not tolerate its existence much longer.

State Socialism.

"The State is the people, and should therefore labour for the advancement of the welfare of the people, precisely as an individual would strive for the advancement of himself."

WHEN first men began in whispers to speak of the limitation of the hours of labour to eight per day, the nose of superciliousness was turned up with a lofty scorn. It could never, never be, was the bold and confident affirmation. Some forty-five years ago there was, in England, a body of political reformers known as Chartists—an infamous, disreputable, low lot, of whom at the time nothing too bad could be said—but in Australasia to-day every one of the six points of the Chartists' charter is to be found incorporated in the law. The Chartists never dreamed of a State system of education, free, secular, and compulsory, and if any one amongst their number had breathed a suggestion in regard to extending the suffrage to woman-kind, he would probably have been gazed at as a madman. We in the colonies have contrived to get a long way beyond Chartist thought, and still "property" is safe, the law is respected, the world goes round. Going further back, it is not unpleasant to read of the epithets so copiously bestowed upon the fanatics who foolishly clamoured for Catholic emancipation; the ferocity evinced against the lunatics who demanded the repeal of the Corn Laws; nor the denunciations hurled with free tongue against those who were infected with the vile enthusiasm for the cause of Parliamentary Reform. This is not unpleasant reading, because it naturally suggests the thought that the Socialists who are denounced as infamous robbers and disturbers—as a pernicious and wholly contemptible crew—to-day, may possibly find a most brilliant and triumphant justification and refutation a generation or so hence. However he may be regarded when twenty-five years shall have passed away, there can be no manner of doubt that the Socialist of to-day is most reprehensible, and only fit for use as a target to be shot and shied at as fancy may suggest to the humorous.

So far as knowledge at present extends, Socialists may be divided into three distinct classes: First, Socialists pure and simple; second, lopsided Socialists—a variety recently discovered in and understood to be exclusively indigenous to New Zealand; and, third, State Socialists. All who have hitherto appeared either as protestants against abuse or promoters of reform in religion, society, or politics, have had [unclear: some] thing to condemn and sweep away, or—as in the instance of the [unclear: eight] hours movement—they have had a new departure to propose [unclear: as] struggle for. It has been otherwise with the State Socialists; [unclear: the] position is altogether unique. It one day dawned suddenly upon [unclear: the] comprehension of the people of these colonies that the [unclear: principle] State Socialism was in full operation throughout Australasia, [unclear: and] was at once pronounced to be a very good principle indeed. [unclear: Sates] Socialists are they who, recognising the value of the principle that [unclear: has] been brought into force without the least occasion for [unclear: struggle,] seek to carry that principle further. The singular feature of [unclear: the] position is that those who, constitutionally, are Conservatives, have [unclear: been] almost exclusively responsible for the introduction of State [unclear: Socialism] into Australasia. Now they—the Conservatives—not only shrink [unclear: from] going further, but seek to brand with odium those who have [unclear: done] more than heap encomium on what they have taught, and [unclear: stamps] with approval all they have in this direction achieved. Surely [unclear: nothing] more funny than this is to be found in any page of history!

In early colonial days there were not wanting attempts to [unclear: carry] out railway enterprises by companies and associations in the [unclear: old] fashioned way. There was the Melbourne and Geelong [unclear: Railway] Company, the Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway Company, [unclear: and] the Melbourne and Suburban Railway Company; but—through [unclear: the] rapid accession of population which followed upon the discovery of [unclear: the] goldfields—it was speedily discovered that the slow, feeble, [unclear: almost] hopeless efforts of these companies were wholly inadequate to meet [unclear: the] pressing necessities of the situation, and so the Government of [unclear: Victoria] felt morally constrained to take up the work of railway construction themselves. The Government could raise the capital required for the carrying out of the works in large sums without any difficulty, whereas the companies had to struggle to obtain small amounts through the medium of dribbling calls; thus the State was led to become the railway builder and the railway carrier for the people. In just the same way the Governments in Australia have been led to undertake the work of supplying the cities with water, and at a later period through the medium of trusts the carrying out of a general irrigation policy. Sir Julius Vogel—a Tory—was the author of the Public Works Policy of New Zealand, founded, as in the case of the Australian Colonies upon the borrowing of money from the Motherland. Sir Julius' scheme as originally submitted, embraced a principle, however, that never found expression in any other of the colonies, namely:—that the landowners who would be specially benefited by the railways should be called upon to recoup to the State any deficiency that might arise through the failure of the receipts to meet

the amount required for the payment of interest. This sensible and most just provision, as every one knows, was struck out of the policy through the class legislation of the class who have been ever found most ready to denounce class legislation. Although it may be true, as there is good reason to believe, that some railways have been constructed and the course of others deviated in order to serve private interests—although there may have been gross extravagance and waste—yet it is fair to remember that railway construction in the colonies would never have advanced so rapidly to the position in which it now stands, had the work been left to the enterprise of private individuals and the mediumship of companies; further, if companies had undertaken the work, it would have been imperative that the rates of carriage should have been so framed as to return not only payment of interest upon the capital invested, but profits from which dividends might have been declared. This would have resulted in a very different state of things from what now prevails. It is the fact that, in England, there is a Department of "Works and Buildings" over which a "First Commissioner" presides, who is not a member of the Cabinet; but, as the sum annually expended under this head amounts to very little more than £50,000, it is clear that in England the carrying out of public works by the State bears no such relation to the population and the general expenditure as is to be found in the Colonies. In New Zealand no less than £3,604,925 has been spent out of loans in the construction of roads and bridges, in addition to sums—probably amounting to £100,000—appropriated out of the Consolidated Fund. In Victoria, before the railway and borrowing policy was instituted, the Government expended very large sums upon the construction of roads and bridges as they were constrained to do, and since then, out of loans, some two or three millions, if memory serves, in the erection of school buildings. In all the Colonies the Governments have had the carrying out of works of this nature forced upon them—they have necessarily been the creatures of expediency—and all of such works are based upon the principle of State Socialism.

Fifty years ago, political economists taught that the whole duty of a Government was confined to the maintenance of law and order at home, and the protection of the people from aggression from abroad. It is true that the entire conduct of the postal work in Great Britain has always been in the hands of the Government, and as that institution comprehends the performance of practical duty for the whole people, it is so far to be regarded as socialistic. Of late years the Council of Education has appeared, and to that institution also, comparatively limited as its powers are, the same observation must be applied. The Government in England also supports quite a number of institutions of a varied character, such as "Science and Art," National and other galleries, Museums (natural history and otherwise), Observatories, Gardens, &c., the votes for which reach a not wholly insignificant sum. Then there are Boards of Trade, Agriculture, Local Government, and Charity Commissioners, the duties performed by all of which can scarcely be said to fall strictly within the restriction of the political school of fifty years ago. Perhaps a tolerably clear comprehension of the present position of England in this respect may be gathered from the following table of sufficiently accurate figures:—

From this statement have been omitted the items [unclear: Bankruptcy] £121,000, and Patents, £57,118, together with the office of the [unclear: Great] Lord Chamberlain, £4,646, Royal Parks and Gardens, £9404, [unclear: and] the various offices for the collection of revenue and administration, [unclear: upon] the ground that they are either necessary for purposes of order [unclear: and] protection, or cannot be claimed as designed for the service of [unclear: the] people generally. But, however these and other items of small [unclear: account] may be regarded, it is sufficient it has been shown that, out [unclear: of] revenue of ninety millions, derived from a population of [unclear: 37,740,000] souls, only some £17,800,000 (including everything of a [unclear: doubtful] character)—of which more than one third is required for postal [unclear: service] alone—is annually appropriated for other purposes than those of [unclear: the] maintenance of order and protection through the medium of [unclear: Army] Navy, and Police, or the great offices of State which are held [unclear: indispensably] necessary to give dignity and strength to the Empire.

From this brief review it will at once occur to intelligent [unclear: mind] that, whether through policy or from other reasons, the [unclear: Government] Great Britain is still limited in its operations to within the lines of [unclear: old] time economists. It has been far otherwise in the Colonies. A [unclear: Colonial] Government is railway-carrier, letter-carrier, telegraph [unclear: messenger] telephone-holder, school-master, labour-finder, water-provider, [unclear: banks] and life-insurer for the people. These achievements in the [unclear: colonies] have resulted from the brilliant ideas of Tory statesmen carried [unclear: to] successful and happy fruition. In New Zealand, to Sir Julius [unclear: Vogel] and Sir Harry Atkinson may be ascribed the honour of the whole, [unclear: for] to the Liberal Minister, Mr. John Ballance, only remains due the [unclear: small] credit of converting the State into a money-lender through his [unclear: village] settlements scheme; which, to the despair of some people, has [unclear: perhaps] turned out as grand a success as anything that has been done before [unclear: he] came into power.

Looked at in its true light therefore—having regard to the careful natures and constitutional characters of the statesmen who have so boldly and so successfully, entirely of their own motion, accomplished this new departure in the face of old world authorities—it surely cannot be so terrible a thing to be a State Socialist!

Everyone throughout the Colonies is well satisfied; not a voice has, up to this date, been raised in disparagement, and—beyond some foolish bubble that at fugitive times has been heard about selling the railways—not a soul has proposed to go back from the principle upon which so much has been achieved and which has worked so well. Some months ago, a telegram appeared in the New Zealand papers from Sydney, stating that the *Daily Telegraph*, a Tory organ, "fears that the bargain proposed between New Zealand and the Cable Company, even if concluded on the fairest terms to the contracting colonies, will more firmly establish a system of State partnership in private enterprises, which is false in principle and mistaken in application." As it unfortunately happens that in other lands all telegraphs and the control of all cables is in private hands, whilst throughout Australasia they are held by the Government in trust for the people, when it is desired to unite in the bonds of inter-communication far apart shores—a truly beneficent work—there is no help for it, but that the Colonial Governments must enter into contracts with private companies. What would the *Daily Telegraph* have? Would this sapient authority propose that the proprietors of the cables should first dispose of their property to their Governments, or that the Colonial Governments should sell their telegraphs to private parties before a contract could be entered into? Where does the "false in principle and mistaken in application" really come in? Do not Governments every day enter into contracts with private companies and associations for the performance of things great and small? This characteristic shriek from a Tory journal—if it means anything at all—may fairly be accepted as an indication that for the future there will be resistance to any further progress in the direction of State Socialism. No more must the State be permitted to do work on behalf of the people which will necessitate its entering into contracts with private or any other parties. What is really intended to be conveyed is that the whole social position of Governments in the Colonies is "false in principle," and, if it is scarcely possible to withdraw from that position now, there must at all events be no more of it. There are not wanting indications that this is shortly to be the attitude to be taken up by Conservatives in all the Colonies. There is to be a harking back to the old time principle. To be a Socialist pure and simple, or a lopsided Socialist, or a State Socialist is much one and the same thing—all Socialists are one, and all to be condemned and crushed. This is what is foreshadowed, if not now actually the policy decided upon by Colonial Conservatives. Meanwhile the people, well pleased, know not in which way the principle which has so satisfactorily stood the test can be further extended. Certainly, it may be [unclear: assume] that if any one will show what institution would be more [unclear: profitable] conducted in their interests if it was controlled by the State, the [unclear: people] will agitate for the change. If any institution, now in the power of [unclear: the] State, could be enlarged and extended so as to confer great [unclear: benefit] upon the whole people, the whole people certainly would have a [unclear: right]—and would exercise that right—to insist upon it. The people [unclear: know] that State Socialism has proved a good thing; but they know not [unclear: be] the principle can be further advanced. Here it has been [unclear: sought] shown that in Banking, Education, and the profession of the [unclear: Law] principle of State Socialism may be advantageously further [unclear: extended] present limits will not allow of more being attempted.

Before, however, leaving this question, it may be well to call [unclear: attention] to one feature of modern social development which may [unclear: possibly] result in great future consequences. In London there is one [unclear: immense] establishment—it is stated it covers an area of five acres—where [unclear: any] thing can be purchased, from a needle to an anchor, from a beef [unclear: stall] to Valenciennes lace. In Sydney there is Horden's, a [unclear: similarly] establishment in which all sorts of miscellaneous businesses are [unclear: carried] on. In Melbourne, there are the Equitable Trading [unclear: Company]. Warehouses, and other co-operative establishments in which the [unclear: sale] of wearing apparel, boots and shoes, carpeting and furniture, [unclear: grocering] &c., is worked in combination. So in New Zealand there are to [unclear: be] found Farmers' Co-operative Stores and General Co-operative Store in which the business sought to be carried on is not limited to [unclear: anything]—they undertake to supply whatever their customers may [unclear: choose] to order. The adoption of this principle of co-operation in [unclear: the] establishment of large warehouses and the combination of [unclear: many] branches of business heretofore affording separate sources of [unclear: employment], is obviously spreading. It has been instituted by [unclear: capitalist] farmers, squatters and holders of big properties in country districts, [unclear: so] that they may not only obtain the stores, &c., which they require [unclear: at] cheap rates, but share in the profits accruing to the combination [unclear: from] their own purchases. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether [unclear: any] one of these enterprising and thrifty shareholders has ever sat [unclear: down] and quietly striven to think out what the adoption of such a [unclear: system] may ultimately lead to. It has been seen that in Australasia, [unclear: without] anyone having ever given a thought to State Socialism—the interference by the Government with classes of work which should, according [unclear: to] political authorities of the old school, properly be left to the individual—State Socialism gradually came to be adopted, and is now found [unclear: to] exist to a far greater extent than in any other country in the world; and it may very possibly happen that—without in any way intending [unclear: in]—the founders of these co-operative institutions are initiating the way to the adoption of

Communism. This may appear a startling [unclear: or a] ridiculous statement—particularly to those who have led the way, [unclear: and] have been felicitating themselves upon the success of this new [unclear: departure] but it is to be remembered that sometimes great and most-unlooked-for results from little causes spring. It must be evident to those who will bestow thought upon the subject, that the owners of those big conglomerate warehouses hold the trading existence of all the small shop-keepers in their hands. By combining business in this way, money is saved in management and other expenditure, and it is claimed that they are enabled to sell at current prices and pay dividends to their shareholders. A shareholder in such an institution does not directly save money in the prices he pays for his goods; but, as every half-year he gets a good dividend from the profits of the establishment, it practically comes to the same thing. Up to this time the desire to be enabled to declare dividends as large as possible has animated the management, and, consequently, the prices of goods have not been lowered; but supposing some day it was decided, for the purpose of increasing the number of their patrons, that it was desirable to forego dividends for a time, and sell at prices just sufficient to pay working expenses, what would become of the small shopkeepers then? They have their family and other claims to provide for, and they could not, under the circumstances, sell at co-operative store prices and live. If it be true that the public will buy where what they want is sold cheapest, in such a case as is here indicated the business of the small traders would all be absorbed by the co-operative stores. They would be shut up. A city then would consist of the chambers of professional gentlemen, several other offices, there or four big warehouses, the workshops and factories, and the residences of the people. Presently, it would be pointed out that the operation of these big stores worked very unfairly in private hands, and that they ought to be conducted by the State, so that the whole people should reap the advantages, and not a few privileged shareholders, and thus by quite an easy process Communism, and such a state of things as has been represented to some extent in "Looking Backward," is established. It may be—probably will be—urged that this is no more than a confuration of the imagination—a fairy story—but to those who will calmly reflect it will be found that there is nothing at all unreasonable or improbable in such a forecast. It is a period of change in which we live, and one step is followed by another with remarkable facility, so that when a number of years have passed there is a looking backward with astonishment at the conditions from which we have emerged. A few more years, and women, headed by wild enthusiasts, will be discovered trooping to the polls in armies of 150 to 200 from their barracks and chapels, and, in this connection, this constitutes an important feature. Women are bound to feel a deep interest in such an eminently social question as this. As every student of human nature knows, the sex are likely to be much more prone to consider their own circumstances and desires, and what they may choose to hold as their absolute necessities, than any abstract principles of political economy or strict justice. The idea of the State buying up the few big storehouses left masters of the trading field in each city, and selling to the people everything at cost price, is almost [unclear: certain], exercise for them an irresistible fascination, and no Government [unclear: on] eve of a general election could be blamed for giving a [unclear: prominent] to such a captivating item as this on their political programme. [unclear: The] more this subject forms matter of reflection, the more certain [unclear: opinion] will grow that capital, in this latest development of its [unclear: power,] struck the heaviest blow yet delivered against individualism, [unclear: and], the whole tendency of the movement which has just been [unclear: initiated] distinctly in the direction of Communism. Capital, of [unclear: corns,] repudiate—will start up with horror at the suggestion—but the [unclear: move] ment is its own, and the consequences, whatever they may [unclear: be,] have to be accepted by Capital as its responsibility.

Labour Members.

Oh, let us not, like snarling cure, in wrangling be divided;
Till, slap! come in a Tory loun, and wi' a rung decide it.
Be Labour still to Labour true, amang oursels united;
For never but by Labour's hands, can Labour's wrongs be righted!
* * * * *

Our speirs, our swords, are printed words, the mind the battle plain,
We've won our victories before—and so we shall again!

CHARLES JARDINE DON was probably the first [unclear: genius] representative of Labour that ever sat in a British [unclear: Partialis] Don distinguished himself as a platform orator in the [unclear: agiuat] that followed upon the introduction of the "infamous [unclear: Ias] Bill" in Victoria, and was a prominent member of the [unclear: Convention] which sat in Melbourne under the presidency of Mr. Wilson [unclear: Gray,] eloquent

and able barrister, who subsequently became a Judge in [unclear: New] Zealand. In 1858, at a by-election, Don had the temerity to [unclear: become] candidate for the representation of the City of Melbourne, [unclear: but] defeated by a majority of two to one by Mr. (now Sir [unclear: Archild]) Michie. In the following year, however, he was returned at the [unclear: top of] the poll for Collingwood—a suburban constituency. [unclear: The] rugged eloquence—strongly impregnated with the vernacular [unclear: doing] North Britain—which was wont to stir to enthusiasm the hearts of [unclear: his] masses of his fellow men when heard from the public platform, [unclear: entirely] lost its charm in the uncongenial atmosphere of the Assembly, and fell with a by no means extraordinary flatness upon the ears of an audience most of whom were educated men, and nearly all of whom belonged to the land owning and the wealthy classes. In Parliament Don proved a failure. Some years after Don, a Labour member appeared in the House of Commons. If memory serves, there was a Labour member of the name of Macdonald, whose constituents agreed to find funds for his support whilst he remained in Parliament, and shortly afterwards another working man's constituency found him a colleague, probably in the benevolent hope that the presence of a second Labour member would prevent the corners of the mouth of the first from becoming too permanently set in a downward direction. Then Buxton and Arch appeared, and Labour was honoured in her representatives. Mr. Sydney Buxton is now a member of the Ministry of Mr. Gadstone. At the general election of July last in England, of all the Labour candidates, only eight succeeded in winning seats. In March, 1889, at the general election, the experiment of a Labour representative was again tried in the return of Mr. Trenwith to Parliament for Richmond, another Melbourne suburban constituency, and although a general election has since taken place in the Colony, he still holds the seat. Mr. Trenwith has undoubtedly proved himself an able man, and well worthy of the position he holds.

It is a vain thing to attempt to reason with those who persistently refuse to candidly admit the truth, however patent. It is a fact that the circumstance of his election to Parliament does not disassociate a man from the interests of the class to which he belongs, nor endow him with the faculty of taking a calm, broad, impartial, and entirely unselfish view of what is necessary in the interests of the whole people when he enters upon the work of legislation. Every member has some particular interest that lies close to his heart; any measures that do not affect that interest, or when, for the time, that interest has been most amply secured, or most carefully aggrandised, then, of course, he is enabled to give upon them a patriotic and unprejudiced vote to the advantage of his country. This is the well-established position which indirectly, and directly too, denied. As, up till quite a recent period, all candidates for Parliament were associated, one way or another, with either the interests of the nobility, the holders of free estate, banking, insuring, railways, commerce, manufactures, mining, or farming industries, or with the professions—military and naval, legal and medical—no one ever thought of calling them Capital members: but that circumstance does not effect the fact that Capital members they were all the same. As Capital members, they have been credited with the possession of the most lofty patriotism, the most unselfish and entire abnegation, a breadth of view and a comprehensive and impartial judgment which would justify the most heartfelt admiration—if it were only true that they possessed one small modicum of the virtues ascribed to them.

It is when the Labour member appears, with an honest [unclear: avon] upon his lips that he purposes first to hold dear the interests of [unclear: his] class, that an outcry is raised. Of a truth, the Labour member is [unclear: only] going to try to accomplish for the interests with which he is [unclear: associated] what all Capital members have ever sought to do, and done, for [unclear: the] class with the interests of which they were identified. The [unclear: immediat] interests of the Capital member have necessarily belonged to [unclear: some] small section of the people; quite naturally, probably [unclear: unconsciously] he has held them first in regard, bestowing only a sort of [unclear: dilettan] attention upon all other questions, the dealing with which affected [unclear: him] not. The interests which the Labour member has at heart are [unclear: those] which are held important and are dear to the masses of the [unclear: people]—interests which for centuries have been wholly ignored and [unclear: neglected]—and he says, in effect, I shall endeavour to protect and advance [unclear: them] first; and any measures beyond—measures which do not assail [unclear: or] affect them—shall receive from me the best and most impartial [unclear: judge] ment I can bestow. If he represents his class, the Labour [unclear: member] does no more than all members have ever done, and, as it happens, [unclear: his] class is not only the largest, but that to which least attention [unclear: from] hitherto been given. Yet, notwithstanding the obvious truth of [unclear: this] position, a party cry is sought to be raised—it comes, of course, [unclear: from] the supporters of Capital [unclear: members]—to disparage the Labour member in the eyes of the unthinking, under the sophistical guise of [unclear: class] legislation!

Both in Great Britain and the Colonies, responsible [unclear: government] affords great advantages to one class in the community—the [unclear: lawyeas] Every Ministry must have of legal advisers at least two; but, [unclear: usually], three or four lawyers find their way into the Government. The [unclear: Constitution] Act of Victoria required that of every Ministry two of the members at least should be of the legal profession; and in regards [unclear: to] the other Colonies, whether expressly required to be in the Government or not, lawyers are

certain to be there. The present Ministry in [unclear: New] South Wales that of Sir George Dibbs) contains no fewer than [unclear: four] lawyers. Now, when a lawyer is returned to serve a confiding and unsophisticated people in the Parliament of his country, he has before him the prospect of being chosen—in the next turn of the [unclear: political] wheel—to fill high office; and, once he gets into office, in the event [unclear: of] a vacancy occurring on the Bench, there is the chance of his removal [unclear: to] that exalted and pure atmosphere, from whence he will be enabled [unclear: to] cast pitying eyes down upon poor sordid humanity for all the days [unclear: of] his natural life. These are rich and great prizes to offer to [unclear: one] comparatively small and by no means important—from a [unclear: wealth] creating aspect—portion of the community; yet, no one has [unclear: ever] thought of throwing stones at a member of the legal profession [unclear: for] seeking to enter Parliament although in a great number of cases it [unclear: is] to be feared that it is not the good of the country, nor even the [unclear: interests] of his class, that fires his ambition. He has education and [unclear: perhaps] money—important factors—to command respect; the Labour candidate has only his earnestness, his sympathy, and an honest avowal of his purposes to win for him consideration—therefore the stones go to him." *Bene nummatus decorat Suadela, Venusque,*" says Horace. "The goddesses of Beauty and Persuasion favour the suit of the rich man; Persuasion and Venus adorn the well-moneyed man." "The rich man easily finds flatterers to style him an eloquent and persuasive speaker and an easy and agreeable companion."

The goddess of Persuasion forms his train,
And Venus decks the well-be-moneyed swain.

Alas for the man who seeks to represent the poor; he has no charm to win to his aid the subtle power of either Persuasion or Venus!

In New Zealand, at the general election held in November, 1890, no fewer than some 22 Labour members are here understood to be those who have adopted the Labour programme as their political policy, and who have agreed to work for the accomplishment of certain stated reforms by which the position of labour will be affected, not exclusively those of the labouring class who have been elected to seats in Parliament.

were returned to the House of Representatives, the number of which is 74. This movement, and the organisation which achieved its success, undoubtedly owed its origin to; the great maritime strike of that year. Since the general election the Labour party have extended a consistent and steady support to the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Ballance, and through the efforts of that Ministry a number of Labour Bills of an important character have been passed into law.

In New South Wales, the various Unions and Labour Associations were still smarting under the failure of the maritime strike when in February, 1891, a Convention of the statesmen of Australasia assembled in Sydney to agree, if possible, upon a measure of federation. Sir George Grey attended this Convention as one of the delegates from New Zealand. During his stay in Sydney Sir George was in close association with the leading Unionists. One of the items of advice he gave was to follow the example set before them by the Unionists of his Colony, and seek to secure the return of Labour members of the Parliament. The advice was acted upon at once; Labour Leagues were formed in various constituencies; and, at the general election of June in that year, no fewer than some 36 of the Labour party succeeded in winning seats in the Assembly. As the number of members of the New South Wales Assembly is 144, this result—large as it may seem—was not quite so great proportionately as had been achieved in New Zealand. The presence of this new and apparently well-consolidated body of Independents was, however, quite a new and not altogether satisfactory feature to the leaders of the two old established and well organised parties of the colony—the Free-traders and Protectionists; and there can be no doubt that the most strenuous efforts were put forth from both sides in order to propitiate and ingratiate this new and formidable power. During the strike the Government of Sir Harry Parkes had been warmly accused by the Labour leaders of that time with [unclear: having] acted with partiality, and with having sought by unnecessary [unclear: military] display to provoke the strikers to deeds of violence. It was even [unclear: charge] that one of the members of the Ministry—the Treasurer—had [unclear: actually] urged the police to fire upon the people, using the words, "[unclear: Shoot] down like b—dogs." Mr Bruce Smith warmly and [unclear: emphatically] denied that he had ever used any such language, and his [unclear: repudiate] as a matter of course, should be accepted; but, so far as the [unclear: present] purpose is concerned, it matters very little whether he did use the [unclear: word] or not, for at the time the Labour party could not be persuaded [unclear: other] wise than that the report was correct. It will be clear from this [unclear: bring] statement that, when Parliament met, the Labour members [unclear: neither] loved nor respected the Government in power, and it would [unclear: naturally] be expected that under such circumstances, when the leader of the [unclear: Opposition] brought his inevitable vote of want of confidence [unclear: motion-] annual performance at the opening of each session in

all [unclear: Colonial] Parliaments—they would hurry forward with passionate [unclear: enthusia] to its support. They did nothing of the kind. In meeting [unclear: Parliament] the unpopular-with-the-Labour-members Ministry announced [unclear: a] of a most liberal and comprehensive character, [unclear: amongst] items of which were several of great value to the interests of [unclear: Labo] "We come not here for revenge," was the first announcement [unclear: the] came publicly from the Labour members of the New South [unclear: Wake] Parliament. It was not clearly stated whether the injuries [unclear: which] might then be avenged were those which Labour had endured for [unclear: aganist] or the more recent injuries of the Ministry accruing through the [unclear: strite] or the more particular iniquity supposed to have been perpetrated by [unclear: Mr.] "Shoot-'em-down" Smith, or all these injuries piled up [unclear: together,] does it matter. The sentiment expressed under such [unclear: circumstances] be held to display an absence of passion and an exercise of [unclear: clear] sound judgment in the highest degree honourable to those from [unclear: whom] it came. Indeed, there were not wanting sensible people who [unclear: claimed] that in acting thus the Labour members had not only acted [unclear: wisely] honorably but had displayed a dignity and magnanimity far [unclear: beyond] what had been expected. Upon that point every reader may [unclear: form] opinion for himself.

Almost immediately upon the disposal of the vote of [unclear: want] confidence trouble began to arise between the runholders [unclear: and] shearers of New South Wales in reference to the terms embodied [unclear: in the] recognised agreement. The shearers asked the runholders to [unclear: me] them in conference. The runholders refused compliance unless [unclear: the] was first an absolute and unconditional subscription on the parts [unclear: of] shearers to the principle of freedom of contract. Again and [unclear: again was] a conference asked by the shearers, and again and again was a [unclear: conference] refused by the runholders. Another strike, wide spread and [unclear: and] reaching, seemed inevitable. When all reason to hope for a settlement was about to be abandoned Sir Henry Parkes interfered. The [unclear: venerable] Premier briefly intimated to the runholders that, unless they consented to meet the shearers in conference as sought, the Government could not undertake to extend protection to their properties in the event of a disturbance of the peace arising through their continued refusal. This little act promptly settled the whole matter. The runholdere met the shearers in conference; difficulties were smoothed over; the imminent strike was averted, but—would Sir Henry Parkes ever have written that letter had it not been for the presence of that powerful body of Labour members sitting under the gallery yonder? This is matter of opinion, of course, but this writer decidedly thinks not. The avoidance of a great impending strike was due in this instance, not to any act of the Labour members, but to the simple fact that there were Labour members; and a great good to the colony is entitled to is credited to their mere appearance in Parliament. The only thing that tends to throw doubt upon the reliability of this inference is the circumstance that, up to this hour, no member of the Labour party in New South Wales has ever publicly pointed out that on that occasion the Labour members proved of the greatest benefit to the country; but again, this remarkably uncommon failure may have arisen from a want of appreciation of the real influence they unconsciously exercised, or from a modesty unusual with members of Parliament, or perhaps the claim for consideration from grateful constituencies for servicer rendered has only been delayed, not [unclear: abandoned].

In all its initiatory stages the strike at Broken Hill followed closely the track of the threatened strike of the shearers. The mine-owners—no doubt having in view the thousands of men walkhg about idle in the streets of Australian cities—gave notice to their nen of changes they proposed to effect. Conferences were asked for by the men over and over again, and refused. Now, if the Government of Sir George Dibbs had taken a leaf out of the book of Sir Henry Parkts, and informed the mine-owners that unless they consented to meet the miners in conference, as asked, and intimated that the Government was not in a position to assure them that their property would be protected at the State's expense should trouble arise, it is almost certain that there never would have been any strike at all. Of course, it will be contended that such an act would be an interference upon the part of the State with a Labour trouble; but it would have been an interference limited to an effort to secure a conference between contending parties with a view to the obviation of the necessity for a much more expensive and unfortunate interference later on, A very limited interference surely. Possibly, to high spirited men, it may involve a certain amount of humiliation to intimate that, even under conditions carefully indicated, the Government could not protect the property of its people, and to say that they would not would be a confession that they refused to discharge an obvious duty; but, in order to obviate great calamities, the loftiest statesmen have not hesitated to resort to a little judicious diplomacy, especially if when failure to succeed resulted they [unclear: would] found in no worse or more ineffective position than they were [unclear: before] No voice has ever yet been raised in blame of Sir Henry Parkes [unclear: for] most successful notification to the run-holders.

In New South Wales the fiscal question was supposed to be [unclear: "sunk"] by the Labour Party. When Parliament met in '91, the [unclear: party]-protectionists as well as free traders—gave a solid support to the [unclear: freeco] trade Ministry of Sir Henry Parkes, because of certain [unclear: concessions] their

programme which it was supposed that Ministry would [unclear: seek] carry into law. When the Protectionist Government of Sir [unclear: George] Dibbs came into office, the free trade members of the Labour [unclear: Party] once went into opposition, and the power of the party thereby [unclear: became] broken. This, certainly, was not sinking the fiscal question. [unclear: The] question before the Labour Party, as ever before any other party, [unclear: is] How far is the present Government disposed to give practical [unclear: effect] our policy and how much better off in this respect are we likely to [unclear: be] under their probable successors? By the answers to these [unclear: question] only should a Government be supported or displaced, and only by [unclear: acting] upon this policy can any particular issue be said to be sunk. How [unclear: far] any party in Parliament is justified in attempting to sink any [unclear: great] public question is quite another thing.

Experienced and prominent public men in Australia and [unclear: New] Zealand have borne ready and generous testimony to the [unclear: general] character and value of Labour members. As a rule, they are [unclear: to be] found seeking to read up in the library, or manifesting a deep [unclear: and] earnest interest in the business going forward in the House. Not [unclear: in]possibly, they may at a later period acquire the knack of spending [unclear: these] time in the refreshment, card, or billiard room, and, like other [unclear: members] "always obedient to their party's call," be found rushing wildly [unclear: in at] the last moment to take part in the division. That time, [unclear: however], not yet.

That which unquestionably appears to be wanting—[unclear: particularly] in New South Wales—is the leadership of able and far-sighted [unclear: man]. No party in any State can long continue to exist which remains no [unclear: more] than a mere incoherent mass. There can be no occasion to enlarge [unclear: upon] this, because the history of England, France, Germany, and other [unclear: Continental] States. America, and the British Colonies, proves [unclear: conclusively that] in very great measure, the success of any political party is dependent [unclear: upon] the personality and ability of its leader and his aides. The taking [unclear: of] any one of the leaders of the great political parties subsisting North [unclear: of] the Equator would serve for present purposes, but the position [unclear: occupied] by the late Mr. Parnell will no doubt answer best. The personality [unclear: of] Mr. Parnell was strongly marked, and the dominancy of his [unclear: leadership] complete and entire; he had his counsellors to aid him; he [unclear: controlled] the action of his party absolutely, and beyond his party in [unclear: Parliament] the people of Ireland followed him with childlike faith and [unclear: imp] confidence. Through the leader a settled policy was maintained, and unity of action ensured. No Irish supporter of the Home Rule movement, from Mr. Parnell's nearest and closest friend down to the humblest tiller of the soil, dared to raise a whisper of opposition to the course of action upon which the leaders of the party had decided. In short, the one clear and capable head governed the Movements of the whole body, and particularly controlled the possibility of a too eccentric motion of the tail. Where, it may be asked, rests the authority which shapes the course of the Labour members of New South Wales? Is it in Parliament, in the Trades Council, or amongst the concited, self-inflated demagogues who regale the careless loungers in the Domain on Sunday evenings with their farragos of noisy stupidities? How can any party in a British Parliament expect to win any considerable portion of support from sensible people—even though their interests be the same—if they labour under the suspicion of having their action controlled by irresponsible and unacknowledged persons, or persons for whom, if known, no one has any respect? It is to be assumed that there is not amongst the Labour members of New South Wales one man who will not admit that the administration of the law must be maintained—that if tomorrow their party held the reins of power, they would be, morally and constitutionally, constrained to arrest all violators of the law, irrespective of persons; yet they are found seeking to condemn the administration of Sir George Dibbs for having done so. On the 30th September, the Assembly divided upon a notion to censure Ministers for carrying out the Common Law at Broken Hill, when every member of the Labour party voted on one side, and every member of the House not belonging to that party voted on the other. What the Labour members could hope to gain by thus appearing in opposition to the representatives of every other section of the community it is very difficult to comprehend. No doubt it will be asserted that this particular Labour party don't care one jot for the opinion of any other section of the community, but such a reply is folly, simply. No political party—not even the Labour party of New South Wales—can afford to flout the public opinion born of the rest of the community, If the leaders of a political party have any common sense at all they will recognise that it is their obvious duty not only to seek to win for their party the confidence and respect of as many sections of the community as they can, but every section if possible; certainly nothing is to be gained by earning the contempt of the whole body of the people excepting only those belonging to their own class. If any good is ever to be attained by Labour members they must seek to gather strength—not deliberately throw what they have away. The conclusion is [unclear: forced] that, in this instance, the Labour members in the New South Wales Parliament were guilty of surrendering their judgment to the influence of a few noisy imbeciles and clamorous egotists outside; that they have no head, and that over the Broken Hill strike the tail has swayed the rump absurdly, May a hope be here expressed that the position [unclear: in] South Wales will soon be changed materially; that the policy [unclear: to] followed by the Labour

party will emanate from its [unclear: representative] siting in the Parliament; that, confidence being reposed in [unclear: the] decisions as the wisest and best, what is resolved upon will be [unclear: accept] by those outside in a spirit of trust and carried out with [unclear: obedience]; above all that a large degree of respect will in future be enforced [unclear: upon] those who, animated only by a miserable spirit of self-seeking—a [unclear: fo] desire to show how wonderfully clever they are—are constantly [unclear: carping] quarrelling, and sowing the fatal seeds of dissension. [unclear: There] Labour members to be found elsewhere than in New South [unclear: Wales,] the chosen representatives of Labour in that colony owe it as [unclear: a duty] that no disgrace falls upon the [unclear: canst]. Their motto is Union, [unclear: and] observance of the spirit of that motto must be insisted upon outside [unclear: as] well as inside of Parliament, otherwise to be a Labour member in New South Wales—or anywhere else—will shortly be to figure as a [unclear: proper] subject for scorn.

Incorporation.

THEN Let us pray, that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
Shall bear the gree and a' that;
For a' that, and a' that,
Its comin yet for a' that,
When man to man the world o'er,
Shall brithers be and a' that.

THERE be those who fiercely denounce Unionism as a [unclear: hateful,] liberty-enervating, capital-restricting, trade-destroying [unclear: thing.] Fortunately, as a rule it will be found that those who thus [unclear: so] furiously rage are men of a narrow, selfish spirit, and of a [unclear: re-stricted] mental vision which renders them incapable of paying either [unclear: a] due regard to the facts of the past or to the more beneficent [unclear: circumstances] of the present. Let them pass.

In all Christian lands the great body of mankind frankly and freely admit the vast social benefits which have resulted to humanity through the operations of Unionism. Even the capitalist who does not hesitate to employ the blackleg and fight most determinedly for what he deems to be his dearest commercial interests, as no one questions his right to do, cheerfully concedes that civilisation owes much to Unionism, and affirms that he would by no means be a party to the re-establishment of such a state of things as existed prior to the abolition of the anti-combination laws. Excepting those of a very sordid nature, what the capitalistic class ask is that, for a time at least, Unionists will rest upon their achievements; that, having won great advantages which, rightly used, may prove unmixed blessings, they should not—losing themselves in a quite mistaken sense of power—rush forward with demands vexatious, unreasonable and unjust. A wise man has Laid it down as the result of a large experience that, in a quarrel between parties, it very rarely happens that one side has all the right and the other the whole of the wrong; usually there are faults on both sides; and this should ever be kept in mind by Unionists as well as by their opponents. Possibly, not improbably, the view of the capitalists who hold to the opinions above given may be sound; at all events they are entitled to respect; nothing is to be gained by ignoring them. It is true practical wisdom at all times to make the discriminations of opponents serve as beacons to guide through the rocks and shoals which render navigation dangerous.

There are others, again, who heartily approve the principle of Unionism, but they emphatically object to strikes; that is to say—the army of the Union would have their unqualified admiration, provided it could not boast the possession of a single weapon. When, for a moment, one contemplates a proposition so pre-eminently absurd, it becomes amazing. What value has Unionism unless it is able to accomplish something, and how is it possible to move, either to achieve or to defend, unless through the medium of a strike? It has been already seen in those pages that, at the very inception of labour troubles more than thirty-three years ago, Lord Granville pointed out that "strikes inflicted great injuries, not onty upon the workmen themselves, been upon their families and upon the whole community." There have been strikes since these words were spoken in which the interests of hundreds of thousands of people were directly affected, and through which the whole business of a country has been brought to a condition of paralysis. In such instances the capitalist has seen his works fall into a condition of decay, his mines tumble in, his trade connection transferred, his money lost; the Unionist, his wife and children, has gone through suffering, poverty, and despair, to be wrought up to frenzy and the

perpetration of desperate deeds; the whole country has lain prostrate until a terrible fear has fallen upon the hearts of strong men of still further terrible and unimaginable evils hanging in the air, arising from the possible absence, in great aggregations of people, of fire, light, and the means of subsistence. Why repeat these [unclear: thing] Although Unionists well knew that, like the boomerang, the [unclear: strike] a weapon certain to come back and grievously wound, not only [unclear: them] selves and those dear to them, but others wholly disassociated with [unclear: the] cause of strife, yet there has been no other course open to them [unclear: but] use the strike, or else unconditionally submit to the position [unclear: dictated] by their employers. The weak-kneed and the faint-hearted are [unclear: horrifird] at the evils resulting from strikes, but with all their generous [unclear: feeling] and earnestness, with all their fears, they have not been able to [unclear: suggest] to Unionism any other [unclear: instrumentality], however weak or [unclear: ineffective]. The position remains to-day. Were differences of importance to [unclear: ari] tomorrow between Capital and Labour, Labour knows of no [unclear: other] course to pursue but to accept the terrible alternative of the [unclear: strike]. Is undoubtedly a sad reflection that, with all the boasted [unclear: intelligence] and learning of the age, with all the warmest hearts and best minds [unclear: of] our time concentrated upon this question, no way has yet been [unclear: found] by which to obviate the recurrence of an evil so manifest and so [unclear: far] reaching as the strike. It is to be remembered, however, that [unclear: the] present is but a period of transition; the world of Labour has [unclear: emerged] from a condition of cold, black darkness; it has found, [unclear: indeed, a] measure of light and warmth, but not the full refulgence and heat [unclear: of] the unclouded, mid-day summer sun. A little more effort, still a [unclear: few] more steps of progress, and the end is reached, the goal attained; [unclear: the] fratricidal strife becomes a thing of the past, and forever there [unclear: will be] no more occasion to speak of resorting to weapons of any kind.

In the early months of the current year, in New South Wales, [unclear: the] Government of Sir George Dibbs introduced, and the Parliament [unclear: passed] into law, a measure providing for the establishment of Courts [unclear: of] Conciliation and Arbitration, in order to ensure the amicable [unclear: settlement] of trade disputes. The Act was to come into operation at a [unclear: period six] months from the date of its passing, and by this Act the existence [unclear: of] Unionism received a definite and legal recognition as a power in [unclear: the] community.

Upon the face of it, it is unquestionably a matter of very [unclear: great] difficulty to render an Act of this nature of any real value to [unclear: those] whose interests it is designed to conserve. The first difficulty [unclear: that] presented itself in New South Wales was, to get the contending [unclear: parties] before the Court of Conciliation after it had been established. [unclear: Mr.] Barton, the able, accomplished and popular Attorney-General, who [unclear: had] Parliamentary charge of the Bill, held strong views upon this [unclear: point.] He laid down the principle that it was impossible to have [unclear: compulsion] and conciliation in operation at the same time together; that [unclear: to] compel a man to do a thing was not to conciliate him. [unclear: Therefore], it logically followed that, when a party was asked to attend [unclear: the] Court of Conciliation, it was optional for that party to attend or [unclear: to] refuse to attend as he pleased. This sounds very specious, but [unclear: looked] at practically, what benefits a community are likely [unclear: to] derive from the existence of Courts which no one can be constrained to attend is certainly not very clear. It was held that in the event of [unclear: a] labour dispute occurring, the side that refused to put in an appearance before the Court would assuredly forfeit all public sympathy and support, and that the fear of incurring odium would prove sufficient to ensure attendance without the necessity of violating, or seeming even remotely to violate, in a statutory manner, the strict principle of conciliation. Now, public opinion does in some cases operate very powerfully, and it may exercise this salutary influence in cases of comparatively minor importance occurring in the cities, but it is to be feared that where any large industry—such as that of the coal mining—was affected, the possibility of incurring public condemnation would bring no constraining influence whatever. The threatened shearers' strike, so happily averted by Sir Henry Parkes, has been already referred to in these pages. In that instance a conference was asked for over and over again, and steadily refused. It is certain that no public opinion, however strong and however expressed, could have got the run holders to move from the position they had assumed, and they only did so at last through consideration of their own welfare. In the inception of the great strike at Broken Hill, which is still being maintained, the mine owners broke the agreement subsisting between them and their employes, and again and again refused to meet the men in conference; public opinion did not affect—has not affected—their action in the slightest. If asked to meet in a court of conciliation, or to submit to arbitration, is it at all likely that in either of these cases consent would be given? As a matter of fact the six months have now expired and Conciliation and Arbitration Courts of New South Wales are now established; yet these Courts, with all their machinery, have not availed to bring about a settlement of the questions in dispute, nor to affect the continuance of the strike in the smallest degree. What then is the practical value of a legal institution where no constraining power is given to bring a cause into Court?

The difficulty above referred to may, however, be easily surmounted; one other of the difficulties that

present themselves is of a more obstinate nature. Having heard a cause, exercised conciliation, arbitrated and pronounced, how is such a Court to ensure that its decisions will be respected, and its judgments carried into effect? In what position do the parties before the Court really stand to the great body of the Capitalists and Workers they are supposed to represent? Can it definitely be affirmed that they really represent them at all? Let the occurrence of a dispute between sheepfarmers and their men be imagined in reference to the rate for shearing: it is brought before the Court, and the decision given is that the shearers have no just cause to complain of the terms subsisting or offered. How is the great body of the shearers scattered over an immense extent of country to be constrained to go to work for prices they will not accept? If the [unclear: decision] prove against the runholders, how are they to be constrained by [unclear: the] Court to pay to the shearers higher rates than they hold to be [unclear: within] their means or abstractly and fairly just?

The Conciliation and Arbitration Act passed in New South [unclear: Wales] and the similar in principle measures submitted, or proposed to [unclear: be] submitted, in other colonies, are properly to be regarded in the [unclear: light] of merely initiatory legislation in which the acknowledgment of [unclear: the] duty of the State to interfere in cases of trade disputes, and the [unclear: recognition] of the Unions, constitute the chief gains. But upon this [unclear: foundation]—the legal recognition of Unionism—it is within the bound [unclear: of] possibility that a vast superstructure may be built up.

Having thus extended legal recognition to the Unions, it [unclear: naturally] occurs that it will be felt impossible for the Legislature to [unclear: continue to] leave them in the disorganised condition in which they are at [unclear: present]. It has already been pointed out that when the State invites the [unclear: Union] to take their causes of complaint into duly constituted Courts, [unclear: society] has really no security that the men who—in consequence of this [unclear: invitation]—appear, have really been chosen by the working-men they [unclear: claim] to represent, and therefore any decision that might be given [unclear: against] them may be promptly repudiated. There are grounds for believing [unclear: that] the loud-speaking and demonstrative men who, through show of [unclear: hands] at a meeting or some other crude and primitive process sometimes [unclear: find] their way into Trades Councils and the leadership of Unions, [unclear: are not] the best, the most worthy, the most truly representative of their [unclear: class] that if the principle of election under which choice had to be [unclear: made to] secure true representation to the whole body was carried out in [unclear: the] same manner as has been adopted for public companies and [unclear: public] institutions, corporations, local bodies and Parliament, a goodly [unclear: number] of them would never occupy their positions at all.

Therefore it should follow that the State, having once [unclear: touched,] however lightly, the at present disorganised mass—the Unions—[unclear: will] have to carry law and order and government further. As a [unclear: consequence] it stands forth that Labour will have to be incorporated. [unclear: Legal] machinery will have to be provided for the election of committees [unclear: with] a chief council over all; the relation of [unclear: the] central authority to the representatives of affiliated unions will have to be defined; [unclear: authorities] and powers will have to be allocated; and the right conferred to [unclear: hold] property and to levy, recover, and, within certain limits, expend [unclear: contribution] and fines. It would, of course, be absurd to attempt even [unclear: in] the most cursory manner, to here refer to all the numerous [unclear: requirements] which any measure purporting to deal with so complex and [unclear: comprehensive] a subject as that of the incorporation of Unions [unclear: would] necessarily have to provide; it must be held quite sufficient [unclear: to] convey the general idea. Possessed of and accepting that idea, [unclear: however], the field of possibilities and probabilities opens immensely.

For instance, it is suggested here that upon coming out of his apprenticeship a youth should be required to join his Union, and from thenceforward until leaving it contribute towards its support; in return it should be the duty of his Union to see to it that his life was insured, to provide for him care and comforts during sickness in the nature of a friendly society, to extend to him a certain measure of sustentation during periods when out of employment, and upon such occasions to seek to find employment for him. Similar provision would of course require to be made for the incorporation of non-technical and ordinary labour.

Under such a scheme the free labourer would disappear, a condition of affairs already referred to in these pages with some degree of equanimity. "What, and leave the capitalist at the mercy of the unions?" The capitalist in everything that is just will have the protection of the courts, and the court will have what they have not now, the power to ensure respect and to enforce their judgments upon the unions in a somewhat similar manner perhaps to that which is provided in local government Acts when failure occurs to provide the interest payable on loans—the powers enjoyed by the unions in the matter of the levy of contributions being seizable by the courts. Capital at present has its unions as well as labour, and amenity to the authority of the courts in the case of decisions given against capital would be far easier to enforce by bringing them under the same or a somewhat similar statute of incorporation. In the event of capitalistic unions refusing to accept incorporation, it is clear that then they would be unable to put forward any legal representation, and therefore could have no *locus standi* before a court, in which case the whole force of the law would go by default to sustain the claim or

action in defence of the other side.

Nothing more can be given here than a very brief, rough, and general conception of a scheme that, it must be evident, would ultimately prove immense in its far-reaching comprehensiveness, and which it is believed would unquestionably beneficially affect society in a great number of ways of which this writer himself has as yet but an imperfect comprehension. It means the resuscitation of a principle once in operation in the guilds of a past age, and its application upon an all comprehending basis. From the hour in which the trader or mechanic evolved from his period of probation, or apprenticeship, the guild claimed him as a member of its order or union, and through the mediumship of his guild he became entitled to the "Freedom" of his city and all the rights of citizenship,

The following is a copy of a document now in the possession of the author of these pages:—

At Glasgow, the twenty-second day of August, eighteen hundred and thirty-five years THESE certify that Andrew Izett, Mason, in Glasgow having: paid his freedom fight as oldest lawful son of the deceased James Izett, Mason, Burgess and Guildbrother of the Burgh of Glasgow, is admitted a Burgess and Guildbrother of said Burgh, as use is, and is entitled to all the civil rights and privileges by law belonging to—as by acceptance of this, his Ticket, now delivered to him, he becomes bound to perform—all the civil duties and obligation by law incumbence on a Freeman Citizen of Glasgow.

William Darke. and these rights and obligations descended to his children as a heritage. Both capitalistic and [unclear: labour] unions thus became intimately associated with the working of [unclear: local] government. Local government throughout the colonies has now [unclear: become] firmly established upon the exceedingly simple basis of the [unclear: payment] of rates, and it is not probable that at any time it would be [unclear: sought] to associate incorporated trades unions with the working of city [unclear: and] shire corporation Acts; but there are institutions with which, [unclear: upon] every ground of interest and reason, labour unions ought to [unclear: be] intimately associated, such for instance as hospitals, infirmaries [unclear: and] asylums.

It is perhaps not an entirely sad thing to reflect that when [unclear: the] unions shall have been incorporated, as it will be seen there are [unclear: good] grounds for believing they must be, the mentally soothing [unclear: influence] derivable from the giving of gifts to the poor will be unattainable, [unclear: for] the simple reason that the venerable institution known as "the poor will cease to exist. Every man will belong to his union, and every union will have imposed upon it the duty of watching over, [unclear: supporting], and providing for all its members.

Benefit Associations would also disappear, because the [unclear: whole] people would be constituted into one great friendly society, to [unclear: which] the various unions would stand in the relation of lodges. [unclear: Under] present conditions an hospital is an institution designed chiefly for [unclear: the] benefit of the poor; but, as under the conditions that are looming [unclear: up] in the future, there will be no poor, there will be no one for [unclear: whom] sustentation, medical care, and comfort will not have been [unclear: provided] and be available as their acknowledged right—a right which had [unclear: been] won by sacrifice in past years—and those great blessings will [unclear: be] extended to them at their own homes. The necessity for the [unclear: continued] maintenance of large more or less badly drained and disease-[unclear: germ] saturated buildings for the gratuitous healing of the sick and [unclear: injured,] would therefore, to a very great extent, if not wholly be done away with. Other institutions—such as those for the convalescent, the blind, the deaf and mute and the insane—could, and no doubt would, be provided for by a common fund, to which all the unions would be called upon to contribute upon a scale of proportion, and in the representative management of which they would share.

There may be those ready to exclaim that under such a condition of things as has been here indicated they would be called upon to pay much more heavily towards the maintenance of good government and order in the community than they do at present, but the fact is not so. A working man, in receipt of good wages, has now to make payments in support of his union; he cheerfully pays entrance fee, contributions, levies, and fines to his friendly society; he has to insure in life and accident associations; and, very generally, he can find a little to dispose of in answer to the calls of charity; when all these duties have been faithfully discharged there is still no organisation to assist him in finding work should he fall out of employment, or to help to sustain until he has been enabled to find occupation himself; he is still exposed to the ruinous consequences of a strike: and when at last years shall have crept heavily upon him—when youth hath fled and hope is dead—there is no sustentation for him in his age. If, for the payment of a small sum weekly, a friendly society is enabled to confer great benefits upon a limited number of members, it can easily be comprehended that the practical incorporation of a whole community into one society upon a friendly basis, will allow of the additional substantial gains here indicated being gathered, as well as others which cannot now be predicted, but the opportunity for achieving which will be presented in the hereafter. This must be taken to dispose of the financial problem.

"Oh," it will be said, "this is Class Legislation in its grossest, most virulent form!" Certainly it is, but what

then? Has it not been seen that Class Legislation has been in operation for hundreds of years, and that it must continue to be in operation as long as human nature remains as it is? Instead, therefore, of exercising ourselves in seemingly vain efforts to obviate Class Legislation, let the experiment be boldly tried of legislating for the classes. The army affords us illustration of a Union into which admission, restricted by heavy purchase fees, is confined to a class; the navy is another Union in which all offices from that of midshipman upwards are strictly exclusive, and the same observation applies in very great measure to admission to the church: the union rights of lawyers and doctors are protected by statutes. Does not this show that there has been already legislation for Unions? It may be said that the aspirant for church honours, the lawyer, and the doctor are required to pass years of study without any or very little remuneration, that they have to submit to the test of an educational examination and pay fees in order to qualify; but with the exception, perhaps, of the payment of fees every mechanic has to do the same. The apprentice has, in some instances, to pay a premium; certainly he must pass several years at a lower rate of remuneration than he could earn at any non-technical branch of labour; and when—his premium paid and his term expired—he blossoms into the full dignity of a tradesman, the law extends to him no protection at all. How does it happen that to pass protective Acts for the advantage of the classes represented by the professions is not Class Legislation, and that to pass Acts as here suggested for the advantage of the masses represented by labour is? Surely those who take the position that nothing can be done to sweep away great evils because of other comparatively small evils subsisting in society, are guilty of advancing an argument that is absurd!

The incorporation of unions unquestionably will prove the means of affording a legitimate stimulus to ambition in the numerous positions of trust and honour which will be thrown open in connection with the unions, and the still higher positions of trust and honour associated with the chief body, the general council with which all unions [unclear: will] have to be affiliated. There cannot be the slightest doubt but [unclear: that] when such a scheme is brought into operation, every motive that [unclear: can] animate the human heart will be brought into play—individually [unclear: and] collectively—to the advancement of temperance, thrift, and other [unclear: stirring] virtues, and to the suppression of vices of a mentally and [unclear: socially] degrading and physically enervating character. It is man's social [unclear: and] domestic surroundings, into which sometimes he falls, but into [unclear: which] more generally he is born—poverty, misery and despair—which [unclear: leads] him to seek a bestial oblivion from the woes of life in the cup [unclear: of] intoxication, a fatal cup, the replenishment of which leads to [unclear: crime] Little did they who passed Education Acts and repeated [unclear: anti-combina] tion laws dream of the immense gains to humanity which would [unclear: result] from their action; and probably, quite as little do they who are [unclear: interesting] themselves to-day about the passing of Conciliation Bills realise [unclear: that] once legal recognition is extended to unions, their incorporation [unclear: must] of necessity follow. By the act of incorporation, whenever it [unclear: takes] place, the whole fabric of society as it now exists will proceed [unclear: gradually] on the way to change, until poverty is abolished, crime minimised, [unclear: and] the *moral* of the race exalted to a perfection such as the earth [unclear: has] never yet witnessed.

The Future.

THERE'S a good time coming, boys, a good time coming;
The people shall be temperate and shall love instead of hate;
They shall use, and not abuse, and make all virtue stronger;
The reformation has begun—wait a little longer.
There a good time coming, boys, a good time coming;
Let us aid it all we can, every woman, every man;
Smallest helps, if rightly given, make the impulse stronger;
'Twill be soon enough one day—*wait a little longer.*

IT may seem a presumptuous thing to undertake to draw aside the veil which shrouds the future; but this perchance may arise from the fact that to seek to peer into the good or ill of coming days is an effort but rarely attempted. It is held incumbent upon every man to make provision for the future, although he knows not what that future may be. That men eat, drink, and are merry to-day, giving no thought to the morrow, is an old story. Because it is true that it is not given to man to definitely foretell the events of a single day, therefore the effort to estimate the various probabilities of what a day may bring forth is wholly abandoned. It is forgotten that the experiences of to-day may reasonably be expected to form a strong guide as to what will take place the day

after, that the faculty of memory is perhaps the greatest of all the gifts to man, and it was given for a purpose; that all the great events which have happened in the world's history would, under somewhat similar circumstances, inevitably occur again with but little variation; that the characteristics of a people, like those of the individual, change little, and with a knowledge of those characteristics it is possible to say with an approximation to correctness what the course of that people would be from a certain basis or starting point. The progress which has been made by those who depend for subsistence upon the labour of their hands—their education, the expansion of Intelligence consequent upon education, their larger pay, their shorter hours, their better food, better clothing, better homes—during the past fifty years runs like a straight line before the gaze of all. It would be easy to say—"Let that line be extended—let it be produced further—and so will be the course of the future." Twenty years ago the adoption of such a basis for prediction might have been adopted with confidence, for then the working classes had tried their strength; they had achieved some successes; they were still dissatisfied, and what they sought to attain was expressed with more or less clearness. To-day, the position is different. The working classes are satisfied with the rates of wages; throughout Australasia eight hours' labour is the established rule. Now, there is a general resting upon the oars, and throughout the labour world a sweet content prevails. "It is the breathing time of the day." From the fact that all that has been struggled for by Labour during the past thirty years has been won, and from the contentment in consequence now resulting, it might, not improperly be inferred that past experiences cannot confidently be accepted as a guide to aid in the elucidation of the future; but this would be a mistake, for if the history of the past demonstrates anything it proves that the working classes only require a reasonable and definite policy, and, with organisation, patience, and obedience to subsisting laws, it is within their power to achieve it. The power of the State has been transferred from the "classes" to the "masses," and whatever policy the "masses" insist upon they can carry to fruition, so long as they work within the laws. Labour has arisen now and Power is in her hand. Given the general adoption of a policy by the organisations of Labour—a policy for instance, which, whilst affording a just consideration for all rights heretofore acquired, shall have for its leading principles the increase of national wealth through the development of national resources, together with a far-sighted appreciation of geographical advantages; the securing of a more equal distribution of wealth and of the comforts and enjoyments [unclear: of] life which the possession of wealth bestows; the conservation of the [unclear: public] revenues so as to keep the circulating medium within the State; and [unclear: the] extension of the capabilities of public institutions so that all the [unclear: benefit] they can be made to confer shall reach the whole people—[unclear: and] observant, thinking person can doubt their power to carry it into [unclear: action] existence. Power now is in the hands of the people. In South [unclear: Australia] and New Zealand "One man one vote" is the law, and there can [unclear: be] no doubt that it will shortly be the law in New South Wales. [unclear: Although] the results likely to accrue from the operation of one man one vote [unclear: may] have been over-estimated, still if only by ten or five per cent, there [unclear: can] be no question that the limitation of voting to one man one vote [unclear: will] operate to an augmentation of the already effective power of [unclear: the] working classes. How the extension of the franchise to women [unclear: is] likely to operate is at present purely a matter of speculation. [unclear: Women] by nature are conservative—they are more timorous in regard to [unclear: the] adoption of proposed changes—and it is apparently in reliance [unclear: upon] this fact that this measure has found such warm support in certain capitalistic quarters; on the other hand the females of the working class are more likely to take a heartwhole, devoted interest in political questions, and prove more eager to go to the poll to make that interest felt, than the wives and daughters of the wealthy.

However these things may be, as in the recent past so it is to-day, the real strength of the working classes is to be found in their [unclear: organisation] and unity of action. In the whole history of elections there [unclear: is] no record to be found of a wealthy constituency—a constituency dominated by the power of commercial, manufacturing, financial or professional interests—having returned a working man to Parliament. In their political action community of interest has always maintained the capitalistic class a united body, and the votes of the workers have been simply in the nature of superfluities not affecting the maintenance of the governing power, however they might be cast. At this moment the interests of the many millions who live by labour in England are represented by only eight members in the House of Commons. Does it require the possession of any special gift to predict that this state of things will shortly be very greatly changed? In the Parliaments of New South Wales and New Zealand labour can now be said to be in some degree represented, but with the progress which may be anticipated in education, the larger comprehension on the part of the workers of what is due to their own, their children's, and their country's interests, with a still more effective organisation ensuring still firmer unity, there can be no reasonable doubt that Labour is as like to be as well represented in the future as Capital has been in the past. [unclear: Unquestionably] community of interest will bind Labour as it has [unclear: heretofore] bound Capital. In entering upon the consideration of the [unclear: probable] future it is essential to determine where the power to shape [unclear: that] future lies. If it is admitted that the future will be controlled by the organisations which hold in their hands the voting power of the people, then it only

remains to consider what the aspirations of those organisations are likely to be in order to foresee, in some measure at least, what the future will probably [unclear: develop].

Although, as has been said, save for the jarring sounds of strife resounding from far away Broken Hill, it is now a time of sweet contentment and industrial peace, the various unions have by no means abandoned organisation or fallen, into desuetude; to resist insidious encroachment or open attack they are still maintained in full activity and vigour as the citadels of the wage-earners' power. It may therefore be accepted as a certainty that the first plank of the policy of the future will be not so much the maintenance of Unionism—for of that there can be no doubt—as the solidification of its power, the extension of its authority and control. There are numerous reasons—some of which have been hinted at in these papers—which will probably lead members of Trades Unions to endeavour to put their individual houses in better order, and secure that the one governing body which has control of the action of all is a more thoroughly representative institution than can now be claimed. The power in the hands of a Trades Council to wield is immense. Experience has demonstrated that should any hiatus arise between Capital and Labour in connection with any of the great commercial or producing industries—shipping, coal, wool—the decision given by a Trades Council may be fraught with the most far reaching and disastrous consequences to the whole community; therefore the whole community is interested in any endeavour that may be made to obviate the recurrence of such disputes, and in any scheme that will ensure their speedy settlement when they do occur. Having regard to what is due to freedom of action and the general principles embraced under the name of liberty, it would seem that the only way to afford reasonable protection to the interests of whole people when threatened by industrial warfare is to secure as far as practicable that those entrusted with such power shall be men well informed, of calm disposition and of sound judgment. With regard to Employers' Unions the same may be said. It has been seen that because there were a great number of people unemployed, and labour, it was considered, ought consequently to be obtained cheap, employers have not hesitated to bring subsisting agreements to a close, shut up their mines for many months, brought ruin and distress upon thousands of poor people, subjected themselves to considerable loss, paralysed other industries, inflicted expenses upon the Government, and caused deficiencies in the revenue of the State; but, however such a spectacle may affect the minds of the general public it is not of a nature to move to action the Capitalist. There is one consideration, however, not unworthy of notice. In Australia, the two most important Employers' Unions may be said to be the Pastoralists' Associations of Victoria and New South Wales. Each maintains a suite of handsome [unclear: offices] employs a secretary at £100 or £500 H year, also several clerks [unclear: at] portionate salaries, and there are other expenses, the whole cost [unclear: being] defrayed by voluntarily paid contributions from the members. [unclear: Nov] the time will undoubtedly come—if it has not come [unclear: already]—when those in embers who do all the work in connection with [unclear: the] Associations, who find the principal portion of the funds required [unclear: the] carrying on the work of their organisation, who are exposed to the condemnation which their organs contend will surely fall upon [unclear: that] who unjustly blunder into industrial strife, and who are subject [unclear: to the] whole responsibilities arising from legal proceedings under [unclear: Arbitrail] Acts, will find their position a very hard one indeed when they [unclear: lo] around upon the wealthy squatters—the free labourers of their [unclear: flock]—who, upon one pretext or another, shirk trouble and responsibility, [unclear: and] as refuse to contribute a shilling to the support of their cause. So [unclear: it will] assuredly be with all the lesser employers' organisations. They [unclear: will] some degree at least, feel as the employes' unions have felt, that [unclear: it is] a must unjust thing for a considerable proportion of the class to [unclear: which] they belong to accept and share all the benefits, whilst all the [unclear: expence] all the responsibility, and all the risk of opprobrium fall upon [unclear: those] who have to do the work. Thus it becomes apparent that both [unclear: the] employers' unions and the employes' unions will be constrained to [unclear: see] legislation in order to their respective organisations being placed [unclear: on a] more solid footing, and it will certainly be to the interest of the [unclear: general] public, associated as that interest is with the maintenance of [unclear: industrial] peace, to see that such legislation is extended.

Having thus attained to a state of society in which capital [unclear: and] labour are arranged into two thoroughly organised camps, each [unclear: embracing] the whole of those who may legitimately be claimed as [unclear: adherens] there are the Council of Conciliation and the Court of [unclear: Arbitraties] established between, to obviate the dangers arising from a [unclear: possibly] disastrous collision. There does not seem to be anything [unclear: within] the range of mental vision more just to [unclear: the] parties or more to the welfare and advantage of the whole people than such a system [unclear: presents], and its realisation stands clearly out as an indubitable [unclear: portion] of the future.

Accepting this as the result of the next onward movement, [unclear: and] having what has been called here Incorporation fairly [unclear: established] as the first stage, there follows the fact that the new powers [unclear: thus] called into legal being are not likely to rest satisfied with the scope [unclear: of] authority which will be at first granted to them. History proves [unclear: that] this has ever been the way, from the hour when the first

public [*unclear*: body] was initiated in ancient times to the summoning to Parliament [*unclear*: of] Knights of Shires, and the first local government charter issued to [*unclear*: an] English town. Already an aspiration—surely in every sense [*unclear*: an] honourable one—has found expression amongst the working classes [*unclear*: to] be enabled to make provision for the sustentation of the aged and feeble of their order; Incorporation undoubtedly will have the effect of bringing what at present can be characterised as no more than a shadowy dream within measurable distance of realisation. Upon this follows the care of the sick, the maimed, and the unemployed. In truth without Incorporation nothing further can be achieved—the end is reached. With Incorporation everything is possible—it is the line leading straight and smooth into a new country glowing with fertility and peace. Certain it is that the adoption of Incorporation will at once give to the unions the power to expend upon works of usefulness and social benefit the funds now being gathered and held in reserve for the purpose of carrying on an at all times impending warfare—a warfare which, when it unhappily occurs, can result in nothing but vast waste and possibly national disaster. Opposition will be offered—an opposition based upon the idle fear, the blind distrust, that in seeking to improve and benefit themselves the working classes will rob someone—but that opposition will be vanquished in the future as it has been in the past.

The principle of Co-operation is quite another matter. In New Zealand it is being tried to a limited extent in the carrying out of public work, and it has operated with success. When all charges and expenses under the contract have been paid, the profits have been divided amongst many instead of going wholly to the enrichment of one, the work in the meantime having been just as well performed. This is in the direction of securing the more equal distribution of wealth. If Co-operation is fraught with any danger to the maintenance of the existing state of society, then it is asserted here that that danger does not arise from the co-operation of Labour, but, as has been already hinted, from the co-operation of Capital. That the principle of Co-operation is certain to find acceptance and make steady if slow progress this writer is fully persuaded. It seems impossible to doubt that the more the people open their eyes to the evils resulting from the aggregation of great wealth in few hands, the more determinedly they will set their faces against everything tending in that direction. Even if consideration of questions of taxation, the subdivision of the land, the securing that it is applied as far as practicable to purposes of production, and the development of resources in other respects, be refrained from, the principle of Co-operation is at least an appreciable security that the acquisition of wealth will in the future be more evenly distributed. As so very large proportion of responsibility is so clearly with the capitalist, as the progress of Co-operation is apparently certain to be slow and the ultimate results are so far away in the future, it would serve no profitable purpose at present to indulge in speculations or possibilities on the state of society likely to arise from its general adoption; it is sufficient that, whatever the course followed by Capital, Labour will assuredly accept Co-operation as one of the planks of its platform in the coming time.

Two certain planks have thus been formed—

INCORPORATION AND CO-OPERATION.

The abandonment of the principle of competition is not [*unclear*: likely] to constitute a popular plank. Labour for a time has fixed the [*unclear*: price] of its remuneration, and if manufacturers, merchants, and [*unclear*: trader] choose to enter into a mutual bond by which the prices of their [*unclear*: goods] shall be fixed, labour, so far from inconsistently objecting, should [*unclear*: welcome] such action as tending to strengthen the position it has [*unclear*: itself] insisted upon. There can be no disguising the fact, however, [*unclear*: that] should the merchant, manufacturer, and trader fix arbitrary [*unclear*: prices for] their goods, such a course would seem to press very hardly upon [*unclear*: those] engaged in the producing industries whose profits or losses are [*unclear*: dependent] upon the rates ruling in markets beyond the confines of their [*unclear*: own] State. Whether reefs be rich or barren, whether harvests [*unclear*: are] abundant or poor, whether sheep perish by drought or flood or [*unclear*: increase] and fatten on plethoric pastures, the miner, the farmer, and the [*unclear*: squatter]—the actual creators of [*unclear*: the] national wealth and the sustainers of [*unclear*: the] national credit—would have to pay the settled-as-just demands of the labourer on the one hand and the merchant, manufacturer, and [*unclear*: trader] upon the other, whilst it was not possible for him to put forward effectually any demand at all. He is in the position of having to [*unclear*: take] just what he can get. Against this it can only be said that under [*unclear*: the] altered circumstance the producer would be very little, if any, [*unclear*: worse] off than he is now. It is impossible for him to escape having his [*unclear*: prices] for his products determined for him; the rates he pays for [*unclear*: labour are] already fixed, and will continue to be fixed; and the proposal to [*unclear*: fix] the prices for what he uses and consumes is of a protective not [*unclear*: of a] vindictive nature. Anyway this is not a labour question. It is [*unclear*: a] matter wholly in the hands of those engaged in trade or [*unclear*: manufactures]. Whether they will follow the lead of labour and [*unclear*: combine] to save themselves, or continue to submit to reckless and [*unclear*: ruinous] competition from enterprising "free labourers," what is [*unclear*: asserted] here is that as unionism is to constitute the future

basis of society, [*unclear*: the] probability is that they will unite in bonds of protection, and [*unclear*: should] they decide to do so the working classes cannot consistently object.

*Verum putas haud [*unclear*: aegre], quod valde expectis.* Of course men [*unclear*: as] led quite naturally to believe that what they earnestly desire [*unclear*: will] certainly come to pass, and very possibly such is the case with [*unclear*: this] writer. The object of these papers must to the reader have [*unclear*: become] abundantly manifest by this time. It is to assist to the realisation of [*unclear*: a] definite, well-defined policy in the minds of those who have the [*unclear*: power] to carry that policy into effect—a policy beyond that which will [*unclear*: of] necessity force itself upon and be adopted by themselves, such as [*unclear*: has] now been briefly sketched. The first plank of that policy has [*unclear*: relation] to education—education to which the people already owe so much—education which is the highest and noblest wealth which Any people can enjoy—education which leads to the realisation of all other wealth—education, fraught with the future of the human race in every quarter of the world, Surely the people of these colonies will keep watchful eyes upon their educational system, and see that all that is possible is obtained through wise, just, and liberal administration!

The second plank comprehends not only an abstention from further borrowing, but emancipation from the thralldom of debt. The getting out of debt should be held the first duty of any people, as it is held to be the first duty of every honest man. It is not to the interest of any people that men grow rich through interest—unless indeed the interest is paid by other than themselves. However necessary it may have been in the first instance for these colonies to go into debt for the carrying out of public works policies, the time has now arrived when, as soon as practicable, the public works carried out should cease to be mere interest-paying institutions for the benefit of people beyond the seas—they should be rendered reproductive in the fullest sense of the term.

The third plank is the Development of Resources, to which it can scarcely be necessary to add a word to what has already been put forward. Adding these planks to the two which it has been held here will naturally find acceptance, constitutes a programme which may be put shortly as INCORPORATION, CO-OPERATION, EDUCATION, DEBT-ABOLITION, AND DEVELOPMENT. That is to say:—The obviation of the dangers, waste, suffering attendant upon strikes; the granting to the people of a further means of taking care of themselves and seeking their advancement; the distribution of wealth amongst the many as against its accumulation by the few; the raising of the mass of the people intellectually; the saving of financial resources; the husbanding of the circulating medium; and the increase of national riches by a sensible attention to the sources from which all national riches flow. Surely this is a programme to which all but the desperately selfish can give an unqualified adhesion.

. Having reached this stage, a few words may be pardoned upon the duties incumbent upon all in relation to public affairs. The first is the devotion of thought to the consideration of political and social questions; the second, the determination of the general trend of the measures of legislation that should be adopted; as no man can accomplish much by himself, the third is that attachment be made to the cause of that party with which there is closest assimilation. It is upon a presumed attention to these duties that constitutional government is based. At an election the candidate voted for constitutionally counts for very little; it is the principles he practically embodies for which the votes are held to be really cast; and it is through this mediumship that the wishes of the people upon public affairs are supposed to be ascertained. As it rarely happens that there are more than two parties with distinct policies to claim attention, the duty of resolving which approximates most closely to his own views is not one which should afford an elector any very great difficulty. However opinions may vary, no one can take exception to these words. The advice ventured here is:—Having once, thought out for yourself the policy that should be adopted, and having identified yourself with the party with which you feel your allegiance ought to lie, *stick to that party*. It [*unclear*: is] not in the nature of things that a large body of representative men in any country will waver in adhesion to the principles they profess. Therefore—as their principles are yours—attach yourself firmly to them. They may perchance differ from you upon minor questions—they may perhaps do some things of which you cannot wholly approve—but remember, when you fail in support to your party, you practically render support to the other party, with whose policy upon all great and vital questions you can have no sympathy, and are opposed. At election times there are always a host of false issues—minor questions—raised to confuse and seduce. Heed them not; but, keeping steadily in mind the great principles for the advancement of the country and the welfare of you and of your children now and in the future, do your duty as a faithful and consistent man. Beware of those who declare they are of no party, for such only confess their inability to arrive at conclusions—they thereby admit their inability to form a judgment Better an open enemy than a doubtful friend. They are the pests of public life.

Damned neuters, in their middle way of steering,

Are neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring,
Nor Whiga nor Tories they; nor this nor that;
Nor birds nor beasts; but just a kind of bat—
A twilight animal, true to neither cause,
With Tory wing, but Whiggish teeth and claws.

A great statesman, addressing the people of Liverpool, has eloquently declared:—"It is in the education of the human soul and spirit in [unclear: its] highest aspects that the true end of our being lies." It may be [unclear: so,] but it is suggested here that experience has shown it to be a vain thing to talk to people homeless, naked, and perishing from lack of food of the possibilities of their souls. When the stomach is filled, the [unclear: body] well clothed, a comfortable roof overhead, and a warm bed awaiting reception, then it may not be difficult to throw the mind into other spheres. In these papers religious subjects have been avoided, but it [unclear: is] asked now:—"What is it constitutes a gentleman?" Give me the man whose life is pure, whose aims are high, and who adheres to truth always, and him will I hail as gentleman," declares Thackeray. Surely this is the definition of a standard not altogether unattainable by a people! Truly it may be averred that there is no land upon earth so productive in noble-minded gentlemen as that dear Mother-land of ours across the seas. To what circumstance do the gentlemen of England owe their pre-eminence? To the schools and university? There are schools and universities in other lands. Is it not rather in their home life that the truta must be found? From their earliest infancy the children of the wealthy in England are removed from my necessity to practice deceit—they never have occasion to resort to paltry shifts, equivocations, untruth, anything that is ignoble or men. In a home life cultured, refined, elevated, pure, it is easy to understand how the higher qualities—love of country, devotion to duty, chivalous consideration for the weak, and underviating allegiance to truth—can be inculcated. If question is made why gentlemen, as defined, are few amongst the humble orders, the answer is that in their home life and in their business—especially the business of the trading class—the essential elements are wanting. In Australasia, where amongst those who have to labour for their bread is to be found the home life, elevated and refined, to attract the young—to save from wandering about the streets exposed to demoralising influences and immoal pestilences? May it not truly be said that we first leave our youth to their fate and afterwards punish for faults arising entirely from our own culpable neglect? If then, O reader, a generous aspiration should find place in your breast to seek to raise up in these beautiful lands of the Southern Cross a brave, chivalrous, and noble race, you must look to it that the tendency of the legislation of the future should be such that it is a race not only liberty-loving and truth-valuing, but great in science, art, and appreciation of the beautiful—you must look to it that the tendency of the legislation of the future shall be such that its beneficial influences shall penetrate into every home. It is not enough that there shall be employment for all, infinitely as such a state of things is to be desired—it is not enough that there shall be afforded hours of intellectual recreation and refreshing enjoyment, largely as these have been already acquired—but that largely and broadly wealth shall [unclear: be] more evenly distributed in the future than unfortunately it has been [unclear: in] the past; that the great chasms which now divide society into the [unclear: rici] the well-to-do, the poor, and the utterly destitute shall bu filled up, and man brought nearer and be rendered dearer to his fellow man that union shall prevail instead of disintegration. Day by day the value of human life is rising; let effort be directed to still further exalt it. Let us seek to bring into the home life of the people confidence, comfort, knowledge, peace, and love, for without these it is vain o expect parity, noble aims, and the deep-seated reverence for truth which make men gentle. Let endeavour be concentrated in seeking the emancipation of the people from a condition of things under which man is constantly striving to trample upon his fellow man in older o his own aggrandisation; under which crime is encouraged, and a huge machinery employed for its repression and punishment. Then, [unclear: indeel], shall in the future success be attained. If instances of drunkenness and crime occasionally appear they will surely arise from domestic miseries beyond the power of any human legislation to reach; then indeed the consolation will be afforded that, so far as merely human power and provision will allow, all has been done that could be done to make man happier, wiser, nobler; then indeed it will no longer be open to be said with truth that, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn!"

vignette

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Front Cover

Speech

DELIVERED BY J. D. CONNOLLY, ESQ.

(United States Consul),

On the occasion of an address being presented to the

Hon. Wm. Jennings,

In Commemoration or his being called to the

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND.

Printed for distribution at the request of the friends of the Labour Party of New Zealand.

Auckland: PRINTED BY W. MCCULLOUGH, GENERAL PRINTER, HIGH STREET. 1893.

To the Hon. WM. Jennings, M.L.C.

"We, your friends and admirers, avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing to you our hearty appreciation of your many sterling qualities. In giving effect to the new policy of Labour Representation in our Legislative Council, we are firmly convinced that the Ballance Government, in appointing you, has chosen one who will ever reflect credit upon them and on the body you represent. With pleasurable feelings we have noted your energetic and untiring action at all times in the interests of the industrial classes of this Colony, and in the cause of Liberalism generally, and we now wish you a long and successful career in your new sphere of public usefulness."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It may be said, and with some degree of truth perhaps, that it is difficult to honour one who is already honourable, but notwithstanding this, our purpose here on this occasion is to offer our most sincere congratulations to Mr. Wm. Jennings on his elevation to the Legislative Council of New Zealand. We are also here to, in a measure, celebrate the political recognition of labour; an event, the most important, perhaps, that has ever occurred in the history of labour representation; an event full of promise and pregnant with joyous hope for the toiling masses of mankind in the future.

This undisguised effort to elevate labour to its proper sphere of usefulness in the world stands forth like a bright beacon of hope amidst an ocean of sorrow and anguish to invite the tempest-tossed mariner to a harbour of safety and rest. Indeed, it is almost the first ray of sunshine that has penetrated the hitherto abyssmal gloom that has for centuries surrounded labour's hopes and aspirations.

Who can contemplate this auspicious change in the relations of men without feelings of thanksgiving and gratitude to Almighty God, and without expressing a fervent prayer for its success and continuance? None but the mere prejudiced, self-exalted, soulless sycophant, and purse-proud tyrant; a man who would not only absorb all the joys and pleasures of earth, but the gifts of heaven itself, to the exclusion of his fellow-creature. It is such as he who will deprecate the introduction of these innovations as encroachments upon what he has long conceived to be his exclusive prerogatives. It is he who would continue to hold the poisoned chalice of deceit and chicanery to the lips of labour that he might still pursue unmolested his long cherished privileges, unrighteous and unjust though they be. But the day of such men has gone never to return; they have now practically ceased to be the one only factor in the government of the world.

It is most gratifying to be able to say that the mantle of honour could scarcely have descended on more deserving shoulders than upon those of Mr. Jennings, for the reason that there is no man in this community who has more unselfishly dedicated his days and nights to the promotion of labour's cause, and that too without emolument or hope of reward, Mr. Jennings has been, for a number of years past, intimately connected in this community with all movements of a progressive character, or such as were calculated to promote the welfare of the people. But the most pleasing reflection of all is that during the years he has been identified with the labour interests he has not, under the most trying circumstance, permitted himself to be betrayed into the use of an expression that could, even by the most fastidious, be characterised as violent or intemperate language. On the contrary he has ever counselled prudence and moderation in the discussion of subjects affecting the welfare of those whose cause he has so ardently espoused, and enjoying as he did, and still does, the unbounded confidence of his colabourers, his mature judgment and wise counsel has invariably prevailed.

He represents men who believe there is no natural antipathy between capital and labour, and in this respect it is clearly the duty of every man who loves his country and kindred to exercise every lawful and honourable means at his command to dissolve those senseless prejudices that have been so terribly destructive to each contending element in the past. Mr. Jennings has already devoted much time and labour in this direction, and will, I feel certain, persevere in the good work to the end.

It is however, unhappily too true that capital has heretofore shamelessly preyed upon poor, disorganized and disunited labour, and whilst the poor man preyed upon none, he became the prey and dupe of all. The poor man's only wealth is in his hands—his sole reliance, his only productive freehold, his only hope, his all is his labour, and the mercenary creatures who have in the past, and would to-day, heartlessly deprive him of a just and honest remuneration, for his services would, I believe, as readily deny him the privilege of enjoying the kingdom of Heaven. But the opportunity for such inhumanity and injustice is to-day, thank God, rapidly

passing from our gaze. With the changed conditions, which tend to draw the bonds of peace and good-fellowship closer together day by day, have we not reason to hope and to look forward with joy and anxious expectation to the breaking of a brighter dawn in the affairs of men. The advancement in knowledge and enlightenment of the rising generation inspires us with lofty hopes for the future, and that the earnest desire for the betterment of our kind may be abundantly realized should be the daily prayer of all.

He who would sow the foul seeds of discord, or attempt to destroy the foundations of tranquility and industrial peace already established, and upon which a noble edifice that is now to-day being so happily consecrated to the promotion of good will, mutual regard, and a better understanding among men, or by arraying class against class, the rich against the poor; he who would be guilty of conceiving such infamous wickedness proves himself the reckless enemy of all; an enemy to his country, to every man in it, to all classes, and to all interests; he deserves the odium and execration of this and the ages to come—but especially should such an one be for ever branded *as the poor man's curse*. Nor do I here hesitate to say that I believe those who are making such an outcry against what they are pleased to term "the aggressions of labour,"—but in reality it is only labour demanding justice—are actuated by any higher or more honourable motives than those who have always tried to stem the tide of human progress, and a [*unclear: baer*], more inhuman, or more cruel instinct than the continued oppression and degradation of the masses for the more sake of power could scarcely find an abiding place in the human breast.

Nothing so imperils or renders the legitimate functions of Government so abortive as extreme ignorance among the masses. Ignorance among the people renders them an easy prey to the vicious seductions of the depraved demagogue, who, with falsehoods, fill their souls with uncontrollable passions and prejudices to the extreme alarm and serious concern of all. Therefore, the only safeguard to the State and to society generally lies in the education of the whole people, that they may more readily recognise their inalienable rights, founded upon the principles of justice and equality, together with co-equal participation in the responsibilities and management of the affairs of the State. To my mind, herein lies the only real and permanent security to either the State or society.

It is only within recent years that the great masses of men have begun to realize how shamefully they have been misgoverned in the past. How their most sacred rights and privileges have been set aside by an arrogant domineering class, long accustomed to power, yet utterly heedless of their trusts and responsibilities, they have mercilessly and unscrupulously violated every principle of honour, justice and integrity, and ground down those whom they governed. But to-day education is tearing the mask from their faces, whilst the genial rays of the sun of liberty and enlightenment are penetrating into the darkest and deepest recesses of their most impregnable fortresses and unveiling their impostures and holding up their vicious enormities to the world.

There was a time, no doubt, when the "lower" classes, owing to the want of education and other causes, were debarred from the privilege of law making, but those days too, thank Providence, are now numbered with the past, never to return. In former times it was seriously objected to give the working classes even partial instruction, upon the utterly defenseless ground that doing so would elevate them beyond their sphere and make them dissatisfied with their station in life—a condition which might engender sentiments of resentment, hostility and insubordination toward existing laws, thereby endangering the tranquility of the State. The light of experience has, however, taught how groundless and devoid of merit, or even the semblance of justification, these objections were, and the real obstacle to the enlightenment of the masses was conceived in a spirit of pure and unalloyed selfishness, founded on a fearful dread of the loss of power on the part of the "ruling" classes.

But now, in many countries, the mantle of iniquity has already been torn from the shoulders of unlicensed power, and the monster of selfishness revealed to the world in all its hideous deformity—au unclean and impure thing!

But the work is done, the masses are triumphant, their voices can no longer be stifled, they must be heard!

Unlicensed arbitrary power, that monster of selfishness that has corrupted the world in every age of its history, and has trampled the sacred liberties of men beneath its iron paw, is now shorn of its strength. To-day it lies prostrate on the ground at the feet of long-delayed violated justice, a victim to its own folly and misrule.

Happily for us the moral and intellectual improvement of the masses has not been heralded in by any physical or mental convulsion, but by the more humane and Christian process of education, and a more genuine dissemination of general knowledge among all classes of men. May the good work of education go on for ever until every man is enabled to intelligently read and write and reason for himself, then only will the spirit of justice and universal equality possess the souls of men and guide the destinies of the State, bring happiness and contentment and good laws in place of those which have been so destructive of human happiness, human hopes and aspirations.

But while other nations are in a listless and half-hearted manner discussing the problems affecting labour, here, at the uttermost end of the globe, here beneath the stars of the Southern Cross, the subject has been crystallized, has assumed concrete form, and a solution has been arrived at. Here you have clothed it with life

and beauty and sent it forth into the world on its mission of peace; to herald the glad tidings throughout all the nations of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun. Here, far away from the scenes of turmoil and strife that afflict the older world; here, amid the blissful peace of these sunny shores the rights and privileges of the mosses are at last fully recognised, and established let us earnestly hope, upon foundations as enduring as Time itself.

The moral grandeur of labour's triumphs cannot be realized or appreciated in a day. But in the days to come, if the advantages now gained are wisely exercised, their influence will be felt in every land enlightened by the sun.

I cannot but feel that the progress labour has already made will continue, at least in this favoured colony, nurtured as it is in the soil of a free country, caved for by the kindly hands of freemen, and bathed in the cleansing and healing waters of justice and equity, *it cannot, it will not, and it must not fail.*

Genrlemen, you hold in your hands, for weal or woe, the the happiness of millions of your race. The fierce search light of the civilised world is turned full upon you and your every action and movement watched with fear and trembling. It is not, therefore, in the power of pen or tongue to adequately convey to your minds the deep solemaity of the responsibilities devolving upon you, to use wisely the power in your hands, for with you, and you alone, rests the fate of this experiment.

But I have faith in the spirit of your patriotism, your integrity, and your sense of justice and fair play. Consequently I have no fears for your success if only your public men and private citizens are inspired with that deep sense of duty which transcends all others, namely, the public weal before private gain. Then will this country go on in its happy career, affording succour and protection to millions of the human race, and by the liberality of its laws, the prosperity and happiness of its people, set an example to the nations of the world.

You are yet young in history, a circumstance which should materially aid you in laying the basis of an ideal Commonwealth. Here, where all men are free and equal before the law, where the traditional inequalities of class, which have ever surrounded the institutions of the Old World, have not yet found an abiding place; here, then, it is possible to found a nation that will unstintingly command the universal admiration of civilized mankind.

I am one of those who believe that the upward and onward march of labour shall never cease until it has rested on the loftiest hilltops of liberty, justice and human equality. Its progress is as irresistible as are the rays of that heavenly orb at high noon—the moment of its greatest splendour, when shedding its lustre and warmth throughout the earth. And here I desire to emphasize my belief that the time is rapidly approaching, if not already within measureable distance, when, under the subtle influence of education and a higher and purer Christian civilization, there shall be no more drones in the human hive; no more oppression of men by men; neither shall there be parasites of whatsoever kind on the body political or industrial. Men will unite their labours and cheerfully contribute thereof for the common good of all. Then shall the days of the tyrant and the cruel, selfish, purse-proud autocrat be numbered, if indeed they are not already, as I believe the are. The handwriting is upon the wall, read it who will.

I believe the great masses of humanity are being drawn close together day by day and imbued with a higher conception of their capabilities for good, a deeper sense of duty toward themselves, their fellowmen and their Creator.

I am further persuaded that we are happily and perceptibly drifting down this peaceful stream only to be carried out on the crest of a smooth and motionless ocean, thence wafted by friendly winds to its more favoured shores, there to enjoy undisturbed that peace and tranquility to which the majority of mankind have so long been strangers, but for which the hearts of men ever yearn.

God is now, and ever has been, the unfailing friend of the poor and the distressed of every land, nor should it be forgotten by those who are favoured beyond till others in wealth and power and earthly greatness, that the hand that unnerved the proud Belshazzer is the guiding genius of labour's cause. May we not, therefore, rejoice that, with such an unconquerable ally, the storm-tossed, dismantled and misguided ship of labour may be steered to a haven of rest, where the surging, soul-destroying laws of selfishness and debasing avarice shall be displaced by perpetual peace, happiness and Christian charity.

The tendency of the progressive age in which we live amply justify these hopes, and that they should be happily consummated and abundantly realized in this, our own day and generation, should be the highest hope and aspiration of every lover of the human race, and every believer In the immutable laws and unerring justice of an all-wise and merciful God.

And now sir, in presenting you with this slight token of the esteem in which you are held by your fellow-citizens, permit me to express their most earnest hopes, and those of every lover of good government and equitable laws, that your life and conduct in your new sphere of usefulness may afford no reproach to the character you have thus voluutarily assumed.

vignette

The Outlook of Our Secondary Schools.

A Paper read before the Southland Branch of the New Zealand Educational Institute, by the President, Mr Robert McNab, M.A., LL.B.

(Re-Printed from the Southland Times.)

The Out-Look of our Secondary Schools.

A paper read before the Southland Branch of the New Zealand Educational Institute by the President, MR ROBERT MCNAB, M.A., L.B., on Thursday, 29th June, 1893.

(Re-Printed from the Southland Times.)

In selecting a subject suitable for a paper, or as I see your secretary has put it in the syllabus—an address, to read before the Institute I think that subjects having an indirect bearing on primary work should be preferred to subjects directly in the line of work of the members as a class. Care should be taken that the members when met together get something more refreshing than a discourse on the ordinary routine work of a teacher's life. If the subject chosen is too closely connected with the internal working of the schools, the attendance and interest manifested is apt to be confined to members of the profession. Outsiders though interested in educational matters generally will find themselves out in the cold and act accordingly, and the good which would accrue from the wider acquaintance will be lost. I question also whether teachers themselves during vacation would take excessive interest in anything which has too much of the blackboard and chalk about it; and, further, the opportunity of widening our acquaintance is lost. We want to draw one another out, we want to hear and discuss the views of outsiders regarding subjects closely allied to teaching but not actually teaching, we want to raise up something of an ideal standard that will make the profession think and work in certain lines, real use their correct position and get into thorough sympathy with the great mass of the community, in the future development of which they play so important a part. Take the programme of any educational congress or any conference of scientific men and examine the subjects. On and all of them you will find are subjects outside of their everyday [unclear: practice,] away out on, the frontiers of the knowledge of their respective departments. It is not desired that we should aim at such a high standard here, but we will do our best to understand our position in the State; we will do our best to establish a connection with our secondary brethren—perhaps touch the up a little, communicate to and have communicated from them fresh life and [unclear: vigor], and draw from their wide experience at opportunities for observation a flood of use information; we will, if aught can [unclear: I] learned by such a course, seek counsel of professors, and on the claim of the [unclear: education] of the child being the education other men claim kindred with the greatest educationalists of the day. Our position justifies, nay more demands, such a course in the interests of all.

Apart altogether from [unclear: theoretical] connection of the secondary [unclear: will primary] work, every true teacher has a strong interest in our secondary system. In [unclear: the] own school—it may be in some out of the way place—how is a teacher to find room for his ambition but through our secondary schools where the products of his early training may leave the quiet country side and attain the highest positions in Church and State? It is true that teachers in outlying districts have pleasures of their own—the Inspector's annual visit, for example—but even these grow monotonous. It is very nice to be told that Mr A manages standards 3, 4, 5 and 6 well, Miss B secures the attention and respect of the infants and standards 1 and 2, that the time-table is carefully thought out and closely adhered to, that the class rooms are scrupulously clean and tidy, and the registers neatly and carefully kept and accurately made up to date. But if that same report came in several times in succession no one would say that its result would bring a thrill of pleasure to the recipient. We may therefore expect to find a warm interest manifested by primary school teachers in our secondary system and closely thought out views regarding its present position in the educational system of the colony and to the factors which are brought to bear upon it as the years roll by. To this critical audience an amateur presents his views.

To fix the minds of my hearers to some definite text for the paper, let me here state and impress upon all a fact which is intended to be present to the writer and his audience throughout, that the secondary schools are made for the young, not the young for the secondary schools. This principle appears manifest at a glance but it is wonderful how often it is overlooked, and indignant complaints are heard of our schools being shamefully treated by parents and others, let us therefore see and bear that clearly in mind.

As a corollary to this statement of the position of our secondary schools I would say that the schools should take care to develop along the lines of a healthy popular demand. But as this is sure to be widely challenged it will be necessary to do more than make the bare statement, the subject must be carefully thought out. The consideration of this question therefore will be reserved until the recruiting area for the schools has been examined and analysed. I desire to state here that I only intend the paper should be of colonial application though I am aware of the great eagerness to look for everything connected with the secondary system to the old

established schools of the Mother Country. It is taken for granted that the lessons to be learned from the long established and slow growing schools of England, with its comparatively stationary population and handsome and liberal endowments, with halls crowded to the doors with pupils, with the associations which gather round the school history of the world's great men and which crop up in connection with the very rooms and desks occupied by the present pupils, with the comparative immunity from political and State control, it is taken for granted I say, that the lessons to be learned from these are peculiarly applicable to the Colonies, where the schools are newly established and developing with lightning rapidity, where the population is continually flitting from place to place, where there are no private endowments, few pupils, no associations and where there is direct State control. Without saying that this is not a self evident proposition I will here state that we will be guided by what appears before us to be the objects and aims of our system and try and evolve something without the assistance of *other* systems and the experience of *other* lands. I may further say that I make no profession to treat the subject exhaustively. It is a rule that a subject is always treated from the personal standpoint of the writer and in an important subject like education where its ramifications are endless, any one man can do little more than touch the outer fringes of it, it is for the hearer to put together the views expressed by various classes of men and derive therefrom some general principle—the *ratio decidendi* of the lawyer—for his guidance.

We may take it for granted that the critical tone of the times will only allow the existence of any institution if it can justify its own existence by showing good and substantial work done, perhaps not even then will it secure its existence but certainly without such justification its days are numbered. The outlook then is controlled by the work aimed at—if accomplished, and the question of accomplishment opens up as a field for consideration the changes which are being gradually introduced into trades and professions, and the bringing about of a state of things wherein the good once obtained from secondary schools is being sought and obtained in other directions.

Regarding the work which the schools are called upon to accomplish it may be taken for granted that whatever is wanted to complete a well finished and substantial education after the pupil has left a primary school is the peculiar province of the secondary school. The custom of various schools to overlap the primary work is only to pave the way for making the most out of the secondary course, and is not intended for an assertion that secondary schools should work with anything like an infant department.

Once we understand the field of work accomplished and the field of work untouched, and gain clear ideas of the social or other changes which will in the future increase or diminish the one, and diminish or increase the other the outlook is no great problem to solve. I would suggest for your consideration that our secondary schools perform a dual work, A, as an end to themselves. B, as the connecting link with the Universities.

As an end in themselves they present nothing corresponding to the end aimed at in an academic course, as a pupil following up a good education for the mere possession of such would never think of retiring so early. The end in itself then resolves itself into a lower grade of example B which I have just mentioned, in the form of a connecting link between the primary schools and certain trades and professions. The school may be utilised, first, for the sole purpose of preparing for some trade or profession as in the case of lawyers, teachers and engineers or a second grade, dentists, chemists, architects, commercial men, and a host of others. This secondary school preparation may be called for by the fact that some examination has to be passed before entering the profession as in the case of law, and that may be the sole reason for attending a High school. Again the schools may receive pupils because the professions which they wish to follow up are intimately connected with simple combinations of the subjects taught in our secondary schools, as for instance, civil engineers and architects, on account of their connection with mathematical subjects, chemists on account of the sciences taught, and others on similar grounds. In this respect the High school is but a technical school. Lastly, a sound education may be deemed to be of advantage to the pupil for future work whatever it may be, and the school may be selected on that account. This is one of the main aims of the system and every effort should be made on the part of those connected with it to show that the confidence placed in it in this direction is not misplaced.

There is yet another class of cases where secondary education is the terminus of study, where it is determined on financial grounds or on grounds which are very intimately connected with the capacity or incapacity of the pupils. Under this heading come all those who attend the secondary schools simply because their parents are able from a financial point of view to give them the best education going until something turns up, when they are immediately sent to work. The vast class of all where further prosecution of work is due to inability brings us to the class which it is the duty of the State strictly to prohibit going any further and to get at once shifted into a more congenial sphere without further expense or outlay to the community.

Look now at the second class, the connecting link with the Universities: Regarding the uses of our schools in the way of providing a connecting link with the Universities, we may safely say that all the students who carry on their education without a break, will, after leaving our primary schools, pass through the secondary. A boy or girl who has made reasonable progress in primary work and has had every facility for obtaining a good

High School education should be well able to enter a university at 17 years of age, and it is a moot question whether delay after readiness does not mean loss to the pupil, in many cases leading to the curtailment of his or her college course by One or two years. When the writer was a student at college it was a recognised thing that for an intending honours Student to delay a year in any of the junior classes meant comparative failure, and I suppose a like rule holds good in this case. After all it is really from that time onwards that the permanent bent of life work begins to be apparent, and a course of four or five years at college just terminates at a nice time for completion of a literary education and laying the groundwork of one of the higher professions. These pupils who thus pass through the High Schools are destined for law, medicine, higher engineering and teaching, and mining, and a somewhat uncertain body of pupils who desire to follow up and acquire a liberal education for the manifest advantages which accrue from its possession. Though uncertain in this new land this is a class which is undoubtedly growing, thanks to the liberal provision which the University is making for competition for degrees and other honours, whetting the appetites of the diligent for distinction in the literary arena, and indirectly fostering a love of study for its own sake.

Numbers of candidates for the clerical profession, medicine, and the higher grade of engineers and teachers will come through our High Schools; no doubt all would, if they could, go straight on with their studies, but many are unable to find ways and means until it is too late to take advantage of anything like a High School course.

So far we have dealt with the field from which our High schools recruit, but we must take care and not fall into the error of supposing that because we recruit from a large area our position is secured and we are fulfilling our State duties. It is not the number of "ayes" that carries the motion, but their number when compared with the "noes". To locate our secondary system we must see therefore who fields there are untouched by it and make ourselves familiar with their wants to find at whether from the very nature of things there must be a separation, or whether the barriers raised between professions and trades, so far as the necessity for a secondary education exists, are artificial or illogical.

If our analysis of the scope of the schools has been anything like correct, it is manifest that the field which is shut off from our recruiting area is very large. Ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers and commercial men, represent but a very small position of the hundreds of young men and young women who annually leave our schools to commence the battle of life. Note by the way that not one of those named can be ranked among the producers of the colony, and few of them even form the raw material. Where are the mechanics and tradesmen who form so numerous a body and play so important a part in the State? Tradesmen tell me that they must secure their apprentices about the age of fourteen so that their trades may be learnt at the age of twentyone. In answer to my question whether a shorter time would not suit a well educated boy, it was told me that the difference of period in the two cases was so small as not to be worth calculating, and that unless our present High Schools trained the eye in architectural beauty from the outside few lessons were to be learned by the trades from them. Do these men then not require a higher education? Is all this section of the human family destined to follow up some trade or occupation which requires for its ordinary carrying on no better mental training than that required by, say, an engineer, a lawyer, or a commercial man? Surely not, Numbers of our leading public and professional men never entered a secondary school and yet are well qualified for the posts they now hold. It therefore does not require a secondary education to equip them for their particular walk in life, and if we are using our secondary schools to equip for professions where such a costly apparatus is unnecessary it seems strange that any particular section of the community should be singled out as the recipient of this favour, while others in a similar position have it withheld from them. No matter how strange it may appear we must know the reason why, otherwise we may be accused of living in a fool's paradise, and may one day be brought to our senses in a manner more abrupt than pleasing.

We have dealt with the field from an inclusive and exclusive point of view and we are now brought face to face with the social and political changes which affect it injuriously or otherwise so far as our secondary schools are concerned. Take some trade and let us look at it for a few moments to find out what actually is required in an individual tradesman to successfully compete against his fellowmen at the present day. We must remember that owing to our complete means of communication with other parts of the world our local men have to compete in all industries with producers in every part of the civilised world and if we should lag behind to the extent indicated financially by the cost of transit, other countries' wares are in the field and local men are elbowed out. To hold our own, therefore our fellow labourers must be, if not in the front rank, at any rate fairly close up. As we want particularly to note the standard of education aimed at and attained by successful tradesmen, let us select upon one, say the printer, and put him to the test. He is taking away youths who might otherwise attend our High Schools, and we must see what he gives them in place of what he has taken them from.

Printing appears at first glance to be a trade with about as little in it as one could well conceive. We see the compositor in the newspaper office placing one type alongside of another to form words, these words are placed

in a press in lines and columns, machinery is set in motion, and a newspaper is produced. If, up to date, any of my hearers have thought that this is the "be all and end all" of this important trade, discard such an idea at once; you might just as well refer to the humble but important work of the janitor as an index of the work done in our highest and best schools. It is not in the newspaper work that we find the printer thoroughly at home, but in the jobbing department, which includes pamphlets, [unclear: prioitotlg] and maga zines, not to speak of the cards, testimonials, and other work of that class, which raise printing to an art. Our printer friend has many trade journals, including "The British Printer," the English representative, wherein are recorded for his benefit all improvements in the machinery of his business and things of interest to printers generally. Turn over its pages and you will be at once struck with the immense field our printer deals with. Multitudinous as are the classes and kinds of type, their combinations to produce various effects are marvellous.

Regarding the various styles of type printing which have to be overlooked and carefully studied to produce proper effects, the American type holds the palm for clear cut and easily read letters; for elaborate Ornamental type Germany holds first place, but during the last few years the great competition which has arisen between these two countries and England has resulted in the latter country developing a style of using these productions in advance of either of them. This has been a steady trade growth of recent years. When we come to the question of ornamentation we are brought face to face with a matter involving the highest class of artistic training—the ability to arrange type faces so that the combinations of light and shade will produce the most pleasing effects, set off the work and beautify the page. There must be some general design present in the mind of the printer, otherwise his work will ultimately go for naught. His customers vary from art teachers to I don't know what, and the work which fails to satisfy the most accurate art critic so far detracts from his success as a printer. In order to completely master this question of ornamentation the effects of the various classes of paper and ink have to be known and carefully considered. This involves scientific knowledge of a very accurate description, because not only has the present effect to be studied but it a effect hereafter in the presence of light and shade. When, in addition, colours are used in ornamentation it is only necessary to say that the labour and knowledge of the printer is quadrupled. We are examining the printer's trade to ascertain its educative effect, and even at the risk of taking up too much space must do full justice to every department of it. The class of material which our printer uses as a basis for work and the artistic ornamentation which has to be given his pages do not by any means exhaust the scope of the printer's work. The matter of pictorial illustration has of late assumed considerable dimensions and is fast becoming a necessary adjunct to a printer's business, being especially a feature of printing of the better class. This branch started with wood cuts, wood engravings and etchings, but those of late have had to give way to the more advanced process block produced by the aid of photography, thus adding another department to the many branches required by the modern printer. I will not touch on the knowledge of machinery, except to say that it must be of the most delicate and complete description. Look to-day into the rooms of a successful printer and you will find these various departments of his work, in every one of which he must be *facile princeps*, at any rate as a critic. His customers are drawn from all sorts and conditions of people. No merchant ever dealt with such a varied assortment as daily throng the printing office. To say that they include rich and poor, old and young, great and small, the learned and the unlearned, only conveys an idea of the *men*, the *subjects* are drawn from summer and winter, from the cradle and the grave, from every land, and from all time. What merchant with his many dealings in other lands, what lawyer with his clients and their little troubles, what doctor with his thousand and one diseases, has such a field for operation? And yet for these various single departments a secondary education is deemed a *sine qua non*, why not for this interesting and wholesale combination?

If you look carefully at the requirements of some of our trades exemplified in the instance given, I am sure that many of you will agree with me in saying that the purely mental training that [unclear: i] to be got in the direction of the trades is in many cases quite equal to the standard of education aimed at by our secondary school, and yet those who follow them up are debarred by the age at which they commence and by other circumstances from attending our High schools. It follows from our reasoning that the number of trades which supplies such a mental training as I have indicated is continually increasing, and will in the near future assume gigantic proportions. That this will have some [unclear: every] material effect upon our secondary system will be manifest when we remember that we are supported by the State, and therefore more and more by the very section of the community which is daily feeling that inside its own trade education it is getting at no cost to the State, the benefits which it has to pay largely for other classes to acquire.

Having touched upon the changes which are going on in the field at present practically outside our sphere, let us look at what is going on in the professions which we have classed as peculiarly within our province.

With regard to the professions the tendency of the present day appears to be to abolish or cut down preliminary examinations—to make the professions open to Law, who may desire to practice them. Law, which has had a checked career in this respect has little now in the way of a bar to its entrance. The abolition of Articles took away the only assurance of a systematic training and the annual attacks on the profession in

Parliament show that the Law and even the General Knowledge examination is severely menaced. Once that goes the last support of a fixed educational standard has naught to justify its name and the profession will be free. I do not myself think the result of such a course will be at all startling and if I personally should oppose it it is certainly not on any grounds which I could at the present time justify. At the same time that we detect this tendency to do away with entrance examinations to some of our professions we note that our Civil Service, which from the peculiar configuration of our colony must loom largely in the immediate future, has a secure and well defined entrance examination, and though it does not to any great extent demand High School work the candidates for positions will find themselves all the more secure with a good secondary education. Further, the matriculation (a secondary standard examination) is now a most important one to pass, and paves the way for entrance to many positions I notice also in England there is a tendency to harden up the medical profession, but with that single exception I think we may be safe in saying that the comparative educational status of the professions is lowering and that of the trades increasing. A result of this nature cannot but be detrimental to our High Schools as it enables young men to make a start without secondary school equipment, and once having made a start, goodbye to looking back, The hope of the schools in this direction comes from the knowledge that as we grow in numbers more questions will arise which call for work of the best trained mental character, and our secondary schools cannot be overlooked in meeting this demand.

We stated in an earlier portion of the paper that there were often indignant complaints of the High School being shamefully treated by the community. Might it not be the case that we are simply looking at the result which I have just now pointed out, and have been all along unable to recognise the why and the wherefore? There is no doubt that we have felt something wrong and have been and are making great efforts to rectify it by developing the schools along popular lines, Long since, under the name of a commercial education, departures were taken from the routine study of Latin and Greek and students' minds were directed to modern languages, science, and book-keeping, as forming an education complete in itself. At the time of the classical mania it no doubt had much to recommend it. It was the food on which heroes were bred, being the study which had been carried out to the greatest extent, and therefore produced the most perfect mental training then known. All that, however, is altered now. The enormous discoveries of recent science and the application of mathematics to the solution of problems beyond the range of actual experiment at once produced a rival to the old classical course. No rival was ever more warmly welcomed or more bitterly opposed, Culture bad, under the old dispensation, been restricted to the classical minds, now the mathematical and science men got an innings, and as might be expected, after being out in the cold so long, made things lively. Henceforth the secondary schools, which all along professed only to give mental training, were compelled to see in the teaching of science the same mental training they had always professed, and they took kindly to the change. They took kindly to the change in the sense that they recognised that it was useless to oppose the growth of modern thought, and the theory of development of science furnishing a perfect mental culture in itself, appeared to the older school to place them in the position of not conceding their principles. Had the reason been stated to be 'popular demand' it would have been indignantly rejected.

The same element which resisted the introduction of science and commercial studies now restate the modern innovations, and again we brine; up our time honoured fiction, not that athletics are now developed such a pitch that they are a mental training in themselves, but that a healthy body fosters a healthy mind, and that to produce the highest mental culture we must first fit the body For its reception. Under this theory athletics and subjects of a practical nature can be gradually introduced without offence, This is the stage we have now arrived at in New Zealand. Our High Schools cultivate all the outdoor sports—football, cricket rifle shorting, swimming, and others—and in regard to the tendency of our schools to combine scientific knowledge with accurate training of the hand and eye the best instance I have come across is where, in science classes, the pupils are compelled to construct their own apparatus. For the girls we have calisthenics, tennis, needlework! cookery, and even dancing is not unknown in the secondary schools of the colony.

Just pausing to review what I have enumerated—why cannot we frankly [*unclear*: admit] that those things are adopted simply to supply the popular demand? Though great numbers of the subjects have a mental culture aspect, that is not our reason for adopting them, it is simply to keep pace with the times. The fact that they have an important bearing on mental training arises purely from the well known law that the struggle for existence always produces a healthy offspring and a development along proper lines. In this case the proper lines evolve mental culture of the highest order, which goes to show that the old theory of mental culture being the great object to be attained is built on a sure foundation. The error into which we in modern days have fallen is to confound the end (mental culture), with the means (study of classics), for attaining that end, and to imagine that in no other way can that end be attained. As long, however, as we wait patiently until we are driven to a position to ensure our existence our position cannot be very secure. Secondary education, from its importance, should direct the nation's growth, should guide the horses instead of being dragged from the tail board. It is true that machines may be directed from the stem or stern, but in the latter case there is some thing grim in the

suggestion that they are all *at sea*. So far then the history of secondary education shows that when brought face to face with the demand for a change we *have* changed and to a certain extent met the demand: we were in fact compelled to do so.

Our position simply stated then is this. The area from which we draw is restricted, and unfortunately the growth of the day inside that area does not call for a correspondingly increased demand for secondary work. Outside this area the education of the trades is advancing with rapid strides, and from a mental point of view—apart altogether from the practical training—is becoming a very considerable rival to our present secondary education. The schools in the past have had to give way to popular demand, and will have to do so again. Finally, all classes of the State support the schools and will have a say in their government. What becomes of our outlook now? Refuse to listen to popular demand: educational death. Simply to meet popular demand as a last resort also means an ignominious end.

In the enormous legislative activity which characterises the world of to-day, especially along the lines of popular control of the various institutions of the State, "Thou shall not" appears to be the keynote of treatment of everything obnoxious. All that is injurious or unnecessary or *deemed* to be such by the State, it prohibits, it abolishes. Get outside popular sympathy and what will be the fate even of our High Schools? Like Bacon's head of brass which in vain gave the warning "Time is," "Time was," "Time is past," e'er it shattered into fragments, the schools may appeal to us, only to be misunderstood, only to be neglected. We can understand the agony of the Friar when he saw his seven years' labour wrecked at his feet, and turning to the custodian, says:—

*'Tis past, indeed, Ah, villain! time is past:
My life, my fame, my glory, all are past—Bacon,
The turrets of thy hope are roin'd down,
Thy seven years' study lieth in the dust:
Thy Brazen Head lies broken through a slave,
That watch'd, and would not when the head did will.*

Listen to his answer [*unclear: to*] the reply that the head only said "Time's," and Let us profit by listening:—

*Villain, if thou [*unclear: hadest*] called to Bacon [*unclear: the,*]
If thou had'st [*unclear: wath'd*] and wak'd the sleepy friar,
The Brazen Head had utter'd aphorisms,
And England had been circled round with brass.*

Let the schools take their proper position in the State and lead on the people to something higher and better from an educational standpoint, and what is Likely to be their course of conduct? The State is built up in all its most important elements by direct representation, and even in our second Legislative Chamber with the recent limitation of tenure of office we see an approach to this form of selection. At the present time our High School Boards appear to avoid direct popular representation as they would a deadly enemy, and the result is a lack of interest on the part of the public which in many cases produces a most pernicious result. In regard to this question of direct popular control it is more a change which will have to be brought about to enable us to develop with the State than an indication of what the schools will do. Even now I believe the absence of popular representation is a grave defect.

Drawing its revenue from the State and inside the State equality of voting power existing, the only thing which [*unclear: makes*] fees charged in the secondary schools while the primary are free is the fact that the mass of the people have taken little interest in our secondary schools. Once all possess an equal interest the charge goes upon the State as it matter of course. An educated people growing up around will see as clearly as it can be seen that a secondary course possesses great advantages in the direction of certain professions. The poorest worker desires these advantages for his boy just as eagerly as the richest idler in the land. There is only one way in which all can start fair—the schools must be free. Once you hear the clamour for high fees know that the end is near. I anticipate no such result but I can easily conceive circumstances in connection with the government of our schools and their exclusiveness which would raise a demand for their abolition. The greatest enemies our system has to fear at the present time are those who decline to take advantage of the schools on grounds of want of selectness. As long as this class is correctly gauged no harm can arise as happily its numbers are small.

We pointed out that our secondary schools only met the case of a small proportion of the community. Of

course it goes without saying that their sphere of usefulness is largely extended when made free, but don't mistake my meaning, they are free to a greater number of individuals but the area of the trades which was previously shut out is not lessened one whit. The reason for not meeting the case of the trades was a reason not grounded at all on finance but related to age and mechanical training. Free education, therefore, only reduces the incompleteness of the system to a minimum, it is still existing for the benefit of only a small portion of the community while the remainder is without any corresponding assistance. To compensate for this deficiency in the balance something must be devised in the way of free education for the remainder and that no doubt will take the form of assistance given to agricultural and technical schools thus making provision for the town and country. Our future secondary system after being made free must be made to apply equally to the various classes of the community. The same system which lays the groundwork for the architect and surveyor may lay the groundwork for the printer and the engineer; cannot see how a logical distinction can be established between the education of these two classes. Our secondary system at the present time is only a secondary system so long as the trades require nothing beyond primary work, once they reach a higher standard the feature of our system is the absence of system, it is one sided, will be recognised to be such and will be amended. Once it is agreed that our secondary system should embrace all classes, the question arises whether the additional work will be covered by institutions running side by side with our present High Schools, or whether all will merge and run as one institution. In regard to the capacity of one institution to direct so wide an area, I would refer to the Universities, where, under the one control, practically in the same building, even in the same lecture-rooms are taught the minister, the doctor, the lawyer, the mining mechanical and civil engineer, and the teacher; to the same class also flock chemists, clerks, tradesmen of all classes, farmers, electricians and a host of others, Surely this is not a more varied assembly than would be included within the compass of the secondary system I have indicated?

I have already exceeded the time allowed me for a paper, and cannot now go into detail, but the real point of interest commences here; and I will indicate the outstanding points of a system which could be made universal.

(1.) The withdrawal of any restriction on the teaching of secondary work in the primary schools.

This is a matter of which I never could understand the philosophy, it seems to me to be Protection in its worst at form and a free hand should be given to all teachers to do what they like after the syllabus is satisfied.

(2) Supplementing the staff of the larger schools to enable them to be put on a footing similar to District High Schools.

At present the time lost in changing from the one system to the other is very great and must throw pupils back for many months. Under the plan I indicate there is nothing to hinder extra work being taken at the fifth standard.

(3) The abolition of all primary work from the High Schools.

Under this scheme the students who would be coming up would have completed their primary work and have made a start in secondary work. In regard to those who dislike to send their children to a primary school I would show them no consideration.

(4) No fixed course in the High School but all classes optional.

We have been developing towards this for many years in High Schools and Universities. I would simply carry it out to its logical conclusion and give the same option that the Universities do.

(5) The introduction of the college system of classes to enable pupils of all kinds and engaged in all occupations to attend the schools.

I have indicated the different classes of men who meet in the one class in our colonial colleges, why cannot the same plan work in our secondary schools? My hearers must remember that this scheme only brings together the eager [unclear: land], no encouragement is given the others, their continuance at school is a State loss be they rich or poor and we act accordingly.

We have now gone as far as can be expected in the short compass of one paper. I had hoped to be able to develop more elaborately, and indicate more clearly the conduct of an institution on the lines I last stated, but time will not permit, it may be said that the only portion of the paper dealing with the subject is the last and that has not been developed. There is some truth in this but remember where we are. The divine right of kings and kindred theories have long since been exploded and you cannot now expect to hear that one section of the community has rights which another has not. A careful knowledge of our position is of the utmost importance and must be kept steadily in mind in every criticism. We have endeavoured to examine what extent of ground the secondary schools cover and what they do not, and what were the future prospects of each. We saw the incompleteness of a system which aided only a small portion of the community and left the remainder out in the cold at the same time that it drew money for its support from all. We saw the power of this neglected portion. We saw that when once their attention was directed to the position the inequality would force itself upon them. We considered how we should anticipate this result in developing the schools. We saw that the very nature of

things limited our development and even free education only limited and did not remove the objection. Knowing that the great gap must be filled we look at the question of independent institutions under the one system, or the alternative extension of our present one-sided scheme to cover all and bring our secondary system into a proper relation with every department in the State.

The width of the field cannot be conceived until it is entered upon, but so far as I am aware the subject put forward in this paper for your consideration has never before been placed before an audience. The writer hopes to derive profit from an instruction from the criticism which may be evoked and places his views into your hands at this time with that object.

vignette

Southland Times Co.'s Print, Invercargill.

Front Cover

Lodge of Sorrow

Lodge L'Amour de la Oeite.

Under the jurisdiction of

The Grand Orient of France.

In Remembrance of

Bro. the late Hon. John Ballance, past Senior Warden.

Programme

Chain of Union by Members of the Lodge.

Roll Call.

Ode "THEY CANNOT DIE"

(All present are requested to join.)

Say not they die, those martyr souls Who life is winged with purpose fine; Who leave us pointing to the goals,
Who learn to conquer and resign.

Such cannot die; they vanquish time, And fill the world with growing light, Making the human life sublime,
With memories of their sacred right.

They cannot die, whose lives are part Of that great life which is to be, [hearts, Whose hearts beat with the
world's great And throb with its high destiny.

They cannot die, whose lives enshrine A soul of truth and human love; Their beacon lights eternal shine,
Refulgently as stars above.

Then mourn not those who dying gave A gift or greater light to man; Death stands abashed before the brave,
They own a life he may not ban.

Procession of the Orient. Solo MR. E. HILL.

Procession of the South. Solo MRS. TAYLOR.

Procession of the North. Solo BRO. ELLISON.

Commemorative Address by Bro. Sir R. Stout. Anthem ... "CROSSING THE BAR."

Chain of Union by Members of Lodge. Closing Ode... "TO SLEEP."

(All present are requested to join.)

To sleep, to sleep, the long bright day is done, And darkness rises from the fallen sun. To sleep, to sleep, To
sleep, to sleep,

Whate'er thy joys, they vanish with the day; Whate'er thy griefs in sleep they fade away. To sleep, to sleep, To
sleep, to sleep.

Sleep, mournful heart and let the past be past, Sleep, happy soul, all life will sleep last, To sleep, to sleep, To
sleep, to sleep.

vignette

Bock A Co., Printer, [unclear: Brandon] Street, Wellington.

A Note and an Explanation.

NO event in the history of New Zealand ever roused its people to so universal a feeling of sympathy and regret as the death of Mr. John Ballance in the ripeness and maturity of his mental powers, and at a time when he should have been enjoying the full vigor of manhood, with many years to devote to the service of the country which had conferred upon him the highest distinction in its gift. From Stewart's Island to the North Cape a wave of sorrow passed over the land when the news that the Premier was no more was flashed over the telegraph wires. In shepherd's hut and plutocrat's mansion, in Radical meeting and Tory conclave, all thought of political and social antagonism, of the contending strife of parties and the war of sects, was driven forth by all-mastering grief, a grief which was deepened and intensified when the story of those last sad months and

days was given to the world. The words of political animosity remained unuttered on the lips of the most ardent partisan—the workman laid down his tools to read with tear-filled eyes the heroic story of Buffering bravely met, of the heroism and self-immolation of the sick-chamber, greater than the headlong gallantry born of the heat and strife and physical intoxication of the battlefield. Then it was that the sorrow of the nation found voice and took tangible shape in the solemn ceremonies of the State funeral—no mere official function, but the practical embodiment of a people's love. Then it was that the waves of sorrow flowing through the land became a mighty flood, sweeping down all artificial barriers and carrying with it an ocean of sympathy—taking tangible shape in touching messages of condolence, in one universal psalm of sorrow from press and people, in messages of sympathy from wharepuni and public hall, from raupo whare by forest primeval to the house wherein the Representative of Her Majesty holds state. So absorbing did the interest in these details prove that the largely increased newspaper editions were altogether inadequate for the demand made upon them. It is in consonance with repeated requests that I sit down to-day to write the story of that fatal illness and of the death and burial of the Chief Officer of the State, introducing much matter not yet published. For the appreciative and sympathetic editorial comment upon the event which let loose the flood-gates of the nation's sorrow. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Editor of the *Evening post*, who, though frequently opposed to Mr. Ballance in politics, had for him genuine regard and sympathy as a man. Its reproduction is also by kind permission of Messrs, Blundell Brothers, the proprietors of the *Post*, in which paper much of the matter first appeared.

E. D. Hoben.

Wellington,

May 7, 1893.

A Deteran Journalists Tribute.

(From the *Evening Post* of Friday, 28th Aprill, 1893.)

THE worst fears entertained regarding Mr. Ballance have unfortunately been realised, and yesterday evening he passed away, after a long and severe illness, borne with quiet heroism. His death has naturally created a profound sensation of grief throughout the colony. Undoubtedly it has been hastened by his devotion to public duty, and he died in harness, being engaged in official work up to the very eve of the operation under which he ultimately sank. The council-chamber, the office, and the House proved more fatal to him than the perils of war, which in his earlier career as a New Zealand colonist he had not shirked to encounter at the call of duty, Mr. Ballance was in every sense a good colonist, and he had passed through many vicissitudes incidental to colonial life. In all he bore his part honourably and manfully. Without adventitious aid, but by the sheer force of his ability and strength of character, he raised himself from a humble position to that of Premier of the colony. As a journalist he soon distinguished himself when the opportunity offered itself, and his fellow-townsmen at Wanganui were quick to recognise his ability, his earnestness, his eloquence, his originality, and, above all his frank, kindly, and manly character in all relations of life. These qualities have since become more widely known, and as fully recognised, throughout the colony. History may not, probably will not, regard Mr. Ballance in the light of a great statesman, but if it be truthful it will record his name as that of a man who had earned and fully enjoyed the respect and admiration of his fellow-colonists—as one who had served the colony well, and whose honest and earnest desire to do good to all around him, and to advance the interests of his adopted country, no man doubted. Such an epitaph is one worth living to gain. The loss of such a man as Mr. Ballance, cut off in the prime of life and usefulness, would be a serious one in any community, however vast. In a small community like that of New Zealand, it is a public calamity. The number of men in this colony able and entitled to take their place in the front rank of public life is small. Mr. Ballance's death, following so closely on that of his predecessor, Sir Harry Atkinson, makes a gap not easily supplied. Before the great leveller Death, all questions of Party sink into insignificance, and Mr. Ballance's death will be mourned as sincerely by those who were unable to agree with his political views or to approve of his administration as by his most devoted political adherents and admirers. His motives no one questioned, even when compelled to sometimes disapprove of his methods. For him personally, all who knew him entertained not only respect, but a degree of affection which became the deeper the better he was known. His early death will be mourned from one end of the colony to the other by all who can appreciate the high qualities, intellectual and moral, by which John Ballance was honourably distinguished in every relation of public and private life. To Mrs. Ballance the most respectful sympathy is due in the terrible affliction which has fallen on her. We are not violating the

sanctities of the domestic hearth when we say that it was no ordinary bond of affection which united Mr. and Mrs. Ballance. Theirs was indeed "a marriage of true minds," and in the very fullest sense did his wife prove a helpmate, in times of adversity as well as of prosperity, in failure and success, in public and in private life, and above all, in the last sad scenes which preceded the final and fatal separation. It is, perhaps, vain to speak of consolation at the present moment, but even the deepest grief may be in some measure assuaged by sincere sympathy, and Mrs. Ballance may be assured that her husband's death is to-day mourned in deepest truth from one end to the other of the colony of which he was Premier, and in other lands there will also be many who will hear of his death with feelings of the keenest regret.

vignette

The Premier's Career.

This is distinctly *not* a biography of Mr. Ballance. It is not even a biographical sketch. History will record the various measures which he originated, and with which his name has become associated, and history will record their effects, be they for good or ill. Suffice it to say that however much those who come after him in the government of the country, and in the direction of its legislation, may differ from his views and from his methods, there will be no drawing back. Every outpost in the march of progress has been entrenched, every frontier fully occupied, and the reformer of tomorrow will recognise the position of to-day, and will not seek to drive back the forces of reform, but rather to direct their further advance in consonance with his own ideas and his experience. "What is achieved has been conquered, and the army of occupation is in possession. But though there is not here any attempt at biography, it is necessary to an appreciation of the man to give some bald details of the various stages by which the son of an Antrim tenant-farmer, and the apprentice of a Birmingham ironmonger, advanced by the sheer force of his own character and ability, without extraneous aids—and in spite, too, of views in some respects entirely antagonistic to the feeling of the nation—to the proud position of ruler and law-maker to the most prosperous colony in the British Empire. The record is necessarily confined to what is but a procession of dates, but the dates serve as milestones along the road of progress; and some record is necessary as an object-lesson to every young colonist as to what persistency of effort, purity of motive, absolute fidelity to ideals, and overmastering industry, may accomplish without the adventitious aids of wealth, position, and influence.

Mr. Ballance was one of the many distinguished Irishmen who have taken a prominent part in the government of the colonies. He was born at Glenavy, County Antrim, on 27th March, 1839, and was therefore just over 54 years of age. His father, Samuel Ballance, was a tenant on Lord Hertford's estate. His primary education was obtained at a National school. On leaving school he was apprenticed to an ironmonger, and removed to Birmingham, spending eight years in that centre of Radicalism and home of self-culture. Here he took advantage to the full of the opportunities which the progressive movement, then seething in the great manufacturing town, afforded young men for self-improvement. He attended the evening classes of the Midland Institute, took an active part in debating societies, and contributed to the press, gaining thereby those powers of concentration and direct expression, that facility of marshalling thought, and ability to most happily express it, which so many of our foremost novelists, orators, and public men have gained by passing through the crucible of journalism. But his culture at this time was not merely mental; it was also vigorously physical. A few short weeks ago there came to the Premier's residence at Wellington a gentleman who asked that he might be admitted to see Mr. Ballance. That was before the last journey to Wanganui. He was met by the Private Secretary, Mr. A. M. Smith, who told him that Mr. Ballance was then too ill to see anyone. The visitor expressed great regret, said he was but recently from Birmingham, where he had been a friend of the Premier's youth, and it was an especial desire that he should see him. The Secretary was interested, asked for particulars, and discovered that not only had the future Premier been foremost in the Debating Club, but foremost, too, in the gymnasium, where he was known as a boxer of exceptional power, ability, and endurance. The lessons of force, tenacity, and good temper which boxing teaches he carried into after-life. Had he continued also the habits of physical exercise which were then associated with these qualities, the end might not have been yet. The Birmingham visitor ultimately saw his friend, who greeted him as cordially as in the days when they were youths together.

Moved by the yearning which his full life had produced, anxious to find in a new country scope for the aspirations and energies which were cramped in the old, Mr. Ballance left Birmingham at the age of 27, and sailed round the Cape to Melburne, whence he came to Wellington, intending to commence sheep-farming at Wanganui. This he found difficult of accomplishment without experience or capital, and so he started instead a jeweller's shop of a good class; but finding this was too advanced for the then stage of Wanganui civilisation, he abandoned it, and started the Wanganui Herald, to mould the destinies of the young community. The

struggles incidental to the establishment of a newspaper were overcome at last, and its proprietor-editor gained a reputation throughout the colony as a powerful and incisive writer, and presently opportunity came for a more direct personal interference in public affairs, and the exercise of the readiness of debate learned in the mimic forums of Birmingham.

But it was not alone in the petty strife of local politics that the young settler showed himself ready to share the trials and bear the responsibilities of his brother-colonists. When Titokowaru and his tribesmen threatened the young community in 1868, Mr. Ballance called a meeting of his fellow-citizens, and at that meeting was formed the Wanganui Cavalry, which its promoter joined as plain Trooper Bollance, soon to rise to Corporal for his action at Nukumarū, and later to the rank of Cornet, when a summary stop was put to his military career. He had been contributing to his paper, from the front, descriptions of the campaign and its operations, and in one of these so strongly criticised the manner in which the war was being conducted as to grossly offend the powers that were, and Cornet Ballance was informed that Her Majesty no longer required his services. Years later, Her Majesty was pleased to call him to the Government of one of her brightest possessions, and would, had he accepted it, have conferred upon the cashiered Cornet the distinguished order of Knighthood as a mark of her especial favour.

By 1873 Mr. Ballance had so far advanced in the political life of the community that he stood against the late Mr. W. S. Moorhouse and Sir Harry Atkinson for the Egmont seat, but retired, when his return was considered safe, in favour of the then Major Atkinson. In 1875, however, he entered Parliament for Rangitikei, and sat for that district until 1880, when he was returned for Wanganui.

The rest of the story is familiar to every diligent reader of those contemporary histories, the newspapers. The new member began at once to assume a notable part in the House, and showed especial interest in matters of local government. In January, 1878, he accepted office as Minister for Education in the Grey Ministry, changing this to Colonial Treasurer in July. In June, 1870, he resigned his office, owing to differences with the Premier. He sat for Wanganui until 1881, when he was defeated by Mr. W. H. Watt by the narrow majority of four, but at the general election of 1884 he was again returned, by a two-to-one majority over Messrs. Watt and George Hutchison. In 1884 he joined the Stout-Vogel Ministry as Native Minister and Minister for Defence and Lands, retaining office till October, 1887. In the next year he became Leader of the Opposition, and in 1891 he was called to office as Premier and Colonial Treasurer—portfolios which he held till his death.

Mr. Ballance was twice married. His first wife was a Miss Taylor, sister of Mr. H. S. Taylor, of Wanganui. After her death Mr. Ballance married Ellen, daughter of the late David Anderson, of Wellington, in 1870. Throughout his political life she was in the fullest sense his helpmate and confidant, the partner of his triumphs and the sharer of his disappointments. Throughout his career she sustained him by her counsel and affection against every rebuff of fortune, and throughout those cruelly bitter months of his last trial she soothed every sorrow and assuaged every pain, nursing him with a single-hearted devotion and self-sacrifice which must ever remain as an example of wifely fidelity to duty. There were no children of either marriage, but there is an adopted daughter, Kathleen Anderson, a niece of Mrs. Ballance and a typical little Celt, who had entwined herself into the affections of her now father.

Last Days.

The Beginning of the End.

THE fatal illness dates from the early days of last session. Then it was called gastric spasms. From the Press Gallery of the House it was pitiful to watch the progress of the disease. Night after night it could be seen that the Liberal leader was fighting with deadly pain. The man who had gained immeasurably in the estimation of the House and the public during the Parliament, and who had successfully battled with the political forces arrayed against him, triumphing by his own indomitable will, was fighting with all the power which that will gave to thrust down the physical weakness which threatened to overcome him. Time after time he would be observed lying back in his place, ashen pale, waiting to reply to some threatened attack from the Opposition benches, forced to get up every little while and retire to his room, there to writhe in agony. Back to the House he would come, and when the expected attack was being delivered, he would take notes in a bold hand upon the foolscap before him, while stimulating his flagging energies with powerful restorative salts. Then, when it came his turn to reply, casting off all signs of weakness, he would, with the fluency of the ready debater, seek to rout his accuser.

This sort of thing was more than human flesh could bear, and so at last he was compelled to give way, and leave the Hon. W. P. Reeves to lead the House. During that gentleman's leadership there was a memorable

scene produced by an aside addressed by him to Mr. George Hutchison, and Sir George Grey's question respecting the Legislative Council appointments requiring to be answered soon after, the Premier felt himself compelled to return to the House before he had sufficiently recovered, and once more that heroic but suicidal struggle with pain and weakness was resumed. Night after night the Leader stood by his Electoral Bill, piloting its main principles through the shoals of Committee, visibly suffering agony unspeakable. At last he had to give in, and leave the Bill to his colleagues, while trusting the Minister for Public Works to lead the House. What happened then everyone knows, but the struggle had killed the Premier. He had offered himself up as a sacrifice upon the altar of Party. The struggle had been a struggle to the death, and, singularly enough, during the course of that struggle there was an ominous token. The man who was killing himself for his Party paid eloquent tribute to the memory of his predecessor in office, whose end had been so dramatically in keeping with his career. He, too, had fallen a victim to Party Government, and, as Mr. Ballance delivered his panegyric, it was felt by those who had watched closely the progress of events that he was also delivering what might serve as his own funeral oration. It was long before he could be moved from Wellington, but when this was possible he went to Taranaki in search of the strength which had left him. While at New Plymouth he suffered a severe relapse, and was brought back to Wellington by special train, Dr. O'Carroll coming with him. His case had by this time become desperate, and as his medical advisers practically considered it hopeless, it was decided by his friends and himself that he should permit Mr. Heiden, an old mine manager who had effected some remarkable cures by

Massage and Animal Magnetism,

to try what he could do. For a long time the serious aspect of the case was the continual suppression of natural functions, but these the new treatment restored for the time, and for some time such remarkably good results were produced that hopes of speedy recovery were freely entertained, and on all hands congratulatory poured in upon Mrs. Ballance, who had so nobly nursed her husband in his dire distress. The relief was so great that the Premier was able to return to his home at Wanganui, Mr. Heiden going with him, and, from being a bed-ridden invalid, was able to walk about his garden, take drives, conduct the business of his office, and take his share in the government of the country.

This now glimpse of the pleasures of life, this relief from the gnawing agonies with which he had been so long afflicted, gave the Premier fresh hope and fresh vitality. He revolved schemes for the utilisation of the expected Treasury surplus, and studied social problems anew with a view to availing himself of the power of his Party to attempt their solution. Especially interested was he in the experiment of which the State Farm was to be the first embodiment, and he frequently discussed its possible extension. His idea was that the State Farm should be not only a home for the aged, where their sense of independence would be preserved by their being able to make some return in labour for their keep, but that it should be a training-ground on which the waifs of humanity and the unfortunate poor should be taught self-respect and the nobility of labour, with a view to the establishment of a community of which the Government was to be the patriarchal head and centre. The idea which was floating in his brain was to procure from the Natives some 200,000 or 300,000 acres of land, upon which those who had passed their probation and gained the necessary knowledge and experience on the State Farm should be assisted to settle, and make homes for themselves on some such system as the lease in perpetuity. This was a favourite theme with him, and he hoped, after the State Farm experiment had proved a success, to then give practical effect to ideas upon somewhat similar lines to those upon which General Booth had proposed to work in England. In this model communal settlement dairy factories were to be established, fruit-fermenting plants erected, and fruit-raising encouraged, silk-culture engaged in, and a variety of cognate industries established by the co-operation of the settlers under the fostering care of the State. While this was being done for settlers inland, he hoped to be able to establish settlements on the coast to promote oyster-culture and develop the fishing industry. An idealist this, but an idealist who gave to his idealism a practical bent.

The cares of office occupied him as long as he could bear the strain, and then he would lay down State papers and seek solace and relief in Milton or Tennyson or Shake-speare, or upon the chess-board, which was always at hand, throwing his whole mind into the solution of some intricate problem. Such pursuits he would alternate with dips into works upon gardening and poultry-raising. These things were his recreation.

His love for animals was very great, and it was abundantly shown at this time; and his love for inanimate nature was just as great as for the animate. It was a favourite proposition of his, embodying his philosophy, that the mystery of the natural laws was so profound, and so little comprehended, that he was content to wait until he had gained some little knowledge upon them before essaying to comprehend the super-natural—the philosophy, this, of so ancient a sage as Confucius. His love of nature led him to watch with the keenest interest every shrub and tree which he had planted or caused to be planted at his Wanganui home. As he felt life once

more coursing through his veins, it gave him infinite delight to go round his orchard, watching every tree with solicitous regard for its welfare and thorough knowledge of its nature and habits. One day, when he was feeling exceptionally well, he wished to ascertain particulars respecting some apples in his orchard which he had an idea were not true to kind. Loading his pockets with specimen fruit, he tramped two miles to the establishment of a friendly orchardist, where he entered with animation into the comparison of the fruit which he had brought with that at the orchard, sampling it freely, and afterwards walked back to his own home. That was his last tramp. An official from Wellington, who had come up to see him in reference to departmental trouble, found him at the orchard, and walked back with him; and all that evening, tired as he was with his unwonted exercise, he was unable to take the rest which was absolutely necessary, and had to remain while the details of the departmental worry were poured into his ears. The matter gave him much concern, and with the fatigue induced by his outing and its conclusion, he suffered, a few days later, a severe relapse.

Dr. Saunders was called in, and brought with him Professor Holden, ex-President of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, who happened to be in the colony at the time. There was a consultation and examination, as a result of which the English surgeon gave it as his opinion that there was no organic derangement, but that, as it were, the engine had been too powerful for the ship—that, in fact, Mr. Ballance's resolute will had driven on his mental powers and kept them at high pressure until there had come physical collapse. He advised that an operation would be necessary, and that the Premier

Must Retire From Politics,

and take complete rest, and possibly a long voyage of at least six months. This last decision was communicated to Mrs. Ballance, and by her communicated to her husband. The reply was characteristic. It was that he was a soldier in the service of his country, engaged in battling for its welfare, and it would be as much an act of cowardice for him to leave his post of duty as for a soldier to desert his comrades upon the battlefield. He would rather, as his duty lay,

Die at his Post

than lay down the reins of office while the people of the country and the men of his Party desired that he should retain them.

His colleagues urged him to remain away still longer and give himself a further chance; but he was anxious to be about the work of preparing for the session, and after a short time he came down to Wellington and presided over various Cabinet meetings held at his own house, showing mental grasp and vigour strangely out of keeping with his physical weakness. From all his departments at this time were coining anticipations of a surplus, soon to be realised, and when on Easter Saturday he asked me to come up and see him, he was pardonably proud of the results which were then assured. But how changed was the man in the short space of a few weeks! His intellect was as bright as ever, and his greeting as cordial, but he had fallen away until what had been sturdy limbs could now have been spanned by the hand. The idea of a sea voyage possessed him, and after talking of his surplus, comparing figures, filling in details of departments—which, it being a holiday, I had brought him—and finally reckoning up the substantial whole, he spoke with eagerness of a trip he promised himself in the Hinemoa. But he had taken remedial measures too late. Even as he expressed to me his confidence in his ultimate recovery, I felt that

The Hand of Death

was upon him, even as I had felt as I met him day by day during the session that he was a doomed man for whom there was but one hope of recovery—that rest and change and freedom from care which he refused to allow himself.

About this time the treatment by massage and magnetism ceased, and soon after came a message that Mr. Ballance had had to abandon his proposed trip, as his medical attendant (Dr. Henry) had pronounced against it. He could not, however, wholly relinquish the idea, and so set was his heart on getting on the sea that he arranged for a trip round the harbour in the Ellen Ballance. Fine weather had been experienced up to that very day, but that day was the first of the wet spell which set in and lasted till the day of his funeral. Nevertheless, accompanied by his friend and colleague the Hon. John M'Kenzie, Minister of Lands, he went out in the Government launch, and, the rain coming on, had to be taken below, where the closeness of the little cabin did not improve matters. Next day he was bad. The next, worse. Then better, then worse, but always bad. There was a complete stoppage of the natural functions. A consultation was held, Drs. Anson and James acting with Dr. Henry and with Dr. MacGregor, who had watched the case throughout as a friend.

As a result of this consultation, it was decided to send at once for Dr. Cleghorn, of Blenheim, and on his

arrival a further consultation was held, on Thursday, 20th April, and that evening it was decided that there was only one thing which offered any hope of saving the patient's life. The bowels must be laid bare, opened, cleansed, and the obstruction removed. For more than ten days there had been a cessation of the functions, and

The Danger was Imminent.

Up to this time Mr. Ballance had been perfectly sanguine, and confident of his ultimate recovery, and any suggestion to the contrary produced upon him a most serious effect.

I had been fully cognisant of every stage in his illness, and of all the hopes and fears of his colleagues; but knowing this, and knowing that the Premier always insisted on reading the papers, and acting also at the express request of his colleagues, refrained from publishing anything of an unpleasant or alarmist character, or any comment which would cause the sufferer concern. An instance of his intense feeling regarding any suggestion as to the hopelessness of his case was supplied a week before his death, when he got possession of a Westland paper containing a telegram from Wellington suggesting that he could not recover, and speculating as to his successor. The telegram gave him intense annoyance, and he insisted upon a contradiction being sent. Again, when he came on his last journey from Wanganui, he was lying in pain in a carriage, when some pressmen appeared at Palmerston North and entered the compartment. He at once got up, assumed an appearance of ease, and remained standing while he spoke to them; but as they thoughtlessly continued asking him questions, and he felt unable longer to combat the pain and weakness under which he laboured, he placed his hand upon his side, excused himself, said he felt tired with the journey, and lying down, concluded the interview in that position, his questioners little thinking the agony they were causing him. Up to this time the feeling here described, and a fear as to its effects, had prevented his colleagues from suggesting to him the necessity which was always present to themselves of appointing his successor. When, however, the result of the consultation was told to him, and Mr. Ballance was made aware that he was

Face to Face with Death,

and that the only alternative was an operation so serious that it might itself involve death, he realised at once the gravity of his position. It took until the Sunday morning to prepare the necessary instruments, agree as to a plan of operations, and make final arrangements. During this interval the poor sufferer was as a condemned man awaiting his doom. As the hours passed by he appeared to positively shrink up with the sufferings, mental and physical, which he was going through, and for the first time he spoke of a successor. He told his colleagues that he now saw it would be better for him to resign. Under such circumstances they passed the matter off lightly, and bade him be of good cheer and trust that the operation would be successful. On Sunday Sir Robert Stout came, and a message awaited him at the wharf to proceed at once to the Premier's residence. There he found Mr. Ballance waiting to give him his last requests and directions as to eventualities in the too probable event of his not surviving the ordeal he was about to go through. All the Cabinet Ministers in Wellington were assembled at the house, and there was an effecting good-bye between them and their chief, Ministers whom the public would think least likely to give way finding a moistening of the eyes and a choking of the throat. With Mrs. Ballance, faithful wife and all-sacrificing nurse, there was, too, an affecting parting, and then came the word from the doctors that all was in readiness.

The Dread Preparations

for the operation had proceeded in his own bedroom before the eyes of the subject, much as mediæval torturers prepared their wracks and thumbscrews in the sight of the victim, but this time the effort was to be made in the cause of humanity and not of inhumanity. Dr. Cleghorn was to perform the operation, Dr. Fell assisting him, and Drs. MacGregor and M'Kenzie were there with Dr. Henry. When the summons came, the Premier, casting off in an extraordinary manner the depression and weakness which the suspense had produced, sprang out of bed, and, walking unassisted to the operating table, shook hands cordially with the medical men, said good-bye to all, stepped on to the board, and throwing himself on his back bade the operators begin. It was a wonderful example of physical courage triumphing over physical weakness. Chloroform was administered, and for about two hours and a half the operation was proceeded with. The right side above the hip was laid open, and the bowel exposed and severed and accumulations removed, but the operation was still incomplete when it was felt that it would not be safe to continue longer, and the patient was brought back to semi-consciousness. During all this time his relatives, Sir Robert Stout, and his colleagues, had been waiting, fearing the worst as the moments went by. Next morning the patient was partially conscious, and was able to speak hopefully of the ultimate success of the operation to his brother-in-law (Mr. Anderson) and Sir Robert, and at a further consultation on that evening it was decided that the operation might be resumed on the Tuesday

morning. Once more that anxious group of Ministers and friends gathered at the Premier's residence, and once more the poor sufferer, who had been kept more or less under the influence of opiates, was laid upon the operating board and placed under the knife. At 8 a.m. the operation was resumed, and by 11 it was completed, the engorged bowel relieved, the gaping wound sown up, and a syphon inserted, but

The Obstruction had not been Found.

Now came the critical stage. Twenty-four—forty-eight—hours would show whether the exhausted system could throw off the weakness under which it suffered, whether the relieved organs would act, whether the real obstruction did not still exist. The patient alternated between semi-consciousness and delirium. There was little hope from the first, but there was some. As the hours passed on, and it was found impossible to give him anything beyond a very little fluid nourishment, the hope waned steadily, and the wonderful vitality which the sufferer had shown threatened to be exhausted at last. From the Saturday morning until the hour of his death the Premier had no material food. On Wednesday a last effort was made by the injection of champagne to stave off the end, and set the bodily functions once more going. There was a temporary revival—a flicker of the expiring life—but by Thursday morning the medical men had practically given up hope, and, as the afternoon advanced they feared that the end was at hand. Messengers were sent out in haste to summon Ministers, who had just gone to their residences after coming out of Cabinet, the Minister for Public Works and the Colonial Secretary having been earlier in the morning at the Premier's residence. Cabs were flying hither and yon with urgent appeals for haste, and soon all the Ministers were going to Tinakori Road as fast as horse-flesh could take them.

Soon there were assembled with Mrs. Ballance and her sisters (Mrs. Forman and Mrs. Griffiths), who knelt around the bed, her brother (Mr. David Anderson), Mr. Seddon, Sir Robert Stout, Mr. John M'Kenzie, Mr. W. P. Reeves, Sir Patrick Buckley, Drs. Henry, Fell, and Cleghorn, the Private Secretary, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Heywood, Secretary to the Treasury. Such were the actors in that

Last Scene of All.

As the hours passed, they saw that the man upon whom every mind in New Zealand dwelt, the hope of his Party, and the admiration of his political foes, was sinking fast into the oblivion which had already come, to all appearance, to his senses. Presently it was desired to give some stimulant, and Messrs. Seddon and M'Kenzie spoke to their chief. The afternoon was waning, and so far the dying man had shown no sign of consciousness, but hearing the familiar voices, softened in sympathy, he turned his eyes towards the speakers, and, in doing so, his glance fell upon the kneeling figure of the stricken wife. At once there flashed into his countenance a look of recognition. That was the last sign of consciousness. The breathing became slower and slower, and as the day waned the une shaded light in the room threw a weird glow over the group at the bedside. The watches could be heard ticking off the seconds as the life went slowly out. A very short time, it was thought, would see the end, but the watchers by the bedside and the other watchers without waited till the shades of evening had closed around them before the white figure on the bed drew its last faint breath, and passed unconscious into the great consciousness beyond. The wife, by some strange premonition, saw the change when others perceived it not. Leaning over her husband she imprinted one lust kiss upon his lips. The fitful flicker of breath stopped in a slight sob, and all was over. He had gone out with the dying day. John Ballance, Premier and leader of men, was dead! Dead! Died of starvation, exhaustion, what you will—put it into the jargon of medical science, or the plain Saxon of the common tongue—but whichever you may write it, read it

"DIED A MARTYR TO DUTY."

Rumour and its portets.

Rumours of the impending dissolution had been rife throughout the day, and expectation of the end hung like a pall over the community, adding to the gloom which the elements produced. From time to time these rumours took tangible shape, and word flew from mouth to mouth that Death no longer waited for his victim in that house beneath the Tinakori hills. Telephone bells were set ringing to every possible source of information, and along the wires came the anxious query, "Is he dead?" As the afternoon wore on a definite statement that the end had come led to flags going slowly up till they floated half-mast high above the city, giving outward symbol to the feelings of the passing crowds below. The Land Board were sitting, discussing a question of routine, when to them came a messenger with word that the Premier had passed hence. That was at 4 o'clock. A hurried consultation took place, and the Chairman announced that the meeting would adjourn as a token of respect. About the same time a case was proceeding in the Resident Magistrate's Court, when intelligence of the rumour was brought to the Clerk, Mr. James, who informed the Bench. Mr. Men-teath at once rose, made feeling reference to the news received, and suggested adjournment. Mr. Martin, the R.M., said that, in the face

of the national calamity which had befallen, he would immediately adjourn the Court. The telephone wires soon conveyed this rumour back to the Chamber of Death itself, where the man whose affliction had so moved the multitude lay, with the hand of the Destroyer upon him, it was true, but not yet across the borderland. Back down the wires came the announcement that the time was not yet. Meantime the rumour had been flashed from end to end of the Colony, and many of the papers published at 4 announced the death which did not take place till 6.20. The Premier's own paper, the Wanganui Herald, was one of these, and came out with turned rules, while the man whom it mourned still lived. As the day closed in, the public feeling, so long tense, grew and swelled, and, in Wellington, the *Evening Post* office was besieged with enquirers. This at last induced the posting of a notice that the Premier, though dying, was not dead, but soon after came the expected word, and the notice was changed.

Official and Extra-Official.

Almost immediately was issued a Gazette Extraordinary, the formal language of which gave to official cognisance the news that was on every tongue. This was its burthen:—

"It is with deep grief I have to announce that the Honour-able Mr. Ballance, Premier, died this evening at the Premier's residence, Tinakori road, at 20 minutes past 6.

"The officers at the Government Buildings are relieved from duty on Friday and Saturday.

P. A. BUCKLEY, Colonial Secretary.

"Wellington,

27th April, 1893."

Sir Patrick Buckley conveyed the sad news to Government House, and from Lord Glasgow there came this letter to the Hon. Mr. Seddon:—

"Thursday evening,

27th April.

"The Governor has just heard, with much regret, from Sir Patrick Buckley, of the death of the Premier, and he desires to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to his Ministers his sense of the great loss the colony has sustained in the removal of so able and experienced a statesman.

"He also desires to express his own sorrow at the loss of one with whom his personal relations have ever been of the most pleasant and cordial description, and whose courteous assistance and counsel have always been at the disposal of the Governor during this his first year of office.

"GLASGOW.

"The Hon. the Acting-Premier."

A Nation's Throe.

Friday, April 28th, was a sad day throughout the Colony. It was a day of universal gloom, elemental and social. Every where the papers in the hands of the runner-boys bore the deep black lines which betokened a national sorrow. The conversation was upon but one topic—but one name was upon every lip—and those who, while the dead man lived, had been opposed to him in all the jar and clangour and bitterness of political strife, forgot their differences and remembered only his virtues. Everywhere local bodies were meeting and adjourning after passing resolutions of regret and condolence, and the telegraph wires, as they converged from city and hamlet, from lonely pastoral village and rough diggers' camp, were heavy laden with the sorrow and sympathy of a people. The great hive of many-headed industry known as the Government Buildings was deserted of its swarm, but in their rooms Ministers, heavy of heart, sought to cope with the work placed upon them, and the empty corridors echoed the ceaseless tread of telegraph messengers, as they brought their faint-written messages of sorrow from city and camp, from sundered colonies and nations over the sea. To the

quiet house amid the trees beneath the Tinakori hills, these also went with their letters of sympathy, and there began to arrive, too, wreaths and floral emblems, great and small, symbols of regard from all classes and creeds. So it was throughout the Saturday, a tone of universal sorrow pervading the nation.

At the quiet house there had been another function, painful, like those which preceded it. It was a *post mortem* examination by two medical men (Drs. Fookes and Gane), who had not been attending upon the dead man. It revealed the fact that the operation which he had undergone, to have been effective in removing the obstruction, should have been on the left side instead of the right—that the stricture was a swelling and contraction of the interior channel of the descending colon, about three feet from its exterior termination, of a cicatricial appearance. The pressure upon the main channel of the bowel was so great as to deflect it and displace the various organs, and the marvel was how the sufferer had so long suffered without the relief of all-levelling Death.

vignette

The funeral Ceremonies.

At Wellington.

AAFTER many days of gloom and drizzle—ceaseless, all-penetrating drizzle—the good people of Wellington on that eventful Sunday morning saw the sun at last, rising through clouds, it is true, but clouds illumined and glowing with light and warmth. This unfamiliar sun rose upon a city astir and a people afoot, converging from all points to Tinakori-road and Hill-street, through which the procession was to pass to the railway station. By 7 o'clock, when the time came for the commencement of that last sad journey, the pathways were packed with a dense mass of people, all quiet, all sorrowing. Within the house of death preparations for the removal of the body were proceeding, and in the quiet of the death-chamber the wreaths which had come as a spontaneous offering from all parts of the country over which the dead man had ruled, were being removed with reverent hands from their places around the room.

The body was enclosed in two coffins. The inner one was of zinc, and in this was a small glass panel, through which the face of the dead could be seen. Before the lid of the outer coffin was finally fastened down, many of the Premier's friends and colleagues took a last glance upon his features. The shell was of kauri, covered with black cloth, the plate bearing the simple inscription:

JOHN BALLANCE,

Died

27TH APRIL, 1893,

Aged 54 years.

When the appointed hour was at hand, the coffin was carried forth and laid upon the gun-carriage which awaited it in the avenue. Then the procession was formed, all its component parts falling easily into position.

First came the volunteers and seamen of H.M.S. Katoomba, then the Permanent Artillery escort, with arms reversed, marching to the solemn strains of the Dead March in "Saul" from the Garrison Band; then came the gun-carriage and its freight, with the members of the Ministry marching on either side as pallbearers; next, the chief mourners, followed by Judges, Mayors, Captain Bickford, of the Katoomba, and his officers, the heads of every State department, the Chairmen of the Harbour Board and the Chamber of Commerce, Magistrates, Presidents of the various local organisations, and the prison warders in their sombre uniforms. After these, the general public fell in, walking first two by two, but as the numbers grew, extending till the column reached from kerb to kerb. After the moving multitude on foot came a long line of carriages, including those containing the relatives of him whose body was being borne to its last resting-place, His Excellency's representatives, and representatives of every sect and phase of political feeling. As the procession moved on, the throng on the footpaths moved with it, till the streets were converted into bank-full streams of humanity. Presently the last solemn notes of the Dead March ceased, and the band gave forth a funeral march interwoven with such a strain of pathetic melody as to at once enchain the attention—it was "The Garland of Flowers," by Boyes. Still down the crowded streets the column moved, every moment adding to its numbers, and as the railway station was approached it was seen to be surrounded by a sea of people. Arrived at the station, the military opened ranks, the people falling back with them, and through the lane thus formed the coffin was reverently carried to the funeral train drawn up at the platform. Here, in a car specially prepared, and following next to the engines and tender, was the coffin laid, a black velvet pall and the Union Jack covering it, and these in turn were covered with the exquisite wreaths sent by colleague, friend, and sympathiser. Next to the funeral car was a carriage with Mrs. Ballance and her relatives, and after it other carriages with the colleagues and brother-legislators of

the dead man, with the Judges, the Consuls, the heads of all the departments, the press, the military officers, and representatives of the local bodies and organisations—some 200 in all. Never has a New Zealand train borne so representative a freight.

A Pathetic Journey.

At 7.58 the cars were drawn out of the station and past the crowd which thronged the road to the Manawatu line, along which the train sped, flying past stations, each with its group of expectant sympathisers on the platform, who reverently uncovered as it rushed by. The panting monster which drew us on only paused where it was necessary to obtain water for its needs, and so by 10 o'clock it had reached Otaki. Here we paused, and as the wheels ceased to revolve, the notes of the Dead March from "Saul" came touchingly from a band drawn up upon the platform. It was a band of the Maori people—the Otaki Maori Band—assembled in their neat uniforms of black and white, to do honour to the distinguished dead. As the measured cadences of the death-chant died away, the chief, Hoani Taipua, himself a political follower of the dead Premier, asked that the musicians and a body of chiefs might be permitted to share in the sad rites which we were performing, and so it was arranged that they should come in the public train which was thundering after us. Again we were rushed on, flying past the uncovered groups on the platforms, and other smaller groups of settlers, who had come down from their farms, some afoot, some on horseback, and some in every form of conveyance, to stand by the side of the line, always with bowed and uncovered head and reverent mien. At Longburn there was a brief stoppage, but none at Palmerston, where the big platform was crowded to excess, and a band was heard playing the Dead March as we flew past the silent multitude. Just out of Palmerston was one of the characteristic groups met with on the line. An old man, white-haired and bent of figure, had made his way to the hill-side above the cemetery accompanied by the time-worn partner of his life. With two younger women, who stood by as if to support them, they waited the passing of the strange funeral. As we approached, the old man bared his head, and, with his companions, bowed low in reverent grief. It was an affecting sight—the picturesque little group, an embodiment of respectful sympathy, their bowed figures outlined sharply against the sky, beneath them the white headstones of the cemetery, and between, the moving funeral train. It was typical of life, and of the sad duty which we were performing—the pause by the wayside—the rush of fevered existence—the grave.

By 2.30 we were at Aramoho, and there we waited for the public train to come up before completing our journey.

At Wanganui.

As we steamed into the town with which the dead man's life had been so intimately associated, a flag upon the hill-top dipped repeatedly in solemn salute, and on reaching the station we found every vantage-ground occupied with throngs of people, while in the street without was drawn up the procession which was soon to escort the body to the grave. From every nook and corner of the district and the colony had come those who crowded the streets or formed the ranks of the procession, all with but one common object—to honour the dead. But a brief space, and the procession set out. Volunteers, marching in open lines, formed the vanguard, with them the Wanganui Garrison Band, playing funeral marches. After these, the Permanent Artillery, the Wanganui Firemen, the Military and Volunteer Officers, the Wanganui Town Band, and the Otaki Maori Band, its members wearing in their caps the white feathers typical of mourning for a chief. The neatly-clad bandsmen were followed by the tylers of the Masonic Lodges, the Bible-bearer marching with measured step, his book and jewels carried in front, and behind him, borne aloft, a large and beautiful wreath of white flowers, surrounded by the Masonic square and rule in gold. On either side were the sword-bearers, and then, extending far in solid ranks, wearing their full dress and regalia, were the brethren of the Masonic Lodges of the coast, each man bearing a sprig of acacia as a symbol of mourning. Behind them was the gun carriage with its sad burden, the members of the Ministry and the former partners of Mr. Ballance, marching on either side. Following immediately was a fire brigade carriage literally covered with magnificent wreaths most artistically arranged. After this were the chief mourners, the Governor's representative, the Consuls, the members of both Houses who had gathered from constituencies far and near, the Judges, the veteran native chief Major Kemp, beside him another Chief, Takarangi Mete Kingi, and many others of high rank. Then the members of the local bodies, the Wanganui Herald staff, the Civil Servants, volunteer officers from all parts of the North Island, the veterans of the old Wanganui Cavalry, with their war medals on their breasts, the Foresters, the railway employes, the general public, and a long line of vehicles.

As the procession began to move, the bell on the Fire Brigade tower boomed out solemnly, and too massed people in the streets moved with the mourners, cries of grief—the *keen* of their race—as sent up by some Maori women bedecked in the green emblems of their racial woe, adding a weird touch to the solemnity. Down the

crowded Taupo-quay, up Victoria-avenue to Guyton-street, and thence down the long tree-bordered road to the Cemetery, the procession wended its way, the bands relieving each other at intervals, and the regular boom of the big bell accentuating the already sombre tone.

"Alas! Alas! My Brother!"

The Wanganui cemetery is a lovely and peaceful spot, surrounded by hills and tall trees, with rows of sombre columnal cypress on either side of the paths. Just to the right on entering was an open, brick-lined, grave in the sandy soil of the slope, under a grove of great pines. To this the coffin was borne. The Masons, in their bright regalia and sombre suits of black, massed round the grave. Above it was Mrs. Ballance with her relatives, on the other side the colleagues of the dead man, and behind his Masonic brethren were the general public, with the firing party drawn up in serried ranks, and behind them still, the background of trees, every branch bending under the weight of the spectators.

The sea of faces turned towards the grave as the Rev. A. Williams began the imposing Masonic ceremonial. First was a hymn—" Solemn Strikes the Funeral Chime." Then the service was read till, after the solemn words " We have committed his body to the grave, 'there to remain till the general resurrection," into the tomb was dropped the white apron, emblem of innocence. Then the words " This evergreen, which once marked the temporary resting-place of the illustrious dead, an emblem of the immortality of the soul, thus do I deposit in the grave," with the exclamation "Alas, alas, my brother!" Suiting the action to the word, the little spray of green was dropped in, and finally came the prayer, with the solemn responses of the brethren, " So mote it be." Another hymn, a weird and pathetic dirge, beginning "Days and moments swiftly flying," and ending with the lines—

*As the tree falls, so must it lie;
As the man lives, so must he die;
As the man dies, so must he be
All through the days of eternity—
So mote it be!*

brought that part of the service to a close, and then came the most impressive and affecting portion of the proceedings. Bro. Stevenson, with his hands crossed upon his breast, uttered the words "We cherish his memory here," every Mason present repeating them in unison, with crossed hands and bowed head. Then, as one man, the brethren raised their hands and their faces to Heaven, with the words, "We commend his spirit to the God who gave it," then bent their heads and hands to the grave, exclaiming, " We commit his body to the grave." Thrice was this touching ceremony repeated before Bro. Keesing gave the final prayer, with the response "So mote it be" joined in by all, and then, with the words "Alas, my Brother," he dropped his spray of evergreen into the grave. Solemnly the brethren, one by one, filed past, dropping upon the coffin of their dead brother this last tribute; and as they uttered the words "And now, brother that was, farewell!" the firing party fired the first volley. Two other volleys followed, the muffled drums rolled, and all was over.

vignette

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THE New Zealand Shipping Company THE SETTLER'S GUIDE TO NEW ZEALAND. FIRST EDITION
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The New Zealand Shipping Company, Limited.

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Zealand Shipping Company, or through their Agents. If desired, orders for such passages can be cabled out at sender's expense. The [*unclear: es*] are the same as outwards, excepting in the Third Class, in which no passages are granted under 18 guineas.

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W. E. Perceval, Esq., 13, *Victoria Street, London, S. W.*

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An Important Concession.

The attention of intending Settlers is particularly directed to the greatly reduced rates of passage money accorded to applicants eligible under special arrangements between the New Zealand Shipping Company and the Agent-General for New Zealand. For full particulars, see page 49.

Index.

Introduction.

NEW ZEALAND is exactly the other side of the world, and is the most fertile offshoot of the mother country. It is essentially British, and shows its true character by shipping the bulk of its produce to the United Kingdom.

As a colony its position is unique, and the climate all that could be desired. No better evidence of this can be adduced than that infallible indicator, the death rate, which is only *half that of England*.

The tables distributed through the following pages conclusively illustrate a productiveness exceeding that of any of the Australasian colonics. New Zealand is indeed *the* best field for those thrifty settlers—whether possessed of small or large capital—who desire to escape from the agricultural and industrial vicissitudes inseparable from the congested centres and rural pursuits of England. That there is abundant scope for healthful occupation is apparent, as, whilst the area of New Zealand is but slightly less than that of Great Britain and Ireland, the *population is only one-sixtieth part*.

The object of the Settler's Guide is to present in the fewest words a practical and comprehensive survey of the essential facts with which the intending settler should be acquainted; to give some reliable data, compiled chiefly from the Government statistical records, of the industrial and agricultural resources of the Colony.

The export trade which has already attained considerable magnitude is still growing, but of late years the import returns have shown a diminution, caused, no doubt, by the restriction of public works with the commendable object of bringing the finances of the Colony into a healthy condition.

Whilst this commercial activity is partly due to the very favourable climatic conditions and the fertility of the soil, it is in no small degree attributable to the less obtrusive physical features, no part of the two islands of which New Zealand may be said to consist being more than 75 miles from the sea. Transport is thus facilitated and the produce economically conveyed by rail or by the excellent coastal service of steamers to those centres from which the magnificent ships of the New Zealand Shipping Company carry it with rapidity to London.

The seasons are the reverse of those in England, consequently the shipments arrive at the most marketable periods of the year; and the enterprising farmers who settled in New Zealand because they could not market their produce remuneratively when here, are—owing to the progress of mechanical science—now disquieting the "stay-at-homes" by shipping their wool, fresh meat, fruit and dairy produce *at paying prices* over 12,000

miles of ocean in the splendid line of steamers of the New Zealand Shipping Company, which the New Zealanders themselves established and organized 21 years ago as the *pioneer* of direct steam communication with the old country.

To those with families, New Zealand, with its abundant educational facilities and industrial activity, offers a special attraction, as affording a far better and happier prospect for the *healthful* employment of their sons and daughters, whilst at the same time the cost of living—unhampered by the ecocentricities of fashion—is cheaper than in England.

The map which is given upon the cover shows the geographical position of the Colony; and as regards the grandeur of the scenery—comparable in many parts to Switzerland—the reader must consult other works more especially devoted to that object.

Any suggestions calculated to extend the utility of this Guide or to remedy the imperfections incidental to a first edition will be cordially received by the Company.

E. L. B.

LONDON,

6th April, 1893.

Representative Opinions Upon New Zealand.

"The industrial conditions of New Zealand, its climate its institutions, and its laws render it the Colony of all others best suited to the British Race."—THE EARL OF ONSLOW, *late Governor of New Zealand*.

"New Zealand is so like England it is astonishing to me more of our people do not go there. It is a charming country, the climate is good and the scenery most beautiful."—The Right Hon. HENRY MATTHEWS, Q.C., M.P., *late Home Secretary*.

The natural beauty of the country is undeniable. The climate is something like that of England with all the bad parts left out. In the visits which I have paid to ten or eleven English Colonies, I have found none more suited to Englishmen than Taranaki (New Zealand), for reasons of health, comfort and happiness."—Sir CHARLES DILKE, M.P., *late Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Author of "Greater Britain"*.

"New Zealand has a fine climate, a fertile soil, and a naturally progressive population."—Sir DILLON BELL, K.C.M.G., C.B, *late Speaker of House of Representation of New Zealand*.

"The climate of New Zealand is one of the best and healthiest in the world. For variety, picturesqueness, and wild grandeur, the scenery is unrivalled in the Southern Hemisphere."—J. HISLOP, LL.D., *Chambers' Encyclopadia*.

"On the whole, the New Zealand climate is admirably suited to Europeans.....There are countless running streams of the purest water throughout the Colony. The scenery in Milford Sound is sublime."—*Encyclopadia Britannica*.

"The Times," Opinion of New Zealand.

"A few words may be devoted to the attractions which the Colony offers to residents in the United Kingdom, to make it their future home. There is a class people with means of their own who live an aimless life in small towns, watering places, and other resorts, to whom a change to a country with

A Temperate Climate, Fine Scenery.

and the means to make pleasant homes, graced, with agreeable society ought to be acceptable. Their incomes will further, for the cost of living is cheaper, and the demands of fashion are less tyrannical. They will also find good public schools, with fair prospects of establishing their children when they have finished their education, whilst amusements of the usual varied character will be open to them, they will also in most cases be able to occupy a portion of their time by taking an interest in local or public affairs.

Elbow Room.

"There is a wonderful difference between life in an old country where every groove is stuffed to repletion,

and where competition is but another name for a struggle of the survival of the fittest, and the quiet absorption into the life of a new country which continues day by day to grow and develop fresh features. The kind of people to whom we refer, well educated and cultured and possessed of fixed incomes, are already denoted in the population, of New Zealand, and their number bids fair considerably increase.

English Farmers.

"Something may be said of another class of people who, devoting themselves to farming pursuits in the United Kingdom, have few, if any, prospects of improving their position. They cannot hope to be freeholders in England, but they may become owners of properties in New Zealand at a less annual cost than they have been accustomed to pay in rent. They can get as many bushels from an acre as they can in Great Britain; they can keep their cattle in the open air the whole year round; and they can lay down land to grass which will feed the year round from two to five sheep to the acre.

Its Markets.

"The development of the transport of frozen commodities opens to them new prospects. They can send dairy produce and fruit in the refrigerators arrive in the Northern Hemisphere at the time when summer in the South is winter in the North, It is undeniable that the area of wheat-growing land is yearly narrowing, compared with the prodigious increase of the world's population; and when one sees what a trilling fraction is the total import of wheat and meat and dairy produce now sent by Australasia set against the figures of the total millions of importation, there is no reason to doubt that cereals and dairy products and fruit will yield larger profits than hitherto, whilst the frozen-meat trade will continue to extend. As to

The Future of New Zealand,

the facts briefly sketched are sufficient to enable every one to form his own judgment. Here is a country with a temperate climate, eminently fertile, and peculiarly healthy. It possesses good harbours, useful rivers, and an extensive seaboard, which, in course of time, will be the resort of numerous using Boats, for there is little doubt but that productive Barring banks will be found in the wide sea that stretches east, west, and south from the shores of the Colony. It possesses

Vast Mineral Resources,

whilst its abundance of coal and water power particularly fit it for manufacturing industries. It has, in fact, all the in material resources for manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. Easily, and most important, it has an industrious, energetic, and thrifty population.

"The early settlers were determined men of strong fibre, resolved to spare no exertion in the 'heroic work' of colonisation. From time to time they were followed by others of the same character. When they were able to increase the population by assisted immigration, the greatest care was exerted in selecting the immigrants.

"The Government

has of late years rested in the hands of the colonists. They attach the utmost importance to the education of the entire people. They are essentially loyal to the Sovereign of whose dominions they form a part. They love freedom and liberty, and devise their institutions after the noblest models. Were the Colony less rich in resources, its people would be equal to overcoming any difficulties with which they might have to contend. But possessing, as they do, a country which has no superior in natural advantages, it is hard to set any limit to the progress of the Colony or to the welfare and happiness of its people."—*The Times*, August 1891.

Extracts from "Farming and Labour in New Zealand."

By Westby B. Perceval, Esq.

"As an agricultural and pastoral country New Zealand stands second to none, as her yield of wool, sheep, grain, fruit, and dairy produce per acre abundantly testify."

"The variety in the industries, and resources of the Colony, is one of the strongest evidences of her future

"The time has passed when New Zealand was pointed at as a spendthrift Colony: she is now in the proud position of being regarded as a commendable example, illustrating what marvellous results economical administration and a policy of self-reliance can achieve."

"New Zealand has a most valuable property in its glorious climate."

"New Zealand's scenic grandeur is one of its best

"There is a large class in England who have a fixed though moderate income, with a growing family. Such as these would find in New Zealand a society congenial to their English ideas, excellent and cheap schools, and there their sons and daughters would have a much better chance of finding an outlet for their energy.'

"The class of people to whom New Zealand offers the most inducements is the small farmer class."

"The Colony seems in every way cut out by nature for a community of small farmers."

The Settler's Guide to New Zealand.

Climate.

New Zealand possesses the healthiest climate in the world, having the lowest death rate. (See diagram.)

DEATH RATE for 1890 Austria 30 29 Italy 28 27 26 Germany 25 24 France 23 22 Switzerland 21 22 20 Netherlands 20 Scotland 19 England 19 Denmark 19 Ireland 18 Norway 17 Victoria 16 Queensland 15 Tasmania 14 New South Wales 13 South Australia 12 Western Australia 11 10 New Zealand 19

In the north the climate surpasses that of Italy. In the south it resembles that of London and the South of England.

The mean temperatures of New Zealand are spring, 55°; summer, 63°; autumn, 57°; winter, 48°.

In the North Island the amount of rainfall at Taranaki on the west is, double that of Napier on the east.

In the Middle Island nearly five times as much rain falls on the west coast as on the east.

The climate on the west coast in both islands is more equable than on the east.

The climate is remarkably temperate, and the atmosphere dry and elastic.

In some parts snow never fails; the winter is shorter than in England.

English hot-house fruits grow *in the open air*.

Long-continued drought is unknown.

During 1891 there were 179 wet days, in London and 136 in New Zealand.

Hints to Settlers.

First acquire your experience, then your land.

HAVING decided the kind of land you wish to take up, apply to the nearest Government land office. Many land companies dispose of good land on reasonable terms. (See advice under "Capital.")

Small capitalists should buy improved land.

The best time for arriving in New Zealand is—

For the North Island . . . Sept., Oct., and Nov.

For the Middle (South) Island. Sept. to Feb. The average holding for the last few years has been 200 acres.

A quarter of the holdings in New Zealand are one to ten acres.

Clothing is 3s. in the pound dearer than in England.

Clearing forest land costs from 25s. to 40s. per acre, but merely burning off the timber without removing the stumps can be accomplished at a few shillings per acre.

Six to eight-wire fencing can be erected at from 9s. 6d. to 15s. per running chain, half of the cost of which is borne by the owner of the adjoining land.

The west coast of the North Island is essentially a cattle country. The midlands are adapted to long-wool sheep. The bulk of the land will carry from two to four sheep per acre.

The Middle Island is admirably adapted to agriculture, and all of it for pastoral purposes. There are magnificent plain lands in the north and undulating downs in the south.

The Canterbury plains are the vast wheat-growing area of the Middle Island, producing wheat of the finest

quality.

Three acres per day can be turned over at a cost of 6s. per acre.

Turnip land is usually sown with spring wheat, oats, or barley.

A heavy crop of wheat or any other cereal can always be relied upon after potatoes.

Rents: A two or three-roomed cottage in towns is about 6s.; larger workmen's houses 7s. 6d. to 14s. per week. In the country from 3s. to 6s.

Board and lodging: In towns 20s. per week; in the country 10s. to 15s.

A system which has proved very beneficial to small capitalists is that of leasing land to "cropping contractors." By this method surplus land, *i.e.*, such land as the lessee has not sufficient capital to work, is cultivated by the contractor, who takes one or more crops off it and gives up the land to the lessee in stubble. Small capitalists may thus improve their finances without relinquishing their land. Contractors can only be found where the facilities of carriage are good.

Capital Required.

THE capital required for working a farm, exclusive of the price of the land, is 40s. to 60s. per acre—£100 for farm buildings (on a 500acre farm) and about £200 for a small house.

Small capitalists can augment their earnings by working for others at convenient intervals.

It is prudent to serve others and gain colonial experience before investing your capital inland.

Do not put all your money into your farm. Keep a reserve.

When profits increase, do not be *too hasty* to launch out.

Do your utmost to avoid mortgaging any of your property.

Cost of Working a Farm.

As this is, of all information, the most essential) to the settler, the following particulars will prove of interest.

Five hundred acres of land in New Zealand can be worked at less cost than one hundred acres in England.

The contract prices in connection with cultivation are approximately—

NOTE.—Farm labourers are usually boarded and lodged. No beer or beer money is given to servants, and the cost of keeping them is less than it is in England.

Average Rates of Wages.

I.—With Board.

NOTE.—Farm labourers are usually boarded and lodged; and single men are, as a rule, preferred to married men with families. A high rate of wages does not necessarily imply a demand for labour. The ordinary working day for artisans is eight hours, and for bakers ten hours.

Cost of Food.

Farming Facilities.

FARMING operations can be carried on without interruption throughout the ploughing and sowing season.

The paddocks are so large and usually level that the double and treble furrow plough may be worked by a man or youth.

The colonial farmer avails himself of the most modern labour-saving appliances.

The hay crop is cut one day, raked into windrows the next, and is ready for stacking two days later.

"Wheat is cut and tied by machinery and stooked, requiring no capping.

In dry seasons wheat is frequently threshed out of the stook, avoiding the cost of stacking and thatching.

Manure is very rarely used, and then only occasionally on the root crops.

Facts about the Land.

BUSH land can be selected in May, cleared and sown with grass seed, and stocked the following May.

There are 20 million acres of open well-grassed country in the Middle Island alone immediately available for sheep and the plough.

Twelve million acres of Crown lands are under pastoral occupation, and two millions are held on settlement conditions.

In February, 1891, there were about 40,000 agricultural and pastoral holdings.

During the last few years the number of freeholders has increased at the average rate of 1,340 per annum.

In 1890 255 companies and individuals held nearly 17 million acres of land.

Special facilities are afforded for settlement under the co-operative system—12 or more persons forming an association.

Co-operative associations must not hold more than 11,000 acres or less than 1,000.

Thirty-three million acres of Crown land remain for disposal.

Nearly 37,000 acres were taken up on the deferred payment system during 1891.

In 1891 8½ million acres were under crop, including sown grasses, or prepared for cultivation.

The greater part of the land in the North Island has had grass laid down *without previous, ploughing*.

There are eight times as many acres of agricultural land in the Middle (South) Island as in the North.

Most of the best unimproved land requires clearing, involving considerable labour and expense: this is specially suited to large capitalists.

The soil is so full of plant food that several continuous crops of potatoes and cereals may be taken off with little apparent exhaustion.

The census of 1891 showed 43,777 occupied holdings, excluding Crown pastoral leases and small grazing runs: 24,723 are freehold.

One-tenth of the North Island is mountainous, but, with few exceptions, the altitudes do not exceed 4,000 feet; 14 million acres are only suited to pastoral purposes, being too steep for agriculture.

Middle Island has about 15 million acres of agricultural land, and 13 million acres suited to pastoral purposes.

The North Island produces large quantities of maize, wheat, sweet and ordinary potatoes, beet, garden fruits, oranges, lemons, grapes, olives, mulberries.

The forest lands of the North Island are being converted into grazing runs.

Potatoes are largely grown and produce heavy crops, frequently eight to ten tons per acre.

Potatoes are expensive to grow, viz., £5 to £6 per acre.

During 1891 1,222 selectors took up 413,409 acres.

April, 1891 census showed that about 12½ million acres were freehold, and nearly 7 million were leasehold.

To small capitalists the following figures will be encouraging:—

- 11,116 settlers hold from 1 to 10 acres.
- 8,899 settlers hold from 10 to 50 acres.
- 5,613 settlers hold from 50 to 100 acres.
- 6,851 settlers hold from 100 to 200 acres.

There are nearly 25 times as many acres of sown grass in New Zealand as in New South Wales.

In the North Island the best pasture grasses grow and thrive with no other preparation of the land than the ashes of the burnt timber—no ploughing or previous loosening of the soil are necessary. In less than a year of scattering the seed the land will fatten live to six sheep per acre.

By the new Land and Income Assessment Act of 1891, which abolishes the property tax, there is an ordinary land tax, which is expected to be 1d. in the £; and in addition there is a graduated tax of 1/8d. in the £ where the value of the land is £5,000, up to 1¾d. where the value of the land is £210,000 and upwards. The graduated tax, however, is not levied on improvements. An annual Act must be passed for the purpose of levying this tax.

Turnips rank next in importance to wheat and oats, nearly 500,000 acres being under cultivation.

Where artificial manures are used the yield has been from 15 to 30 tons of turnips per acre.

Three-quarters of a million acres are under grain, half of which are in Canterbury.

Conditions on which Crown Lands can be Obtained.

(Subject to revision from time to time.)

THE Colony is divided into ten land districts, each being under the local direction of a Commissioner and a Land Board. In each district there is a principal land office, and in some of the larger districts one or more sub-offices. It is with these land offices the selector has to transact all business, from the first consultation of the maps, the subsequent selection and purchase of land, to the final receipt of the Crown grant.

Land Districts and Principal Land Offices.

The term "substantial improvements of a permanent character" means and includes reclamation from swamps, clearing of bush or scrub, cultivation, planting with trees or live hedges, the laying out and cultivation of gardens, fencing, draining, making roads, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing water-races, *or in any way improving the character or fertility of the soil*, or the erection of any building. This definition of the term improvements applies to all classes of land where improvements are required by the Crown as part of the contract.

"Cultivation" means the clearing of land for cropping, or clearing and laying down with artificial grasses.

Cash Lands.

Applications are received for not exceeding—

- 640 acres first class land 2,000 acres second class land
- If declared open for sale or selection under the three terms of payment.

If not so declared, land may be sold without restriction as to area.

If lands have been surveyed—

One-fifth of price is paid on application.

Four-fifths of price with Crown grant fee within 30 days.

If lands have *not* been surveyed—

Cost of survey is paid with application.

Balance on completion of survey, together with Crown grant fee.

Deferred Payment Lands.

Applications must be accompanied by the first half year's rent and licence fee of 21s.

Twenty-five per cent, is added to cash price for deferred payments.

Any person over 17 years of age may select land.

Half-yearly instalments are payable in equal amounts.

Remaining unpaid instalments can be capitalised, and interest thereon at 5 per cent, be substituted for such instalments.

Payments of not less than £10 can be made to liquidate the capitalised value.

After effecting improvements, and within 18 years of licence, the selector is entitled to his Crown grant if the capitalised value has been paid, together with interest, on due dates; or he may exchange the deferred payment licence for a perpetual lease, in which case all past payments go to credit of rent.

Perpetual Lease Lands.

Two and a half per cent. of value of land, namely, first half year's rent, must accompany application, together with licence fee of 30s.; also survey fee if land has not been surveyed.

The features of the perpetual lease system are—

The value of improvements is secured to lessee on indefeasible title.

There is perpetual right of renewal.

The same security and permanence as freehold.

Avoids the necessity of sinking capital in purchase of land.

Lessees must be over 17 years of age.

Annual rent is 5 per cent. (1s. in the £) on value of land.

Holdings are limited to 640 acres first class land, or 2,000 acres second class land.

Leases are renewable on the following conditions:—

Before the end of 30 years a valuation of the fee simple of the land, *less improvements*, is made, and an offer of a new lease for another 21 years at 5 per cent. is made to the tenant.

If that offer is refused the land is put up at auction, including *the improvements*.

Purchaser pays Receiver of Land, who hands over the money to the outgoing tenant.

Rents are payable half-yearly.

One-third of rent during first 15 years goes to County Council, to be expended on roads and bridges leading to the land or on water supply.

Lessees pay rent, taxes, &c

Surrenders of lease are permitted.

Leased land may be resumed for public purposes, compensation being paid.

Residence must be commenced within six months, and be continued for six consecutive years thereafter.

Residence is not required on bush or swamp land until two years have expired, or for three years if land is held by youths residing with their parents.

The exceptions to compulsory residence are—

If residing on adjoining land.

If improvements of double the value are effected.

The freehold can be acquired, if the conditions of the lease have been fulfilled, at the price fixed when lease was granted, on which the rent at 5 per cent, has been paid.

Homestead System.

Settler does not pay for land, only the cost of survey.

After 5 years' residence, the erection of a house, and the cultivation of one-third of the selection if open land, or one-fifth if bush land, the Crown grant is issued.

Selectors over 18 years of age can acquire up to 75 acres.

Selectors under 18 years of age can acquire 20 to 30 acres.

No family or household may have more than 200 acres first class land or 300 acres second class land.

Pastoral Runs.

These are sold by auction 12 months before existing leases expire.

The extent of each must only be sufficient to carry 20,000 sheep or 5,000 cattle.

The outgoing tenant is compensated for improvements not exceeding three times the annual rental.

Leases are for 21 years.

Selectors may hold several runs.

Small Grazing Runs.

Leases are for 21 years.

The option of renewal is given.

Full valuation is granted for improvements at the end of lease.

The land cannot be purchased.

Runs shall not exceed 20,000 acres.

"Upset" rent is 2½ per cent, on value of land, viz., from 1½d. per acre.

No person may hold more than one run.

Residence must be taken up within 12 months, and continue for six consecutive years.

Improvements equal to four years' rental must be effected within six years.

Small Farm Homestead Associations.

The New Zealand Government having afforded special facilities for co-operative settlement, the New Zealand Shipping Company will be happy to place correspondents in communication with one another.

Twelve persons can acquire a block of not less than 1,000 acres or more than 11,000.

Land is held under lease, with perpetual right of renewal.

Freehold cannot be acquired.

One person must be located within every 200 acres.

Land may be rented out at 5 per cent, on its value, to be assessed at a minimum of £1 per acre.

Rent need not be paid for first two years.

Residence must be within six months. Conditions—

Within two years one-tenth must be cultivated.

Within four years one-fifth must be cultivated.

Within six years one-fifth must be cultivated, and also improvements have been effected to the extent of £1 per

Survey Charges.

Open rural land two-thirds of above.

Charges must be paid when applying to select land.

Classification of Lands and Settlement Conditions, &c.

Town and village lands {which are those reserved for towns and villages} are sold by auction.

Summary of Lands Open for Selection.

Wheat.

THE rapid progress of agriculture in New Zealand is largely due to the excellent results attending wheat growing, favoured by a perfect climate.

New Zealand produces more wheat per acre than any of the Australasian colonies.

Bushels per acre. New Zealand—26 25 24 23 22 Queensland—21 Tasmania 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 New South Wales 12 Western Australia 11 Victoria 10 9 8 7 6 5 South Australia 4 3 2 1

The agricultural returns for 1891 show that 301,460 acres produced 5,723,610 bushels of wheat.

Nearly 1½ million bushels were exported during 1891, valued at £277,876, whereas England can take upwards of £29,000,000 worth per annum.

The price of wheat in New Zealand varies from about 3s. to 4s. per bushel.

The favourite kinds for winter sowing are Hunter's White, Pearly, and Velvet Chaff, and for spring sowing Red and White Tuscan.

Average Yield of Wheat

(Per Acre) of the Various Districts.

It is a noteworthy fact that the highest average yield per acre of any of the other Australasian colonies is below the lowest point of any of the districts of New Zealand. (*See diagram.*)

AVERAGE YIELD or WHEAT. Bushels per acre. New Zealand—29 Tarariaki . . — Wellington .—28 Otago . . . 27 Auckland . . — 26 Hawes Bay .—25 Canterbury .— Marlborough—21 23 Nelson ...—22 Highest point reached by any of the other Australasian colonies 21 20

Oamaru (North Otago) district is famous for the quality of its wheat.

Whilst Otago and Southland excel in oats, 84,895 acres of wheat yielded 21/3 million bushels = 27.4 per

acre.

The usual average return of wheat in the better class of soil is from 40 to 60 bushels per acre of dressed grain.

The average for the whole Colony is reduced to 25 or 26 bushels, owing to so much wheat being grown on the lighter soils.

Oats.

THE diagram shows that New Zealand is by far the best oat-growing country of all the Australasian colonies.

AVERAGE YIELD or OATS. Bushels per acre. New Zealand .—35 34 33 33 31 30 Tasmania . .— 29 28 27 26 26 Victoria...—24 Queensland .—23 22 NEW South Wales—21 20 19 18 17 16 15 Western Australia 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 South Australia—7 6

Otago and Southland excel in the production of oats, 168,939 acres yielding 6,410,325 bushels = (nearly) 38 per acre.

The return of oats per acre in New Zealand considerably exceeds that of wheat, yet costs no more to produce.

The favourite varieties of oats are Winter Dun, Canadians, Sparrowbill, Tartary, and Danish.

Oats fetch from is. 10d. to 3s. 6d. per bushel.

Average Yield of Oats

(Per Acre) of the Various Districts.

THE diagram illustrates the extraordinary return of oats per acre, 346,224 acres producing nearly 10 million bushels during 1891.

Bushels per acre Taranaki . .—41 40 39 Otago . . . 36 37 Marlborough .—36 35 Wellington .—34 S3 32 31 Westland . .—30 Auckland . .— Canterbury .—29 Hawkes Bay .—28 27 26 Nelson . . .—25 24 23 22 21 20

During 1891 4,052,414 bushels of oats were exported, valued at £331,544.

England imports about £5,500,000 worth of oats per annum, which provides an ample margin for the increase of the New Zealand shipments.

Barley.

THERE were 32,742 acres of land under barley during 1891, producing over three-quarters of a million bushels, which is another conclusive illustration of the productiveness of New Zealand.

AVERAGE YIELD OF BARLEY. Bushels per acre. Hawkes Bay .—38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 Otago . . .—30 29 Canterbury— Auckland . .—28 27 Wellington. .—26 25 24 Nelson . . .— 23 Marlborough .—22 21 20 19 Taranaki . .—18 17 16 15

During 1891 83,758 bushels were exported, valued at £11,114

Nearly half the quantity of barley is grown in Canterbury, and about one-sixth in Otago.

Ten thousand acres of land are under barley in Canterbury.

Malting barley of very superior quality is grown in Nelson and Marlborough.

Fruit.

NEW ZEALAND apples have established a high reputation in the London market.

Apples shipped as ordinary cargo have fetched 16s. per case of 56 lbs.

Twenty-seven thousand acres are devoted to fruit culture.

Good orchards under favourable conditions yield £40 to £50 per acre.

Oranges and lemons grow out of doors.

Peaches, gooseberries, pears, apricots, figs, melons, grapes, &c, &c, thrive well.

Live Stock.

FAT cattle fetch £5 to £6.

The breeding and rearing of horses is carried on with the greatest success. There are about one quarter million in New Zealand.

Good farm horses cost from £20 to £25, and hacks can be bought at from £10 to £15.

Fattening pigs is a profitable investment; in 1891 there were over one quarter million in New Zealand.

According to the live stock returns for 1891 there were 831,830 cattle in the Colony.

The poultry returns for the same year stood at 1¾ millions.

Sheep.

FROM the sections "Frozen Meat" and "Wool" it will be seen that a marked increase must have taken place in the number of sheep reared in the Colony. The diagram now presented shows that in 20 years the number of head, *notwithstanding the millions exported*, increased 100 per cent., largely due to the freedom from disease and the increased shipping facilities.

SHEEP RETURNS. Millions. 19 1891 . .—18 17 1886 . .—16 15 14 1878 . .—13 1881. . .—12 1874 . 11 10 1871. . . 9

Early lambs (for freezing) fetch 10s. 6d. to 12s. each.

The percentage of increase is very high, even reaching 125 per cent. in exceptional instances.

Shearing commences in September and continues till January, costing 15s. to £,1 per 100.

The clip is from 4 to 11 lbs., and in some special cases 30 lbs.

Shearing machines are largely used.

Frozen Meat.

THE diagram which appears on this page shows more clearly than any words the marvellous growth of this industry, on which the welfare of the farming community largely depends.

93,000,000 lbs. of mutton and lamb were shipped during year ending June, 1892.

11,359,203 lbs. of frozen beef were exported from New Zealand for year ending 30th June, 1892.

VALUE of FROZEN MEAT EXPORTED. £ 1891. 1,200,000 1890 . 1,100,000 1,000,000 900,000 800,000 1889 700,000 1888 . 600,000 1887 500,000 1886 . 400,000 1885 . 1884 300,000 200,000 1883—100,000 1882 .—19,000

With freight at 1d. per lb., it costs only 2d. per lb. to ship meat to London and place it upon the market. Allowing 2d. per lb. to the grower, mutton can be offered here at 4d. per lb., or about two-thirds the price of English meat.

As England annually imports fresh mutton to the value of £3,250,000, there is ample scope for the growth of the New Zealand industry.

More than one-third of the frozen mutton exported from New Zealand is shipped at Canterbury, about one-fifth from Hawkes Bay, and one-fifth from Wellington. Otago contributes about One-sixth.

Lord Rosebery says that New Zealand mutton is "not to be distinguished from English mutton."

Wool.

THE production of wool has increased from 66,602,712 lbs. during 1882 to 111,537,546 lbs. during 1891, at an approximate rate of 5,000,000 lbs. per annum. The export trade has shown a corresponding elasticity.

WOOL Exported. Million lbs. 110 1891 .—108 105 1890 .—102 100 1889, 1887—95 90 1888, 1886—89 85 80 1885 78 1884 .—77 75 1883 . 72 70 65 1882 64 60 55 50

The local mills in New Zealand consume nearly three mil-lion lbs. per annum.

In 1881 the value of wool exported was £2,909,760; in 1891 it had reached £4,129,686.

As England imports 560 mil-lion lbs. of colonial wool, New Zealand supplies one-fifth, leaving therefore ample scope for the development of the trade.

The average clips are approximately as follow: Merino, from 4 lbs. to 7 lbs.; quarter-reds, about 6½ lbs.;

half-breds, 7½ lbs.; three-quarter-breds, 8½lbs.; Leicester, 10½ lbs.; Lincoln, 11 lbs.

Dairy Produce.

vignette Between 1881 and 1891 the production of cheese and butter increased 100 per cent.

The total exports of dairy produce from New Zealand have also increased enormously.

Seventy-eight cheese factories and creameries have been established at an expenditure of £80,000.

These factories are essential to the profitable shipment of dairy produce.

A condensed-milk factory has been erected.

New Zealand cheese has successfully competed with the best Canadian in the English market.

England imported £4,815,364 of cheese during 1891.

The average yield of butter passed through the separator is 1lb. per 2½ gallons.

A cow produces in the course of the year about 200 lbs. (£10 worth) of butter 500 lbs. of cheese (of the same value).

Cheese averages from 4d. to 5d. per lb. at the factory.

The steady growth of the export of New Zealand butter should, in time, effect an appreciable diminution in the import of margarine into England, £3,558,203 of which passed the English customs during 1891.

The total export of dairy produce is over £200,000 per

Industrial Facts.

APIARIES are very successful in New Zealand. In one instance 54 hives produced 4 1/5 tons of honey, realising 4½d. per lb., or about £176.

Indian corn has produced from 50 to 50 bushels per

The tobacco plant thrives well.

Potatoes yield heavy crops.

There is ample scope for the development of New Zealand fisheries; there are 142 species.

During one season a fisherman caught 553½ lbs. of trout.

New Zealand, by the progress of her industries, is practically independent of the outside world.

The tanning, fell-mongering, and wool-scouring trade returns show a production of over £1,000,000 per annum.

The woollen mills manufacture over one-quarter of a million pounds' worth of goods per annum.

Over £400,000 worth of boots and shoes were made in New Zealand in the course of the year.

The trade of the grain mills reaches nearly £1,000,000 per annum.

Iron and brass foundries turn out close upon £400,000 of manufactures in the course of the year.

Export Trade.

FROM the various diagrams in other parts of this Guide there is abundant evidence of the vitality of the export trade of New Zealand, which has been carefully fostered by the facilities afforded by the New Zealand Shipping Company.

In 1886 the exports *per head* of the population amounted to £11 9s. 3d.; in 1891 to £15 3s. 10d.

New Zealand exports exceed the imports by £3,000,000.

The exports during 1891 from each of the New Zealand ports exceeded £1,000,000,

The exports of wool, sheepskins, mutton, tallow, and preserved meats during 1891 amounted to £5,663,081.

The export trade of New Zealand to the United Kingdom is rapidly approaching that of Victoria, which possesses nearly *double the population*.

The value of New Zealand exports increased from £6,253,350 in 1882 to, £9,400,094 in 1891.

Import Trade.

THE extraordinary productiveness of New Zealand and the steady progress of its industries have, whilst the exports have so greatly increased, caused the imports to fall from £16 18s. 1d. per head in 1882 to £10 6s. 6d. in

1891.
The following table of imports into New Zealand during 1891 demonstrates the importance of the colonies to Great Britain:—

Two-thirds of the imports are from the United Kingdom and five-sixths from Great Britain or its dependencies.

Mining.

Gold.

GOLD was first discovered in 1842, but was not worked till 1852.
The Coromandel goldmines have yielded gold valued at £6,000,000.
The total output of gold has reached a value of £47,679,191, viz.:—
The Waihi mine yields, £3,000 worth of gold per month.

Coal.

New Zealand has almost inexhaustible coal-fields, chiefly on the west coast of Middle Island.
In ten years the output has been doubled viz.:—

Other Metals.

These include zinc, copper, lead, and manganese.
Valuable oil discoveries have been made, and are being developed.

Timber.

THE timber trade of New Zealand is extensive, owing to the magnificent forests which abound.
In the North Island 119 mills employ 1,990 hands.
In the Middle Island 124 mills employ 1,270 hands.
The following figures speak sufficiently as to the growth of the export trade in timber: 1881, £65,119; 1892, £182,431, or about 300 percent.
The total trade of the saw-mills reaches nearly, £900,000 per annum.

Kauri Gum.

THIS peculiar, but now important, industry is well worthy of note, and the following particular, from the Government Handbook, will be of interest:—

The ordinary method of searching for the gum is by first feeling for it a little below the surface with a steel-pointed piece of iron about ½ inch in diameter and 4 feet long, called a "gum-spear," and then digging it out with an ordinary spade. A skilful and industrious digger can earn as much as £3 to £4 per week at the work, and even children can make a few shillings a day at it. As, however, the gum-fields offer a refuge for all sorts and conditions of men, many who are old and infirm resort to them, and so the average earnings of those engaged in the work is reduced to £1 15s. or £2 Per week.

The gum is used principally in the manufacture of varnish, but it is found useful for many other purposes, such as dressing "glazed" calicoes, &c. The best quality, which is scarce, is worth as much as £8 to £10 per cwt., while the poorest quality is worth only about £1 per cwt. in London.

The following are the quantities and values of the exports in ten-year periods since 1853:—

Interesting Facts.

"IN the North Island there is the famous Lake District, with its wonderful collection of geysers, sulphurous springs, palatial terraces, and lovely natural baths, formed as it were of tinted marble and full of warm transparent water, of a beautiful blue colour. Nor are these waters only astonishing to the sightseer. Their

curative properties in cases of rheumatism, scorbutic and tubercular disease?, cutaneous eruptions and nervous affections are well established."—*Encyclopedia Britannica*.

"In the South Island there are numerous lakes, some of them of considerable extent. Lake Wakatipu covering 112 square miles, and Lake Te Anan, 132 square miles; these and many others embosomed in the Southern Alps are scenes of great natural beauty, abound with objects of interest, and present strong attractions to the explorer and tourist."—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Settlers desiring relaxation will find New Zealand an excellent field for sport.

There are 133 species of birds in New Zealand.

New Zealand abounds in good harbours along a coast-line of 4,300 miles.

Emigration to New Zealand has been stopped.

Clerks or soft-handed men, unfit for manual labour, are not in demand.

Steady and industrious men, with small capital, can earn a pleasant living.

The renowned hot springs extend over 1,000 square miles, their temperature varying from 60° to 212° Fahr.

The Maoris are divided into 20 clans, and number 41,523, half of whom are well to do; in 1891 they held 75,833 acres.

According to Maori traditions they immigrated about the fourteenth century.

The Maoris are peaceful and very intelligent.

There are 63 counties in New Zealand.

New Zealand is of volcanic origin. Anthony Trollope says: "In New Zealand everything is English."

There are 46 life members (including two Maoris) in the Legislative Council; and 74 members in the House of Representatives (including four Maoris).

Towns which are not boroughs are controlled by district boards.

The municipal corporations resemble those in England.

The real and personal property and public works of New Zealand were in 1889 valued at £218,000,000.

As the seasons in New Zealand are the reverse of those of Great Britain, the colonial produce can be landed in England at times when the home production is most difficult.

There are 160 newspapers published in New Zealand.

Phormium (New Zealand hemp) has been exported since 1809, and forms an important item of trade, viz., 1890, £381,789; 1891, £281,514. In 1881 the figures were only

There is no State Church in New Zealand, but all denominations are well represented.

The first missionaries visited New Zealand in 1814.

There are 1,956 miles of railways now being worked.

New Zealand possesses scenery of unsurpassed grandeur.

Magnificent glaciers stream down Mount Cook, which is at all times snow-capped; its highest point is 12,349 feet.

There are 5,061 miles of telegraph lines open.

Taxation in New Zealand is all in favour of those who improve and cultivate land.

The small farmer practically escapes taxation.

Absentee landowners pay 20 per cent higher taxes than those who are residential.

In ten years New Zealand has exported to China £138,341 worth of an edible fungus.

The produce and manufactures of New Zealand during 1890 nearly reached nine and a half millions sterling.

There has been a steady decline of about 10 per cent. per annum in the number of bankrupts.

In ten years the imports have decreased £1,000,000, but the exports during the same period have increased £3,500,000.

Over £15,000,000 of money has been spent on railways in New Zealand, and £3,598,000 on roads and bridges.

Immigration—*i.e.*, State-aided—has been suspended after an expenditure of more than £2,000,000.

New Zealand could call 145,000 men into the field in case of war; there are 8,812 volunteers.

Lighthouses, harbours, and defence works have cost New Zealand £881,000.

Population.

By the April, 1891 census the population was 636,568.

There were 38,000 more males than females.

Between 1871 and 1881 the population doubled.

Foot towns and their suburbs exceed 33,000 inhabitants.

The largest are Auckland, 51,987; Christchurch, 47,846 Dunedin, 45,855; Wellington, 33,224. The average number of children in a New Zealand family is 4.87, and in England 4.16. Only about one-quarter of the men in New Zealand are married. In 1891 there were upwards of 18,000 births, equal to 29 per thousand of the population.

Area.

ONE hundred thousand square miles, or one-seventh less than Great Britain and Ireland.

Of the 61,000,000 acres, two-thirds are suited to agriculture and grazing.

The area of the North Island is about three-fourths of that of England and Wales, and the Middle Island has an equal area.

There are about 28½ million acres in North Island, and rather less than 37½ million acres in the Middle Island.

Education.

THE Colony presents ample educational facilities, the instruction being secular, free, and well advanced.

There are excellent high schools and colleges, also a university empowered to confer degrees.

Banking.

ENGLISH money is used throughout the Colony. Money can be transmitted to the Colony from the "United Kingdom through the Post Office by money order. Larger sums can be sent by means of drafts, which can be obtained at any bank here. The principal banks, with their London addresses, are:—

The Bank of New Zealand, bankers to the Government, and to the New Zealand Shipping Company, I, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

National Bank of New Zealand (Limited), 71, Old Broad Street, London.

Colonial Bank of New Zealand, 92, Cannon Street, E.C.

Bank of New South Wales, 64, Old Broad Street, E.C.

Union Bank of Australia (Limited), I, Bank Buildings, London.

Bank of Australasia, 4, Threadneedle Street.

All these have branches in the leading towns of New Zealand.

There are some 300 post office savings banks, and a few others. Interest is allowed at 4½ per cent, up to £200, and 4 per cent. from £200 to £500.

A Summary of Principal Events.

(Culled from the Government Handbook.)

Dec. 13, 1642.—Discovery of New Zealand by Abel Jansen Tasman.

Oct. 8, 1769.—Captain Cook; landed at Poverty Lay on his first

1814—Horses, oxen, sheep, and poultry first brought to the Colony.

1825.—First attempt at colonisation by Captain Herd.

1831.—Application of thirteen chiefs for the protection of King William IV.

1835.—Declaration of independence of the whole of New Zealand as one nation, with the title of "The United Tribes of New Zealand."

May 12, 1839.—Departure of the preliminary expedition of the New Zealand Company from England.

Sept. 16, 1839.—First body of New Zealand Company's emigrants tailed from Gravesend.

Jan. 20, 1840.—First steamer arrived in New Zealand.

Jan. 22, 1840.—Arrival of first body of immigrants at Port Nicholson.

Jan. 29, 1840.—Captain Hobson, R.N., arrived at the Bay of Islands. On the following day (Jan. 30) he hoisted the Union flag, and extended the boundaries of the colony of New South Wales so as to embrace and comprehend the Islands of New Zealand.

May 21, 1840.—Date of proclamation of sovereignty over the islands of New Zealand.

Mar. 31, 1841.—Arrival of first New Plymouth settlers. May 3, 1841.—New Zealand proclaimed to be independent of New South Wales.

Oct., 1841.—Selection of site for settlement at Nelson.

Feb. 1, 1842.—Settlement founded at Nelson.

Aug. 28, 1846.—The New Zealand Government Act passed by the Imperial Parliament, under which a charter was issued dividing the colony into two provinces, and granting representative institutions.

Mar., 1848.—Otago founded by a Scotch company under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland.

Dec, 1850.—Canterbury founded by the Canterbury Association in connection with the Church of England.

1852.—Discovery of gold at Coromandel.

June 30, 1852.—The Constitution Act passed by the Imperial Parliament, granting representative institutions to the colony, and subdividing it into six provinces.

May 27, 1854.—Opening at Auckland of the first session of the General Assembly by Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, administrator of the Government.

Jan., 1855.—Very severe earthquake on each side of Cook Strait.

Nov. 12, 1855.—First members elected to House of Representatives under system of responsible Government.

Aug. 8, 1855.—General Assembly opened.

May 7, 1856.—Appointment of the first Ministry under the system of responsible Government.

Nov. 1, 1858.—Establishment of the province of Hawkes Bay.

Nov, 1, 1859.—Establishment of the province of Marlborough.

Dec. 1, 1863.—The first railway in New Zealand opened for traffic.

1864.—Discovery of gold on the west coast of the Middle Island.

Mar. 3, 1869.—Termination of Panama mail service.

Mar. 26, 1870.—Commencement of San Francisco mail service.

Nov., 1872.—Establishment of the New Zealand Shipping Company.

July, 1875.—Establishment of the Union Steam Shipping Company of New Zealand.

Feb. 18, 1876.—Completion of the work of laying the telegraph cable between New Zealand and New South Wales.

Nov. 1, 1876.—"The Abolition of Provinces Act, 1875," came into full operation. Complete abolition of provincial institutions. The Colony subdivided into counties and municipal boroughs.

1882.—Frozen meat first exported in this year.

Jan. 26, 1883.—A direct line of steam communication between England and New Zealand inaugurated by the New Zealand Shipping of the famed Pink and White Terraces.

June 10, 1886.—Volcanic eruption at Tarawera, and destruction of the famed Pink and White Terraces.

Passage Money in Relation to Capital.

An Important Concession to Settlers.

WHEN enterprising men—particularly those with families—decide to try their fortune in one of the British dependencies, they too frequently jeopardise, if not sacrifice their future prosperity, by proceeding to the Colony which can be reached at the smallest expenditure in passage money. This false economy which has proved

A Serious Pitfall

to so many, has too often incurred the greatest hardships to settlers, who, through their own misjudgment or the persuasion of some ardent emigration agent, have had to reside in climates wholly unsuited to their constitutions, and where the conditions essential to successful industrial occupation are lacking. It is then realised that the comparatively trivial advantage gained by the low rate of passage money, is far outweighed by the climatic disadvantages or the increased capital, required to combat less favourable circumstances.

This aspect of the emigration question has recently engaged the attention of the Agent-General of New Zealand, who has long held the opinion that, although New Zealand possesses so perfect a climate and a soil of unsurpassed fertility, yet many thrifty settlers have hesitated to proceed thither owing to the passage money

being disproportionate to their capital. This disability has now, to a great extent, been removed, the New Zealand Shipping Company having, in response to the urgent representations of the Agent-General, consented to sacrifice a large proportion of their passage money in the furtherance of the interests of the Colony.

Substantial Reductions

in the existing rates have been agreed and will be accorded to applicants, whether married or single, eligible under the regulations detailed below. A special intermediate class has been established for families.

For the present the Agent-General is only prepared to recommend reduced rates in the case of persons possessing fixed incomes, or a capital of at least £100, with an additional £50 for each child over the age of 12 years.

Conditions Under which Passages to New Zealand at Reduced Rates will be Granted.

1. The applicant must be prepared to take with him to the Colony an amount of capital equal to £100 for himself, and £50 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.

2. The applicant, taking capital with him, must either deposit with the Agent General two weeks before the date of embarkation, the amount as above required, such amount being repaid by the New Zealand Government without deduction to the depositor on his arrival in the Colony, or it will be necessary for him to produce to the Agent-General before the Contract ticket is issued, a bank draft, payable in New Zealand for the said amount.

3. On being approved, the applicant will be entitled to receive a passage to New Zealand by a steamer of the New Zealand Shipping Company's line at the undermentioned reduced rates, and he will in due course receive a notice as to the payment of the passage money, date of embarkation, &c.

Passage Rates.

Particulars of Accommodation.

First Saloon.—The saloons, smoking rooms, music rooms, and ladies' boudoirs are handsomely fitted. The state cabins are all amidships, large and well ventilated.

Second Saloon.—The saloons are very comfortably fitted. The sleeping cabins are roomy, well ventilated, and furnished with bedding, linen, towels, &c. Smoking rooms attached to this class.

Intermediate Cabin.—In this class all rooms are enclosed. There will be family cabins containing sufficient berths to accommodate the families occupying them. The cabins for single men and single women will not contain more than four berths, unless a party of more than four desire to occupy one room.

Outfits.—Bedding, linen, towels, table cloths, &c., &c., as well as all mess requisites, such as soup and dinner plates, cups and saucers, knives and forks, table and tea spoons, tea pots, &c., &c., will be supplied by the Company.

Berthing.—Special compartments will be provided for the intermediate class, which will be kept clean and well attended to by the ship's stewards.

Messing.—Intermediate passengers will mess in their own compartment, food being provided by the passengers' cook and served by the stewards.

Victualling.—As regards victualling, special care will be taken to provide a daily bill of fare, which the Company trust will be approved of by the passengers.

Attendance.—A special steward will be carried, whose sole duty will be to attend to the intermediate passengers and to their compartment.

Third Class.—Third class passengers must provide themselves with bedding, mess utensils, &c., but their meals will be cooked and served by the ship's servants. The scale of provisions printed in the contract tickets is as laid down in the Passenger Acts, but in practice the following dietary is generally followed:—

As it is the Company's desire to study the comfort and convenience of all classes of passengers, as far as practicable, any communication either to the office in New Zealand or in London embodying suggestions in that direction, will receive attention, and any well-grounded complaint will be promptly inquired into:

Apply in the first instance to—

- Gray, Dawes & Co., 4, *Pall Mall East, London, S. W.*
 - J. B. Westray & Co., 138, *Leadenhall Street, London, E C.*
- Or to any of the Company's Agents throughout the United Kingdom.

History of the New Zealand Shipping Company, Limited.

An interesting example of Colonial enterprise.

AMONGST the many important undertakings which owe their existence to the foresight and enterprise of the New Zealanders, none has been more conspicuously useful than the New Zealand Shipping Company, which was formed at Christchurch in 1872 to facilitate the then increasing commerce between the Colony and the mother country. But the most sanguine of the promoters could hardly have gauged its beneficial influence in contributing to the opening up of a land which the late Governor, the Earl of Onslow, has so truly remarked is, by its industrial conditions; its climate, its institutions, and its laws of all our Colonies the one best suited to the British race.

Prior to its inauguration, the mercantile and industrial communities were, as regards ocean carriage, in the hands of a monopoly which subordinated the growing interests of the Colony to their own immediate benefits. As a consequence, the enterprising colonists who had created the trade decided to defend it by taking the initiative in establishing

A Direct Colonial Line with Great Britain.

The competition thus created stimulated those who previously held the field to exert their influence to prevent the diversion of their trade. But the patriotic zeal which animated the founders intensified in proportion to the need, and an appeal was issued to the Exporters to support the new undertaking in the interests of the Colony whilst the importers in turn were reminded of the too familiar fact that it was "necessary to release themselves from the excessive rates of freight which restricted the development of commerce, and to enjoy those facilities of direct communication which should obviate the risk and damage entailed by transhipment in Australia."

These cogent appeals received the anticipated response. All the shares were absorbed in New Zealand and an announcement made of the charter of eighteen fine clipper ships and the despatch of the

"First Direct Wool Ship for London."

This marked an important epoch in the commercial history of New Zealand, for the facilities thus initiated by the New Zealand Shipping Company have since resulted in doubling the export trade of the Colony.

The hostility of the Company's competitors then remained latent until the first vulnerable moment, and no sooner had the Colonial Company incurred heavy responsibilities in contracting with the Government for the carriage of all their emigrants and cargo than a vigorous attack had to be resisted. A war of rates ensued, but the colonists were not unmindful of the consequences of surrender. The loss of many thousands of pounds only stimulated their energies. A stout front demonstrated that the New Zealand Shipping Company had "come to stay," and a tariff of rates equitable to all concerned was adopted, under which trade grew apace, five new ships being contracted for.

The advantages thus accruing to New Zealand were stated by the Chairman two years later, when he remarked that the Company had "effected a saving of at least £200,000 to the wool growers, grain producers and mercantile community of the Colony." This

Recognition of the Services of the Company

was, however, not restricted to those more immediately interested, for a few years later Sir Julius Vogel, at

the conclusion of a speech delivered at Christchurch, remarked, in connection with a review of the progress of the Colony:—"It would be wrong for me to refrain from alluding to the New Zealand Shipping Company, of which Canterbury should be proud, for to that Company was due the credit of being the pioneer of direct steam communication with the mother country. The benefits of this, both practical and sentimental, are immense, and the New Zealand Shipping Company deserves credit for having effected that, unaided by any Government subsidy."

Returning to the period under review (1875), we find that the facilities afforded by the New Zealand Shipping Company had contributed to a great extent to the unprecedented increase (within five years) of 100 per cent, in the import trade, taxing to the fullest the carrying powers of the Company. It rose, however, to the occasion, doubled its fleet, and strengthened its position in London by the appointment of a Board of Advice.

A new aspect then presented itself, for the remarkable vitality of the industries rendered it imperative to inaugurate a more efficient coastal service, not only to foster the local trade, but to feed the inter-oceanic service. The requirements were soon detected, and the same foresight and enterprise which the New Zealanders had shown in establishing the New Zealand Shipping Company were reasserted in the

Formation of the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand,

one of the most important and successful undertakings devised by the go-ahead Colonists.

From this it will be seen that the first essential to the development of the internal resources of New Zealand, easy and economic transport, had been furnished. During the eventful year of 1875 no less than 18,324 immigrants were introduced by the Government and public works vastly extended.

Another important event in the history of the Company was witnessed in 1879 by the charter of

The First Direct Steamer

the "Stad Haarlem," to convey 600 emigrants to the Colony, which was attracting an increasing share of public attention as an eligible field for British Settlers.

Between 1877 and 1882 the New Zealand Shipping Company carried 20,000 persons to the Colony, and the Directors finding the demand for space exceeding their power of supply increased the share capital to £1,000,000 in order that they might efficiently respond to the expansion.

Up to this time sheep rearing had been chiefly carried on for the purpose of wool growing, of which 60,000,000 lbs. were then being annually exported. All this however was destined to be revolutionized.

The New Zealand Shipping Company which had done so much to foster the trade of the Colony, effected one of the most conspicuous transformations which any industry has experienced by the introduction of refrigerating machinery for

The Carriage of Frozen Meat.

The sailing ship "Mataura" was fitted with refrigerators at the cost of several thousands of pounds, and to test the reliability of this new development of mechanical science, quantities of fish and birds were shipped in London and delivered in the Colony in perfect condition. A return cargo of frozen beef and mutton at a freight of 2½d. per lb. established the success of the experiment though the financial result did not augur well.

In this connection it is interesting to compare the present rate of one penny per lb., with the gloomy forecast of the *Otago Times* of July 21st, 1882, which remarked: "It is a question whether or not sailing ships can carry the meat under threepence per lb."

To judge the effect of the installation of refrigerators, upon which the Company has since expended £128,000, it need only be borne in mind that the new outlet for sheep (which had hitherto been boiled down for the tallow), led the farmers to greatly increase their flocks, resulting in a still larger production of wool. The annual exports of the clip rose from sixty to ninety million lbs. in five years, and the out-turn of frozen meat from 15,000 to 402,000 cwt. In addition to this marvellous expansion of the wool and meat trades resulting from the adoption of the new refrigerating machinery, a further new and important industry sprung up in the shipment of dairy produce, nearly 600,000 cwts. of cheese and butter being shipped annually to the United Kingdom.

The service thus rendered by the New Zealand Shipping Company was cordially acknowledged on all sides, and the *Australian Times* gave expression to the public feeling when in commenting upon the growth of

the frozen meat trade it said: "The New Zealand Shipping Company has been very largely instrumental in creating this splendid addition to the national industries."

It may be remarked in conclusion that one cannot gauge the ultimate development of the frozen meat industry, as each successive return shows a substantial increase; the year ending June, 1892 reaching a total export from New Zealand of 104,443,498 lbs. This is greatly attributable to the disappearance of the prejudice which at one time existed from the popular fallacy that the meat must to a certain extent—however imperceptible—perish during its transport to England. It is curious, however, that this erroneous belief should have gained credence, considering that almost intact specimens of Mammoth have after many hundreds and even thousands of years been discovered in Siberia standing upright in the ice and frozen soil with their skin, muscles, viscera and bones well preserved, the eyes even still staring from their sockets.

The next step in the progressive policy of the Directors was an intimation to Government that the New Zealand Shipping Company were prepared to enter into negotiations with the view to the establishment of

A Line of Direct Mail Steamers

between the mother country and the Colony, or as the Chairman at the succeeding annual meeting characteristically announced that "if direct steam communication with home is to come, this Company should be the one to provide it."

That this was considered a hazardous venture is shown by the remarks of Sir Dillon Bell, the Colonial Treasurer, who stated "It would be far better not to start the service at all than to start it and find that those who had taken it up were not strong enough to carry it through."

This elicited the more confident response that "If the New Zealand Shipping Company should take it up they are essentially the people who have the skill, experience, and strength to conduct it successfully." This was soon demonstrated by

A Monthly Mail Contract

being undertaken, and the best evidence of its satisfactory performance is the fact that the Company received bonuses to as much as £10,000 in one year in excess of the subsidy for arriving in advance of contract dates.

To fulfil the heavy obligations the Company had incurred,

Five 15-Knot Steamers

of the highest class, namely:—the "Tongariro," "Aorangi," and "Ruapehu," of 4,163 tons, and the "Kaikoura" and "Rimutaka," of 4,473 tons each, and 3,600 effective horse power, were ordered from the eminent firm of John Elder & Co., the first being launched on the 22nd August, 1883.

Pending this important augmentation of their fleet the requirements were met by chartering swift steamers, and in January, 1883, the "British King," of 3,559 tons reg., was despatched as the pioneer. The voyage was performed in 49 days, but since then the "Rimutaka" and "Aorangi" have covered the distance in 39 days 3 hours, whilst the "Kaikoura" has run home in 36 days 10 hours.

It is interesting to note that *all* of these fine ships, *built especially for the New Zealand trade*, are running at the present time, as throughout its career

The Company has Never Lost a Steamer.

This immunity is the more remarkable when it is considered that the Company's own and chartered steamers run nearly 550,000 miles per annum, or including the Sailing Ships, 1,140,000 miles.

This good fortune, combined with the liberal scale upon which the operations are conducted, accounts for the popularity the Company enjoys amongst travellers and the shipping community.

To meet the growing necessities of the trade the magnificent 14½-knot steamer "Ruahine," of 6,127 tons, has recently been added from the yard of Messrs. William Denny and Bros., Dumbarton, also the cargo steamers "Waikato," of 4,766 tons, "Tekoa," of 4,050 tons, and "Otarama," of 3,808 tons. The Company now owns steamers aggregating 40,187 tons, sailing vessels to the extent of 10,452 tons, whilst the five Ducal steamers running in the Company's service contribute a further 16,379 tons.

It will be seen that the New Zealand Shipping Company holds

The Unique Position

of being of Colonial birth and thus inseparably associated with the true interests and progress of the Colony. By close attention therefore to the comforts and safety of passengers and the maritime requirements of an expanding trade, it confidently relies upon commanding a continuance of the support and popularity it has so long enjoyed.

Interesting Facts about the New Zealand Shipping Company.

THE Company was founded in Christchurch, N.Z., in November, 1872; was registered there in January, 1873, and commenced business in London in the following April

The Company possesses the swiftest and best appointed steamers in the New Zealand trade.

Government emigrants are no longer carried, but the following will interest passengers:—

"They carried many thousands of emigrants in perfect safety, treating them with liberality and studying their comfort and convenience in every possible way."—*Australian Times, 28th October, 1887.*

The "Tongariro" has run three times round the world, including all stoppages for loading, discharging, &c, in 11 months 11 days.

So rapid was the growth of the Company that during the second, third and fourth years of its existence it despatched 150 ships to the Colony, carrying 28,670 souls, 15,938 of whom were carried during 1874.

The Company landed 2,000 tons of Dairy Produce in London last year.

During the year ending June, 1891, it carried 750,000 carcasses of mutton and about 4,500,000 lbs. of beef.

During the last ten years it has spent about £1,250,000 in steamers and refrigerating machinery for the frozen meat trade.

The fleet carries 1,098 hands, their wages amounting to £60,000 per annum.

The annual expenditure exceeds £500,000 per annum.

Its steamers consume considerably over 100,000 tons of coal per annum.

The Company's steamers have *all* been built specially for the New Zealand trade and possess the best accommodation for passengers.

The Company's Rules state:—"The Purser is enjoined to lose no opportunity to meet and anticipate the wants and requirements of passengers. He must constantly study the best means to provide a tasteful and liberal table."

The Cabins are heated during cold weather.

Passengers are conveyed, fed and cared for with every comfort between England and New Zealand at the following very low rates—

The New Zealand Shipping Company, Limited.

(Founded at Christchurch, New Zealand, 1872.)

THE magnificent steamers of this Company, which carry Her Majesty's mails *direct* to New Zealand, are of the finest type. The comfort of the passengers is a first consideration. Experienced surgeons are always carried, and the accommodation throughout is unsurpassed. The cabins are lighted by electricity and heated by steam pipes during cold weather. An ample number of bath-rooms and lavatories are provided.

Company's Fleet & Affiliated Steamers.

Steamer. Ton- nage. H.P. No. of carcasses of mutton ship can carry. Passenger capacity.

Extract from "New Zealand Official Handbook."

"To show the great regularity with which these steamers make their passages the Company recently compiled a series of results showing that the five steamers have completed 73 voyages round the world, the longest average passage being—homeward, 40 days 1 hour, and the shortest 39 days 2 hours; and outward, longest, 43 days 4 hours, shortest 41 days 20 hours; and all these 73 voyages were performed without any loss of life.

Ordinary Rates of Passage Money.

Applicable to all passengers and settlers who may not be eligible under the special arrangements concluded with, the Agent-General for New Zealand.

To Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury (Lyttelton), Otago (Port Chalmers), Bluff Harbour, Gisborne, Greymouth, Napier, Nelson. New Plymouth, Oamaru, Picton, Timaru, Wanganui, and West port.

First Saloon, 60 to 70 guineas per adult.

Second Saloon, 35 to 40 guineas per adult.

Third Saloon, 16 to 20 guineas per adult.

Passengers are booted through to other ports at slightly increased fares.

The above-named rates include everything required in the way of provisions during the voyage, as well as surgeon, steward and stewardesses' fees, but not wines, spirits, beer, or mineral waters, which can be purchased on board at moderate prices. A large and well-selected stock of wines, cigars, tobacco, &c, is kept.

The first and second saloon state-rooms are furnished with bedding, linen, towels, and every requisite.

The third class passengers must provide themselves with beds, bedding, and mess utensils, such as metal plates and dishes; knives, forks, and spoons; cups and saucers or tin drinking vessels, a water can, washing basin, towels, &c.

A deposit of one-half the Passage Money is necessary to secure a berth; the balance must be paid at the Company's Offices three days prior to the steamer leaving the docks for third class, and seven days for first and second class. If a passenger fails to embark the deposit is forfeited.

Time Table for 1893.

Outwards.

Steamer leaves London. Steamer leaves Plymouth. Steamer due Tenerife Steamer due Cape Town about
about Jan. 5 Jan. 7 Jan. 12 Jan. 28 Feb. 2 Feb. 4 Feb. 9 Feb. 25 Mar. 2 Mar. 4 Mar. 9 Mar. 25 Mar. 30 April 1
April 6 April 22 April 27 April 29 May 4 May 20 May 25 May 27 June 1 June 17 June 22 June 24 June 29 July
15 July 20 July 22 July 27 Aug. 12 Aug. 17 Aug. 19 Aug. 24 Sept. 9 Sept. 14 Sept. 16 Sept. 21 Oct. 7 Oct. 12
Oct. 14 Oct. 19 Nov. 4 Nov. 9 Nov. 11 Nov. 16 Dec. 2 Dec. 7 Dec. 9 Dec. 14 Dec. 30

Homewards.

Steamer leaves New Zealand Steamer due Rio de Janeiro Steamer due Tenerife Steamer due Plymouth.
Steamer due in London about about about about Jan. 19 Feb. 10 Feb. 23 Feb. 28 Mar. 1 Feb. 16 Mar. 10 Mar.
23 Mar. 28 Mar. 29 Mar. 16 April 7 April 20 April 25 April 26 April 13 May 5 May 18 May 23 May 24 May
11 June 30 June 15 June 20 June 21 June 8 June 30 July 13 July 18 July 19 July 6 July 28 Aug. 10 Aug. 15
Aug. 16 Aug. 3 Aug. 25 Sept. 7 Sept. 12 Sept. 13 Aug. 31 Sept. 22 Oct. 5 Oct. 10 Oct. 11 Sept. 28 Oct. 20 Nov.
2 Nov. 7 Nov. 8 Oct. 26 Nov. 17 Nov. 30 Dec. 5 Dec. 6 Nov. 23 Dec. 15 Dec. 28 Jan. 2 Jan. 3 Dec. 21 Jan. 12
Jan. 25 Jan. 30 Jan. 31

Table of Distances. Distances-Outward.

London 14 Grave send

Distances—Homeward.

Inter-Colonial. Miles Auckland to Sydney . . 1,281 Auckland to Levuka (Fiji) . . 1,172 Russell to Sydney . .
1,172 Wellington to Sydney . . 1239 Wellington to Melbourne . . 1,479 Eluff to Melbourne . . 1,200 Eluff to
Hobart 930 Hokitika. to Newcastle . . 1,085 Greymouth to Melbourne . . 1,266 TRANSPACIFIC. Miles_
Auckland to Honolulu . . 3,810 Honolulu to San Francisco 2,100

Church Emigration Society.

THIS Society is established to promote the interests of such settlers proceeding to the Colonies as may be associated with the Church of England. Its methods are eminently practical, and provide the connecting link between the bishops and clergy of the mother country, and the Colonial Dioceses. Its honorary correspondents in the British dependencies communicate the demand for good emigrants, and the Society at home carefully selects such suitable men and women, as are able to pay their own passage money. These, after careful enquiries have been made, are furnished with introductions and certificates of character, and have the advantage of being befriended upon their arrival.

It is indeed another and a very practical application of the term "direct from the producer to the consumer." Some idea of the scope of its organization can be gleaned from the fact that there are 164 Honorary Secretaries at home, and 65 in the Colonies. Local branches of the Society have been established at *Maidstone, Tunbridge Wells, Stoke, Sleaforth, Kensington, Holt, Humbleyard, Trawbridge, Trammere and Cheetham.*

During 1891, 243 out of 361 applicants were comfortably placed in the Colony, which speaks well, not only for the care with which the Secretaries investigate every case before submitting it to the central authority, but also for the efficacy of the colonial organizations.

Applications should be addressed through the Passenger Agents as usual, who will provide the necessary forms and passage tickets.

New Zealand Loan & Mercantile Agency Co., Limited.

Directors.

- H. J. Bristow, Esq.
- The Rt. 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.

Trustees for Debenture Stockholders.

- The Rt. Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., M.P.
- Baron Schroder.
- Walpole Greenwell, Esq.
- Manager, London: Henry Moncreiff Paul, Esq.
- General Manager. Australia: David Elder, Esq.
- General Manager, New Zealand: Frederick Battley, Esq.

With Correspondents at all other places throughout the colony.

The Company makes advances in the Australasian Colonies on produce, on the stations and stocks of runholder, 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, &c., &c., for sale in London, or to the managers or agents of the company in Australia, New Zealand, &c. 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, charging commission at 2½ per cent. when funds are in hand, or are remitted by bank draft at usance; and 5 per cent. when not in funds, or in possession of only 25 per cent. of the cost of the goods.

The company also accepts the consignment in the colonies of produce and manufactures for sale there at customary rate 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 Runholder, undertaking the financial management of their properties, negotiating and effecting sales of their Freeholds, and generally superintending their interests.

For further information concerning the business of the Company, apply to the Manager, London, or to the Manager or agents in New Zealand.

Union Steam Ship Company New Zealand, Limited. Traffic is transhipped between the Steamers of this Company and the New Zealand Shipping Company. THE Steamers of the UNION LINE have a world-wide reputation for splendour, comfort, luxury, cuisine, speed, and everything that makes a sea voyage enjoyable. Of a Fleet comprising 52 Vessels, the following are well and favourably known in the Interconial service:—

THE NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN LAND COMPANY LIMITED CAPITAL £1,550,000. OFFICE: 54, CASTLE STREET, EDINBURGH. COLONIAL OFFICES: DUNEDIN ...M, HOND STREET. MELBOURNE 123, WILLIAM STREET. MESSRS. DKVNY.-, LASI-'ULLKS, AUS-I'IN & Co., .Agntts. BRISBANE MARY STREET. MESSRS. B. D. MOREHBAD & Co., Agents. Portions of The New Zealand and Austr-aiian Land Company's Estates ape surveyed into fai'ins of various sizes, and these are open for sale, at a varied scale of upset prices mentioned on lithographed plans supplied by the Company In the Colony. Full particulars rttzarduig the terms of payment, etc., art obtainable from the Agents of the Company; and tlie Manager! of the Properties will point nut the farms to intending buyers.

THE COLONIAL BANK OF NEW ZEALAND. tmerferaitit by Act Ciatrn! Atamify, B; Arrow Fortrose Nelson Petone Waitara Ashurst Gore New Plymouth Queenstown Wairouatiti Auckland Hampden Oamaru Rangiora Waitahuna Balclutha Inglewood Palmerston Reefton Wanganui Blenheim Invercargill (OTAGO) St.Bathans Wellington Bluff Kurow Palmerston South Denedin Westport Christchurch Lawrence (NORTH) Syden Dunedin Whangarei Cromwell Napier Timau

THE BANK OF NEW ZEALAND. (Incorporated by Act of General Assembly, July 29, 1861.) BANKERS To THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT Capital, £900,000; Reserve Fund, £35,000; Reserve Liability, £1,500,000. HEAD OFFICE-I, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, E.G. NEW NATIONAL BANK OF NEW ZEALAND, Limited. CHIEF OFFICE IN NKW ZEALAND, DUNKDIN.

THE NATIONAL BANK OF NEW ZEALAND, Limited, Incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1886. and the New Zealand Act, 1873. Head Office:—71, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.

World map

Front Cover

Reduced Fares to New Zealand.

The high passage rates to New Zealand have in the past precluded many from going to the Colony. In the case of a person with a large family, the cost of transport makes a considerable hole in a small capital, and many who would otherwise emigrate to the manifest advantage of themselves and the Colony, hesitate to incur the necessary outlay. To meet cases of this kind, The New Zealand Shipping Company (188, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.) has generously responded to a proposal made by the Agent-General for New Zealand that a reduction in the passage rates shall be made in cases recommended by him. Substantial reductions will be made on existing rates, and a special intermediate class will be established for families, but such reductions will only be made by the Shipping Company on the recommendation of the Agent-General. For the present the Agent-General is only prepared to recommend reduced fares in the case of persons possessing fixed incomes or a capital of at least £100, with £50 additional for each child over 12 years.

Conditions under which Passages to New Zealand at Reduced Rates will be Granted.

- —The applicant must be prepared to take with him to the Colony 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.
- —The applicant, taking capital with him, must either deposit with the Agent-General two weeks before the date of embarkation, the amount as above required, such amount being repaid by the New Zealand Government without deduction to the depositor on his arrival in the Colony, or it will be necessary for him to produce to the Agent-General before the Contract ticket is issued, a bank draft, payable in New Zealand for the said amount.
- —On being approved, the applicant will be entitled to receive a passage to Now Zealand by a steamer of

The New Zealand Shipping Company's line at the undermentioned reduced rates, and he will in due course receive a notice as to the payment of the passage-money, date of embarkation, &c.

For Application Forms, &c., apply to the Agent-General for New Zealand, 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

February, 1893.

An Information Bureau, Library and Reading Room, is Open at the

New Zealand Government Office,
Westminster Chambers, 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

This Bureau has been established for the purpose of supplying all information concerning the Colony. Books of reference, statistics, colonial statutes, handbooks, trade circulars, newspapers, maps, &c, may be consulted, and an officer is in attendance to assist persons to obtain the information required.

All enquiries by letter should be addressed to The Agent-General for New Zealand, 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

The main lines of steamers and sailing ships are as follows:

The New Zealand Shipping Company 138, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

Shaw, Savill & Albion Co., 34, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

The Union Steam Ship Co., of New Zealand, 18, Walbrook, E.G., (viâ New York and San Francisco).

P. Henderson & Co., 15, St. Vincent Place, Glasgow.

Orient Steam Navigation Co., 13, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.

Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. (No steerage passengers taken.)

The steamers of the New Zealand Shipping Company, and Shaw, Savill & Albion Co., run fortnightly from London and Plymouth for Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, and Auckland, taking passengers for all other New Zealand Ports. Passengers by other steamers have to trans-ship at one of the Australian ports, and this often involves delay and expense, and, for third class and steerage passengers, higher fares.

All particulars regarding passages and fares to New Zealand, can be obtained by applying to Mr E. A. Smith, Shipping Agent to the New Zealand Government, 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W., or, for persons in Scotland, to Mr. A. O. Ottywell, 6, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

Books, &c., which can be procured at the Information Bureau

Books, &c., which can be seen on personal application at the Information Bureau—

The Statutes of New Zealand, 1841 to 1892.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1854 to 1892.

Parliamentary Papers of New Zealand. 1860 to 1892, classed under the following heads:—Legislative and Political, Finance, Crown Lands. Immigration and Public Works. Education, Postal and Telegraphs, Native Affairs, Miscellaneous, and Reports of Select Committees. These papers include Reports on the following subjects—

Journals of the Legislative Council (1860 to 1891), and House of Representatives (1858 to 1891).

New Zealand Government Gazettes, 1859 to 1892.

New Zealand Statistics, 1853 to 1891.

Census Results, 1871 to 1891. New Zealand Law Reports, 1883 to 1890.

New Zealand Court of Appeal Reports, 1867 to 1877.
 New Zealand Justice of the Peace," &c.
 New Zealand Police Act and Regulations.
 Education Acts, Regulations, and Reports.
 New Zealand University Calendar, and Examination Papers.
 Otago University Calendar.
 Auckland University College Calendar.
 Canterbury College Calendar.
 "Productions of New Zealand," by Westby B. Perceval (Agent-General)
 "Phormium Tenax (*New Zealand Flax*) as a fibrous plant," Sir James Hector, 1889.
 "Report on the Dairy Factories," by R. M. McCullum.
 "Cheese, Butter and Bacon in New Zealand," by W. Bowron.
 "Handy Book on the Land Transfer Act," 1885.
 "Official Handbook of New Zealand," 1883-84, by W. Gisborne, with Maps.
 "Notes on the Progress of New Zealand, 1864-1884," by Sir Robert Stout, 1886
 "Brett's Handy Guide to New Zealand."
 "Handbook of New Zealand Mines, 1887."
 "Gold Miners' Guide," by Vincent Pyke.
 "Southland and its Resources," a paper by W. B. Scandrett.
 "Ancient History of the Maori," Vols. 1 to 6, by John White.
 "Forest Flora of New Zealand," with plates, by T. Kirk.
 "Indigenous Grasses of New Zealand." with Illustrations; Issued by Colonial Museum.
 "Manual of New Zealand Birds," by Sir Walter Buller.
 "New Zealand Scale Insects," by W. M. Maskell, 1887.
 Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand in 1882.
 Handbooks issued by Shipping Companies.
 Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory, 1892-93, and earlier years.
 Provincial Almanacks and Directories of various Districts.
 Maps of New Zealand, North and Middle Islands (large Scale).
 Maps of New Zealand, North and Middle Islands showing Counties.
 Maps of New Zealand, North and Middle Islands showing Electoral Districts.
 Maps of Provincial Districts, (large Scale), as follows:—

- Auckland (three sheets).
- Hawke's Bay, Wellington and Taranaki.
- Nelson, Marlborough, and parts of Canterbury and Westland.
- Canterbury,
- Otago and Westland.

Otago and Southland.
 "The Eruption of Tarawera." 1886, S. P. Smith, Asst. Surveyor-General.
 "Eruption of Tarawera and Rotomahana," by Professor A. P. W. Thomas.
 List of Intestate, &c., Estates administered by the Public Trustee.
 Transactions of the New Zealand Institute.
 New Zealand Geological Survey Reports (various).
 "Catalogue and Guide to the Geological Exhibits at Indian & Colonial Exhibition, 1886; with Geological Map and Index."
 Price List of Acts and Official Publications of the New Zealand Government.
 Abstracts of the Trade and Revenue Returns of New Zealand.
 Tourist Maps of various Districts. "Tourist Guide to the Lake Districts of Otago."
 "New Zealand for the Emigrant, Invalid, and Tourist," by J. M. Moore, M.D.
 "A Scramble over the Lake Mountains," by S. H. Moreton.
 "Milford Sound and the Scenery of the West Coast of the Middle Island of New Zealand," by S. H. Moreton.
 "Maoriland: The Britain of the South ": Lectures by J. R. Randerson.
 "Maoriland: An Illustrated Handbook of New Zealand," Issued by Union Steam Ship Co. of New Zealand, 1884.
 "Official Record of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition."
 "A Compilation of Acts relating to the Constitution of New Zealand."
 Catalogue of the General Assembly Library in New Zealand.

Various other Books and Pamphlets on New Zealand, by private Authors.

The Information Bureau is also supplied with a good collection of Lantern Slides, which are available for illustrating Lectures on the Colony with lime-light views.

New Zealand Acts and Government Publications

Are also Obtainable From

Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, East Harding Street, London, E.C.

Price Lists can be had on application to the firm.

The following are the Principal New Zealand Newspapers filed for reference in the Information Bureau—

Many of the above Newspapers are to be purchased at the Office of the "British Australasian," 31, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

The following information as to the Customs regulations affecting Passengers' Baggage and other effects will be of service to intending settlers:—

Extract from the New Zealand Customs Tariff.

"Passengers' baggage and effects including only wearing apparel and other personal effects that have been worn or are in use by persons arriving in the Colony'; also implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, or employment of such persons; and household effects not exceeding £100 in value used abroad for more than a year by the persons or families bringing them to the Colony, and not intended or any other person or persons or for sale; also Cabin furnishings belonging to such persons.—Free."

Note.

I.—It is not necessary that household effects should accompany passengers in the same ship as a condition of their being dealt with under the above provisions provided such effects arrive in the Colony within a reasonable time (of which the Customs is the sole judge) prior or subsequent to the arrival of the owners thereof.

II.—The exemption of £100 value applies in the case of families to the head of the family only, and not to each member thereof.

Farming & Labour in New Zealand.

Compiled by Westby Brook Perceval,

Agent-General for New Zealand.

Price Sixpence.

All Information relating to New Zealand can be obtained, either personally or by letter from the Information and Reference Bureau at the Offices of the Agent-General for New Zealand, 13, Victoria Street. Westminster. S.W.

Map of New Zealand

INTRODUCTORY.

THE enquiries made by British working farmers for information regarding the Colony of New Zealand have led to the compilation of the following hand-book: the figures quoted and most of the matter being taken from official statistics published by the Government of New Zealand.

Opinions may vary as to whether the prevailing agricultural depression in England is permanent or transient; but it must be conceded that the improvements made during recent years in the ocean carriage of produce, have brought the producer at the Antipodes into direct competition with the English farmer. When New Zealand is considered, this competition is accentuated by the accident of the seasons being reversed, and the favourable conditions for production. For example, in the case of dairy produce, the English farmer places his butter on the English market during the summer and autumn seasons, when the market is full of Danish, Brittany and other foreign butters, and the prices are low; while New Zealand butter arrives during the English winter when British and foreign supplies are short, and the prices, as a consequence, higher. The same conditions exist in the case of fruit, and also, though in a less degree, in the case of meat. It will be seen that the farming industries in the Colony have made, and are making, great progress, and there is ample room for still greater expansion. New Zealand, with an area as large as the British Isles, has only three-quarters of a million of people, and a soil and climate marvellously adapted for agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The immunity

from droughts enjoyed by New Zealand compared with the neighbouring continent of Australia, the facility for the local transport of produce afforded by the natural configuration of the country, added to the suitability of the soil for the growth of English grasses, cereals, and root crops, are factors to be considered in determining whether farming can be more profitably carried on in New Zealand than in Great Britain. The reflection is assuring that the Colonies are part of the Empire, and if farming can be carried on there more profitably than in England, the Empire, as a whole, will be none the worse off. It is not intended to draw comparisons between the profits of English and Colonial farming, but merely to give information regarding New Zealand farming; but as the attention of the public has recently been drawn to the high Railway rates and the amount of taxation levied on the land in this country, it may be mentioned in passing, that in New Zealand the railways are owned by the State; which is the surest guarantee that they will not be used as taxing machines, and the incidence of the land tax is fixed with the express object of affording relief to the small farmer, and encouraging industry, with the result that the small farmer pays less than any other class of the community, and very much less in the pound than his British competitor. With regard to wages, it is true that the Colonial Agricultural labourer demands and receives higher wages than the English labourer; but less labour is required in the Colony, machinery and labour-saving appliances are more general, and the superior climate enables the Colonial labourer to do more work in the course of the year than his British counterpart.

The low passage rates to the United States, and the efforts that country has made to increase her population, have attracted the people of this country in the past to settle there rather than in our own Colonies, much to the detriment of British trade, a citizen of the United States consuming considerably less than one-tenth of the amount of British manufactures which a British Colonist consumes; but it seems as if the United States is likely to discourage rather than to encourage immigration from henceforth, and that for the future our surplus population will have to seek a home in our own colonies rather than in North and South America. During the year 1892 more than 210,000 Emigrants of British origin left our shores, of whom more than 150,000 went to the United States of America, and less than 40,000 to British North America and Australasia; nevertheless these 40,000 who went to British Colonies will consume very much more British manufactures than will the 150,000 who went to the United States. The class of persons to whom the Colony of New Zealand offers attractions, are persons with a practical knowledge of farming and some little capital to farm with. For the indigent and incompetent workman there is no opening at all, and even for the artizan the demand is limited. In the consideration of any scheme of emigration it cannot be stated too often that the Colonies only want the people suitable for their requirements, and that as long as English people regard emigration as a means of relieving this country of every class of destitute and incompetent people, without reference to their suitability for Colonial life, so long will difficulties insuperable be raised in the Colonies to any general colonisation scheme.

Some short particulars of the manufactures and mining of New Zealand are collected with the object of enabling readers to understand that although manufactures and mining are growing, and are of great importance to the prosperity of the Colony, the output is at the present too small to absorb any large influx of skilled labour. It must also be borne in mind that the easy means of communication between the Australian Colonies affords facilities for the distribution of labour. This is being exemplified at the present time. In the year 1887, the Colony of New Zealand determined to decrease the expenditure of borrowed money, and to abstain from borrowing for a period. No New Zealand loan for Public Works has been since authorised, and although the immediate result of the curtailment of public works was that many workmen left the Colony for the Continent of Australia to seek for work, the return of prosperity in New Zealand, chiefly caused by the people being forced to fall back upon their own resources and go upon the land, and the scarcity of work in Australia, are now causing population to flow into the Colony. Flattering references appear almost daily in the English papers concerning New Zealand. The following extract from the *Morning Post* of the 11th Feb., 1892, is a fair sample. "The prospects of New Zealand are looking very bright, and the Colony seems now on a fair way to prosperity. The past season is said to have been a magnificent one for growing purposes, and everywhere the crops look splendid. The pasturage is luxuriant, and the yields of wheat, oats, potatoes, and other crops give every promise of being abnormally abundant. A rapidly increasing export trade and a steady increase in population, coupled with good harvest prospects, make the outlook for the Colony better than it has been for years."

It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that there is no part of the British dominions where agriculture, in its most extended sense, can be carried on with so much certainty, and with such good results, as in New Zealand. The range of latitude, extending as it does from 84° to 47° south, secures for the colony a diversity of climate which renders it suitable for all the products of subtropical and temperate zones, while the insular position secures it from the continuous and parching droughts which periodically inflict such terrible losses on the agriculturist and pastoralist of Australia and South America.

Again, the climate, although somewhat variable, never reaches the extremes of heat or cold. So genial, indeed, is it that most animals and plants, when first introduced to the colony, assume a vigour unknown to

them before.

NORTH ISLAND.

All the best forage-plants and grasses thrive most admirably, continuing to grow throughout the year with little intermission. Stock of all kinds thrive and fatten rapidly on the pastures, coming to maturity at an early age, without the aid of roots or condimental foods. All kinds of cereals flourish equally well, more especially Indian corn, which produces from 50 to 80 bushels per acre.

So full is the soil of plant-food that several continuous crops of potatoes and cereals may be taken with little apparent exhaustion. Wheat, oats, and barley thrive where the soil is not too rich; otherwise they produce enormous crops of straw, without a corresponding yield of corn. The tobacco-plant thrives well, as also hops and sorghum, broom-corn, peanut, hemp, ramee or rhea (China grass), together with a large variety of economic plants, the growth of which will one day afford employment for a large population. In addition to these, oranges, lemons, limes, olives, and vines, with all the British, Chinese, and Japanese fruits, flourish, requiring but ordinary care. Potatoes are grown to a considerable extent, and yield heavy crops.

Much of the country along the south-west and west coast is being rapidly taken up, and the primeval forest is fast disappearing before the settler's axe. For the most part, the soil is fertile, and the growth of grass and clover is extremely rapid and vigorous when sown on the surface, after the felled timber has been destroyed by fire.

To the British husbandman it will seem almost incredible that the best pasture-grasses grow and thrive as they do with no other preparation than the ashes resulting from the burnt timber—no ploughing and no previous loosening of the soil, this, of course, being impossible amongst the forest of stumps; and yet, in less than a year from the date of scattering the seed, this same land will fatten from three to six sheep per acre.

So rapidly are these fertile forest-lands being cleared and converted into pastures that the demand for stock (principally dairy) has greatly increased, and this demand must continue for a series of years before it is fully met.

Before the introduction of the factory system stock were so unsaleable, especially in the North Island, that little or no attention was paid to this branch of rural economy; and the supply fell to the lowest ebb. The demand which has now set in is chiefly due to the settlement of the bush-lands with small selectors and the development of the dairy industry.

Those who in the past have watched the progress of New Zealand, especially of the North Island, have always maintained that as soon as the Maori difficulties should be ended, and other impediments to settlement overcome, the prosperity of the country would advance at a very rapid rate. The time has now come, and all that is now required to enhance and expedite the coming prosperity is wise legislation with respect to settlement, so that the unoccupied lands may be taken up by a thrifty class of small settlers.

There are millions of acres yet unoccupied, a great portion of which is of good quality, and only waiting the hand of man to make it carry, with very little cost, large herds of dairy stock, with flocks of long-wool and crossbred sheep. The west coast of the island is essentially a cattle-country. The midland districts are also adapted to long-wool sheep, as is the country along the east coast. The bulk of the country may be described as good sheep-land, a large portion of which is quite capable of carrying two sheep to the acre, and some of it as many as three or four.

MIDDLE ISLAND.

If the North Island has a magnificent inheritance in her forests, the Middle island can boast of her magnificent plain-lands, rolling downs, and vast mountain-ranges, all of which, to a greater or less degree, have already been made to contribute to the wealth of the colony.

The middle portion of the Middle Island presented to the first-comers a vast plain, covered with little more than waving tussock-grass, offering little or no obstruction to the plough.

Travelling south, the country assumes a different character: easy undulating downs, well watered, here and there interspersed with fertile plains, the greater portion admirably adapted for agriculture, and all of it for pastoral purposes.

The climate of the Middle Island is not so warm in summer nor so mild in winter as that experienced in the North Island. However, as has already been stated, there are no extremes of heat or cold. Much more might be said in praise of the colony, which is rapidly gaining for itself the right to be called the "Britain of the South." Without dwelling further upon such topics, it is deemed necessary to say so much as a prelude to the more solid matter-of-fact statements, in order that readers may better comprehend the comparative ease with which agricultural and pastoral pursuits are carried on in New Zealand as compared with other countries less

favourably situated.

CROWN LANDS.

The Crown Lands Department publishes periodically, under the authority of the Minister of Lands, a "Crown Lands Guide." The object of the publication, which can be obtained price 1/- at the New Zealand Government Information Bureau, 18, Victoria Street, London, S.W., is to afford such general information as to the character and localities of Crown lands, with the terms and conditions on which they may be obtained, as will enable persons in quest of land to set about its selection without much trouble.

The total area of the colony is nearly 67,000,900 acres, which is held approximately as follows:—

The lands held on pastoral lease and the unoccupied Crown lands represent the lands which are available for future settlement; the area amounts to 20,974,900 acres, and may be classified as follows:—

The unoccupied Crown lands suitable for settlement which the colony has to deal with at the present day, as a rule, are covered with forest, which has to be cleared before any return can be secured from them. The occupied pastoral lands are generally well grassed, but are mainly suitable for mixed agriculture and pasture. The cost of clearing forest land varies: in the North Island where most of the clearing is done, it ranges from £1 5s. to £2 per acre.

The characteristic feature of the Land laws of the colony is the option of tenure provided. Crown lands may be acquired for *cash* on a freehold tenure, or on *lease with a right of purchase*, or on *perpetual lease*. In the case of leased land the rental is an amount equivalent to 4 per cent. on a low capital value. The liberal terms offered by the Government during recent years for leasehold land have been the means of inducing settlers to a large extent to select land on a leasehold tenure in preference to freehold. The advantages of a leasehold over a freehold in the case of the man of small means is obvious, his capital remaining intact for improving and working the farm. Special efforts have been made to enable men of small means to settle on the land, and provision has been made for co-operative settlements. It must be noted that there are no longer free grants of land, and although occasional blocks of land are reserved and opened up for settlements, the conditions of which are so liberal as to be open to the poorest, it is only a limited amount of land which can be so dealt with. The intending settler must therefore recognise that before he will be in a position to secure land, he must save the small amount of money necessary to enable him to take up land in the ordinary way. The impetus given to farming in New Zealand by the improving market in the United Kingdom for colonial produce has created an active demand in the colony for Crown land, and at the present time the demand is so keen, that the Government have a difficulty in opening up land sufficiently fast to satisfy applicants. This fact shows that a high opinion of the good prospects of New Zealand farming has been formed in the colony. There is no machinery for enabling crown land in the colony to be taken up in England by persons intending to go out. Although at first sight this might appear desirable, there are many difficulties, and it is better for a settler to see the colony and the land before he buys. Those desiring to become more acquainted with details of the land laws may consult the crown lands guide before mentioned. In the case of farmers going to the colony with capital, a question for consideration is whether it is not better to acquire improved land from private owners rather than take up unimproved crown land, which is necessarily somewhat remote from centres, and incapable of being immediately re-productive. Owing to the large amount of land which has passed into the hands of private companies and owners, there is little difficulty in acquiring land in this way. Large areas of land are always in the market for sale and lease, and some of the land companies are taking advantage of the improved prospects in the colony to offer land on liberal terms.

The information which follows is grouped under the headings Pastoral, Agricultural and Industrial; and at the end a decennial table of the exports from the Colony is given.

PASTORAL.

In March, 1892, there were 7,403,881 acres under artificial grasses, being an increase of 437,663 on the corresponding acre-age of 1891. Of these 3,327,755 acres had been previously ploughed and, presumably, under grain or other crops, and 4,076,126 acres had not been ploughed, a large proportion consisting of what had been bush or forest-land sown down to grass after the timber had been felled and burnt, or partially burnt.

The following shows the acreage in sown grasses in each of the Australasian colonies:—

It will be observed that the area of land under sown grasses is considerably more than nine times greater in New Zealand than in the whole of Australia and Tasmania combined. When compared in size with the colonies of Australia, New Zealand is relatively small—about one-thirtieth of their total size—but when the grazing capabilities are compared, the relative importance of New Zealand is much altered.

Australia is generally unsuitable, owing to conditions of climate, for the growth of English grasses, and the amount of feed produced by the natural grasses throughout the year is very much less per acre than that obtained from the sown grass lands in New Zealand—so much so that it may be stated that the average productiveness of the grass land in New Zealand is probably about nine times as great as that in Australia; so that the land of this colony covered with artificial grass may be considered equal, for grazing purposes, to an area of Australian territory about nine times as great.

The number of each kind of live stock, according to the census of 1891, is as follows:—

It will be noticed from the decennial export table that wool is still the largest article of export, and with the increase in the number of sheep consequent on the development of the frozen meat trade, this export is likely to considerably increase. A large amount of wool is now used in local manufacture.

STOCK.

Sheep: New Zealand has proved itself to be admirably adapted for the breeding of all classes of sheep, from the fine-combing Merino to the strongest type of Lincoln, with the inter-mediate breeds. The Merino occupies and thrives on the wild lands of the colony, from the snow-line to the border of the plains, as well as on the drier portions of the plains. The Merino ewe furnishes the foundation for all the cross-bred varieties. On the rich, moist soils the Lincoln and Romney Marsh flourish, while the finer English and Border Leicesters occupy the drier lands.

Crossbred Sheep: Those bred from Merino ewes and long-wool rams are the most suitable for the frozen-meat trade, and are known as "freezers."

The dapper little Southdowns flourish wherever crossbreeds thrive. Their more ponderous cousins, the Shropshire and Hampshire Downs, have their admirers, especially the Shropshire, which is largely used for crossing, with a view to producing early-maturing lambs. English Leicesters are much sought after also for this purpose.

Since the development of the frozen-meat trade, sheep-farming has undergone a radical change in the colony. At one time wool was the chief consideration, the surplus stock finding their way into the boiling-down vat, the tallow being the only available product. Things have undergone a marvellous change since 1882, the inaugural year of the frozen-meat trade. Farming has assumed a new phase, sheep-raising for mutton being now the most profitable branch of farm management. Sheep have risen 100 per cent. in value since that industry took hold in the colony. Small and large flocks of pure and crossbred sheep are now kept on all farms which are suitable for them, the object being the production of early lambs for freezing, which sell readily at from 10s. 6d. to 12s. each. The percentage of increase all over the colony is very high, particularly so in the paddocks, where 100 to 125 per cent. is not uncommon in favourable seasons, while on the hill and unimproved country it varies from 46 to 80 per cent.

Disease among the flocks is of rare occurrence where ordinary care is taken. Whenever it does occur, it may generally be traced to overstocking, or excessive moisture.

Shearing commences in September, and continues till January. The usual price per hundred is 15s. to £1. Shearing-machines are gradually coming into use, and will doubtless become general when better understood.

The average clips for the various breeds of sheep are approximately as follows: Merino, from 4lb. to 71b.; quarter-breds, about 6½lb.; half-breds, 7½lb.; three-quarter-breds, 8½lb.; Leicester, 10½lb.; Lincoln, 11lb. Of course, very much larger clips are obtained from special flocks, as much as 251b. to 301b. per sheep; but the above figures represent general averages.

The staple of New Zealand wool, especially the long-wool and cross-bred, is remarkable for its freedom from breaks and other imperfections incidental to countries subject to long droughts and scarcity of feed.

The coming sheep for New Zealand will be that which combines the best fleece and the most suitable carcass for freezing purposes, together with early maturity. This is the problem which some sheep-breeders have set themselves to work out. Whether such an animal, having fixity of type, can be evolved remains to be proved.

The capability of New Zealand for producing mutton has not nearly reached its limit. When the frozen-meat trade was first seriously considered, an assertion which was made to the effect that the colony could find 1,000,000 sheep per annum for freezing without impairing the breeding-flocks was treated as highly chimerical by sheep-breeders of long experience. It is found, however, on reference to the statistical returns, that during the year 1891 1,788,619 sheep and lambs were exported from New Zealand; and not only so, but the flocks have gone on steadily increasing, numbering, according to returns made to the Agricultural Department, 18,475,500 in 1892, as against 16,753,752 in 1891. There are twenty-one freezing-works in the colony, with a full freezing-capacity of 3,665,000 per annum.

The production of wool and mutton in New Zealand is undoubtedly the premier industry of the colony, as

may be inferred from the fact that out of a total of £9,566,397, representing the whole of the exports for 1891, no less than £5,662,081, or nearly 60 per cent., was due to sheep-farming, made up as follows:—

As the country is probably not much more than half tested as to its sheep-carrying capacity, and its consequent power of production, it can readily be seen that, when increased areas have been opened up and laid down in English grasses, and more winter feed grown—such as turnips, mangolds, &c.—New Zealand will offer more than ever before a wide and lucrative field for industrious men of young or middle age, possessed of moderate means and an intelligent knowledge of that most valuable of all animals—the sheep.

It is impossible here to go into minute details with regard to sheep-farming in New Zealand; and, in consequence, the statements which follow must be regarded as general in their character, but nevertheless they are absolutely reliable.

It is a well-known fact that climate and soil exercise the most potent influence on the development of animals (as well as human beings) reared in any country, and these conditions being exceedingly favourable in New Zealand render this colony the most suitable of the British possessions for sheep-farming.

It may unhesitatingly be asserted that not even Great Britain itself is so favourable to the production of the sheep as is New Zealand, for the colony possesses all the climatic and soil advantages of the Mother-country, without the drawbacks of long and severe winters, wet seasons, foot-and-mouth disease, &c.; and the prolonged droughts of the Australian Continent are unknown.

Until the commencement of the frozen-meat industry, in 1882, sheep-farmers in New Zealand confined their attention exclusively to producing the class of sheep that would cut the heaviest fleece; but of late years the ideal has been, and still is, early maturity of mutton and good fleece together. The two qualities have been best combined by the judicious crossing of Down rams with long-wool ewes in the North Island; and in the Middle Island of Leicester, Lincoln, Romney Marsh, and Cheviot rams with large-framed four-year-old Merino ewes. The climate and soil in New Zealand are of such varied character that in some districts it has been found that one cross does better than another. For examples the following are given: In the North Island, until lately, the Lincoln and Romney Marsh breeds have predominated; but since the starting of the frozen-meat trade it has been found necessary, in order to produce an earlier maturing of sheep with a better quality of fleece, to put Hampshire, Shropshire, or Southdown rams to the long-wool ewes; and the desired result has in every case been achieved.

In the Middle Island, where the variations in climate and soil are much greater, and the country, generally speaking more mountainous, the Merino for many years reigned almost supreme. Here, too, however, the export trade of frozen mutton has revolutionised sheep-farming. Merino mutton was not suitable for the Home markets—at all events not so suitable and profitable as the breeding of a larger sheep; besides, it came into competition with the River Plate and Australian mutton, with the result that it made a very low price, and, in consequence, judicious crossing, as already stated, was tried, with eminently satisfactory results.

In the most mountainous districts, pure-bred Merinos are still kept, and ewes of this breed, when three or four years old, always command very payable prices for crossing with the long-wool rams on the downs and low-lying lands. In some districts the cross-between the Leicester (especially the Border Leicester) and Merino ewe is found most suitable; in others, again, where the climate is wetter, the Romney Marsh cross is regarded as best; whilst on heavy rich lands some prefer the Lincoln cross, and, on high cold country, the Cheviot cross is regarded with much favour by others.

The result of this crossing is a sheep which, if nourished well during lambhood and afterwards kept on good pasture until after first shearing, is considered, so far as quality of mutton is concerned, equal to the best Welsh and Scotch. [See account of "Interesting Experiment by the Earl of Onslow," on page 27 under heading of Frozen Meat.]

The weight of these half-bred sheep at two-tooth varies, according to feeding and breeding, from 561b. to 651b. The Border Leicester cross, maturing earlier than the others, gives the best return at two-tooth, if the climatic conditions are favourable. From the wool-producing point of view, the half-bred sheep is the most profitable; at all events, it has been so for many years. Of course, the weight per fleece is much less than in the case of long-wools, but this deficiency is more than counterbalanced by the extra value of the staple. Given two flocks of equally well-fed two-tooth sheep, on properties suitable to each breed—one for instance Lincoln, and the other the half-bred, by Border Leicester rams from Merino ewes—and the result, according to present values, would approximately be this, viz.: Lincoln, two-tooth, clipping 121b. wool at 6d. = 6s.; half-bred, two-tooth, clipping 91b. wool at 9d. = 6s. 9d.

Again, the pure-bred sheep would probably have the advantage in weight per carcase to the extent of 41b. or 51b.; but the extra value of the half-bred mutton at Smithfield, or any other of the meat-markets—say, ½d. per pound—would give the finer (or half-bred) sheep a further advantage over its coarser competitor of 10d. or 1s. per carcase or, say, a total of 1s. 7d. or 1s. 9d. per sheep.

Another advantage that the breeding of half-bred sheep possesses is that there is a market in the colony for

all the wool of that description that is produced, and the growers, in consequence, very often obtain at their doors more for their wool-clip than they would realise in London, without incurring the very heavy charges incidental to sending it there. American buyers, too, visit the colony annually to purchase this class of wool, and, as it is produced nowhere else in the world to any great extent, New-Zealanders may be said practically to have the trade in this class of wool in their own hands.

Two other important points in connection with sheep-farming in New Zealand call for the special notice of the would-be colonist—namely: (1) the low cost of the production of mutton, (2) the high percentage of natural increase. Respecting the first point, it has been proved beyond all doubt that, under ordinary conditions, the very choicest of mutton can be produced so as to pay the grower handsomely when sold at 2d. per pound for the carcase at the nearest shipping-port. To the British sheep-farmer this statement, of course, is valueless by itself; but, when we add that this mutton would only cost the London butcher, delivered ex steamer at the docks, 35/8d. per pound, he will be able to realise in some measure what a wonderful grazing-country New Zealand is, and he will be able to understand how it is that men of the right stamp who have come to the colony have done so well. Then, with regard to the high percentage of increase, there need only be cited a few average returns from well-known flocks to show what excellent lambings New Zealand farmers obtain under good management.

LAMBING RETURNS.—AVERAGES.

Locality.	Breed of Block.	Breed of Rams.	Breed of Ewes.	No. of Ewes.	Per centage of Lambs.	Remarks.
North Island Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	7,517	81.04	Land merely surface - sown in English- grass pasture.
North Island Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	5,301	85.05	North Island Lincoln Lincoln 7/8 Lincoln 12.177 100.00
North Island Romney	Romney	Romney	Romney	1,141	96.17	North Island Lincoln S'uthd'wn Lincoln 2,033 94.71
Middle Island Merino	Merino	Merino	Merino	14,765	75-36	Mountainous country in native pat're, unimproved.
Middle Island Merino B.	Leic'str	Merino	Merino	4,235	89-94	Middle Island Cross-bred B. Leic'str Cross-bred 8,624 60.82
Middle Island Half-bred B.	Leic'str	Half-bred	Half-bred	2,747	82.70	Middle Island B. Leic'str B. Leic'str B. Leic'str 778 90.77
Middle Island Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln	452	88.08	In English-grass pasture. Middle Island R. Marsh R. Marsh R. Marsh 253 111.46
Middle Island E.	Leic'str	E.	Leic'str	E.	Leic'str	404 93.34
Middle Island Shropsh're	Shropsh're	Shropsh're	Shropsh're	108	97.41	Middle Island Shropsh're Shropsh're Shropsh're 114 96.87

The above returns are fair average ones, but much higher might have been exhibited if exceptional cases had been selected.

HORSE-BREEDING.

There are few, if indeed there are any, climates better adapted for the breeding and rearing of horses of all kinds than that of New Zealand. Horses, light and heavy, are always in demand in the Australian Colonies, commanding remunerative prices: and it is more than probable that a lucrative trade will be done in the near future with the Western States of America. Indeed, shipments have already been made to that country of heavy Clydesdales. Some of the best blue blood of this breed has from time to time been imported from Scotland, with the result that the breed is now well established in the colony.

The light-horse stock of the colony has made itself conspicuous by the production of animals which have rendered themselves famous on the Australian turf. The demand for horses suitable for remounts for the cavalry service in India is a continuous one, affording a ready market for the proper stamp of animals. Shipments have from time to time been made to that country with considerable success, and this trade is likely to increase. There is, however, a great scope for enterprise in this direction. During the commercial depression which visited New Zealand in common with every other civilised country, but which has now passed away, giving place to an era of unrivalled prosperity, the breeding of horses was much neglected. Steps are now, however, being taken to repair the loss entailed by such neglect, and it is hoped the colony will therefore soon regain its partially lost prestige in this direction.

CATTLE.

At the date of last census—April, 1891—there were, including 42,912 owned by Maoris, 831,831 head of cattle in the colony, and although for the last few years the demand has not been encouraging to breeders, it is now satisfactory to note that, with the improved demand for dairy produce and frozen beef, prices for cattle have advanced considerably, and for the future better returns may be looked for.

The colony possesses all the best strains of blood, and this is evidenced by the superior class of cattle to be met with throughout the settled districts.

The trade in frozen beef is now attaining considerable proportions. Last year 103,007 cwt. of beef, valued

at £108,409, were shipped, principally from the North Island. This trade is likely to largely increase.

DAIRY STOCK.

The breeding of dairy stock offers an ample field for profitable investment. Milking cattle now command a comparatively high price, and will continue to do so for an indefinite period, owing to the fact that stock were allowed to run low for want of a market which has lately sprung up with the building of factories. The rearing of well-bred heifer calves will amply repay all the time and trouble bestowed upon them. It may be well to remark that separated milk may be restored to its original value for feeding purposes (or nearly so) by the addition of linseed mucilage, and, therefore, an acre or so of European flax should be grown upon every farm where stock-rearing is carried on. Much has yet to be done in the way of improving the dairy stock of the colony, a matter which is now attracting a large share of attention. The yield of milk from fairly good milking cattle is approximately 500 galls, per annum, although 700 galls, are frequently obtained from selected herds. The average quantity obtained will no doubt be increased as more attention is paid to breeding and proper feeding.

The average yield of butter from milk passed through the separator is 1lb. for every 2½ galls, of milk; so that the average cow produces 200lb. of butter, value £10; or 500lb. of cheese, at about equal value with the butter, estimating it at about 4½d. per pound. There is thus a good margin of profit.

From £5 to £8 per head can now readily be obtained for young milking stock. Three years ago they were hardly saleable at any price. To the British farmer this may not appear a satisfactory price; but when it is considered that no housing or hand-feeding is required, the price leaves a very good return.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY.

New Zealand may claim to be the Denmark of the South, without ever having to enter into competition with the Denmark of the North, for the reason that our seasons are opposite. The dairy industry is steadily growing into a very important one. In the North Island, along the west coast, factories are springing up in all directions. This will be the great dairying district of the colony, the humidity of its climate rendering it better adapted to this industry than any other. The luxuriance of the pastures has to be seen to be appreciated. Large tracts of bush-lands are being thrown open for small settlements, and are eagerly taken up for the most part by thrifty hard-working men. Land is procurable either by purchase, deferred payment, or perpetual lease, on the easiest terms. Homes are being built up in all directions, with dairying for the chief industry. The very nature of the industry renders it peculiarly suited to small selectors.

It is hardly necessary to point out that all butter and cheese intended for export will have to be factory made, for the reason that no other will command the highest price, and because so much more can be made of the milk by the use of the separator. One illustration will serve for our purpose. Experience has demonstrated to a certainty that 27½ lb. (or 2½ galls.) of fairly good milk will produce 1lb. of butter which averages 2d. per pound more than ordinary farmers' butter; whereas it takes 33 lb; (or 3 galls.) of milk treated in the old-fashioned manner of setting in pans to produce the same quantity of butter—which means exactly 50 per cent. more returns from milk treated on the factory system.

The factory system is now fairly well established. With judicious supervision, and the institution of regulations providing for the grading and proper handling of butter for export, the industry is sure to go on flourishing, and will secure to thousands lucrative employment.

In the Middle Island it has not taken root to the same extent as in the North. It is true that cheese-factories are becoming numerous in Otago and Southland, with a few butter-factories. Like all other new industries, losses have been made; happily, however, the initial stage has now been passed, and, with good prices for the output last season, averaging 4d. to 5d. per pound for cheese at the factory, matters are now in a satisfactory condition. In Canterbury, the dairy-factory system has only been partially adopted. This apparent apathy may be accounted for by the fact that the Canterbury farmers have, from the first, devoted themselves to wheat-growing; subsequently sheep-raising has been added to their usual occupations with considerable profit. A large quantity of butter has been made on farms in former years, but the price obtainable was as low as from 3d. to 4d. per pound, so that to a very large extent the business was abandoned. It is now found that butter and cheese give a more certain and remunerative return; hence the desire for factories is becoming more general. A movement is now on foot having for its object a central factory for Canterbury, to be fed by creameries in the surrounding districts. The carrying out of this comprehensive scheme would render Canterbury famous as a butter-producing district. The success which has attended the erection of certain factories on the co-operative principle, a system which experience has amply demonstrated is the only sure foundation to build upon—viz., that the milk-suppliers shall largely be the shareholders—is bearing good fruit, and a large number of factories

are being put up on these conditions.

The Chief Dairy Instructor reports:—

"There are now seventy-eight cheese and butter factories scattered throughout the colony, the buildings and plant having an aggregate value of nearly £80,000. At the present time (June, 1892) ten new factories are in course of erection, and negotiations are going on in several districts for the establishment of others. Every reasonable assistance is given by the Government to encourage the development of the industry through the employment of itinerant instructors, and by the publication and distribution of pamphlets treating on dairy husbandry.

"These pamphlets are mailed free to all dairy-factory proprietors for circulation among their milk-suppliers, and to any other parties associated with dairying, on application. Parties contemplating the establishment of factories will be supplied free of charge with sketch-plans of buildings suitable to their requirements, and other needful information.

"To meet the many inquiries, plans have been prepared for buildings of various sizes, and detailed information is furnished in pamphlet form, having reference to the business basis, and containing schedule of plant required, so as to insure economy in the application of labour and uniformity in the quality of the productions.

"The formation of dairy associations for the purpose of guarding the interests of the trade is already showing what good service such institutions are capable of rendering.

"It is worthy of note that several of our dairy factories have now earned a desirable distinction in the London market for the quality of their products—both butter and cheese. Brands of butter which were last year quoted at from £1 10s. to £2 under the Danish brands have, during the past season, been quoted at about the highest figures realised on the London market.

"Cheese from our best factories has successfully competed with the best Canadian brands, which seem to dominate the market. But, unfortunately, this distinction is only earned by a few of our best factories.

"Towards showing the benefits derived from the factory system as compared with individual dairying, it is satisfactory to note that, out of an even line of three shipments of butter sent Home, the factory brands realised from £5 15s. to £6 8s., while that from private dairies brought from £4 15s. to £5 15s. The higher quotations must be considered satisfactory.

"It is also pleasing to note the rapid development which the dairy industry has undergone during the last ten years. In 1880 the value of our exports of dairy products was £1,083, while for 1891 the value rose to £286,933, and I am sanguine that the present year's export will show, from the same amount of produce, a considerable increase in pecuniary value. I hope by future efforts to see a still brisker trade established, so that the settlers may derive a benefit, and find some solace for past losses.

"It is generally conceded that no country possesses greater natural advances for dairy pursuits than New Zealand. This, at any rate, is true of Taranaki. Any one acquainted with the large areas of splendid pasture-land in Taranaki must have had the conviction forced upon him that this locality is preeminently fitted to become a great centre for manufacturing dairy products. In soil, climate, seasons, and settlement, Taranaki has every natural advantage. Winter pasturage is generally abundant, and so the farmer is to a great extent relieved of the labour and expense of storing up much winter feed. Little or no housing is required for the cattle throughout the winter, and so the farmer can carry on his business under the most favourable circumstances, as very little of the profits of the season are consumed in maintaining the cows from one season to another."

The imports from all sources into the United Kingdom of dairy produce for the year 1891, were as follows:—

During the same year the value of food products imported into the United Kingdom amounted to over £130,000,000. These figures show that the English market is, so far as New Zealand is concerned, practically inexhaustible.

Referring to the quality of New Zealand produce Messrs. John McNairn & Co., of Glasgow, in a memorandum under date of 18th March, and in their circular of 1st April, 1892, state, "This year, throughout Scotland, Australian and New Zealand butter has pleased extraordinarily well, and buyers are feeling that when the season is over it will be a felt want. As already pointed out, the butter preferred is the very highest class, and packed in patent boxes. We would also refer again to the importance of having the butter-boxes lined with grease-proof paper, so as to avoid its being touched by the wood, which is a most important part in the packing. The quality of the cheese this year has been perfection. We have never seen finer New Zealand cheeses; and if the same quality is kept up, we shall always be able to get a price for them second to none."

The following is the amount of cheese and butter produced in the colony for the years 1881, 1886, and 1891. The figures for 1892 are not yet to hand, but they will show a substantial increase over 1891:—

New Zealand butter, although largely sold in the United Kingdom, is, unfortunately, seldom retailed to the public as such. The Colonial producer is in no way responsible for this, and efforts have been and are constantly

being made to have the dairy produce sold under its proper name. The New Zealand farmer, and his broker in London, sell butter and cheese to the retailer as New Zealand produce, but retailers seem averse to the trouble attendant on introducing new brands to their customers' notice, and hence the practice of selling New Zealand butter under well-known English and foreign names. The New Zealand farmer is sufficiently satisfied with the quality of his produce to be anxious that it should be sold on its merits.

PIGS.

These useful adjuncts to the dairy hold a very important position on almost all arable farms. The favourite breed is the improved Berkshire. The large and small breeds of White York-shire are also to be met with, but are not so generally approved of as the black pigs. The rearing and fattening of pigs is a profitable investment. Unlike the pampered pigs of Britain, they require no better attention than a good grass paddock, with a liberal supply of unthreshed pea-haulm, plenty of water, and shelter from the sun during the warmest summer months. Hitherto the exports of bacon and hams from New Zealand have been chiefly confined to the neighbouring Australian Colonies, but there seems to be no reason why a large and profitable trade should not be conducted with Great Britain.

FROZEN MEAT.

One of the most remarkable and rapid developments of trade in New Zealand of late years is the freezing of mutton and beef, and its transport to the English market. It is only a little over ten years ago that the first trial shipment of frozen mutton, conducted by Mr. Thomas Brydone, the general manager of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, left Port Chalmers, in the ship "Dunedin," for London, and since that time the growth of this export has been almost phenomenal. The project of sending fresh meat to England was then regarded as impossible of fulfilment; and Mr. Haslam's statement, that vessels would be able to carry carcasses of 10,000 sheep, was considered visionary. But the improvements made by him in refrigerating machinery have enabled his prophecy to be more than fulfilled, as vessels are now fitted to carry four and five times the number of sheep he mentioned. The yearly export of frozen meat has gradually increased in value since 1882 from £19,889 to £1,194,724 in 1891, the last representing the carcasses of 1,447,588 sheep. 888,444 lambs, and parts of carcasses—which weighed 108,007 cwt.—of bullocks. The greatly-improved price of sheep caused by the demand for this export trade has much encouraged the farmers of the colony, and has caused increased attention to be given to clearing and laying down bush-land in grass, and otherwise improving holdings, in order to increase the bearing-capabilities of the land. With the total value of the meat export in 1891, it is necessary also to take into consideration the value of preserved meats, amounting to £111,133; of salted beef and pork, £15,795; and of bacon and hams, £25,182.

Notwithstanding the large increase in the numbers of sheep exported in 1890, the sheep returns for April, 1891, gave an addition of nearly 600,000 on the number in May of the previous year, thus showing that, even with the present flocks, there is a reserve that might supply a much larger export than at present: and the further progressive increase in the number of sheep that may be looked forward to from the extension of clearing and improvements gives promise of a future export of a magnitude possibly manifold greater than the present. The markets of the civilised world are, having regard to the growth of population, without a corresponding increased area for food-production, practically unlimited. This export has had the effect of helping the colony through a period of great depression, and, next to the production of wool, with which it is now inseparably connected, may be regarded as the most important factor in our well-being. It would be an idle speculation to consider in what condition New Zealand would have been had the process for meat-freezing now in use not been discovered, but there can be no doubt that it has been of almost incalculable value to this colony.

The trade outgrew the available shipping. That state of things, however, did not last long, and magnificent cargo and passenger steam and sailing-ships, provided with capacious refrigerating-chambers, owned by the Shaw-Savill and Albion and New Zealand Shipping Companies, are constantly visiting the various ports to take in the frozen carcasses and meat to convey them direct to the English market. In his very interesting work "New Zealand after Fifty Years," Mr. Edward Wakelield gives a very comprehensive and graphic account of the growth in this colony of the frozen-meat trade. Writing of the wonderful success of the pastoral industries, he says,—

"The frozen-meat trade furnishes one of the most remarkable instances of the application of a scientific principle to commerce. The sheep-farmers in New Zealand did not know what to do with their surplus stock. They boiled them down for tallow, or they preserved them in tins. But there was very often very little profit on either of those processes, and both together failed to meet the requirements of the case. Meanwhile the great cities in Great Britain were in chronic want of meat, and especially of mutton. One day it was discovered that

mutton could be sent from New Zealand to Great Britain in a frozen state without losing anything in quality. The process is in principle this: Air, at the ordinary natural temperature, is compressed to, say, one-third of its natural bulk by steam-power. It is then let into a chamber with walls impervious to heat. The sudden expansion of the air to its natural bulk again reduces it to one-third of its former temperature, producing an intense cold within the chamber, and this process being constantly maintained by steam-power the temperature within the chamber is permanently kept down to a point corresponding to the compression of the air. The carcasses of the sheep, ready dressed for sale, are placed in the chamber, where they are frozen quite hard, and remain entirely unchanged until they are landed in England. There they are slowly thawed, and are not only as wholesome, but as palatable and as agreeable in appearance as the best English mutton.

"The arrival of the first vessel, a sailing-ship, with a small cargo of frozen mutton, in 1881, created a profound sensation in England, and the most erroneous and absurd notions were entertained regarding it. A violent prejudice was created against the meat, which was declared to be unfit for human food, and to have lost all its nutriment by being frozen. The Duke of St. Albans wrote to the *Times* protesting against fresh meat being brought from the Antipodes to compete with English meat. His Grace, however, sought to allay the alarm of the English farmers by assuring them that the thing could not last—that it was merely one of those unnatural experiments which are often attempted but which always fail, and that even if the supply could be kept up from New Zealand, which was impossible, the inferiority of the meat would soon render it unsaleable. The success of the shipment, nevertheless, was unmistakable, and it was immediately followed by others. Many mistakes were made at first, and heavy losses were incurred, especially by the employment of defective machinery on board the ships, and by exposing the meat too long before it was frozen. For a time the trade appeared to be in a precarious condition, and it looked as if the Duke of St. Albans' prediction would be verified. The colonists, however, pushed it on with great enterprise, rectified their mistakes, adopted a variety of improvements, and very soon found out how to organize the export. The solution of all their difficulties, in fact, was found to lie in having freezing-works on shore, near to the place of shipment, or near a railway leading to the place of shipment. At Petone, near Wellington, a hulk is used for this purpose, moored to a wharf close to the slaughter-house. The sheep, which are specially bred and selected for the Home market, are taken from adjoining paddocks in perfect condition, skilfully slaughtered, skinned, and dressed, and trucked down to the hulk, the whole interior of which is a freezing-chamber, kept at an even temperature by a powerful steam-engine and a compressor, as already described. As soon as the hulk is full, she is towed across the harbour to the wharf, where the vessel for England is lying, perhaps a mail-steamer of 4,000 or 5,000 tons. The frozen carcasses, each encased in a clean calico bag, are promptly transferred from the freezing-chamber of the hulk to the freezing-chamber of the steamer. In other cases no hulk is employed, but the freezing-works consist of a large building with a chamber, and powerful engines constantly at work. The frozen carcasses are passed through small hatches into tightly-closed vans, and carted or railed alongside the steamer, and at once transferred to her freezing-chamber. The whole of the operations are perfectly cleanly and inoffensive, the frozen carcasses being as hard as marble, and the calico bags as unsoiled as a lady's muslin dress. In this way a large vessel, calling at two or three ports, will take in a cargo of 20,000 or 80,000 carcasses in a few days, and land them in London in precisely the same state in which they left the works.

"Innumerable trials have been made, by which it is incontestably proved that the most fastidious connoisseur cannot tell New Zealand frozen mutton which has been killed two months from English mutton a week from the daises, when it comes to table. The result is that the trade has already expanded enormously. The export this year (1889) will probably not be less than a million carcasses of mutton and lamb, besides a very large quantity of beef. It may be asked, How about the Duke of St. Albans' assurance that the colony could never keep up the supply? How are the flocks affected by this enormous drain of a million sheep and lambs a year—a thing never before heard of in any country in the world? The reply is that the flocks are not at all diminished by the export. The colony could not afford to have them diminished, because it is to them it looks for its greatest staple of all—its wool. The effect of the export of meat, however, is not to diminish the flocks at all, but merely to keep both the flocks and the pastures up to the highest standard of quality by the regular withdrawal of the surplus stock. Not only prime wethers, but ewes and broken-mouthed sheep are worth exporting, and fetch a remunerative price. Thus there is no overstocking of pastures, and there are no old, unprofitable, degenerate flocks. On the other hand, the certainty of the market for mutton has enabled the farmers to put into permanent pasture great tracts of country which they could not afford to deal with before; and also to resort largely to turnip-feeding, by which means they have immensely increased the carrying-capacity of the country. This process can be extended almost incalculably. In a word, New Zealand can already send a million sheep a year to England as the surplus of her farms, and greatly to their benefit; and there is every reason to believe that within a very few years she will be able to send two millions a year, and still possess larger flocks and better flocks than ever.

"The meat is sold wholesale in London at about 4½d. per pound. At that price the grower gets from 12s. to

14s. per head, including what he makes by the skin and the offal; which pays very well.

"It will be readily understood that a trade of this magnitude employs in all its branches—pasturing, cultivation, shepherding, slaughtering, freezing, carrying, shipping, fellmongering, and so on—a very large population. These are distributed among various classes of the community, and include the wealthiest landowners in the colony, a multitude of smaller landowners or leaseholders, and working-men of all sorts and conditions. The actual freezing of the meat is mostly in the hands of companies, who either buy the stock and freeze and ship them on their own account, or freeze for the growers on a fixed tariff of charges. These companies are all doing very well, the dividend last year being 10 per cent. in almost all instances, after making ample reserves. One company—the Gear Company, of Wellington—have paid back 60 per cent. of their whole capital in dividends in six years from their start, besides acquiring their land, works, and appliances, which are of great value. The Wellington Refrigerating Company, another important organization at the capital of New Zealand, is also making great strides. On the whole there is no industry in the colony which is more uniformly flourishing than the meat industry: and all the various classes of people concerned in it may be deemed to be very fortunately situated."

It will be seen from the following returns that Mr. Wakefield's expectation is likely to be soon fulfilled. There are now twenty-one freezing establishments in the colony—twelve in the North Island and nine in the Middle Island. The weight and value of frozen meat exported during the period 1882—91 were as follows:—

Preserved meats also form a considerable item of export. The total value in 1891 was: Preserved meats, £111,183; salted beef and pork, £15,795; bacon and hams, £25,182. The quantity tinned in 1890 was 6,291,278 lb., valued at £122,280, to which may be added corned beef, valued at £14,006; tallow, £144,282; bonedust, £15,484; oil, horns, hoofs, &c., £13,075; bringing up the total value of all produce in this industry for the year 1890 to £1,464,659.

New Zealand frozen mutton now commands a large sale throughout England, and is fast growing in popular estimation. Provided care be taken to see that the meat is thoroughly thawed, and well hung, before it is cooked, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between New Zealand and the best English or Scotch mutton. The following episode is confirmatory of this.

During his visit to the Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association's show at Christchurch, New Zealand, in November, 1891, the Earl of Onslow (then Governor of New Zealand) supplied the Christchurch papers with the result of an experiment which he had recently made with frozen mutton, the object being to ascertain whether the difference in price of English and New Zealand mutton was due to any great divergence of quality, or to prejudice; and, if so, whether the latter had any just cause for its existence.

Six sheep were selected by Mr. John Grigg, at Belfast, in the Colony, and were transmitted in the usual way to Messrs. Fitter, of the London Meat Market. His Excellency selected from the different classes of London society six gentlemen of his acquaintance, who are known to have first-rate cooks, and to have no personal interest in English sheep-breeding. Messrs Fitter were desired to deliver a sheep thawed and ready for consumption at the London house of each of these six gentlemen.

In writing to advise them of the shipment His Excellency informed them that the sheep were not sent as a present for which any thanks were expected, but that he might, for his own personal information, ascertain whether the freezing process in any way caused deterioration in a joint of mutton which he had himself found when eaten in the colony to be equal to that which careful breeding and considerable expense had enabled him to produce from his own flock of pedigree Southdowns. To make certain that the opinions given were without favour or prejudice His Excellency caused a seventh sheep to be sent round the world and brought back to him in Christchurch, and he has no reason to doubt the perfect good faith of his correspondents.

The gentlemen selected were Baron Henry de Worms, M.P.; the Earl of Rosebery; Sir Augustus Harris, of Drury Lane Theatre, the late Sir Morell Mackenzie, M.D.; M. Waddington, the Ambassador in London for France; and General Sir Henry de Bathe, one of the Committee of the Beefsteak Club, whose members have a house-dinner once a week, at which one member of the committee has to dine, to select the principal dish, and to be responsible for its excellence.

The following are the opinions which His Excellency received:—

Baron de Worms, M.P., Under-Secretary for Colonies.—"We found it quite excellent. The freezing did not hurt it in the least; in fact, the greatest epicure would fail to discern that it was not Home-grown."

Lord Rosebery.—"The mutton was excellent, and not to be distinguished from English mutton."

General Sir H. de Bathe, of the Beefsteak Club.—"Last Friday we had a large assemblage at the B.S.C. to eat your mutton. The consensus of opinion was that it was most excellent. Dick Grain, Frank Burnand Bancroft, G. A. Sala, Alf. Watson, and some dozen others all so agree. I, who am a dweller on the Southdowns, can safely aver that your individual sheep was better than what I can buy in Chichester, where it always wants age and colour. It was as tender as a chicken. Could the club make arrangements for a regular supply of mutton of same quality; and, if so, should we have to pay more than our London butcher's prices? "

Mons. Waddington, 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 appreciable difference."

Sir Morell Mackenzie.—"Last week we had a little dinner of connoisseurs on purpose to sit in judgment on the mutton. I can only say that my friends and I were unanimous in giving a most favourable opinion. It had a great deal of flavour, and was very tender. In fact, I only recollect tasting mutton as good on one or two occasions. I suppose, however, that the specimen you were good enough to send me was much better than the ordinary consignments from New Zealand."

Sir Augustus Harris, Drury Lane Theatre.—"We duly received the sheep. Had it cooked and eaten. It was really delicious. Never had I tasted anything more tender or better flavoured. All I can say is, the trial was perfectly successful, if, as I suppose, it is an experiment of some new process."

Mr. Grigg has since assured His Excellency that two-thirds of the sheep sent from Belfast are of similar quality. The inference to be drawn is that there is no foundation for any prejudice which may have been formed against New Zealand mutton, and that some effort might, with advantage, be made to induce those at Home who are in a position to set the fashion to use the primest New Zealand meat, and thereby remove any feeling of prejudice which may still exist in the minds of the masses. Also, that it should be made easy for those who desire to do so to obtain in the West End of London the best joints from carefully selected carcasses.

AGRICULTURAL.

The extent of land in cultivation (including sown grass land and land broken up but not in crops) amounted in March 1892 to 8,893,225 acres. There has been a large area of Crown land taken up for settlement during the year ending March 1892, as many as 3,797 persons taking up 1,728,983 acres, being an average of 458 acres for each person, and at no time in the history of the colony has so much land been brought into cultivation by small settlers as during the last year. The following tables show (1) the acreage of land under cultivation, and (2) the different yields of crops in New Zealand and Australia for the year 1891-92:—

(2.) YIELDS OF PRINCIPAL CROPS.

In Wheat. In Oats. Land. Produce. Yield

This table shows the great superiority of New Zealand from an agricultural point of view.

It will be observed that the oat crop in New Zealand comprised nearly 66 per cent., and the area under oat crop 56 per cent. of that for the whole of Australasia.

COST OF WORKING A FARM IN NEW ZEALAND.

It may be thought, because remuneration for manual labour is higher in the colony than it is in Great Britain, that therefore farming operations must cost more.

This is, however, erroneous. It is within the mark to assert that five hundred acres or more can be worked at less cost than probably it would take to work a hundred-acre farm in Great Britain, for the following reasons: firstly, the genial nature of the climate is such that it is not necessary to house stock during the winter months, saving thereby the cost of attendance; secondly, farming operations may be carried on uninterruptedly throughout the ploughing and sowing season; thirdly, the paddocks are so large, and usually level, that the double and treble-furrow plough may be worked by one man or youth. The colonial farmer has availed himself of all the most modern labour-saving machinery.

The hay crop is simply cut one day, raked into windrows next, and, in a couple more, it is ready for stacking.

Wheat is cut and tied by machinery, and stooked, requiring no capping. It is frequently threshed out of the stook in favourable seasons, thereby saving the cost of stacking and thatching, but this system is not advocated except in hot, dry seasons.

The manure bill, which is such a heavy item of annual expenditure with the British farmer, is unknown or nearly so to the colonial farmer. From 1 cwt. to 1½cwt. of superphosphates per acre is used with the turnip and other root-crops, and even this is not used in a large number of cases. It will thus be seen how many advantages the colonial farmer has over the farmer of the old country.

CEREALS.

The Canterbury Plains, the great wheat-growing area of the Middle Island, extend inland forty miles to the commencement of the ranges, by 150 miles running north and south, or an area of about 3,000,000 acres. The

greater portion of this vast plain is admirably adapted for the production of wheat of the best quality, the growing of which is carried on extensively, more especially since the introduction of the reaper-and-binder. The area under this cereal in 1891-92 was 279,150 acres, with an estimated yield of 6,952,819 bushels. The land for the most part is free from stones or impediments of any kind. Single-furrow ploughs are now rarely seen, double-and three-furrow ploughs being in general use. Three horses, occasionally four, with a man or boy, can turn over 8 acres per day, at a cost of 6s. per acre. A stroke of the disc or other harrow followed by the seed-drill and light harrow completes the operation of sowing.

Seed-sowing commences in May, and can be continued as weather permits through the winter, and on into September and even October. From $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 bushels of seed per acre are usually sown, increasing as the season advances.

Good results are usually obtained by feeding-off the early-sown grain with sheep, followed by the harrow and roller. The usual average on the better class of soil is from 40 to 60 bushels per acre of dressed grain. The general average of the whole colony is 25 to 26 bushels. This discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that so much wheat is grown on the lighter soils.

Several varieties of wheat are grown, but Hunter's White, Pearl, and Velvet Chaff are the favourite kinds for winter sowing. Red and White Tuscan are usually sown in spring.

Dressing the seed with genuine bluestone is found to be a certain specific for smut in its various forms.

The Oarnaru (North Otago) district is famous for the quality of its wheat, grown on limestone soil.

Otago and Southland also grow wheat, but they excel in the production of oats, the acreage being 84,895 acres of wheat, yielding 2,830,484 bushels, and 168,989 acres of oats, yielding 6,410,825 bushels, this last season, (1891-92) while Canterbury only produced half this quantity of oats.

The usual yield of oats in Otago and Southland is from 30 to 60 bushels per acre, the cost of production being about the same as wheat—viz., £2 per acre when grown out of grass-land, and £1 10s. from stubble. The varieties of oats most in favour are Winter Dun, Canadians, Sparrowbill, Tartary, and Danish.

Malting barley, of very superior quality, is grown in Nelson and Marlborough, where the soil and climate appear to be peculiarly adapted to its culture.

The total area and yield of cereals grown in New Zealand during 1891-2 was—Wheat, 402,278 acres, yielding 10,257,738 bushels; oats, 828,508 acres, yielding 11,009,020 bushels; barley, 24,268 acres, yielding 688,683 bushels; maize, 5,447 acres, yielding 288,746 bushels; rye, 4,780 acres, yielding 91,271 bushels; with peas and beans, 9,552 acres, yielding 245,910 bushels.

ROOT-CROPS.

Potatoes: Potatoes are largely grown throughout New Zealand. On suitable soils very heavy crops are raised, it being no un-common thing to dig from eight to ten tons per acre, although the general average is much lower, for the reason that unsuitable land is frequently devoted to this crop. The bulk of the crop is planted without manure, but, where used, bonedust and super-phosphate (from 1cwt. to 2cwt. per acre) is applied with good results. The potato is, however, an expensive crop to grow, costing from £5 to £6 per acre, and many farmers are now devoting their potato-land to grass. The land is usually broken out of grass, skim-ploughed in autumn, ploughed deeply in spring, and thoroughly tilled. The seed—15cwt. per acre—is then ploughed in under every third furrow, the after culture consisting of harrowing just as the crop is appearing over ground. By this means myriads of seedling weeds are destroyed, drill grubbing, hoeing, horse-hoeing, and earthing-up being the subsequent operations. A heavy crop of wheat, beans, or any other cereal can always be relied upon after potatoes.

Turnips: The turnip crop has now become one of the most important in the colony, ranking next to wheat and oats. The area under this crop for the season 1891-2 according to the agricultural statistics, was 422,854 acres, as against 402,278 acres under wheat. On virgin soil turnips can always be relied upon as a certain crop, even on a single furrow and a couple of strokes of the harrow. But as very much of the soil in Canterbury has already been cropped, turnips cannot now be grown successfully without the aid of manure. In the nature of things, farm-yard manure cannot be procured; artificial manures are therefore largely used, from 1cwt. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of superphosphate per acre being now applied with the best results, securing ample crops of sound roots, from 15 to 80 tons per acre. The seed is sometimes sown in drills on the Hat, the manure being dropped in front of the seed by the same machine, from $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. to 1lb. per acre of seed being used. Sometimes the manure is sown in a liquid state by machines manufactured for the purpose: this system invariably secures a rapid and vigorous braird, forcing the young plant into the rough leaf, after which it is secure from the attack of the turnip-beetle. So soon as the turnip-plants reach the third or fourth leaf, they are thinned in a primitive and yet in a thoroughly-efficient method. A scuffier, made for the purpose, is drawn across the drills, hunching the turnips and loosening the soil in a thorough manner. The drill-grubber and scuffier are used as required till the

leaves meet. This kind of culture produces capital crops. A very large extent is also sown broadcast, and, if found too thickly sown, the harrows are run through them; in any case a stroke of the harrows is a great help to the growth of the plant. The varieties used are Devonshire Grey for early and very late sowing; Purple and Green-top Aberdeen are the most generally grown. Swede turnips, from their proneness to the attack of the blight aphid are not so much sown; they, however, produce enormous crops in suitable soils. The turnip-crop is invariably fed-off by sheep intended for freezing. It is estimated that an acre of good turnips, with a little hay or chaff, will fatten from eight to fourteen sheep. Turnip-sowing commences in November, and may be continued till the end of December. Stubble turnips may be sown in March, but this can only be considered as a catch-crop. It, however, often proves of great value, supplying an abundance of green feed for ewes with early lambs. Turnip-land is usually sown with spring wheat, oats, or barley.

Rape is largely grown as sheep-feed, and may be sown either in early spring, or immediately after harvest, the stubble being skim-ploughed. This crop is invaluable in the early spring, and may be fed-off in time for oats or barley.

Mangolds and Carrots are extensively grown in some districts. They cost more money than turnips to produce, as they must be hand-hoed; nor are they so suitable a crop for cleaning the land. Turnip-sowing does not commence till November, affording ample time for the destruction of seedling weeds; this important opportunity is largely lost in the culture of the mangold, which should be sown in October. The mangold is, however, an in-valuable crop on a stock farm, as they have only reached their prime condition when the turnip-supply is exhausted. From thirty to sixty tons per acre is not an uncommon yield of these roots.

Carrots are also a valuable crop, especially for horses; on sandy loam the crop reaches fifteen to twenty tons per acre.

SEEDS.

Clover: Since the introduction of the humble-bee into New Zealand, growing clover for seed has become a lucrative industry, adding materially to the farmers income. Clover is sown with a spring crop, usually of corn, lightly grazed in the following autumn, and then reserved for a crop of hay, which, according to the season, yields from two to three tons per acre—cut in November or early in December. The after-growth is then allowed to flower and seed, which it does very freely. Thousands of humble-bees may be seen in the clover-fields during the months of January and February. The seed ripens in March, and is then cut and dried, and threshed out by machines known as clover-shellers. From 200lb. to 800lb. of seed per acre is considered a fair crop, and sells readily at 5d. to 6d. per pound. Thus, an acre of clover may yield in hay and seed quite £10 or £11, as well as a considerable amount of feeding, since clover-haulm is much sought after by stock of all kinds.

Grass-seed sowing: All the most valuable of the strong-growing grasses flourish throughout New Zealand. Cocksfoot has been a staple product of Banks Peninsula for many years, the soil for the most part consisting of decomposed volcanic rocks and vegetable mould. The seed is of the finest description, frequently weighing 20lb. to the bushel (12lb. being a standard bushel). This grass thrives on a very wide range of soils, from the richest to the poorest, preferring, of course, the better soils. It may be found on the dry stony plains of the interior green and healthy, while the surrounding herbage has yielded to the heat of the summer sun. Large quantities of the seed are grown in the North Island as well. Out of the total of 572,425 bushels of cocksfoot seed produced in 1891-2, 255,825 bushels were grown in the North Island. This seed sells readily at from 8d. to 4d. per pound.

Growing ryegrass for seed is also an important industry. During the season 1891-2, 864,511 bushels were gathered. Of this the North Island contributed 191,746 bushels. The seed is usually secured by stripping; sometimes it is cut and tied. The average yield is from 15 to 20 bushels per acre. A common practice is to graze the land till midsummer; to take the stock off for a few weeks, and then to run the stripper over the ground. By this primitive method 10 bushels per acre is sometimes secured. Ryegrass-seed is usually in good demand, and sells readily at from 8s. 6d. to 4s. per bushel.

Meadow-fescue, one of the most valuable of all the grasses for permanent pasture on good land, is grown in the North and Middle Islands, but not very largely as yet. There can be no doubt but that the growing of grass-seeds, including the finer varieties, must become in the near future a very lucrative industry.

Small Seeds: New Zealand, from the nature of her soil and climate, offers a fine field for growing all kinds of farm and garden seeds. It has already attracted the attention of some of the larger seed-merchants of Great Britain, whose agents have recently visited the colony with a view to negotiating with farmers and others to grow certain kinds of seeds. This is an industry peculiarly adapted for small holdings.

Pulse; Peas and beans are largely grown for pig-feeding and for export, and also form an excellent preparation for wheat. An extensive trade in peas of a certain description is done in the manufacturing towns of

Great Britain; and efforts are now being made to secure a share of this trade by producing peas suitable for human food. The business is likely to prove a most remunerative one. Thirty bushels of peas is considered a fair crop, while 40 to 70 bushels of beans are often secured.

Cape Barley: The demand for early spring-feed has resulted in the growing of this plant for forage purposes. Its extreme hardiness renders it peculiarly adapted for autumn sowing. If sown in March it is ready for feeding off in May; it may be fed off again in July, and on till the beginning of October, when, if allowed to run to seed, it will produce 40 to 60 bushels per acre, or it may be ploughed in for turnips. It is equally adapted for dairy stock, horses, and pigs.

Tares are also grown, but not so largely as they deserve to be, especially for daily stock. Mixed with oats, barley, or rye, they are excellent milk-producers; and when grown luxuriantly, they destroy all kinds of weeds, and leave the land in fine condition for a spring corn-crop.

Lucerne: This permanent fodder-plant thrives admirably in most parts of New Zealand, yielding three to five cuttings in the year; and, if properly attended to, it will continue to yield liberal cuttings for seven or eight years. This is a most excellent crop for the small or large farmer, furnishing, as it does, an abundant supply of succulent fodder during the drier months of midsummer, as well as in the early spring.

FRUIT.

From the North Cape to the Bluff Hill, in the extreme south of the Middle Island, the climate and soil are eminently adapted for the growth of a large variety of fruits. In the Auckland District, oranges, lemons, and limes flourish: many groves are now coming into fall profit, and afford light and pleasant employment to a large number of persons. This employment will go on increasing as the trees become older. The olive flourishes, bearing heavy crops of fruit, and the manufacture of oil will one day become a very important industry.

Vine-growing is also carried on successfully in many districts, tons of fruit being sold in the Auckland markets annually.

Away in the far north the banana grows and ripens its fruit, but it is not thought that it will ever enter into successful competition with those imported at so cheap a rate from the Pacific Islands.

Extensive orchards of apples have existed in Auckland for more than half a century, producing abundance of fruit of excellent quality, yielding returns equal to £40 or £50 per acre, provided they are kept free from pests. Orchard-planting is progressing rapidly, and must one day become a very important industry.

There were 19,627 acres returned as being in orchards in 1892, an increase of 2,580 acres.

Now that the problem of landing the fruit in good condition on the London market has been satisfactorily solved, considerable quantities have been shipped Home, with varying success. It is satisfactory to note that fruit of the proper varieties, and which were properly packed, have invariably realised remunerative prices. Much has yet to be done in the way of arriving at the best methods of packing and the best treatment on the voyage, the best varieties to grow, and the exact stage of ripening at which the fruit should be picked. Up to the present the trade with the United Kingdom has been mostly of an experimental character. Shipments have been sent Home as ordinary cargo, at little more than half the cost for freight in the cool chamber, and have realised as much as 16s. per case, leaving a fair profit. The present cost of shipping apples in the cool-chamber is 4s. 4d. per case, the other expenses bringing it up to nearly 8s. per case. Shipped as general cargo the charges would be, approximately, 5s. 6d. per case. If shipping as ordinary cargo is found successful the industry will at once become a most profitable one, adding immensely to the general prosperity of the colony. Pears, plums, quinces, apricots, figs, walnuts, cherries, gooseberries, currants, strawberries, and rasp-berries grow luxuriantly, producing abundant crops of fruit.

Little has yet been done in the way of bottling or drying fruit for home use. This is an industry which only awaits development.

Cider is manufactured, and fruit wines are gradually finding their way into consumption.

A considerable trade is also done in colonial-manufactured jams.

Before planting of fruit trees was commenced on a large scale, with a view to the export trade, little attention was paid to the varieties selected. The result is that many bearing trees have proved unsuitable to the new requirements, and are now being cut down and regrafted or replanted. According to latest advices, the following varieties of apple are said to be in most request in the London market, always commanding a quick sale at good prices—namely, Ribstone Pippin, Cox's Orange Pippin, Waltham Abbey, Sturmer Pippin, Scarlet Pearmain, Adam's Pearmain, and New York Pippin. The soil best adapted for growing apples is a strong loam with a clay sub-soil; but they will thrive in almost any kind of soil, provided it is in good heart and that water does not stagnate in the subsoil.

One of the peculiarities of the climate of New Zealand is that all kinds of fruit-trees are forced into bearing

at an earlier stage than is the case in Great Britain.

HOPS.

Only 689 acres were under hops in 1892, giving a total produce of 6,810 cwt., but even this comparatively small area is more than sufficient to supply local requirements, the imports in 1891 having been slightly over 266 cwt., while the exports amounted to 2,646 cwt. In 1890 the total quantity used by the breweries in the colony amounted to 8,940 cwt. Of the land under hops in 1892, 524 acres were in the Waimea County and 77 in Collingwood, both in the Provincial District of Nelson.

TOBACCO.

The cultivation of tobacco does not progress in New Zealand, In 1889, 84 acres were being cultivated; in 1890, 25 acres; in 1891, 16 acres; and in 1892, only 6 acres.

The relative duties imposed upon New Zealand-grown and imported tobaccos are as follows:—

If the New Zealand-grown leaf was of sufficiently good quality to be manufactured by itself the practical protection would amount to 2s. 6d. per pound. (*i.e.*, the difference between the duty on the imported manufactured tobacco. 3s. 6d., and the excise duty on the New Zealand-grown tobacco manufactured in the colony, 1s.). But, in order to produce a marketable commodity, New Zealand-grown leaf is mixed with imported unmanufactured tobacco, on which a duty of 1s. 6d. the pound is levied. The difference in duties is not apparently sufficient to encourage the cultivation of tobacco to any extent.

Above are enumerated a few of the salient points which go to prove conclusively that, as a country for settlement, New Zealand is not surpassed by any part of the British possessions, being one where the industrious man, with moderate means, can settle down with much comfort. The land, it is true, is perhaps dearer in some districts than that which may be found in South America, South Africa, or Canada, but this difference in price is far outweighed by other considerations, such as the superiority of climate, and security to life and property; beside which there are all the privileges of living under a stable system of government. Pit these advantages against the insecurity of life and property in South America and South Africa, and the rigour of Canadian winters, the balance will be immensely in favour of New Zealand. Another great advantage enjoyed by the agriculturist of New Zealand is that he is nowhere far from the sea-board, giving him the advantage of cheap water-carriage for his produce to the markets of the world.

INDUSTRIAL.

MINING.

Important as are the agricultural and grazing products, yet the future of the colony is intimately bound up with mining interests. The mineral resources are very great. In the past these have had a most important influence on the development and progress of the colony. Gold to the value of £47,488,117 was obtained prior to the 31st December, 1891. The gold produce in 1891 was of the value of £1,007,488. In the earlier years gold was obtained from alluvial diggings, but at the present time is largely taken from gold-bearing quartz, which is distributed widely through several parts of the colony, and thus there is a much better prospect for the permanency of this industry than was afforded by the alluvial diggings. The amount of silver extracted to the end of 1891 only amounted to £140,148, but recent discoveries of ore give promise of large production in the future. No iron ores are at present worked, although almost every known variety of iron ore has been discovered in the country, the workings being limited to the black sands which occur plentifully on the coasts, the best known deposits being at Taranaki.

Several companies have been formed both in England and the colony to manufacture steel direct from this ironsand. They have not, however, succeeded; but a partial success was obtained by smelting in furnaces bricks formed of the ore with calcareous clay and carbonaceous matter, and recently the sand has been treated by a continuous process that produces puddled blooms. It remains to be proved, however, if it can be profitably treated in large quantities by this or any other process. Of other minerals the product to the end of 1891 amounted to £9,810,255, of which Kauri-gum yielded £5,881,748, and coal, with coke, £8,758,947.

The following gives the production of precious metals and minerals during the year 1891:—

The approximate total output of the coal mines to the 31st December, 1891, amounted to 7,131,986 tons. Extensive coal-fields exist in the colony, coal being found in various parts, and mines are worked in the provincial districts of Auckland, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. The abundant coal supply, added to the good

water supply and temperate climate, render New Zealand suitable in every way to become the manufacturing centre of the Pacific. It will be noted from the table of industries given later in this paper that a considerable manufacturing trade is growing up in the colony.

The bituminous coal is of a very superior kind, being equal to, if not better than, the best descriptions used in any part of the world. It is especially valuable for the manufacture of gas, and is eagerly sought for gas works and iron foundries, even at an advance of 10 to 20 per cent. on the price of any other coal. Engineers of local steamers esteem it 20 per cent. better than the best New South Wales coal for steam purposes. The valuable character of this coal for steam purposes was shown when *H.M.S. Calliope* was, on account of using it, enabled to weather the hurricane at Samoa, which was so disastrous to vessels of other nations, and escape to sea. Sir James Hector has recently estimated the various coal-fields in the colony to contain, on the whole, 444,000,000 tons; but the incompleteness of the surveys necessarily makes the estimate a very rough, and very insufficient one.

Petroleum oils of good quality have been found at Sugar-loaves rocks, a short distance from the mainland near New Plymouth, at Waipaoa, near Poverty Bay, and at Manutahi, Waiapu, East Cape. The attempts made at Waipaoa to secure oil in marketable quantities have been so far unsuccessful, and it is still uncertain whether better results will be obtained from the borings now in operation at the Sugarloaves, Taranaki.

KAURI GUM.

Kauri Gum is an important article of export. It consists of the dried and solidified sap of the Kauri tree, a species of pine which does not exist in any other part of the world. The gum is found generally in places which have been in former times covered with pine trees, but which are now bare of forest growth. The gum is used largely in the manufacture of varnish, and the finest quality is also worked up for ornamental purposes, much in the same manner as amber. The gum is used largely in the United States as well as in this country. The export for the year 1891 was 8,388 tons, valued at £487,056. Gum digging employs a large number of people, and in the Auckland province it has become a standing industry.

FUNGUS.

The New Zealand fungus, known to commerce, is found on decayed timber. The export for 1891 was 7,984 cwt., valued at £10,948. The article is chiefly sent to China, where it is said to be used as a dye in the manufacture of silk, and also for making a kind of soup, for which dish it is much prized on account of its gelatinous properties and rich flavour.

There are some mineral products not enumerated in the list given which exist in the colony, some in ascertained considerable quantities—*e.g.* iron, lead and zinc ores. The purest form of marble is found in many localities in the middle island, also a great variety of excellent limestones suitable for building and other purposes.

MANUFACTURES.

The following table proves that the colony is able to supply from her own factories many of the wants of the people. It shows the number of the principal manufacturing industries at the end of 1890, the number of hands employed, the amount of wages paid to them, the estimated value of capital invested in land, buildings, machinery and plant, and the value of the products or manufactures in that year.

Nature of Industry. Number of each kind. Number of hands employed. Amount paid in wages. Estimated value of land, buildings, machinery, and plant. Estimated value of produce and manufactures in 1890.

Woollens.—As showing the activity of the woollen industry in the colony, it may be mentioned that there are now eight woollen-and-worsted-mills in full operation, three of them on a very extensive scale, and their output is yearly increasing. The amount of wool purchased for use in these mills during the year 1891 was about 8,000,000lb.

The following figures show the development of this industry:

The manufacture for the years 1885 and 1890 was—

Besides the above, large quantities of yam, knitted goods, shirtings, &c, were turned out.

NEW ZEALAND HEMP.

New Zealand Hemp is the manufactured product of New Zealand flax, or *Phormium Tenax*, as it is locally called, and is a valuable fibrous plant indigenous to the colony. The decennial table shows that the export has grown to large dimensions. The flax plant grows freely and re-grows quickly after the leaf is cut. The fibre is

largely used both in this country and in the United States for the making of rope binder twine and for other purposes. The best quality is almost equal to Manila and superior to Sisal. The low prices ruling for Manila and Sisal have prevented the industry making the rapid growth that was looked for, but with the introduction of improved machinery, enabling the fibre to be prepared at a reduced cost, or should the supply of Manila fall off, the export would assume large dimensions. In the early days flax prepared by the Maoris in a special manner, involving much labour, had a very large commercial value, but not sufficient to pay for the labour. This shows, however, that the fibre can be worked up to a great pitch of perfection.

There are now 177 mills in the colony, and during the year 1891, the exports were valued at £281,514.

TIMBER.

The timber trade of New Zealand has steadily increased, The forests are so extensive, and contain such a variety of valuable woods, that they must prove of enormous value in the near future. The kauri tree has the highest commercial value. The wood is very hard and takes a high polish, and is used for furniture making and ship-building. There are valuable woods, known as kahikatea, totara, puriri, rimu, rata, maire, and many others. The exports of timber for 1891 amounted to the value of £182,481, and trade is now being opened up with Australia and also with this country. The Midland Railway Company of New Zealand, an English Company formed for the making of a line of railway in the colony, has a most valuable concession of splendid timber lands, and is taking active steps to promote a large export trade. The total value of manufactures from timber in the colony for 1890 was £882,959. It is estimated that there are in New Zealand at the present time about 10,000,000 acres of forest land.

FISH.

Some thirty years back New Zealand was an important whaling centre, but the decrease in the value of whalebone, which took place some years back, and the discovery of lubricating oils which have taken the place of whale oil, caused the fisheries to decline. The coast-line of New Zealand is over 6,000 miles in length, and the supply of edible fish is abundant. Little has been done, so far, to develop the fishing industry, but in the opinion of those most competent to judge, this industry will grow to very large dimensions, and the present high price of whalebone justifies a resumption of the whaling industry.

During the last two years a trade in oysters and fresh fish has been opened up with Australia, and the large quantity and great variety of edible fish on the New Zealand coast only require the necessary skill and capital to enable a large export trade to be developed. The fur seal is found on the islands near the coast of New Zealand, and in 1891 the number of skins exported was 1,822.

LABOUR.

There can be little doubt that as a field of labour New Zealand offers exceptional advantages. The average climate permits of work being done in the open-air all the year round, and a large area of the country is fertile. The mineral wealth of the islands is almost inexhaustible, and the geographical position of the colony offers a commercial future of the highest promise. The dangers and hardships endured by the pioneer settlers in the early days are now almost forgotten; and although there is much heavy work remaining to be done, still, in a country where the Natives are no longer troublesome, and where the lands are traversed by railway and telegraph lines, the settler will find his toil lighter and his reward more sure than that of his predecessors. For those wishing to become citizens of the colony and to secure a share of the success which has attended the efforts of many thousands of hard-working and now prosperous people, the following remarks are intended.

The conditions under which men labour in the country districts differ so much according to the individual training, means, and necessities of each person that it is difficult to give one all-round rule suitable for the requirements of each and every would-be settler. Some desire to see themselves at once masters of property, and owning house, farm, and stock; others are contented if they can only find plenty of employment as wages-men for others. The large majority look forward to some day holding their own farms (either as freehold or under a perpetual lease), and these only accept hire from their richer brothers as a temporary aid enabling them to lay by a store which will some day permit them to become settlers on their own account. They thus gain knowledge as well as pecuniary assistance; and it is a golden rule for a new arrival to guide himself by, to endeavour to gain his experience by working for another person until the strangeness and novelty of life under altered conditions have worn off. In bush-farming especially everything must be so new to one coming from another country that he will find countless fresh sources of knowledge opening up everywhere. First, the wood-lore has to be learnt; the names of the trees, their usefulness for sawn timber or for fuel; or, on the other hand, their uselessness save for "burning off." So, also, the handling of axe and bill-hook so as to avoid danger

in under-scrubbing, felling, and clearing, is not learnt in a day, and requires time before anything like skill is developed. "Logging up" the great scorched logs on the burnt spaces, and sowing down the clearings with grass-seed follow the felling; and when the ground is sufficiently clear for the cattle to be able to wander among the stumps and logs, then come the tasks of splitting posts and rails for fences, and of selecting the stock. If the farm selected is in the fern land or open country so much technical knowledge and so much hard toil is not at first required, but in its place comes the use of plough and harrow. Lessons must be learnt concerning the seasons (with their antipodean changing of winter months for summer), and diligent exercise in acquiring local knowledge from neighbours. However well versed a farmer or a farm-hand may be in the methods used in cultivating land in other countries, he will achieve little in the colony until he has made himself acquainted with a system fitted to the climate and soil, and acquired a knowledge of the markets for his colonial farm. The largest grain producing districts are in the Middle Island, and a yield far above the average of land in the Old Country results, if we take into consideration the absence of high-farming, and that the soil is seldom treated with heavy dressings of manure. Much of the work on dairy-farms has been lessened by the establishment of factories for the manufacture of cheese and butter. They are generally owned by co-operative societies of the farmers supplying the milk, and these receive a certain agreed-upon price for each gallon of milk supplied, and divide the profits of the butter and cheese afterwards on the ratio of the individual milk-supply. These establishments are by degrees removing the work of butter and cheese-making from the farmer's family; they will help to firmly establish a large and increasing export trade, and to make the market firm by equalizing and steadying the quality of the product.

To those whose proclivities tend towards a pastoral life, occupation as stockriders, shepherds, &c., on one of the large cattle and sheep runs common in the colony may be obtained. These runs in some cases comprise very rich country acquired in early days from the Natives, but such holdings are few. Generally, the runs consist of second-class, or slightly-broken land, unfit for the purposes of agriculture; or, if not unfit, still not of so attractive a character as other properties still obtainable from the Crown or private persons. A run usually contains several thousands of acres, and as, very often, parts of it are mountainous, the work of mustering the cattle and sheep is full of excitement and sometimes of danger. The life for some months of the year is by no means a toilsome one, but this is made up by the long hours required, and untiring activity to be displayed, at other times. On a cattle-run the tasks of mustering and drafting the stock and branding the youngsters are very heavy work, needing the display of considerable powers of rough-riding among the horsemen; while on a sheep-run the lambing and shearing seasons tax every power of the station-hands. A large number of men move about the country as shearing-time approaches, in the hope of being engaged as extra helpers; and these men are hard to wean from their nomadic life to more settled pursuits; but as their labour is almost a necessity at times, both to the sheep-farmer and the agriculturist (at harvest), it is difficult to see how their places could be supplied if their gipsy-life should be discontinued. To those who love the saddle and take interest in the care of animals, station-life offers innumerable attractions, and if to this is added (after due apprenticeship) the ownership of such property, then the hope of a pecuniary reward presents itself, of a value greater than the settler can hope to obtain in any other pursuit.

We will now consider the employment of labour in the country districts at occupations not strictly of a pastoral or agricultural character. First of these is work about saw-mills. Thousands of men are employed in the business of procuring sawn timber and forwarding it to the market. There is a difficulty in obtaining stone and brick for building purposes in localities far from towns; the materials being costly on account of the high wages of labourers, their actual weight, and the difficulty of transport. The place of these materials is generally supplied by the use of sawn timber, a product almost everywhere obtainable through New Zealand's wealth of forest trees. In the far north many of the mills are worked for the kauri-pine logs. The trees being felled, the logs are rolled down into the streams, which, being dammed up by the timber, rise in times of heavy rain, until they break through in full flood, bearing their burden to the mouths of the rivers on whose banks the mills are erected, and where the logs are captured. In the south, rough tramways are laid down in the bush, and the logs hauled on low carriages to the mills by horse or bullock teams. Here the great round baulks of timber are "broken down" being cut lengthwise (by saws moving up and down vertically) into "flitches," which are passed over to the circular-saws to be ripped into boards and scantling. All this entails, necessarily, a great variety of labour; first, the employment of gangs of men in the bush clearing roads, felling the trees, cross-cutting them into logs, and moving them out with screw-jacks to open points whence they can be shifted to the mill. The team-driving (or in the north, the rafting), the machine-tending, the handling and cartage of planks, &c, offer diversities of labour and degrees of wages suited to all ages of workers and stages of skill.

Next to the saw-mill work, as to the number of hands employed, comes the occupation of flax-milling. The New Zealand flax, or hemp, is the product of a plant peculiar to the colony. When growing, it looks like a clump of broad green sword-like blades, each blade being 2in. or 3in. wide, and rising to 6ft. or 8ft. in height. The clumps stand close together, often covering large tracts of country, much of which is shallow swamp. Men

are employed in cutting the leaves close to the ground and gathering them into bundles, which are then carried to the mill. This mill consists of cleaning and scutching machinery, which removes the green portion of the plant and produces the hemp in long white fibres, which are then tied into hanks, pressed into bales, and sent to Europe and America to be made into cordage and binder-twine. A great deal of the work performed about flax-mills is comparatively unskilled labour, although, of course, a certain knowledge of machinery and deftness of manipulation is necessary in working the actual mill itself.

A very valuable source of revenue to New Zealand has been the fields of kauri-gum, mostly found to the north of Auckland. Kauri-gum is the product of the giant kauri-pine, a tree still found lifting its huge bulk on the hills of the North Island, but which was formerly widely spread over spaces which now are open country. This fact is known by the deposits of amber-like gum which in large masses is found beneath the soil. A wandering population follows the occupation of seeking for this deposit; and, as the gum-digger's outfit consists of a spear, a spade, and a sack, it is a pursuit to which men often turn when out of employment, without capital or other resources. With the spear the digger prods about in localities which seem to him to be probable hiding-places of his treasure, and on the "feel" of the brittle gum beneath the surface, he quickly brings it to the light of day by means of his spade. Then the sack is brought into requisition, and the gum is carried to camp, to be scraped and cleaned by the light of the evening fire. It is a free, careless life, usually solitary, and often full of hardship, but having charms for those to whom regular hours and steady employment under the direction of others would be irksome. Nor is it without monetary rewards: diggers often make from £2 to £4 a week each, and a man at this employment must be very idle or very stupid who cannot earn a fairly good living.

Of our mineral wealth and the large population employed in mining industries it is unnecessary here to speak, since in another portion of this publication the subject receives attention. Suffice it to say that those to whom agricultural or pastoral life seems tame, find in the direction of mining for minerals an out-let for their energies. The life is rough and hard, is full of danger and toil, but it is one which, when commenced, exerts a fascination whose spell is hard to break. A life on the plains or in cities offers little temptation to gold-miners, who, in the mountain air, work with intense energy all day, and at night lie down to dream of the riches the hills and rivers could yield if they would disclose their secrets. Of course among gold-miners there are many who prefer a safe weekly wage to the alternations of hope and disappointment, while among the coal-miners the great bulk of the workers are either wages-men or are on small contracts, whose steady yield almost takes the place of regular earnings.

To many, however, life in the country is hardly endurable. Early habits and training, or the gregarious instinct, induce them to prefer the busy crowded towns to the quiet farm or silent forest. To such at one period New Zealand could offer but small inducement; but with the rapid growth of her cities and encouragement shown to manufacturers, a large population now derives its support from industries worked in urban localities. Not only are there numerous shops for the retail distribution of goods, offices and warehouses for the transfer and storage of merchandise, but factories and workshops are everywhere coming into existence, with their attendant workers busily engaged in their various duties. There are factories for the production of woollen goods, clothing, hats, boots, leather, saddlery, agricultural implements, carriages, bicycles, tinware, ironware, railway material, paper, glass, soap, candles, cordage, casks, baskets, tinned meats, biscuits, confectionery, &c; besides flour-mills, breweries, gasworks, freezing-works, foundries, dye-works, fell-mongeries, and many other businesses by means of which advancing civilisation supplies the luxuries and necessities of a people.

Besides occupation for those working on the soil of the colony, there is the possibility of earning a competency for those willing to gather the ever-renewed "harvest of the sea." Every bay and harbour (besides many of the open roadsteads) are haunts of in-calculable numbers of fish, almost all of which are fit for the table, and many of them of great delicacy. They can be caught with little trouble, and without that terrible risk which fills with care, and often with sorrow, the breasts of the wives and children of the fishermen who sail the stormy seas of Northern Europe. The fisher-life is followed by a considerable number of persons in New Zealand at the present time, but the work they do is but inconsiderable compared to that which awaits innumerable hands in the future. A few successful attempts have been made to commence the canning and preserving of fish, but the trade is in its infancy, and promises to be an almost unlimited source of profit to those willing to invest their energies and means in its development. As a general rule the fisheries are in the hands of a few poor men, and, as little capital is required for an outfit (a boat, a net, and a few lines), the life offers attractions and reward to any hard-working men.

With the desire of expediting and assisting the engagement of labour, and encouraging local industries, the Government has formed a department, under the direction of the Minister of Labour and administered by the Secretary. The central office is the Bureau of Industries, in the Government Buildings, Wellington. There is a bureau in each of the large towns, viz., in Auckland, Christchurch, and Dunedin, and these bureaux are under the charge of the Inspectors of Factories in these cities. In the country districts the police sergeants and local constables everywhere, are agents of the Bureau, and send in regular reports as to the requirements of workmen

and employers. A new-comer to New Zealand who wishes to ascertain the exact position of any particular occupation (as to wages, market, requirements, &c.) will do well to visit some office of this department and obtain the desired knowledge, which the Bureau agents and Inspectors of Factories will be glad to impart.

The subject of labour in the colony would be incomplete with-out some reference to the position of women's work. On the farms the wives and daughters of settlers find occupation in duties which present an unceasing round of service. These duties are in many cases now being lightened by the institution of dairy factories, which relieve the women of the task of butter-making; still, the housework, cooking, and washing for a family, if properly carried out, prevent any idleness or *ennui* from visiting the household. The life on the whole is a happy one, blest by the buoyant health of those who live in the clear fresh air; and, except in the cases of the more solitary and isolated farms, there is plenty of visiting and flitting about, no population being so constantly on the wing as that of New Zealand, as is testified by the crowded trains and steamers which serve a people sparse and scattered as it at present is. Domestic service attracts few, and it is difficult to keep good female servants, as they marry as soon as their worth becomes known. In towns the tendency of the young women is to obtain work either in shops or factories, and they prefer the slightly higher wages and regular hours of commerce and manufacture, to the obligations of domestic service. It is a preference which does not tend to fit them for the care of a home when they marry and have to provide for the comfort of husband and children; but the semi-independence, shorter hours, and better pay explain its attractiveness for the young; while the necessity for workers, if industries are to be carried on, renders their choice of a calling useful to the bulk of the community. Having thus briefly spoken of labour for those likely to find employment, it will be well to warn those who are thinking of coming to the colony unprepared to work at any of the occupations mentioned. It is not the mere idler to whom the caution is addressed, for the idle person is as useless in Great Britain as in New Zealand; it is to those who are of diligent and industrious habits, but trained in some calling not required in the colony, and insusceptible of change. The clerk, the shopman, the highly educated man without capital, will probably find that the openings for employment suitable to them have been already filled or that there are at any rate very many applicants. The chance of a new-comer obtaining a place as clerk or teacher is not great, seeing that he has to compete against sons of men of old standing and influence. It may be broadly stated that the town occupations (even mechanical) are sufficiently well supplied. If, on the other hand, there is a sturdy determination to be ready for any emergency, to rough it in the "bush," on a farm, a station, a mill, or at any other undertaking which requires pluck and muscle to carry out, then the future need not be feared, but the worker may look forward confidently to the possession shortly of one of the many comfortable and pleasant homes with which New Zealand abounds.

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES.

The average rates of wages in each provincial district of the colony are shown in the table next following, and will be found to afford sufficient evidence of satisfactory remuneration for all classes of labour. This table of wages is taken from the hand-book for 1892, published by the New Zealand Government, and was prepared after careful enquiry in the various districts. It must be borne in mind, however, that wages are always subject to fluctuations from various causes, and the rates given must therefore be only taken as approximately correct:—

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES IN EACH PROVINCIAL DISTRICT OF NEW ZEALAND DURING THE YEAR 1891.

Description of Labour. Auckland. Taranaki. Hawke's Bay. Welling- ton. Marl-borough. Nelson. Westland (Goldfield). Canterbury. Otago (Part Goldfield).

Description of Labour. Auckland. Taranaki. Hawke's Bay. Welling-ton. Marl-borough. Nelson. Westland (Goldfield). Canterbury. Otago (Part Goldfield). 3. ARTISAN LABOUR (per day, with-out board). Masons 8/ to 9/ 8/ 12/ 9/ to 12/ 10/ 12/ 14/ 10/ Plasterers 8/ 8/ 11/ 9/ to 12/ 12/ 12/ 14/ 10/ Bricklayers 8/ 8/ 12/ 9/ to 12/ 10/ 12/ 14/ 10/ Carpenters 7/ to 8/ 7/ to 8/ 9/ 8/ to 10/ 9/ 9/ 12/ 8/ to 9/ Smiths 7/ to 10/ 8/ 10/ to 11/ 8/ to 12/ 10/ 11/ 10/ Wheelwrights 7/ to 8/ 8/ 10/ 8/ to 10/ 10/ Shipwrights 8/ 12/ 10/ to 11/ 10/ 12/ Plumbers 6/ to 7/ 8/ 10/ 8/ to 10/ 9/ 12/ Painters 6/ to 6/6 6/ 9/ 7/ to 10/ 9/ 9/ Saddlers 6/ to 7/ 8/ 9/ 10/ 10/ 8/ Shoemakers 6/ to 7/ 6/ 9/ 8/6 to 10/ 8/ 8/6 Coopers 7/ to 7/6 6/ 9/ 8/6 to 10/ 8/ 10/ Watchmakers 7/ to 12/ 8/ 10/ 10/ 10/ 10/

4. SERVANTS. Married couples without family,

VALUE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES (THE PRODUCE OF THE COLONY EXPORTED.—DECENNIAL TABLE.

Articles. 1882 1883 1884 1885 The Mine.

ARTICLES. 1882 1883 1881 1885 ANIMALS AND PRODUCE—continued.

London:

Printed by LAKE & SISON., 5. VICTORIA STREET, S.W., & 135, UPPER THAMES STREET, E.C.

Front Cover

London: Printed by LAKE & SISON, 5. Victoria STREET. S.W., & 135, UPPER THAMES STREET, E.C. The Land-Laws New-Zealand

As Enacted by

"The Land Act, 1892."

"They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid." MICAH iv. 4.

Compiled by Vincent Pyke.

Wellington. By Authority: Samuel Costall, Acting Government Printer. 1893.

Index.

The Land-Laws of New Zealand.

Introductory.

POLITICALLY, New Zealand consists of three islands—the North, Middle, and South. In common parlance the two larger, separated by Cook Strait, are known as the North and South Islands, and as such they are referred to in these pages. The small southern island is more frequently termed Stewart Island. Settlement is at present chiefly limited to the two first-named.

Extending diagonally over thirteen degrees of latitude, from 34° 20' to 47° 30' South—more than a thousand miles—there are great varieties of climate within the limits of New Zealand. In the North the orange and the lemon flourish luxuriantly, and in the South all the cereals yield abundant harvests. Nowhere more than two hundred miles from the east coast to the west, and for the most part much less, the sea-breezes preserve a mild and equable temperature over the land. It is never so cold as in Britain nor so warm as in Australia. These conditions are favourable to the growth of the most varied products.

The rainfall is greater near the coast-line than in the interior, but generally speaking it is abundantly distributed throughout the country. Hence it is a land of brooks and streams, and free from the terrible droughts to which most parts of Australia are periodically subject.

The soil varies from light sandy loam to rich vegetable mould, and stiff clays. Partly New Zealand is bushed,—that is, covered with growing timber, and partly it is quite open land, abounding in native grasses. There are extensive tracts in the South Island, and also to a lesser extent in the North, where the settler may put in the plough the first day without preparation of any kind, and raise an immediate crop.

Crops of all kinds are above the ordinary average. Without manuring, wheat averages 26 bushels to the acre; oats, 34 bushels; barley, 25 bushels. But in the more favoured lands wheatcrops of 50 bushels and upwards are not at all uncommon, and, indeed, in some instances even larger yields are obtained. Potatoes, turnips, and all root crops also thrive remarkably well.

As a pastoral land also New Zealand is unsurpassed in the world. Large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are reared for home use and exportation. Artificial grasses are extensively cultivated, and the dairy industry is exceedingly prosperous.

Fruit-growing is another industry for which New Zealand is remarkably well suited, as owing to the diversity of climate and soil it can and does produce almost every fruit in use.

Thus the settler, whatever his special line of cultivation may be, can find a locality fitted for its pursuit in New Zealand.

For more detailed information on these and other points, the reader is referred to "The New Zealand Official Handbook," price 1s. 6d. and 2s., which may be obtained from any bookseller.

The Land-Laws of New Zealand.

GENERAL TENURE.

The land-laws of New Zealand are designed to promote the interests of settlement and for the repression of speculation. In pursuance of this object very great facilities, and easier terms than obtain in any other country, are offered to the *bonâ fide* settler who honestly desires to acquire a home and a foothold on the soil; whilst the acquisition of land is hedged round with restrictions calculated to deter the mere speculator from purchasing for a rise in value, and to discourage or prevent the building-up of big estates. Cash payments are entirely optional, and the purchaser, or as he is termed "the selector," may retain the use of his capital for the improvement and cultivation of his land, paying only a small annual sum by way of interest to the State. Every man may therefore possess the land on which he dwells, and, so long as he pays the half-yearly rent to the State, he is at liberty to make what use of his land he may think fit; but he is required to use it, he is not allowed to hold it idle in anticipation of a rise in value.

The unsold lands of the Crown are generally surveyed before they are offered for sale. The selector can therefore inspect any section before purchase, and know exactly what he is going to buy.

Land can only be obtained or held for the sole use and benefit of the applicant; and the law strictly forbids speculative arrangements whereby any person may obtain possession of the land applied for, either by purchase, transfer, or otherwise, on behalf of another.

The purchaser of land for cash cannot obtain a title from the Crown until he has fulfilled the conditions of improvement hereinafter set forth.

The limit of any holding is 2,000 acres, beyond which no application can be granted; and no person who owns 2,000 acres of freehold land in the colony is capable of acquiring or becoming the holder of any greater area, except land for grazing or pastoral purposes.

Land may be forfeited if obtained by a false declaration, or for non-compliance with the conditions, or for nonpayment of rent, or if purchased or acquired in excess of the maximum area.

MANAGEMENT OF CROWN LANDS.

The Crown lands are dealt with by a special Act of the New Zealand Parliament, under the supervision of a Cabinet Minister, designated the Minister of Lands. In each land district there is an executive officer, called the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who is intrusted with large discretionary powers controlled by statute.

The colony is divided into ten land districts, and for each there are appointed from two to four Commissioners, who, with the Commissioner of Crown Lands as chairman, constitute the Land Board of the district, to which all matters connected with the management and control of the land is remitted. All business relating to the sale, leasing, disposal, and occupation of Crown lands, and all questions or doubts respecting such disposal, or the meaning of any enactment relating to or in connection with Crown lands, or to any matter or thing done under such enactment, are heard and determined by the Board. The ordinary routine business is transacted by the Chief Commissioner. The work of classifying land for sale or lease is also intrusted to the Board.

Each Land Board sits weekly at the chief town of the district, and transacts business in public. Thus the people are brought into immediate contact with the machinery of the Board.

Doubtful cases are often referred to the Minister, who at present is the Hon. John McKenzie, the author of the liberal land-law of 1892. But any person aggrieved or dissatisfied with any decision of the Board may appeal to a Judge of the Supreme Court, whose decision is final.

DISPOSAL OF TOWN AND VILLAGE LANDS.

The price of town and village lands is fixed by the Governor, the minimum price being £20 per acre. These are usually subdivided into quarter-acre sections.

For "village" lands the minimum price is £3 per acre; and for "suburban" lands, £2 per acre. All these lands are sold at auction, and for cash only.

RURAL LANDS.

Rural lands are classified as first-class and second-class lands; and are disposed of at the following prices:—

First-class lands: not less than £1 per acre. Second-class lands: not less than 5s. per acre.

As a rule the price is generally fixed by the Board at from £1 to £1 5s. per acre for first-class lands; and from 10s. to 15s. per acre for second-class lands. Lands "of special value" are sold, or leased by auction, at such

prices as the Board may determine; the cause for which such land is deemed of special value being stated for public information.

Where there is valuable timber on any land, the estimated value of such timber is added to the upset price.

HOW DISPOSED OF.

After the land has been classified the Board appoints a day when applications may be received at the Land Office. Plans and descriptions of lands open for sale or selection are distributed broadcast over the colony. If on the day appointed only one application has been received for any piece of land, the applicant gets it without any further trouble. When there are more than one applicant, the applications are determined by lot, or as it is usually termed "ballot." The ballot is taken as follows:—

The names of the several applicants are written on slips of paper by an officer of the Board, and thrown into a box fitted with a revolving wheel. The wheel is turned, and another officer draws out one slip. The applicant whose name is on this slip is declared the purchaser.

The selector can, at his option, apply for the land under either of three systems, namely:—

- Cash;
- Occupation with the right of purchase;
- Lease in perpetuity.

(1.) Cash Purchases.

If the selector elects to pay cash, he is given a "certificate of occupation," authorising him to hold and occupy the land. But before a Crown grant is issued to him he must expend on "substantial improvements of a permanent character," a sum equivalent to £1 per acre on first-class lands, and 10s. per acre on second-class lands. He is allowed seven years within which to do this, and he can obtain his title to the freehold (that is, the Crown grant) at any time during the seven years, on showing to the satisfaction of the Board that he has made the requisite improvements. Should he desire to dispose of his land whilst holding a certificate of occupation, the Board may authorise such transfer, and the transferee will then be bound by the same conditions as the original selector.

Not more than 250,000 acres of rural land may be selected for cash in any one year.

(2.) Occupation with Right of Purchase.

If the successful candidate does not desire to pay cash down, but wishes to obtain possession of the land, with the view of eventually converting his holding into a freehold, he can take out an "occupation license." This is issued for a term of twenty-five years, subject to an annual payment equal to 5 per cent. on the cash price of the land, and payable half-yearly in advance on the 1st January and the 1st July in each year.

Thus, if the land selected contains 200 acres, valued at £1 per acre, the payment will be at the rate of 1s. per acre, or:£5 half-yearly; and so on in proportion for any greater or lesser area.

After the licensee has been in occupation ten years, he has the option (1), at any period during the remaining portion of the term, of purchasing the freehold of the land for cash, provided he has fulfilled all the conditions of his license; or (2) he may exchange the license for a "lease in perpetuity" without the right of purchase (see *post*, p. 11); or (3) he may continue in occupation to the end of his term.

At the termination of the term of an occupation license the licensee has a prior right to a lease in perpetuity, subject to a yearly rent at the rate of 4 per cent. on the cash value of the land, without buildings or improvements, for which purpose the land has to be revalued.

The holder of an occupation license with the right of purchase is not capable of acquiring other land under a similar license, or of a lease in perpetuity, unless the lands comprised in the several licenses or leases adjoin each other.

But exception to this rule is made in favour of a licensee who has duly fulfilled the conditions of his license for a period of three years and upwards. He is then entitled to obtain another license, or a lease in perpetuity for other lands, whether these adjoin his original allotment or not.

A further exception is made in favour of those who become licensees by virtue of marriage with another licensee, or by virtue of a will or inheritance.

In case of the death of any occupation license-holder his executors may transfer the land with the sanction of the Land Board; but such power must be exercised within two years from the day of the death of the licensee, otherwise it may be sold by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the proceeds paid over to the representatives of the deceased; or the Board may, in their discretion, permit the widow of the deceased, or any person of whom they may approve, on her behalf, to continue in possession on the same conditions as the late

licensee.

(3.) *Leases in Perpetuity.*

This is the essentially distinct feature of the New Zealand land-law. If the successful applicant elects to take up the land under this system he receives a lease for 999 years, which is practically a freehold, subject to a small annual payment, by way of feu-rent, to the State. This payment, or rent, is fixed by law at 4 per cent. on the cash-value of the land at the time of sale, and can never be altered. Thus, for a section of 300 acres of first-class land valued at £1 per acre, the rent payable under a lease in perpetuity would be 9½d., or to be exact 9 3/5d., per acre, or £6 half-yearly.

The holder of a lease in perpetuity saves immediate outlay for purchase, and retains all his capital beyond the first half-year's rent for the erection of his house and out-buildings, the fencing of the land, and the purchase of farming implements, seed, &c, without the necessity of invoking the aid of money-lenders—a very important consideration in new countries where money is dear and the burden of mortgages crushes the settler.

For the more complete understanding of these three systems of land selection, a few items, taken at random from an actual list of Crown lands just opened for sale, are here appended:—

Note.—It will be seen that if A selects Section 74, Block I., Blackstone, for cash, he pays £50 for it, and can get his title when he has fulfilled the conditions; if B selects Section 29, Block V., at Lower Hawea, under occupation license, he pays 9d. Per acre per annum, with the right of purchasing the freehold when he has complied with the conditions; and if C selects Section 1, Block VII., at Kawarau, under lease-in-perpetuity conditions, his rent for 999 years will be 4 4/5d. per acre yearly, or £2 per half-year for the whole section.

County.	District.	Area.	Caab.	Occupation with right of Purchase.	Lease in Perpetuity.	Section.	Block.	Acres.	Per Acre.	Total Price.	Rent per Acre.	Half-yearly Rent.	Rent per Acre.	Half-yearly Rent.	Maniototo.
Blackstone	74 I.	50 s.	20 £	50 s.	0 s.	1 d.	0 £	1 s.	5 d.	0 d.	9 3/5 £	1	SECOND-CLASS LANDS.	Vincent Lake	
Lower Hawea.	Kawarau	29 1 V VII	319 200	15 10	239 100	5 0 0 0	9 6 5 2	19 10 8 0	7½ 4 4/5	4 2	15 0				

The holder of a lease in perpetuity may surrender the lands comprised in his lease, with the consent of the Land Board; but it will not be competent for him to again become an applicant for the same land within one year from the date of the surrender, nor to have such land transferred to him by any other person who may acquire it.

APPLICATIONS, HOW MADE.

Applications for the purchase, leasing, or other occupation of Crown lands may be made at any land office, or in writing addressed to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and sent through the post.

The Board has discretionary power in the public interest to refuse any application, recording the grounds of such refusal in the official minutes.

Applications for unsurveyed land on pastoral runs within mining districts must be accompanied with the written consent of the pastoral lessee, and by evidence that an accurate description of the exact locality, area, and boundaries, has been advertised for three weeks consecutively in a newspaper published or circulating in the district in which the land is situated.

Applications for land under any tenure, not being land offered at auction, must be accompanied with a statutory declaration, made and signed by the applicant in the form prescribed by the Act, printed copies of which are kept at every Land Office for the use of the public.

The form of declaration to be made on applying for a lease in perpetuity is here appended, by way of illustration:—

Declaration on applying for a Lease in Perpetuity under "The Land Act, 1892."

I, A.B., of C.D., do solemnly and sincerely declare—

- That I am of the age of seventeen years and upwards.
- That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," am applying for the purchase of a lease.
- That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use or benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever.
- That, including the lands now applied for, I am not the owner, tenant, or occupier, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person or persons, of any lands anywhere in the colony exceeding in the whole 2,000 acres of land, inclusive of not more than 640 acres of first-class land.
- That I have not, within three years from the date hereof, surrendered a lease with perpetual right of renewal or lease in perpetuity of the lands for a lease whereof I am now applying.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of an Act

of the General Assembly of New Zealand intituled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1882."

Signature: A.B.

Declared at _____ this _____ day of _____, 189_____, before me,
CD.,

A Justice of the Peace in and for the Colony of New Zealand.

Two or more selectors may make joint application to hold rural land as "tenants in common," and may take up an allotment or group of allotments for occupation with right of purchase, or on a lease in perpetuity. Any lessee or licensee in a joint application may transfer his interest to a co-lessee or co-licensee.

CONDITIONS OF OCCUPANCY.

Improvements.

As the object of the law is to assure the *bona fide* occupation of the land, occupation certificates with the right of purchase, and leases in perpetuity, are granted subject to conditions of improvement. These conditions are so moderate that no one who desired to use the land for settlement purposes could well do less. It is not the expenditure of money so much as work done on the land that is required. They are as follows:—

Within one year from the date of the license or lease substantial improvements of value equal to 10 per cent. of the cash price must be made or placed on the land; within two years to the value of another 10 per cent.; and within six years to the value of another 10 per cent., making in all 30 per cent. In addition to these, there must be put upon the land "substantial improvements of a permanent character" to the value of £1 per acre on first-class land, and on second-class land of an equal value with the land itself, but not exceeding 10s. per acre.

Substantial improvements of a permanent character are defined in the Act to "mean and include reclamation from swamps, clearing of bush, gorse, broom, sweetbriar, or scrub; cultivation, planting with trees or live-hedges, the laying-out and cultivation of gardens; fencing, draining, making roads, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing water-races, sheep-dips, making embankments or protective works of any kind, in any way improving the character or fertility of the soil, or the erection of any building."

"'Cultivation' includes drainage, the felling of bush, or the clearing of land for cropping, or clearing and ploughing for and laying down with artificial grasses."

Example.—If the allotment consists of 100 acres of first-class land at £1 per acre, or 200 acres of second-class land, the selector would be required to make substantial improvements of the value of £10 in the first year, £10 in the second year, and £10 within the next four years, and, in addition, to make "substantial improvements of a permanent character" of the value of £100 within the total period of six years.

The special conditions as to improvements on bush or swamp lands held on deferred payments or perpetual lease under "The Land Act, 1885," are now repealed.

Residence.

Residence of the selector on any land, not being land purchased for cash, is compulsory, and must commence in bush or swamp lands within four years, and in open or partly open lands within one year from the date of selection. Thereafter residence must be continuous—

- On lands occupied with right of purchase: for six years on bush or swamp lands, and for seven years on open or partly open lands;
- On lease-in-perpetuity lands: for ten years.

But these conditions of residence are dispensed with in the case of any person who has acquired an interest in a lease or license under a will or by intestacy.

Residence on contiguous Lands.—The Board may also dispense with residence if the lessee or licensee resides continuously on lands contiguous to the land held under lease or license.

NOTE.—Lands only separated by a stream or road, or by such interval as the Board may determine in each case, are deemed to be "contiguous" for the purposes of the Act.

Residence with Relatives.—In cases where the lessees or licensees are youths or unmarried women, living within the land district, and residing with their parents or near relatives, residence may be dispensed with for four years after the commencement of the term.

Infancy.—In case of the death of one or both parents of a child or children, residence may be dispensed with until one has arrived at the age of seventeen years.

Marriage.—When two persons, being licensees or lessees, intermarry, not sooner than twelve months after the issue of the last license or lease, they may reside on such one of the selections as they may think fit. When a lessee or licensee marries the owner or occupier of freehold land, not sooner than twelve months from the issue

of the lease or license, they may reside on the freehold.

The Board has a general power to dispense with personal residence on any sufficient and satisfactory grounds being assigned for non-residence.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Age of Selectors.—Seventeen years is the age at which any person can legally become the selector of land under the Act.

Any person who has forfeited the right to hold land selected by him, by reason of a wilful breach of any of the conditions, is disqualified from making a new selection within a period not exceeding two years without the sanction of the Board.

No married woman can become a licensee or lessee unless she has obtained a judicial order of separation or protection. But this does not apply to a married woman who becomes a licensee or lessee by virtue of a will or of intestacy. A married woman may, however, become the owner of 320 acres of first-class land, or 1,000 acres of second-class land, under the Act, irrespective of any land her husband may acquire or hold.

The interest of a lessee or licensee in land held on any tenure is absolutely secured to him for the first twelve months of possession, and cannot be sold, assigned, transferred, mortgaged, or seized for debt during that period.

Transfers.—After the first twelve months of possession or occupation, the occupation of the land comprised in any lease or license may, with the sanction of the Land Board, and not otherwise, be transferred by sale, under-lease, mortgage, or other disposition.

The transferee or purchaser of a lease or license under any power of sale vested in a mortgagee, or assignee, or trustee in bankruptcy, cannot be admitted into possession until he has made a statutory declaration to the same effect as the original lessee or licensee.

Mortgages.—The law protects the licensee or lessee by insisting on certain conditions being "implied" in every mortgage. Thus,—

- No power of sale can accrue until after the expiration of one month in default;
- Every sale on default must be by public auction;
- Every sale must be advertised in the districts;
- No sale can take place earlier than fourteen days after the first publication of the advertisements;
- At any time before the actual sale the mortgagor may recover his property by paying the principal and interest, together with the cost of advertising, and a sum not exceeding 1¼ per cent. on the money actually advanced for charges and expenses.

The transferee or purchaser will be liable to the same obligations and conditions as the original selector. Leases and licenses will be liable to forfeiture if any of the conditions remain unfulfilled for sixty days.

DEPOSIT MONEY.

The applicant for land under any tenure is required to lodge a small deposit with his application, which is re-turned if he is unsuccessful.

If the application is to purchase for cash, the deposit will be one-fifth of the purchase-money.

If for occupation with the right of purchase, £2 10s. per cent. on the cash value; and,

If for lease in perpetuity, £2 per cent. on the cash value.

Thus, for a section of 200 acres of first-class land, valued at £1 per acre, the required deposit would be: For cash, £40; for occupation, £5; for lease, £4. These amounts are put to the credit of the applicant if he is successful. If the purchase is for cash, the balance of the purchase-money must be paid within thirty days or the deposit will be forfeited. If under any other tenure, the amount of deposit, being equal to the first half-year's rent, will be credited accordingly.

UNSURVEYED LAND.

Although lands offered by the Government are generally first surveyed, provision is made whereby any one can apply for unsurveyed land. The applicant in such case has to deposit a sum sufficient to cover the estimated cost of survey, which will be credited on account of the whole price of the land, if for cash; or as rent, if under any other tenure. The survey will in all cases be conducted under the direction of the Surveyor-General. The cost of survey is ultimately credited to the applicant as part payment for cash, or for rent if under other tenure.

Sales by Auction.

When land is to be sold by auction, thirty days' notice is given, and particulars of the allotments to be offered are advertised in the public newspapers. Survey must always precede sale, and maps for public inspection are exhibited in the Land Office. The terms are: In sales for cash, immediate payment of one-fifth of the purchase-money, and the balance within thirty days; in the case of a sale of a lease, immediate payment of the first half-year's rent.

No larger quantity of rural land than 640 acres of first-class land, or 2,000 acres of second-class land, can be put up for sale by auction in one lot. But this does not apply to the sale of depasturing leases of lands unsuitable for tillage.

Heavy penalties are attached to the offence of bribing, or attempting to bribe, any person, either to abstain from bidding, or competing to raise the price against a purchaser.

Improvements made upon Crown lands may be valued, and the value added to the price, when such lands are sold or otherwise disposed of.

SPECIAL SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATIONS.

In addition to the ordinary modes of acquiring land, provision is made for setting apart blocks of rural land for special settlement.

Not more than 250,000 acres in all may be disposed of under this system in any one year.

The following is a copy of the instructions already published for the guidance of persons who may propose to form themselves into special settlement associations:—

- Every association should consist of not less than twelve persons.
- The land to be selected to be in one block.
- The area to be selected to be not less than 1,000 acres nor greater than 11,000 acres, inclusive of roads, townships, and such other reserves as may be considered necessary, and to be surveyed into sections of not more than 320 acres each in the case of ordinary rural land, and in the case of swamp land into sections of not more than 500 acres each: Provided that there should be one selector for every 200 acres of ordinary land, and one selector for every 500 acres of swamp land.
- The cost of survey to be paid by the association, and such survey shall be made under the direction of the Surveyor General; the estimated cost, not exceeding 2s. 6d. an acre, to be deposited with the Receiver of Land Revenue before any survey is undertaken.
- The Minister of Lands to have power to reserve sites for towns, schools, reserves for education, and for such other purposes as he may consider necessary.
- Intending applicants will, when required, be supplied with maps showing lands open for application by associations.
- All applications must be made to the Minister of Lands by the secretary or chairman of the association, and should contain a list of the names, addresses, and occupations of the applicants, and the area which each member desires to acquire.
- The association to satisfy itself that the block of land selected is suitable for occupation. Should the land on survey be found to be unfit for subdivision into sections as applied for, the sole responsibility to rest on the applicants.
- The Minister may approve or disapprove of any application.
- Members to be capable of making the statutory declaration required by the Land Act, and to be over seventeen years of age.
- The tenure to be a lease in perpetuity, and the rent 4 per cent. of the capital value; such rent to be fixed in terms of "The Land Act, 1892," but to be not less than 10s. an acre. The rent for the first two years may be added to the capital value of the land, or may be paid off at any time, at the option of the selector.
- The provisions of the Land Act as to payment of thirds for road-construction to apply.
- Rent to be paid to the Receiver of Land Revenue of the district.
- The provisions of the Land Act as to residence, occupation, and permanent improvements to apply to all leases granted under such Act.
- [unclear: T]he secretary may be required by the Commissioner of Crown Lands to give a certificate that the person claiming to select land is a member of the association, and, if so required, to furnish to the said Commissioner minutes of the proceedings of the association.
- In the event of the death of a settler, his interest in the allotment may be wed to revert to his legal representatives, who may dispose of it to a *bonâ fide* settler approved by the Commissioner; the purchaser to be deemed to stand in the position of the original settler.
- No transfers to be permitted before sections are allotted to members, but after allotment and compliance with conditions transfers may be approved by the Commissioner on the same terms as in sections 83, 86,

and 147 of the Land Act.

- No person who is the owner in fee or leasehold of any land in New Zealand which together with the land included in his application or transfer under these conditions would exceed 320 acres or 500 acres, as the case may be; and no person who has made an arrangement or agreement to permit any one, save his son or daughter, to acquire by purchase or otherwise the allotment in respect of which his application is made, to be entitled to become a settler.
- Any settler who may fail to comply with the conditions upon which the land is disposed of in any respect, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, to forfeit his interest in the land selected, and the Commissioner to cause such interest to be again open for selection by a *bonâ fide* settler. Any settler so selecting to be deemed to stand in the position of the original settler.
- Should any doubt arise as to the construction of these instructions, the same shall be settled by the Minister of Lands.

An association of intending settlers may also be formed to take up conjointly a block of 5,000 acres, which may be disposed of in suitable-sized lots to persons who agree to work them under regulations made from time to time by the Governor, fixing the terms and conditions on which the land may be occupied.

VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS.

This is another mode of disposal. Blocks of land are set apart for sale or lease as "village settlements," upon terms and conditions fixed by regulation by the Governor.

These blocks are surveyed and divided into "village allotments" of an acre each, and "village homestead allotments" of 100 acres each, or as near as may be; or the block may be divided into village allotments only, or village homestead allotments only.

A day is fixed on which the allotments are to be open for application, and the mode of disposal is also declared. "Village allotments" may be offered at public auction amongst the applicants only, at an upset price of £3 per allotment, or may be opened for application under the optional system.

"Village homestead allotments" can only be offered for lease in perpetuity, at a rental of £4 per cent. on the cash value of the land, the minimum price of which is fixed at 10s. per acre. Improvement and residence are necessary conditions.

No such lease can be seized or sold for debt or in bankruptcy.

Advances of money specially appropriated by Parliament for the purpose may be made to lessees under this system to assist them in profitably occupying their allotments.

SMALL GRAZING-RUNS.

Blocks of pastoral land are opened in sections of varying size, according to situation and carrying capacity. These are called "small grazing-runs," and are let on lease for twenty-one years, with right of renewal at the expiration of the term for other twenty-one years.

If a lessee does not desire to renew the lease, any improvements he may have made are valued, and added to the price to be paid by any incoming lessee, and then paid over to the outgoing lessee.

These runs are opened for lease on application at a rent of not less than £2 10s. per cent. on such price as the Board shall fix, not being less than the price at which second-class land may be sold. The applicant must lodge a deposit equal to £1 5s. per cent. on the value of the run.

Thus, if a small grazing-run contains 2,000 acres, and the price-value is 5s. per acre = £500, the rent will be £12 10s. per annum, of which the applicant must lodge £6 5s., or a half-year's rent, on making his application.

The largest area of a "first-class" small grazing-run is 5,000 acres, and of a "second-class" run 20,000 acres. No person can become the lessee of more than one small grazing-run.

No holder of a pastoral lease (see *post*, p. 23) can be a lessee under this system.

Neither can a small grazing-run be held by any person who is the owner of freehold land, or land held under lease from the Crown, or other person or company, any-where in the colony, which taken together would exceed an area of 1,000 acres, exclusive of the run for which he is an applicant.

Exception to these disqualifications is made in favour of any person acquiring a lease by marriage, or under a will, or by virtue of intestacy.

The lease entitles the lessee to the exclusive right of pasturage, and to the cultivation of such portion of the run as he may think fit.

He acquires no right of purchase; but with the approval of the Board he may select 150 acres of land adjoining and including his homestead, and hold the same for his unmolested occupancy during the term of his lease.

Roads and rights of way in common use across the run remain open to the public, and land may be taken for making other roads without compensation; also, the lands comprised in the lease are subject to the provisions of the Mining Act, and every holder of a miner's right or business license may exercise the rights granted thereby upon any portion of the land.

Residence.—The lessee must reside on the land within one year if it is open land, and within three years if it is bush or swamp land, and thereafter continuously to the end of the term. But this condition may be relaxed on the same terms as are specified in the general conditions as to residence (see *ante*, pp. 15, 16).

Improvements.—The lessee is required to put upon the land "substantial improvements of a permanent character" of the value of one year's rent, during the first year of the lease; and to an equal value in the second year; and within six years to a value equal to the amount of other two years' rent; and on bush lands, in addition to the above, he must put substantial improvements of a permanent character on the land to the value of 10s. for every acre of first-class land and 5s. for every acre of second-class land.

Thus, if the lease comprised 3,000 acres of first-class land, valued at 10s. an acre, or 6,000 acres of second-class land valued at 5s. per acre, the rent in either case would be £37 10s. a year; and the lessee of open land would require to make improvements in the first year of the value of .£37 10s.; of the same value in the second year; and of the further value of .£75 within six years: in all £150, But in bush land, further improvements to the value of £1,500 would be required in addition. The clearing of the bush is necessary for the use of the land, and comes within the category of "substantial improvements of a permanent character."

The money paid by an incoming lessee for improvements previously made is allowed for as substantial improvements put upon the land by himself.

After the conditions of residence and improvement have been complied with for three years, the lessee may, with the approval of the Board, subdivide his run amongst such members of his family as are of the age of seventeen years and upwards, and new leases will be issued to them on the same terms, and subject to the same conditions of residence and improvement, as the original lease.

When a lease expires the run is revalued, and the rent readjusted by the Land Board, by arbitration. If the lessee thinks fit he can renew his lease at the new rental. Otherwise, it will be offered at auction at an upset not higher than the price at which it was offered to the original lessee.

PASTORAL LANDS.

Lands that are not immediately required for settlement, mountainous lands, and lands unsuitable for cultivation, are leased for pastoral purposes. Such lands occupy a considerable portion of New Zealand, and are advantageously used for sheep grazing, especially in the South Island. They are leased by auction in "runs" of various extent, as the nature of the country may require.

Unless in "extraordinary circumstances," of which the Land Board is the judge, no larger area than is sufficient to carry 20,000 sheep or 4,000 head of cattle all the year round can be leased in one lot.

"Pastoral lands" are defined in the Land Act as "lands suitable exclusively for pasturage, and not capable of being used with profit in areas of a carrying-capacity of less than five thousand sheep."

"Pastoral-agricultural lands" are lands "adapted partly for pasturage and partly for agricultural purposes, and suitable for division into areas of not more than 5,000 acres.

Pastoral lands in areas exceeding 5,000 acres are leased as runs for a period not exceeding twenty-one years. Each run must contain sufficient low ground to insure the proper working of the run. For this purpose high and low ground may be offered as one run, even although not contiguous.

Pastoral-agricultural lands may be disposed of in such manner as the Governor may appoint; and any pastoral lease thereof may be resumed by the Government, either in the whole or in part, upon giving twelve months' notice to the lessee. If only a part of the area comprised in the lease is resumed, the lessee may, if he thinks fit so to do, surrender the whole of his lease.

No person or company can hold more than one run of any kind.

But if the run held by a lessee is insufficient for the grazing of 10,000 sheep or 2,000 head of cattle, then in such case the lessee may become the holder of other land, making up "an aggregate area" sufficient to carry that number of sheep or cattle.

The holder of a "small grazing-run" may not be the lessee of a pastoral or pastoral-agricultural run.

A pasturage lease or license entitles the holder to the sole right of pasturage over the lands specified therein, but confers no right to the soil, nor to timber or minerals thereon or therein. Miners may at any time enter, and prospect, or mine on the land. And if any part of the land comprised in the lease is otherwise leased, sold, granted, or reserved for any purpose by the Government the lease over such part immediately determines. The power to make roads and rights of way over the lands is at all times reserved.

The lessee is bound by conditions in his lease to prevent the destruction of timber, and the growth of gorse,

broom, and sweetbriar on the land comprised in his lease. He must also destroy rabbits, and prevent their increase on his run. As it is manifestly to his own benefit that he should comply with these conditions they are not regarded as onerous.

Any fraudulent arrangement or agreement with other persons, entered into for the purpose of evading or defeating any of the provisions of the Act, will render the lease liable to forfeiture. This is a condition of every lease.

Pastoral or pasturage leases can only be taken up for the "sole use and benefit" of the actual lessee, and not directly or indirectly for the benefit of any other person or persons.

Transfers.—A lessee may transfer his interest, with the sanction of the Board, if he has complied fully with the conditions of his lease and paid his rent.

The transferee will be subject to the same conditions as the original lessee.

If the transfer is by way of mortgage, having a power of sale in case of default, the transferee must exercise such power within two years; or if sufficient reason be shown the Board may extend the time to three years.

The Board may always, in their discretion, and in the public interest, refuse to sanction the transfer of a lease or of any interest in a run.

When the lease of a run is about to expire, the Board decides whether the whole or any portion of it shall again be let for depasturing purposes, and the lessee is notified accordingly.

If the Board decides on again leasing the run, or a part of it, the new lease is offered by auction at least twelve months before the expiration of the old lease. If the former holder does not then become the purchaser, his improvements are valued, and the amount added to the upset price, and paid over to him by the Receiver of Land Revenue. If the lease is not again offered for sale the lessee may remove his improvements, buildings, fencing, &c.

Rabbit-proof fences are specially dealt with, and when the land is not re-leased a valuation is made, and the ascertained value of such fences is paid by the Crown.

The lessee may subdivide his run at any time during the currency of his lease, on the recommendation of the Board, with the approval of the Governor.

When the lessee of a run exceeding 5,000 acres has erected a homestead and buildings on the land, he has the right, with the consent of the Board, to select and occupy a block of 150 acres during the currency of his lease, and this block will be exempt from the right of resumption.

Rent is payable half-yearly at stated periods. If not paid within thirty days after it falls due 10 per cent. is added to the amount; and if it remains unpaid for three months the Commissioner may declare the lease forfeited, and resume possession.

Boundary disputes between adjoining runholders are settled by arbitration under the direction of the Land Board. One arbitrator is appointed by each runholder, and a third by the Board, and their decision is binding on all parties concerned.

A pastoral lease may be surrendered with the approval of the Board.

Temporary licenses for periods not exceeding three years are granted for pastoral lands not otherwise disposed of. These licenses are subject to cancellation in respect of any part of the land which may be purchased or selected, reserving to the licensee the right to remove fencing.

Provision is made for the depasturing cattle and sheep on unsold Crown lands whilst travelling, but only within a prescribed distance of roads and tracks, or when leading to Crown lands where persons are engaged in mining or other industrial pursuits.

LICENSES FOR CUTTING TIMBER, ETC.

The functions of the Land Boards extend to all matters connected with the use and occupation of Crown lands, such as the issue of licenses for cutting and removing of timber or flax; removal of clay, gravel, sand, or stone; working of quarries; removal of guano; sites for mills, tanneries, brick-kilns, and potteries; sites for rope-walks, for slaughterhouses, for ferries and jetties; and, in thinly-inhabited districts, sites for inns and accommodation-houses.

For any of the above purposes the Board may issue a "provisional license" authorising the occupancy of not more than 200 acres of land. The extreme term of such license is three years; but at any time during its currency the Board may, in its discretion, grant a lease for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, at such rental as may be determined.

Inns and Accommodation-houses.—To any occupier of land held under license as a site for an inn or accommodation-house, the Board may grant a lease of the land for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, subject to such rent, terms, and conditions, as the Board may think fit.

Timber Licenses.—For timber-cutting and saw-milling purposes, a block or blocks of land, not being more

in the whole than 600 acres, are set aside, and granted in sections of not more than 200 acres each; but so that licenses for the second and any succeeding section are not granted until an officer of the Board has certified that the marketable timber has been properly cut and cleared off the section previously licensed.

It may be made a condition that young timber-trees equal in number to those felled shall be "properly" planted by the licensee.

The occupants of land upon which there is no standing timber may obtain a "permit," free of charge, authorising the holder to remove timber for fencing, or for domestic purposes, from any Crown lands not being State forest-lands or lands otherwise granted or leased.

Flax-cutting.—The Board may grant leases for a term of not more than seven years for the cutting or removal of native flax (*Phormium tenax*) over an area not exceeding 2,000 acres.

Kauri-gum.—Licenses are issued at a fee of 10s. each, authorising the holder to dig for and remove kauri-gum from State forest-lands of the Crown, and at a fee of 5s. from other Crown lands. These licenses are only in force during the winter months—namely, from May to September inclusive, and for one season only.

RESERVES.

Power is vested in the Governor to make reserves of Crown lands for public purposes; and for the recreation, convenience, and amusement of the people;

For the purposes of agricultural and pastoral associations;

For the growth and preservation of timber, and for the preservation of the native fauna;

For the use, support, and education of the Maori people.

Large reserves are also set aside as endowments for public education, which is free in New Zealand.

Lands containing natural curiosities, or scenery of national interest, are also reserved by the State.

Educational reserves are vested in the various Education Boards, but these lands may be brought under the Land Act at the request of the body having control over such reserves.

NATIVE LANDS.

The Maoris—aboriginal natives of New Zealand—possess considerable tracts of land, chiefly in the North Island. Their rights are rigidly respected, and the Government can only acquire such lands by purchase. When a purchase is effected, on the Governor being satisfied that the title is complete, they are brought under the Land Act by a Proclamation in the *Gazette*, and thenceforth are dealt with as Crown lands in the interests of settlement.

MINERAL LANDS.

New Zealand is rich in minerals, and mining for coal and gold are established industries. Care is taken not to part with land supposed or believed to contain these minerals by sale or otherwise; and any land which is deemed to be auriferous or argentiferous, or which may be required for coal-mining purposes, may be resumed by the Government on payment of compensation, which is limited to the value of the surface-soil and improvements of a substantial character.

The Act also provides that when any mineral, mineral oil, metal, or valuable stone is known to exist on Crown lands the surface may only be leased in perpetuity, and under no other tenure, and the right of entrance upon such land is reserved to all persons lawfully engaged in working the minerals.

Leases to mine for coal, gold, and other minerals are granted under other Acts.

PROVISION FOR ROADS.

Roads being essential to the proper settlement of the land, the Land Act provides that one-third of the payments for lands disposed of under occupation license with right of purchase, or lease in perpetuity, and one-fourth of the rents of small grazing-runs, shall, for fifteen years from the commencement of the payments in each case, be appropriated to the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges leading to or opening-up the land so disposed or dealt with.

The moneys derived from these sources are handed over to the County Council or other local authority of the district wherein the lands are situated to be expended on roads by the local body, such expenditure being first sanctioned by the Land Board as being "for the benefit of the selectors from whose lands the moneys are derived."

Or the money may, if the Minister consents, be expended in the construction of water-races for the supply of water for irrigation, or for the drainage of such lands.

MINERAL SPRINGS.

New Zealand is famed for its health-restoring and curative mineral and thermal springs. The law makes provision for their proper use and management.

Lands containing springs of this nature are usually reserved to and controlled by the Government. But power is taken in the Land Act to grant leases for sixty-three years of not more than 7 acres of land containing or adjacent to such springs, subject to conditions securing the public convenience. Land in the vicinity of mineral or thermal springs may also be leased in such areas as may be considered desirable.

Regulations for the conservation and use of these valuable springs, fixing the fees that may be charged for their use, providing for the maintenance of decency and order, and for the comfort and convenience of visitors, are strictly enforced by the Government.

SAMUEL COSTALL, Acting Government Printer, Wellington.

Front Cover

A "State Bank,"

Or Converting; the

"Post Office Savings Bank"

Into a "State Bank," with an Issue by Government of "State Bank Notes,"

Without Affecting the Status of Present Banking Institutions of the Colony.

Auckland: PRINTED AT THE STAR AND GRAPHIC OFFICES, SHORTLAND STREET. 1893.

A "State Bank."

THE question of a "*State Bank*" has occupied the attention of many persons in the Colonies, especially those who have had to grapple with the stern realities that beset most in their colonial career, the benefits anticipated it would confer being looked upon by each from their several standpoints. It is a question prominently brought forward on behalf of the working classes at the present time, by those who outwardly champion their cause, as a means to alleviate their circumstances and place them in a better position.

But to point to a bank, and that a National Bank, with a "*National Bank-note Issue*," and assume such issue without; taking into consideration how it is to be effected—upon what principles? what its obligations? how it would affect banks and other monetary institutions now doing business within the Colony? as a question of currency? how maintained? how guaranteed? if metallic? the amount of reserve, and how obtained? are only a few of the many subtle questions that surround such a measure.

The proposition "*State Bank*" barely stated, unsupported even by theory, much more by any practical scheme to sustain it (so far as I am aware), I conclude that, for the present at least aye, and even for some time to come must lie in abeyance, waiting further developments.

Colonists generally are so often reminded of our national and private indebtedness, our exports and imports, of what they consist, number of inhabitants, and other items of general information by the press, that it would be superfluous to quote them again except in support of a reference.

Public opinion, embracing all shades of politicians, decrees that here, in New Zealand, "*shall be no further borrowing on the part of the State.*" All financial circles in England applaud and commend the doctrine; a great section of the community in New Zealand, composed of monetary institutions, companies, and large landowners endorse the fiat.

There are men who, either from pride, avarice, or devotion to the State, are always found ready to accept the offices of Ministers of the Crown. Among their great responsibilities are—keeping up the credit of the State by providing for the payment of the interest on our borrowed capital, the maintaining the exports of the Colony, the opening up of the waste lands of the country, the employment of the population, and so forth.

It is of the first importance to know that the productiveness or the elasticity of the country can be relied upon, if developed.

With a population of only 650,000, of all ages and sexes, and occupying little more than the sea-border of the country, our exports are nine and a half million sterling (£9,000,000); and, with a public debt of forty million (£40,000,000), we have thrown down the gauntlet, and declare *we will borrow no further*. Are we, then, to increase taxation? That, also, is denounced by the voice of the people. We cannot, do away with our responsibilities; nor can we easily consign to oblivion a young nation's future for even a short time. By allowing things to proceed as they have been, would be retrogression, and a stigma upon our past energies, our national progress.

To break up great landed estates,—to prevent large areas of land passing into the hands of single

individuals,—to relieve the occupier of land from taxes on improvements on his estate,—to create small freeholds, and otherwise holdings of Land, to place settlers upon them,—to find work at remunerative wages for the unemployed,—the purchase of lands from the natives,—the necessary surveys,—the making of roads and bridges,—felling of timber, with a view to prepare the waste lands for cattle and sheep, thereby increasing our exports, *are questions that must be solved.*

To devise means for the raising of capital wherewith to accomplish these great and necessary objects is of paramount importance. The transfer of some of our public stocks has been resorted to for this end. But that system cannot continue; it is already at an end. It has been suggested to issue "*Government Bonds*," bearing interest, negotiable within the Colony; but that, certainly, is equivalent to borrowing, and would be taken advantage of by all banks doing business within the Colony.

It is also on the *tapis* "that the Government borrow or procure money from English capitalists at a low rate of interest, and lend it out through some of the public offices to settlers." In whatever shape such a questionable proposition may be brought forward, it includes within it, all the elements of a borrowing policy, with State security to a foreign creditor, including taxation, and would entail an immense expense in inspection, valuation, banking, and clerical assistance,

We have not built our present prosperous position upon speculation, or by trading in competition with other Colonies, but upon the actual produce of the soil; and with manual labour, aided by Science extracted the treasures of the earth, which our exports testify, in wool, frozen meats, dairy produce, grain, tallow, hides, flax, etc., with gold, silver, coal and other minerals, and gum.

We have yet in reserve upon which it is desirable to operate seven to ten million (10,000,000) acres of land; suitable for pastoral, agricultural, and mining purposes.

The question then naturally arises, How are we to take advantage of our position, without increasing taxation by borrowing in a foreign market, or placing Government Bonds, bearing interest, on the colonial market?

With these obstacles standing in our path of progress, it becomes us to enquire, Are we using the powers vested in us, as a governing body, for the benefit of the State and those we profess to govern?

We have experienced the monopoly of land, and destroyed its power; we have seen the combination of capital, its oppression, and its withering influences, and laid a sap to its foundation; we have also seen and experienced the evil effects of companies with limited liabilities in some instances obtaining the hard earnings of the artisan and labourer (as cash depositors) by giving a high interest for their savings, to build up and sustain a worthless imposition, A further enumeration of those parasites that engraft themselves upon the State and community would not serve any purpose, except as a warning to be avoided. They are falten; a new order of things is replacing them. The working classes have partially asserted their right to deal with the public estate; and, with a view to further aid, in a constitutional manner, so as to be able to resist any combination of force that may assail it, have conferred upon the women of this country an equal political power of vote—"Women's Franchis."

The difficulties that surround the establishment of a "*State Bank*" in New Zealand for some time to come happily cannot be advanced in a substitute that will confer equal advantages in aiding the Colony to maintain its national credit, develop its resources, employ its population, and foster its trade and commerce.

There are six banks, Foreign and Colonial, with a paid-up capital of close upon six and a quarter millions (£6,125,000) sterling, doing business within the Colony, with 230 agencies only, and these include several in each large centre. The number of towns represented by banks in New Zealand is very small. The enormous business carried on by them can in some measure be computed by their note circulation within New Zealand, which amounts to, it is stated, between three and four million pounds (£3,000,000 and £4,000,000) in notes annually. The earning power of these banks can also in some measure be ganged by the interest (after deducting all ether expenses and charges) they pay to the shareholders in their respective banks—from *five* to fifteen per cent., and in some instances with bonuses. It must be borne in mind that the greater portion of these amounts of interest goes out of the Colony, so that the country does not reap the advantage of its being expended here.

If we proceed with the note circulation in proportion to population, and assume it is the same in New South Wales and Victoria, with their one and a quarter million of inhabitants each, and add Queensland, South Australia, all other States, and England, where their business is conducted, and ask, If a population of 650,000 can employ three to four million in bank-notes as a floating paper currency upon a capital stock of six and a quarter million sterling (which also represents all the other places named), what amount (after providing for all outlay in connection with their several extensive establishments) is represented in note circulation alone! Will twenty million (£20,000,000) cover it? And if this postulate is tenable and reasonable, we obtain a glimpse of the indirect burden placed upon consumption from this quarter. Who bears it? I need not enquire.

Give banking institutions all the freedom it is possible for them to possess, and encourage capital, or the representative of capital by allowing it to go untrammelled. Nevertheless, I infer the State, too, has its claims

and obligations, and must exercise its prerogative in respect to a currency that proves itself so valuable to every nation in the world.

To establish a system that would be the means of opening up the country, placing settlers upon the land, increasing our exports, employing those out of work at remunerative wages, without borrowing abroad or at home, and also without further taxation, at the same time maintaining our national credit, and which system could not and must not interfere with the freedom and trade management of banks and other monetary institutions established in the Colony, *is the great problem.*

Placing settlers upon the land should embrace the ultimate right of "freehold," giving them a permanent interest in the State, a tangible security in the future for them and their families, and on the part of the State a surety that the land will be worked advantageously, with improvements, and not left with its properties worked out and worthless. Where "*Loans*" are required, if deemed expedient, I would suggest as favourable as possible upon the sinking fund principle, with a provision that no mortgage or other lien should lie against the property until all claims of the Government are extinguished.

If the circumstances of the Colony will not admit of the establishment of a "*State Bank*," as I have before briefly referred to, we then must consider the next practical alternative—the issue of

"State Bank Notes"

—such notes to be made a legal tender.

It is admitted that the Government of a country has a right, with the sanction of the Legislature, to make and issue "*Stamped Banknotes*" It would be granting a new charter, as it were, to the Government, under the present circumstances of the Colony; and for the purposes hereinafter narrated, it will be seen that the plan is perfectly practicable and justifiable, the State becoming security for the whole issue. It lays the foundation of a system that will be free from financial speculation, trade and business crises; and however assailed, it cannot be overturned or upset, as it, will be engrafted into the State by applied principles, and supported by combined forces. In respect to value, no other bank-note can equal it, as it is beyond outside influences, not being subject to Foreign control or misadventure. As a circulating medium for all receipts and disbursements of the Government within the Colony, it will be the chief issue, carrying with it the impress and authority of the State.

It would be premature to attempt to form an opinion as to the quantity of "*State Note*" needed, as the amount of business transacted would govern the issue, the rapidity of circulation being a great factor in the interchange.

It would be only following the natural laws of trade and commerce that present monetary institutions will accommodate themselves to the position) as in no case does the proposition suggest the slightest approach to the Government entering into any commercial transactions affecting the business between banks and their clients,

It may be objected that the Government has no gold or bullion to hold as a reserve, as a guarantee of their note issue. But their position is doubly fortified, in that it is required that all monies due and accruing on account of the State, in all departments, shall be paid into the several Post Offices, as the "*State Bank*" (as ordered), to the Government account, so that they become the actual bank of deposit for the State.

As to the stability of its value, the *whole public estate* is held as a guarantee for the circulation. There are few who would dispute the utility of a bank-note; but as to its value, that certainly depends upon the resources by which it would be sustained in case of a sudden demand: and who can foretell those disasters the consequences of which have been so severely felt here, in Australia, and America of late?

Thus in proposing a "*State Bank-note Issue*" for national purposes, it will be seen at once that the holders of these notes have a guarantee in the State that no other bank-note issued in the Colony can possibly possess; and when the issues are used by the Executive Council with discretion, and for the objects indicated by the Legislature, will form an inexhaustible source of wealth, *not so much in the actual value of the State Notes issued, but its effect, in reproduction.*

In respect to currency, the "*State Note*" being in vogue would prevent the abscision of the rights of any portion of the community.

The issue by the six Banks in New Zealand of from three to four million in notes annually and their amount of earnings, as previously mentioned, is a convincing proof that the country would be justified in taking a portion of the bank-note issue into their own hands, utilising it in conjunction with the great revenue and deposits collected by the Government from their various sources, and paying all demands within the Colony with "*State Notes.*"

A "*State Note Issue*" would be the means of at once expanding the trade and business of the country, as money would become easier in financial circles.

It is not my province here to enquire why, after collecting the revenue of the Colony (ordinary revenue

alone four and a half million) from its various sources, also the *Government Savings Bank*, £2,863,671 and other State deposits, by officials appointed for the purpose, the Government should pay these monies into a Foreign bank, withdraw them as occasion requires, circulate that bank's bank-notes, and pay on those transactions interest as between bank and bank client.

The question of administrative economy in all its details is forced upon us; by the Government adopting the conversion of the "*Savings Bank* into a *State Bank* scheme;" the cost of raising and collecting the revenue would be materially decreased; the employment of a Foreign bank by the Government for their account dispensed with; and for their Foreign monetary transactions in England, employ the Agent-General's Office.

It may be advanced that the Colony could not sustain an increase in its note circulation. That would soon become apparent in either case, as such currency would soon find its level. But the State must be the gainer.

There are many other things that could be advanced to justify the proposition, but they dwarf in comparison to the finding the funds (without going into debt and saddling the Colony with further taxation) for the purpose of opening up the country and developing its resources.

The currency barter here propounded is simply the self-reliance policy imported into the productive capabilities of the Colony, the supplying the Foreign markets with our exports—which is yet in its infancy, as I have shown we have the area of land containing the necessary qualities for production in pastoral, agricultural, and mining properties, waiting only to be turned to account,

I give these few suggestions with some—in order and number-brief explanatory notes in reference to each, together with the correspondence I have had upon the subject with the Honble. J. G. Ward, Colonial Treasurer, and hope they will be the means of ensuring success to the end they are directed, as if judiciously applied they will give a greater value to land without creating a "boom," and increase small holdings, thereby opening up the country and aiding trade and commerce in the great centres of population.

Alkkl Potter

Mount Eden, Auckland,

November, 1898.

Scheme for Converting the "Post Office Savings Bank" into a "State Bank" without affecting the Status of the present Banking Institutions of the Colony.

FIRST.—Converting the *Government Savings Bank* into a "State Bank" for the receipt of all the revenues of the State, and the disbursement of all Government accounts within the Colony; at the same time retaining its functions and character as a "*Savings*

SECOND.—The issue by the Government of "*State Bank Notes*" which shall be a legal tender,

THIRD.—All *Chief Post Officer*, *First-class* and *Central Second-class Post Offices*, to receive deposits, and pay withdrawals on demand.

FOURTH.—*Third-class* and *Fourth-class Post Offices* to pay on the warrant of nearest paying office.

FIFTH.—All payments to be made in "*State Bank Notes*"

SIXTH.—Depositors to be allowed to open two accounts, viz., one *Deposit Account* and one *Current Account*:

- *Deposit Account* to be for stated periods of one to five years, at rates of interest to be hereafter decided upon.
- *Current Account* to be operated upon at present, and at a lower rate of interest than *Deposit Account*.
- The total amount of any one deposit upon which interest is to be allowed not to exceed five hundred pounds (£500).

SEVENTH.—All *Imprest* and *Deposit Accounts* of *Government Officers* and *Local Bodies* to be kept at the "*State Bank*" and such accounts to be drawn on by cheque, and paid in "*State Notes*"

EIGHTH.—All (*Government vouchers*, *accounts*, *salaries*, etc. (after being passed by the *Audit* or proper certifying Officer), to be presented and paid at the nearest "*State Bank*" instead of the *Treasury cheque* as at

present,

NINTH.—All remittances of Government monies to be made through the "*State Bank*."

TENTH.—All cash circulating notes of other banks received by the Postmaster to be placed to the credit of the Public Account, of New Zealand, at the principal offices of each centre (to be arranged) or at Wellington, and to be dealt with hereafter in exchange at the several banks, or a bank appointed by such banks, or clearing house, according to the arrangements to be made in respect thereto by the Government and those institutions.

Explanatory Memo.

A STATE BANK framed upon the attached principles would only effect the present banking companies in a very gradual manner, and would not therefore meet with that opposition from them, and those interested in their welfare, as a "*State Hank*" modelled upon the present banking principles.

FIRST.—The "*Government Saving Bank*" converted into a "*State Bank*." This bank would retain all its functions and character as heretofore; at the same time it would be the receptacle of all the revenue of the State and through it would be disbursed all claims payable by the Government.

SECOND.—The Government, with the sanction of the Legislature, would make and issue "*State Bank Notes*" which notes would be a legal tender, the holders having the State as a guarantee, their not being subject to Foreign influence.

THIRD.—Post offices could be so classified as to meet all requirements of the public, those situated in sparsely populated districts suffering only a day or two's delay in waiting for warrants to pay, instead of two or three weeks as at present. All Post Offices through the country to be made Post Office "*Saving Banks*." There being about twelve hundred Post Offices, every working person or others desirous of putting by their savings would have a bank of deposit close to their doors, and *those deposits guaranteed by the Government*, and bearing interest. Under the present system, at the end of December, 1892, there was to the credit, of *Savings Bank* depositors £2,863,670. How much more may he looked forward to when such facilities are opened up through the country,

FOURTH.—This merely has reference to the departmental arrangements in respect to the paying out, on the authority, and at the various paying offices created.

FIFTH.—The issue of "*State Bank Note*" would provide a large amount of cash, which could be utilized by the Government in Public Works, Loans, Loans to Public Bodies at a small rate of interest. Thus the money spent on these purposes would come out of the thrift of the people themselves, and they would be in reality lending their money for the purpose of making opening up, and improving the roads in their own districts, and placing Road Boards, Boroughs, County Councils, etc., in a much better financial position by relieving them of the exorbitant interest now charged by private banks for overdraft

SIXTH.—A system of deposit account extending over a period of one to five years would guarantee a large amount of money being placed at the disposal of the Govern munt for those periods. The current account, operated upon as at present, Would be greatly augmented by increased facilities given through withdrawals being paid on demand. The present system of waiting days and weeks before a withdrawal can be paid is a serious barrier to hundreds of persons in each district The advisability of permitting withdrawals to be made by cheque could be considered after the scheme has been brought into operation and tried. At present there is much against it, the system now in vogue of personal application preventing fraud, and suiting the class of depositors likely to use the bank,

SEVENTH.—The keeping of all Government imprest and deposit accounts of Government officers, and Local Bodies' accounts, would not only give a greater security against fraud, but be a great saving in exchange new paid to other institutions. These accounts could be operated upon by cheque, and paid in "*State Bank Notes*."

EIGHTH.—The payment of all salaries, accounts, subsidies, contracts, etc., by the local agency of the "*Stale Bank*" would be an enormous saving in bank exchange, besides saving the large amount of clerical labour necessary to issue cheques at the Treasury, The officers so employed could be utilized in the "*State Bank*" as the increase of business would demand more clerks. Thus no extra cost would be incurred by the enormous increase, and no hardship inflicted on those employed in the Treasury.

NINTH.—All remittances would in reality he stopped, as the payment of monies into the agency of the "*State Bank*" would be sufficient, A great saving in the cost of remittance would be effected.

TENTH.—This has reference to the exchange of the circulating notes of other banks received by the several Postmasters as the "*State Bank*." The custody and distribution of the note and metallic currency would, as a matter of detail, devolve upon the officers appointed by the Government.

Copy of Correspondence with the Honble. J. G Ward, Colonial Treasurer.

Albert Avenue, Mount Eden, Auckland,

July 29th, 1893.

SIR—At various Limps suggestions have been made as to the advisability of establishing a "*Staff Bank*" The late erisis in banking institutions on the Continent of Australia, and the consequent effect upon great commercial concerns, not only paralyzed trade and business, but have been the means of undermining and actually destroying public confidence. The Government in one instance has interfered (whether wisely or not) by special legislation to avert disaster. Three Premiers Verniers in conference (Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia) have come to the conclusion that the "*banking larges of the Colonies must be inform under specific conditions.*"

How these would ultimately affect New Zealand can at present be hut conjecture. Sufficent already are exemplified how their business transactions affect this Colony by the suspension ot the I Loan and Mercantile Company. This is a simple issue. What may be, under a more complex system, must be left for further consideration.

In partial mitigation of their inability to meet their engagements, Goldsborough, Mort, and Co, there, and the Loan and Mercantile Company here, state the *cash depositors* demand *their deposits*. The inducements held out by these and similar institutions invite "*cash deposit,*" upon which they are partially worked. The risk is not foreseen or contemplated by such depositors, as the management is so completely concealed by its business operations. These facts, with their attendant evils, comprise partial ruin to some, and total ruin to other, I venture to submit a proposition for your consideration:

"Propositions."

The "*Post office Saving Bank,*" to be converted into a "*State Bank*" or rather could he utilized as such to the advantage of both depositors and State without any expense or radical change. The *Chief Post Offices* and *First* and *Second Class Office* could be made receiving and paying branches: all payments to be made in "*State Notes*"; the notes issued not to exceed the amount of deposits. All *Third* and *Fourth Class Offices* to be receiving offices only, and to pay out on the warrant of the nearest paying branch. All Government monies could be transferred, and payment made, without the aid of any other branch. This would save the Treasury a considerable amount of work, as all vouchers could be paid on authority, thereby saving the issue of cheques. Even if the duties of such a bank were restricted to cash transactions, the amount of business would he enormous, as a small interest on current accounts would be sufficient to secure all desirable accounts, and the amount of "*State Notes*" in circulation would give the Government a large amount of suplus cash. If the deposits were limited to say £500 as at "present, there would be no fear of a "run" at any time, and thus allow the Government to sink monies in a payable manner. I have not entered into minute particulars, but all I he necessary apparatus is now in vogue.

I have laken the I thirty, sir, to direct this proposition to you privately, as on other questions I have dono myself the honour to suggest to the Government of the day I have had some reason to infer they have been delayed to a convenient season before reaching the principal for whom they were specially intended.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Albert Potter.
To the Honble J. G. Ward
Colonial Treasurer.

Wellington.

Copy of Reply.

New Zealand Colonial Treasurer's Office, Wellington,

21st August, 1893.

SIR,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, in which you suggest that the "*Post office Saving Bank*" should be converted into a "*State Bank*," and I thank you for the same.

The matter is a very large one and requires to be most carefully thought out.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. G. Ward.

Albert Potter, Esq.,
Albert Avenue, Mount Eden,
Auckland.

Printed at the Star and Graphic offices, Auckland
Front Cover

The Metamorphosis of Maoriland; or. How Colonization became possible in New Zealand.

By Major-General H. Schaw, C.B

vignette Wellington, U.S. Lyon & Blair, Printers, Publishers, Etc. 1893.

The Metamorphosis of Maoriland.

vignette

IN order that the present generation of colonists in New Zealand, may have some knowledge of the circumstances under which New Zealand became a British Colony, and of the leading part which the Church Missionary Society took in opening up New Zealand to colonisation (although that was not the object of the Society), the following brief history of Church Missionary work in New Zealand is herein given to the public. The writer who is but a comparatively late arrival in the Colony, was desirous of ascertaining what the Society had done, and what it was now doing for the Maori race, and in the course of his investigations it became evident that the Evangelization of the Maoris, mainly through the agency of this Society, was in reality the way in which colonization became possible; and, that as far as can now be seen, New Zealand would still be in the hands of ferocious cannibals, or possibly a conquered dependency of France, had it not been for the work of the Missionaries.

This view is by no means singular, it has been expressed by many men who had the best opportunities of judging. Three examples may suffice:—Captain Hobson, the first Governor, who had practical experience of the difficulties encountered in the initial steps of colonization, said "There can be no doubt that they (the Missionaries) have rendered important service to the country, or that, but for them a British Colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand "Sir William Fox, who was politically opposed to the views of the Missionaries on the secular concerns of the native race, wrote "It is only fair to say, that, before systematic colonization commenced it (the character of the native race) had undergone a great change The teachings of the Missionaries, if somewhat superficial, had penetrated to almost every part of the country. This, and the example of civilized life in the mission-homes, scattered over a large area, had done much to qualify the worst features of savage life, and to soften the ferocity of the Maori character." Sir George Grey in addressing a number of natives, amongst whom was Matene Te Whi Whi (nephew of Te Raupnraha), had spoken slightly of Archdeacon Henry Williams. Te Whi Whi replied, "I do not suppose *you* would ever have been here if Te Wiremu (Williams) had not come to us first." The cause and the effect were evident in those days, we are apt to lose sight of thorn now.

Such appears to the writer to be the lesson to be learnt from the history, and that New Zealanders, both

Maoris and colonists owe a deep debt of gratitude to that Society; but the facts must speak for themselves. These facts have been obtained from the various published histories of New Zealand, from the records of the Church Missionary Society, and from contemporary witnesses of some of the circumstances related.

Before entering on the history it may be well to state that although, as will be seen, the majority of the Maoris were at one time professing Christians, yet at the present time the Maoris do not all profess Christianity, still less are all influenced by its teachings. This falling away is due to many causes, national, political, and moral. It is a result which has occurred in other nations, and however much we may deplore it, we English cannot afford to cast a stone, looking at the past history and present condition of Christianity amongst ourselves. Nevertheless a vast change has come over the Maori nation, who are no longer a ferocious race of cannibal savages, if brave, intelligent, and in many ways noble, as they always were; but they are now peaceful citizens of a British Colony—some of them successful farmers and men of business—some holding high positions in the Government of the Colony—many of them consistent Christians. This surprising change is mainly due to the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, in consequence of which the bulk of the nation renounced their heathen beliefs and customs and embraced Christianity.

The original character of the Maoris was extremely warlike and savage. When the Dutch navigator, Tasman discovered and named New Zealand in 1642, he endeavoured to land, but was repulsed with such determined hostility by the natives that he abandoned the attempt. Apparently no Europeans visited these shores again until 1769, when Captain Cook re-discovered the islands, and by his great tact, good discipline, and kindness succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Maoris. Six of the natives were killed, through a misunderstanding, on his first approach, but there was no further fighting; and he greatly benefited them by introducing pigs, potatoes, turnips, and cabbages.

According to Maori traditions their ancestors came from Hawaiki and the affinities of their language with those of Polynesia gives support to this tradition, which also affirms that they were not then cannibals.

Their religion contained within its traditions a belief in the origin of mankind from one pair, the introduction of death into the world through the deceptions of their great hero Maui, and a legend of something like the deluge. But its main characteristic was the fear of *atuas*, or malignant spirits, including those of their departed ancestors, the constant object of which was believed to be to injure them. They had priests, or *tohungas*, who in many cases were chiefs, and everything connected with the *tokungas*, or priests, was *tapu*, or sacred. This gave them a very great and arbitrary power, with which the Missionaries had long to contend before it was broken down by the light of Christianity. They believed in a future life of retribution, and the Northern Cape, Reinga, was the leaping place whence departed spirits were supposed to leap into the other world. Their religion, as a whole, was a hopeless, loveless dread of physical suffering and disaster; their life, one of constant inter-tribal wars, arising from blood feuds or lust of conquest, and resulting in slavery and cannibal feasts. There was no security for life or for property.

After Captain Cooke's visits, whalers began to frequent New Zealand, and a trade sprung up with the colony of New South Wales. The men engaged in these operations were however for the most part dissolute and unprincipled, and their conduct and example were very injurious. Acts of bad faith on the part of these Europeans led to retaliation by the Maoris, and the history of this early European intercourse with New Zealand is, to a great extent, a record of deceit, immorality, cruelty, and bloodshed. The Maoris came to be looked on as blood-thirsty savages, and their country as therefore inaccessible to European colonists.

Some daring and hardy men had indeed resided in New Zealand, but Judge Mannings' book, "Old New Zealand," gives a vivid picture of the hardships and dangers of the life they led. Under such conditions colonisation was evidently out of the question.

In 1793, however, Captain King, then Lieutenant-Governor in Norfolk Island, wished to introduce useful industries amongst the convicts there; and, with this end in view, he obtained the services of two Maoris named Tohi and Hura to teach the convicts how to work flax.

These men, through a misunderstanding, were kidnapped by a British man-of-war; Captain King honourably sent them home with presents, and an explanation of the mistake.

In this way these two natives came under the observation of the convict chaplain, Samuel Marsden. He was so much struck by their intelligence that he became deeply interested in the Maori race, and formed the resolution to endeavour to raise them from their state of degradation. Shortly after he met at Sydney and became friendly with a Maori chief named Te Pahi, who, with his four sons, had worked his passage in a sailing vessel to Sydney. Mr. Marsden taught him something of Christianity, and showed him some of the advantages of civilisation, and Te Pahi gladly agreed to assist him in enlightening his countrymen.

In 1807 Mr. Marsden visited England, and laid the case before the Church Missionary Society, who warmly took up his project of sending the Gospel to the Maoris. They deemed it advisable to combine with religious teaching, education also in useful arts, and to this end they selected two artisans—able, industrious, and godly men—to be the pioneer Missionaries to New Zealand. These men were William Hall, a carpenter, who also

understood something of navigation and ship-building; and John King, a shoemaker, who was conversant with flax-dressing and rope-making, and knew something of agriculture.

Mr. Marsden, with his two Missionaries, embarked for Australia again in 1809. He shortly afterwards discovered that one of the sailors was a Maori, Huatara by name, and a nephew of his old friend Te Pahi. Ruatara was an enterprising young man, and his experiences had hitherto been rather trying. He had first engaged as a sailor on board a whaler, from which he had been discharged at Sydney, after twelve months' service, defrauded of his wages. He engaged again, however, on board another whaler commanded by an honest man, who paid him off after a six months' cruise. He then engaged a third time on board a vessel bound for England, having a great desire to see King George. On board this ship he was brutally treated, and at length discharged, without wages, in London; and he was sadly working his way home when he providentially was discovered by Mr. Marsden. On reaching Sydney they found that a trading vessel, the "Boyd," had been attacked by the Maoris, taken and burnt, and the crew had been killed and eaten. Another trader in revenge had attacked another Maori village, the inhabitants of which, as it turned out, were quite unconnected with, and innocent of the crime. Of this village the chief was Te Pahi, and he and all his people had been killed.

These circumstances had caused so much excitement and ill-feeling that it was evidently impossible at that time to commence the Mission; but Ruatara undertook to visit New Zealand and, if possible, open a way for the Missionaries. He was absent for more than a year, when he returned to Mr. Marsden to tell him that the captain of a trader, with whom he had engaged to take him to New Zealand, had deceived and ill-treated him, and had not taken him to New Zealand at all.

After about seven years of delays and difficulties Ruatara at length reached his home in 1813, well provided by Mr. Marsden with seeds, plants, and agricultural tools. He had many prejudices and difficulties to overcome, but at length he was able to send a message to Mr. Marsden to say that the Missionaries would be cordially welcomed.

Mr. Marsden then purchased the brig "Active," and at first sent, on a preliminary visit, Hall and Kendall (another agent sent out from England). Their report was favourable, and Marsden, with Hall, King, Kendall, and their families, embarked in the "Active" and landed at Whangaroa on the 18th December, 1814; thence they went on to the Bay of Islands, where on Christmas Day Mr. Marsden preached the first Christian sermon to the Maoris, on Luke II., 10: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy."

It should be mentioned that during the voyage, while the brig was becalmed off the Cavalli Islands, between Whangaroa and the Bay of Islands, Marsden heard that a large body of the tribe who had captured the "Boyd" and eaten the crew were encamped close by. He felt that it was of great importance to establish friendly relations with them, and determined to visit them. Ruatara, knowing the ferocity of these men, tried to dissuade him, but finding that he could not do so, bravely and generously undertook to accompany him. They were rather doubtfully received by a war-dance; then there was friendly talk; but as no treaty of peace had been arrived at before night, Marsden boldly decided on passing the night in their midst. The brave, but savage men respected the courage of their visitors, and the chiefs eventually agreed to leave unmolested the Missionary settlement which was about to be established at the Bay of Islands, and, further, they agreed to make peace with the chief of the Bay of Islands tribe. The early days of the Mission at the Bay of Islands were saddened by the sudden illness and death of the fine young chief Ruatara, who had so greatly aided the Mission. He had received the good news of the Christian faith with joy, but had not yet been able to break entirely with heathen superstitions, and be baptized as a Christian. The influence of the *Tohungas* prevented him from taking the food or medicines needed for his recovery, and so he sank and died, and the Mission severely felt the loss of his friendly support. Marsden was obliged to return to his own work in Sydney as soon as he had seen his little band of pioneers settled. They had to work for their own living while trying to teach the natives, and for a long time this Mission work was very up-hill and discouraging. Their goods were stolen, they were maltreated, and constantly threatened with death to furnish a cannibal feast; but by patience and courageous perseverance, little by little they gained a beneficial influence over their neighbours, whose language they had now learnt. A chief named Hongi, uncle to Ruatara, came under the influence of Marsden during his first visit to New Zealand, and through his aid another Mission station was established in 1819 at Keri Keri at the head of the bay to extend the Missionary field, and the Rev. J. Butler, with Hall and Kemp were located there. In 1820, Hongi with another chief—Waikato—visited England in company with Mr. Kendall, who was ordained there. They resided for some time at Cambridge, and Professor Lee was able to fix the orthography and grammar of the Maori tongue, which had previously been entirely a spoken language without any *literature*.

Hongi, however, conceived the desire to obtain victory and power by the use of English weapons. He converted all the presents that were given to him into guns and powder, and on his return to New Zealand waged savage war with his neighbours. This aggravated the dangers and privations of the Missionaries, and no progress seemed to be made, although the numbers of the Mission had been increased by other mechanics.

In a very remarkable way Hongi's wars led eventually to the extension of the Missionaries' work. He

brought back numerous slaves from the tribes he had conquered; some of these were allowed to work on the Mission premises, payment being made to their owners. They attended the Christian schools, and in their depressed state were no doubt more open to good impressions than their conquerors. At length through Missionary influence they obtained their liberty and returned to their homes, carrying with them some knowledge of Christianity and Christian books, which they had learned to read, and so the light spread.

At length both Marsden and the Church Missionary Society were convinced that the experience of Tahiti was being repeated in New Zealand, and that the arts of civilization had little influence in making a way for the gospel, although they had been of marked assistance in establishing a first friendly footing on the Maori shore. In 1822 a decided policy of direct evangelization, without any mixture, of education in the arts of civilization, was decided on. In that year the Rev. Henry Williams (afterwards archdeacon and previously an officer who had served with distinction in the Royal Navy) was sent out, and in 1825 his brother the Rev. William Williams (afterwards Bishop of Wiapu); these two noble and excellent men brought a new spirit into the New Zealand Mission, and they were followed by a number of ordained Missionaries of the same stamp.

In 1825 the first Christian Maori openly professed his faith and was baptized by the Rev. Henry Williams. He was a chief named "Rangi," changed to "Christian" at his baptism. In the course of the year 1827 a church was built to meet the needs of the large numbers who assembled to hear the word of God. The Rev. Henry Williams, with the aid of the Europeans and natives, built and launched a Mission vessel of 55 tons, the *Herald*, which proved very useful, both for communication between the Mission stations for extending the Missionary work and for procuring supplies from Sydney. The *Herald* was wrecked at Hokianga, and a smaller vessel was subsequently built, in which numerous coasting voyages were made by the Rev. Henry Williams, enduring great hardships and dangers in his Missionary work. During this period the Mission had many difficulties to contend with, the natives constantly forcing their way into the Mission premises and taking whatever they fancied. The patience, courage, and force of character of the Rev. Henry Williams gradually overcame this trial, and he obtained great respect and influence.

In 1826 a company was formed, which made an attempt to settle colonists in the Islands. In November of that year a vessel full of intended settlers put into the Thames; but the ferocious appearance and conduct of the natives there deterred them from landing, and they proceeded to the Bay of Islands where some of them landed unmolested. Others went on to Hokianga; but this attempt at colonization was not successful.

In 1827 the chief Hongi made one of his raids to the northwards of the Bay of Islands, and having conquered a tribe under whose protection a Wesleyan Mission had been established at Whangaroa, the Mission station was plundered according to Maori custom, and the Missionaries were forced to leave, although they were protected from personal injury. They took refuge for a time with the Church Missionaries at Paihia; afterwards another Wesleyan station was founded near Hokianga. In this war Hongi was wounded, and in 1828 he died. Ambitious and warlike as he was, he protected the Missionaries, and his last directions were "Be kind to the Missionaries, for they do much good and do no harm."

After Hongi's death opposing chiefs who had quarrelled agreed to ask the Missionaries to arbitrate between them. Mr. Henry Williams accordingly set out with three other Missionaries and a few friendly natives, who were under their teaching, to endeavour to make peace. He and his small party were unarmed, and carried their lives in their hands. They reached the Hokianga valley, the theatre of war, on a Saturday, and Mr. Williams interviewed the chiefs on both sides and persuaded them to observe Sunday as a day of peace. He hoisted a white flag on the battle-field on the Sunday and conducted a religious service with his party, both hostile camps attending as witnesses and audience. His mediation was successful, and he had the satisfaction of securing peace between these tribes. On many other occasions he mediated between hostile tribes, in his various Missionary journeys, and often with partial or complete success. Peace-making was indeed a very principal part of the work of all the Missionaries, both Church and Wesleyan.

About 1827 Mr. Davis had brought back with him from Sydney some portions of the bible and some Christian hymns, printed in Maori, Those who had learnt to read prized these greatly, and by their means the Christian religion was more widely made known.

In 1829 a chief "Taiwanga," formerly a great warrior and cannibal, applied to have his children baptized as Christians, and shortly after he was himself baptized, together with a Maori named Pita and his wife, who had worked at the Mission station.

In 1830 another Mission station was opened at Waimate, about 10 miles inland from the Bay of Islands. At this time also some additional portions of the Bible were printed in Maori and circulated.

In 1831 Tauranga and Rotorua were visited; but the districts were too disturbed at that time to allow of Missions being planted there; the good work, however, had so far advanced in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands that 20 adults and 10 children had been baptized, and some of the adults had become communicants.

In February, 1830, the Rev. Samuel Marsden paid his sixth visit to the Mission which he had founded, and which had now begun to bear good fruit, after thirty years of anxious effort on his part, and sixteen years of

patient, courageous Missionary work amongst the Maoris by the men whom he had been instrumental in placing there. He arrived at a critical time, for a new war amongst the Maori tribes near the Bay of Islands had broken out. As soon as the news of his arrival reached the combatants, they invited him to act as mediator. He at once responded, and although fighting was still going on, he fearlessly went between the hostile parties, and after some days negotiation succeeded in making peace.

The war was on the east side of the bay, where all were in savage excitement and fighting bitterly. At the Missionary station of Paihia on the west side of the bay, not more than two miles distant, the Christianized natives were quietly working, and in the evenings assembling for religious instruction; on Sunday they met together for worship, clean, quiet, and orderly.

As this is the last time but one that the Rev. Samuel Marsden visited the Maori Mission, it is desirable that a short account of this apostle of New Zealand should be given. He was originally a working blacksmith in Yorkshire; but having early in life become an earnest Christian, he set his heart on becoming a minister of the Gospel. While working at the forge he studied Latin, and after some preliminary education at his village school, and the Free Grammar School at Hull, he was adopted by the Elland Society, and sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, and while studying there was offered and accepted an appointment as chaplain to the convicts in New South Wales, How he became interested in the Maoris has already been related. He made it the great object of his life to raise this noble race from the degradation into which they had fallen, by the power of Christianity; and his faithful pertinacity was eventually rewarded, although he did not himself live to see the full result of his work. His parsonage at Paramatta was always open to the Maoris who went over to Sydney—sometimes his hospitality was extended to as many as 30 at a time—a heavy tax on purse and convenience which he never grudged. In 1837 he paid his seventh and last visit to New Zealand; he was then 72 years of age, and was no longer able to travel about on foot as he had formerly done, but the Christian natives carried him from village to village in a litter, a self-elected bodyguard of 70 men accompanying him. Heathens and Christians alike welcomed him, and preaching the Gospel wherever he went, and once more assisting in making peace between contending parties, he concluded a six months' tour by a cruise to Cook's Straits, and back to Sydney, where he died in 1838, after 45 years of earnest and fruitful work in New South Wales and New Zealand.

Hitherto the work of Evangelization had been confined to the northern part of the North Island, where Christianity had been largely embraced from Kaitaia to the Firth of Thames and Tauranga. The way in which the work spread southward is so remarkable that it must be somewhat fully related. In the whole work portions of the Bible, translated and printed in Maori, had been greatly instrumental. The natives evinced a great desire to learn to read, and were very quick in learning. The knowledge was imparted by one to another, and soon the demand for portions of Scripture and Christian hymns became greater than could readily be supplied.

A Mission station had been established at Mata Mata, inland from Tauranga; there a young man, "Ngakuku," who had been renowned as a warrior, heard the Gospel, embraced it, and became a Christian. During a tribal war in the vicinity he, with some others, removed the Mission property to Tauranga for greater safety. On their return journey they were surprised at night, and although most of them escaped in the bush, "Ngakuku's" little daughter, who was with him, was murdered, and a copy of the Gospel of St. Luke, belonging to him or her, was taken with the rest of their property by the murderers. This copy of the Gospel was carried, it is not known how, to the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits. At that time the dominant warrior chief in this neighbourhood was "Rauparaha" who, like Hongi in the north, had fought his way to pre-eminence, and had carried his conquests across Cook's Straits to the north of the Middle Island. He had a young son named Katu, a daring youth who had learned to disbelieve in his father's gods, but had no further light. Meeting a Maori named Ripahau, who had been a slave, enfranchised by the influence of the Missionaries, and who had returned to his own tribe, he learnt from him that a friend of his had a book which told of the God of the English. This book he bought in exchange for some mats and tobacco. It turned out to be the copy of St. Luke's Gospel, taken from "Ngakuku" or his little daughter, as the name *Ngakuku* was written on the title page. Ripahau could read, having learnt at the Mission School at the Bay of Islands. Katu determined to learn to read himself, and he and a cousin—Te Whiwhi—hired Ripahau as their teacher, and the three spent six months at his father's island of Kapiti, by the end of which time Katu and Te Whiwhi had not only learnt to read, but had also become believers in Jesus Christ, and on their return to the main land began to teach Christianity to their neighbours. Finding, however, that they themselves wanted more teaching, they succeeded in reaching the Bay of Islands in an American vessel, and applied to the Rev. Henry Williams to send them a Missionary. He had no one to send, but passed them on to his brother, the Rev. W. Williams, at Waimate. He, too, was unable at first to find a Missionary to send south; but, most opportunely, a new Missionary who had arrived from England about a year previously, the Rev. O. Hadfield (now Bishop and Primate), hearing of the desire of the southern tribe for instruction offered himself for the work, though still imperfectly acquainted with the language and strange to the country. This was decided upon, and the Rev. Henry Williams went with him to settle him in. Thus Katu

and Te Whiwhi returned joyfully with two Missionaries. At Waikanae, opposite Kapiti Island, some 1,200 Maoris assembled to welcome them. They found that Ripahau, who had taught Katu and Te Whiwhi to read, had himself become a believer, and had been continuing the work begun by his pupils before they sailed for the Bay of Islands; the result being that multitudes were enquiring about Christianity, and that they had erected a Church for the expected Missionary. Within six months after his arrival Mr. Hadfield was able to baptize some twenty converts, including Katu, Te Whiwhi, and Ripahau.

At the time of this visit the Rev. H. Williams had the satisfaction of making peace at Waikanae between the Ngatiawa, under Wiremu Kingi, and the Ngatiraukawa of Otaki. He then walked back, *via* Wanganui and Taupo, to Tauranga, and everywhere he was welcomed and was asked for Christian teachers and Christian books.

Katu, or Tamihana as he was christened, became a most zealous and successful Evangelist, carrying the Gospel into the districts of the Middle Island, which had been ravaged by his father in his wars. He studied for a time in St. John's College, Auckland, and succeeded in civilizing his tribe very greatly, inducing them to build good houses and to keep cattle. His old father, Rauparaha, entered heartily into the son's improvements, and himself attended school, and became a Christian before his death, although his knowledge was not considered sufficient to justify his baptism. Mr. Hadfield finally settled at Otaki, which became the centre of Missionary work in the Wellington province.

When in January, 1840, the first settlers brought by the new New Zealand Company landed at Wellington, they found the natives professing Christians, although they had had no Missionary among them. The light had spread through the circulated scriptures and native agency, many of the natives who had been instructed at the Bay of Islands having found their way there.

In 1839 a new Mission station at Turanga, Poverty Bay, was opened by the Rev. W. Williams. The Gospel was now making rapid progress amongst the Maori race in all directions, the good news, and the books containing it, with the art of reading being passed on from one to another; one of the greatest benefits which the Missionaries conferred upon the Maori race was the translation of the Bible into their language. It was an arduous undertaking, and it occupied many years, yet in the end the translation is acknowledged by the Maoris themselves, and the best Maori scholars, to be a singularly perfect work, and one which, like our English Bible, forms a typical standard of pure Maori, free from vulgarisms, and yet clearly to be understood by all. Many were engaged upon the work, Wesleyan as well as Church Missionaries; but the two men whose scholarship and steady application brought the work to perfection were the Rev. W. Williams and the Rev. R. Maunsell.

The first portions printed as early as 1824 were comparatively imperfect; but by constant, careful revisions and additions, the whole was completed in 1836. The English prayer-book, a book of hymns, and a number of elementary religious and historical books, were also translated into Maori and published and circulated. The Maoris rapidly acquired the art of reading, and thus the truths of Christianity reached the people in all parts of the land, even where Missionaries had not yet penetrated.

But now that the work of the Missionaries had made the Maoris willing to receive Europeans on a friendly footing, European colonists began to pour into the country. Amongst them were some who brought with them a spirit of lawlessness and immorality. Adventurers persuaded the then simple-minded Maoris to sell them large tracts of land for a few blankets or muskets, and made large fortunes by reselling the land in portions to settlers. Anarchy and confusion prevailed, and the state of things became so bad that it was decided to annex the Islands to the British Empire, and introduce a settled government. In 1840 the treaty of Waitangi was signed by 512 chiefs, who surrendered their sovereignty to the Queen, under the conditions that their liberties and rights as British subjects were assured to them, and that their lands should not be alienated. Captain Hobson was appointed the first governor, and New Zealand was proclaimed a British Colony. Then began the full stream of colonization, which has resulted in the New Zealand of to-day, by the energy and enterprise of the colonists.

It is not proposed in this pamphlet to give a history of this colonization, with the wars and disputes which occurred in its early days, but only to trace briefly the further work of the Church Missionary Society and the history of Christianity amongst the Maoris.

At the time of the establishment of a British Government in New Zealand, the number of Maoris who professed themselves Christians was not less than 80,000, who attended the Church of England worship; in addition to a considerable number of Wesleyan Congregations (in 1855, they numbered 7,590), and a small number of Roman Catholics. In 1841 George Augustus Selwyn was consecrated the first Bishop of New Zealand (one-half of his salary being paid by the Church Missionary Society), and a few months after he had landed he was so impressed by what he saw that he said, "We see here a whole nation of Pagans converted to the Faith."

At this time the most remarkable progress occurred on the East Coast, from the East Cape southwards, where the natives were rapidly becoming wholly Christian under the teaching of the Rev. William Williams, the converts being numbered by thousands. At Otaki valuable work was being done by Rev. O. Hadfield; and

the Rev. R. Taylor on the Wanganui River had very remarkable success.

So earnest and faithful were the Wanganui Christians that in 1846, at the Christmas gathering for Christian worship, two chiefs volunteered to go and preach the Gospel to a hostile and still heathen tribe. They went, with the prayers of their people, but were cruelly murdered, on account of an old blood feud between the tribes. At a similar gathering in 1848 there was the counter-attraction of horse races got up by the English troops at which some 700 of these were present, but to their surprise very few Maoris. The Maoris to the number of 2,000 were at public worship, 710 partaking of the Holy Communion.

The public excitement in connection with the question of the acquisition of land from the natives, led to enquiries as to the lauds acquired by the Church Missionary Society and the Missionaries. It was alleged that the latter had obtained large tracts of land from the natives, and that this was a cause of grievance to the natives and the settlers. The Church Missionary Society, guided by the governor and the bishop, directed the Missionaries to give up their lands. Most of the Missionaries, and notably the Rev. H. Williams as the senior Missionary, declined to do so, showing that the land had been paid for by themselves at its full value long before colonization had been thought of; that the previous Governor, after full enquiry by Crown Commissioners, had issued Crown grants for the land; that the laud was needed to maintain their children, for whom it had been acquired, and that to give up the land would be to admit they had acted wrongfully, while they knew they had done what was just and right, and that the natives supported them in their possession.

Although convinced of the injustice of the demand, Mr. Williams offered to give up the Crown grants, if the accusations made against the character of the Missionaries by (he Governor were either substantiated or withdrawn. Of this offer no notice was taken.

The Church Missionary Society, for a time, severed connection with the Rev. H. Williams; but, subsequently, being convinced of his integrity, and that they had misunderstood the circumstances, he was fully reinstated as a Missionary of the Society. All this is alluded to because incorrect versions of the facts have been spread abroad, and it is only right that the characters of these good men, who devoted their lives to the evangelization of the Maoris, should be cleared from this aspersion. It is sometimes brought against the Missionaries that the descendants of some of them are now wealthy colonists. If they are, it is due to their own energy and hard work in the early days of colonial history, not to any unjust acquisition of land from the Maoris by their Missionary fathers.

In 1839 when Mr. Henry Williams was on his way with Mr. Hadfield to the new field of labour at Waikanae and Otaki, they had to put into Port Nicholson. There Mr. Williams met some of his old Bay of Islands natives, who had carried the knowledge of the gospel to the South. From one of them, Richard Davis, who owned a block of land of about 60 acres, in what is now the Thorndon Ward of Wellington, he learned that Colonel Wakefield, for the New Zealand Company, had bought up all the land in the vicinity from the natives, but that he had objected to sell as he saw there would be no land left for the Maoris. He then thought of selling his land and going to Taranaki where his wife had relatives. Mr. Williams thinking that it might be useful as a Mission station, bought the land from Davis; but told him to continue to reside on it with his people.

The natives did not occupy the block of land themselves, nor would they allow the European colonists to do so. They held it for Mr. Williams.

The following year, being asked by the Government to obtain the signatures of the chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, Mr. Williams again visited Wellington. He found there was much irritation on account of the block of land he had purchased, as it was in the best part of the township—he was informed also that native reserves had been set apart—and he was offered money for the block, which was then valued at £10,000. Now of course it is very much more valuable. He refused any payment, but freely gave the block to the colonists, as he saw it was wanted for the town, and he believed the statement that native reserves had been provided, which apparently, however, was not strictly true. One acre he reserved for Richard Davis, one for himself, which he gave as part endowment of a church at Pakaraka. It is only right that such disinterested and generous conduct should be kept on record, as those ignorant of the facts have found fault, where only praise was due. It should also be generally known that it was solely due to the exertions and influence of the Rev. H. Williams, that Auckland was saved from destruction in 1845 at the time of the war with Hone Heke at Korororeka. Mr. Williams assembled the chiefs of the disturbed natives and explained again the treaty of Waitangi, which is their Magna Charta. A number of influential chiefs were thus persuaded to oppose Heke, and support the Government, which they faithfully did, and so prevented Heke from making his intended attack on Auckland. These circumstances are all fully recorded and attested in Carlton's Life of Henry Williams.

If Marsden was the original Apostle of New Zealand, pre-eminent amongst the noble band of Missionaries was Archdeacon Henry Williams. Missionary work has well been termed the Chivalry of Christianity, and he was a true Christian Bayard, "*Sans peur et sans reproche.*" Yet, as so often happens to great men, he was the object of virulent abuse, and was accused of all manner of evil. He lived down this clamour, and maintained his integrity, which eventually was fully acknowledged; but to a man with his high feelings of honour, and loyalty,

and truthfulness, the trial was very great. The monument erected by the Christian Maoris in his memory at Paihia has the following touching inscription (the inscription is, of course, in the Maori language—a translation only is here given):—

"A MEMORIAL To Henry Williams.

A TOKEN OF LOVE TO HIM FROM THE MAORI CHURCH.

He was a father indeed to all the tribes:

A man have to make peace in the Maori wars.

FOR 44 YEARS HE SOWED THE GLAD TIDINGS IN THIS ISLAND.

HE CAME TO US IN THE YEAR 1823; HE WAS TAKEN

FROM US IN THE YEAR 1867."

In the first Maori war in 1844-45, in which the chief Hone Heke was the Maori leader, and the theatre of which was near the Bay of Islands, the Missionaries and European settlers were well treated by the hostile Maoris, who fought with great gallantry, and without having recourse to any of their former savage customs. The fighting was between the British troops and certain tribes who had been led to believe that the treaty of Waitangi had been broken, and that the English intended to take their country and reduce them to serfdom. The tribes who assisted us believed the assurance of the Missionaries that good faith would be kept. Many of the natives on both sides were Christians. Hone Heke himself had been educated as a lad at the Mission School, and was a baptized Christian. His action was entirely patriotic, to preserve his nation from falling under the domination of foreigners; and chivalry, forbearance, and generosity were evinced by him and his followers in the course of the war to a very remarkable degree. Governor Grey at length brought the war to a conclusion by a happy mixture of vigour and kindness, and peace and good order were restored without any lasting bitterness between the races in this part of the country.

By his earnestness and courage, Mr. Hadfield obtained a great influence over the Maoris; so great that, in 1843, it saved Wellington from being sacked and burnt.

Mr. Swainson in his "New Zealand," after describing the disastrous collision between the Colonists and the Maoris at the Wairau, in the Nelson district, in 1843, states that the chiefs Rauparaha and Rangihaeata crossed the straits and took post at Waikanae and Otaki. Anticipating retaliation by the English, they meditated an immediate attack on Wellington, which at that time was quite defenceless. This becoming known, Mr. Spain, commissioner of land claims, was deputed to interview the chiefs, and endeavour to come to an agreement with them. The negotiation failed, and Rauparaha endeavoured to persuade the Maoris that now was the time to attack the white men, before they were prepared; but he could not gain adherents, for, Mr. Swainson continues (p. 118), "happily for the peace of the country, the people of the district had for some time been living under the ministrations of one of the most devoted and influential Missionaries in New Zealand; and it is hardly too much to affirm that Wellington owed its safety at that moment to a single individual, the Reverend Octavius Hadfield."

This statement is borne out by the following account kindly given to me by an eye-witness—H. S. Tiffin, Esq., of Napier:—"In the "autumn of 1843, the Maori chief To Aim Karamu of Ohau, about 7 miles north of Otaki, leased to myself and Mr. B. White a tract of land for cattle grazing. On the 12th June, Mr. W. Vavasour and I visited the station, and stayed until June 19th. At daylight our landlord came to us, and informed us that Rangihaeata had killed "'Wide-awake,' and all the *pakehas* at Wairau, and advised us to proceed at once to Wellington, as he would be powerless to protect us if the Otaki and Ohau natives joined Rangihaeata. We started at once, and on reaching Otaki found that Te Rauparaha and his people had crossed from Wairau in two canoes, and landed on a small islet in Otaki River; and on the mainland was a large gathering of Maoris, with the Rev. O. Hadfield in their midst haranguing them. We asked of him whether it was safe for us to proceed, as not only had we to pass through Te Rauparaha's camp on the islet, but should most likely fall in with Te Rangihaeata's people, who had gone in two canoes to Porirua. His reply was, 'Te Rauparaha has landed here to persuade my natives to join him and Te Rangihaeata in attacking Wellington, and slaughtering all the Europeans. If he is successful, we are none of us safe; if I can keep my people from joining them, I think you will be able to get to Wellington; but as the natives are in a very excited state, I cannot tell what may be the result of the meeting I am now holding.' I have no hesitation in saying that, had it not been for the great influence he had over the Otaki and Ohau natives, not an European would have been left alive in Wellington on the night of the 20th June, 1843."

It must be mentioned, however, that the favourable result was also in a large measure due to the friendly attitude of the Christian chief Wiremu Kingi, afterwards unfortunately forced into hostility against the British at Taranaki. He was then with his tribe—the Ngatiawa—near Otaki. Rauparaha at first tried to obtain his aid in his intended attack on Wellington, or at least to have an assurance of his neutrality. Wiremu Kingi refused to accede to either proposition, and told Rauparaha that if he attacked the English settlers he would oppose him with his whole force. Rauparaha then visited Otaki, as described by Mr. Tiffin, and having failed there also with

the Ngatiraukawa he was obliged to relinquish his blood-thirsty design.

In the collision between the two races, which occurred in 1846, the scene was in the vicinity of Wellington, beginning in the Upper Hutt Valley and extending to Porirua. The origin was a dispute about land which had been purchased and occupied without sufficient enquiry into the native rights of ownership. The hostile natives based their operations on a strong pah at Pauatahanui, the stronghold of Rangihaeata. Rauparaha, whose headquarters were at Porirua, professed friendship to the English Government, but was suspected of secret alliance with Rangihaeata. Eventually he was seized, and kept in honourable captivity. This diminished Rangihaeata's power of resistance, but at the same time made his hostility more bitter. Eventually, with the aid of friendly Christian natives under Wiremu Kingi te Rangitaake, he was driven out of the district with but few followers, and the local disturbance was quelled. The seizure of Rauparaha, however, bred distrust of the British Government, and led to much trouble afterwards; this distrust was increased by the hanging, by verdict of a hasty court-martial, of a young Christian chief who had been fighting on the side of his relative Rangihaeata, and had been taken prisoner.

About 1857 the Maoris, from patriotic motives, and believing that their race was not duly considered in the Administration of the country, initiated the "king movement," the primary idea being that they should elect one of their chiefs to be king amongst them, or chief paramount, not as against the British Crown, but to maintain law and order amongst themselves; and in 1858 the old chief Te Whero Whero was elected king, under the title of Potatau, chiefly through the influence of the Christian chief Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, or Waharoa of Waikato, a man of very noble qualities. Mismanagement of Maori questions, especially those affecting land, ignorance of Maori customs, and misunderstanding amongst the Government officials, appear to have increased a growing feeling amongst the Maoris of distrust in the English, and a fatal error, relative to a land question at Taranaki, resulted in the second Maori war: a war which was even more far reaching and disastrous than its direct results in loss of life and property, for it led to an alienation of the mass of the natives from the English and from Christianity. The Missionaries who had hitherto been regarded as their best friends were now looked on with distrust as being of the same race as the pakehas, who were taking away their lands and rights; but Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi the "king-maker," although he was a leading spirit in the war which devastated the country from 1860 to 1866, always exerted his influence to conduct the Maori operations with Christian chivalry and moderation. In 1864 he made a great effort to obtain an honourable peace which, unfortunately, was not successful. In 1860 he died, professing the Christian faith. He had previously withdrawn from the contest, and exhorted his followers to peaceful and law-abiding conduct.

The influence of Mr. Taylor, the Church Missionary Society's Missionary, at Wanganui, was perhaps as marked as that of any of the other Church Missionaries. An instance of very practical Christianity on the part of Mawae, one of the Christian chiefs, who had learned the gospel from him is illustrative of the reality of this man's religion. Iwikau, a heathen chief of Taupo, made an expedition to plunder the farms of the Christians at Wanganui; these under Mawae collected to defend their property, and they requested Mr. Taylor to go with them. Mawae said to Mr. Taylor, "Scripture tells us, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him,' therefore it is quite right to give food to these 200 who have come to attack us." Then, standing on a fallen tree in the centre of a patch of potatoes, he called out to Iwikau, "You shall not say I did not give you food. Take all the potatoes on your side of this tree; but do not presume to dig up a single potato on this side. I shall fire on the first man who make³ the attempt." The potatoes so given were dug by Iwikau and his men who then departed in peace. In a similar spirit supplies of food were on several occasions given or allowed to pass, by the hostile natives to the British troops during the war.

The strange sect of the Hau Haus arose after the king movement and grew out of the Taranaki war. It was a practical reversion to heathenism, although mixed up with some superstitions of a debased Christianity. The leading idea of the originator "Te Ua," was to establish a religion for which the Maoris would feel under no obligation to the Pakeha. The number of Maoris who joined in this movement does not appear to have been very considerable, but amongst them were some who were very energetic and savage, and many lives were sacrificed before it was checked, and this was done mainly by the Christian natives themselves. An incident in this Hau Hau war, in which the Christian chief Hipango of Wanganui was a leading figure, must be related as giving another remarkable instance of the effect of Mr. Taylor's work in that district. Hipango was one of the first converts; he became a zealous and valuable teacher of Christianity; but he was also a brave and skilful commander in war, when war became necessary. In 1846 a raid was made on the few colonists at Wanganui, by a Maori chief Mamaku. Hipango and his men on this occasion defended the settlement until the arrival of British troops.

In 1847 a family of the name of Gilfillan, settlers on the outskirts of Wanganui, were murdered by some hostile natives. Hipango undertook to bring the murderers to justice. It was known that the party of murderers were six in number, and Hipango, with true Maori courage and chivalry, accordingly took only five of his own tribe with him, and followed them up the river, and eventually overtook and captured five of the murderers,

whom they brought back with them to Wanganui through a hostile country, and delivered them over to justice. During the Hau Hau war in 1866, Hipango took the field against them, with a force of Christian natives. Having occupied a point which commanded the enemy's pah, the enemy sent out four men to lie in ambush and cut him off; Hipango however discovered them, took them prisoners, fed them, and sent them back. The next night the enemy prepared another ambush of ten men; they were also discovered, and treated in the same way. Hipango then called on them to surrender, saying he would not be the first to shed blood. Then the Hau Haus attacked. During the battle Hipango was mortally wounded, but was able to explain his plans to the next in command, and to see them successfully carried out and the battle won. He was carried 60 miles back to Putiki, where this fine Christian soldier died.

It is a remarkable fact that in the early history of a Mission to a race of savages so regardless of human life as the Maoris, not a single case occurred of the murder of a Missionary. The Rev. Mr. Völkner, Church Missionary, and the Rev. J. Whiteley, Wesleyan fell both victims to the Hau Hau fanaticism; but in Mr. Völkner's case there was also an element of the heathen Maori law of "Utu," or revenge. It had come to Mr. Völkner's knowledge that a French Roman Catholic priest (Garavel) had been conveying letters from the hostile natives in the Waikato to the Opotiki natives, and he had felt it his duty to inform the Government officers of the fact. In consequence, the priest had been removed by his Bishop from the district, and a false report was circulated that he had been executed for his sympathy with the natives. "Kereopa" the Hau Hau leader, insisted that retaliation was required by the Deity; the natives were wrought up to a pitch of savage fanaticism, and this good and faithful Missionary was then hung. He was the first New Zealand martyr amongst the Europeans, and his death occurred during the time of reaction, when the old kindly feeling towards the Missionaries had been shaken by the land disputes with colonists, and all Europeans were looked on with distrust, and while this feeling was intensified by the war, and augmented by fanaticism.

The case of Mr. Whiteley was somewhat different, and probably the precise facts will never be known. He was a Wesleyan Missionary at New Plymouth, a good and faithful man, much esteemed by both Europeans and Maoris. It was his habit to make a tour to the north of New Plymouth, the farthest point being a redoubt at White Cliffs, where he held a service with the small European garrison. This garrison had been surprised and put to death by a party of the Hau Hau fanatics. As Mr. Whiteley rode towards the redoubt the captors at first warned him off; but as he continued to advance they fired upon him and killed him. The body was left as it fell, and the perpetrators escaped. This was an act of savage warfare, and evidently was not a murder of a Missionary on account of his Missionary character. Possibly a mistake, in any case a thing of which the perpetrators were ashamed, as they endeavoured to throw the blame on others.

It is true that the Wesleyan Mission Station at Whangaroa was destroyed in 1827, and the Missionaries and their families were obliged to take refuge at Paihia; but this was an incident in an intertribal war. The tribe, under whose protection they were, was defeated by Hongi, and according to Maori custom the pakehas under their protection were plundered and their premises burnt; but they themselves were not injured in any way; on the contrary, they were carefully guarded from harm in their sad journey to the Church of England Mission Station. These facts evidence not only the upright conduct of the Missionaries, but also that the natives, even in their heathen condition, were able to appreciate their disinterested kindness to them, and to respect and honour them accordingly.

This brief outline of the events which preceded the first attempts at colonization in New Zealand, and which accompanied those first efforts, mixed as they were unfortunately with conflicts between the settlers and the native race, show unmistakably that colonization only became possible after the greater part of the Maori race had embraced Christianity, and in doing so had abandoned their pagan customs and bloodthirsty savagery. In the unfortunate wars which disturbed the early period of colonization, the Christianized natives, when arrayed against us in what they deemed a just and patriotic contest for their rights, fought with a chivalry and generosity, combined with high courage, which elicited the admiration of the British troops. Eventually it was the Christianized friendly natives who were mainly instrumental in forcing the rest to submit to law and order.

It is clear also that the remarkable change in the Maori nation, which led to these results was brought about mainly by the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, who sent out and maintained at their expense that noble body of Missionaries, who by their example and teaching, and by the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the Maori language, won over the Maoris to Christianity. That Society has not yet ceased to take a lively interest in the nation which it has been the means of benefiting so highly in the past; but still expends a considerable sum annually in consolidating and extending the work of Evangelization amongst the Maoris. This expenditure is being gradually diminished, the directors of the Society considering that the funds entrusted to them are for distinctly Missionary work amongst those numerous heathen nations who are still ignorant of Christianity, and that the Maori race should soon be able to carry on the work of Christian training themselves, with the aid of the Europeans now settled in the country. The existing agencies in connection with the Church Missionary Society for the religious education of the Maori, and for building up the native church are the

following:—

- THE TRAINING COLLEGE AT GISBORNE, under the superintendence of Archdeacon W. L. Williams, the object of which is the theological training of students of the Maori race seeking ordination. This college is aided by Church Missionary Society funds.
- THE NATIVE COLLEGE AT TE AUTE, under the management of Archdeacon S. Williams, which prepares Maori lads for the New Zealand University. In connection with the Church Missionary Society, but not aided by Church Missionary Society funds.
- THE NATIVE GIRLS' SCHOOL AT NAPIER, superintended by the daughters of the late Bishop Williams. In connection with the Church Missionary Society, but not aided by Church Missionary Society funds.

The direction of the New Zealand Mission is now in the hands of a Mission Board, established by the Society in 1882, consisting of the three Bishops of the Northern Island, three Church Missionary Society Missionaries, and three laymen, with Archdeacon W. L. Williams as Secretary. The funds administered by the Board are the rents of Mission lands, acquired for the most part in the early days of the Mission before the colony was founded, and which amount to about £1,000 per annum, together with contributions from the European and Native Churches, the latter averaging about a £1,100 per annum. The following statistics (for 1886) are given by Dean Jacobs in his History of the Church in New Zealand; those for 1892 are added from the Church Missionary Society's annual report:—

There are 40 Church Missionary Society stations in the North Island, of which 22 are in the Auckland Diocese, 14 in that of Waiapu, and 4 in the Wellington Diocese. There is a locally supported Mission to the Maoris in the South Island, established at Christchurch, the agents being one European and one native clergyman.

In addition to the Mission Board above referred to, the Maoris have their own Native Church Boards, which are subordinate to the Diocesan Synods. These have proved to be very useful, as they enable the Maori clergy and lay delegates to meet and discuss their own Church affairs; thus uniting together the Christian Congregations.

The statistics above given do not include Wesleyans or Roman Catholics, each of whom have some thousands of adherents amongst the Maoris. The Mormons have also made some proselytes of late years. Hau Hau-ism is practically extinct. In the King Country, westward of the Waikato River, heathenism still largely prevails, while two rival systems of religion—Te Kooti-ism and Himiona-ism—both travesties of Christianity, have a considerable number of followers in the Bay of Plenty district, and back to the Urewere Country; but the old inter-tribal wars and cannibal customs are now unknown, and all are loyal subjects of the Crown.

New Zealanders, whether Maori or European, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to that great Missionary Society which has given the Gospel to the Maoris, and by its influence so changed the character of that once savage race, that colonization became possible, and British energy has been able to metamorphose Maoriland into the New Zealand of to-day.

We owe a debt of gratitude—but how can it be paid? Marsden is dead; the brothers Williams are dead; and nearly all their brave and noble associates in the work of evangelizing the Maoris, and so opening the door for colonization have passed away. "They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." But, after all, they were but obeying the command of Him who himself set the example of Missionary work, and left to his followers the standing orders, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." This is the only payment we can make—to obey this command, either in person or by helping others to go. None of us who, here in New Zealand, are reaping the benefits of Missionary work can possibly doubt its value and reality. There are many channels into which such efforts may be directed; many Societies have been formed to carry out Missionary work. The greatest is the Church Missionary Society, to which we are primarily indebted, and which has a branch association at Nelson, the Secretary being the Rev. F. W. Chatterton; but Wesleyan Missionaries too, if on a smaller scale, worked cordially with those of the Church Missionary Society, and deserve full recognition by New Zealanders; and each Christian Church has its special Missions. Perhaps the still heathen tribes of the Maori race, and their kindred, the Polynesian races in the Pacific Islands, have a first claim upon us. But New Zealand and Melanesia are not all the world, and the command extends to all the world. In obeying that command, English Missionaries came to this farthest part of the world; there were then, as there are now, Missions in Africa, Asia, and America. But whether we confine our sympathies to one Mission, or extend them to two or more, let us not lose our part in the great work, or in the great reward. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty."

vignette

Australian Association for the Advancement of Science
Adelaide Meeting, 1893.
Section H.

Address by the President
Robt. J. Scott, M.I.M.E., A.M.I.C.E.,
*Professor of Engineering, Canterbury College,
University of New Zealand.*

Section H.

Engineering and Architecture.

Address by the President
Robt. J. Scott, M.I.M.E., A.M.I.C.E.,
Professor of Engineering, Canterbury College, University of New Zealand.

The Direction of Progress in Engineering.

WHEN I accepted the office of president of this section, I did so believing that I should have the honour of personally opening its proceedings. Being, to my great regret, prevented from visiting Adelaide, I must be content to express the hope that the Session of this, the section of applied science, may be productive of pleasure to members attending, and of benefit to the several branches of our profession. The importance of these gatherings can hardly be overestimated, for at them the engineer is brought into close contact with every branch of Science; and to-day, to be successful, he must be, in the true sense of the term, a scientific man, quick to grasp the practical importance and to devise means for the application of those great discoveries, to the close sequence of which we have grown so much accustomed.

The march of progress in engineering is now so rapid that, on an opportunity such as the present, it may be as well to pause in the hurry of practical work and review the ground which has been covered in the last few years, with the object of so directing our course in the immediate future that we may occupy a position in the front ranks of future advance, I propose, therefore, to-day to consider the most recent developments in those branches of engineering with which I am most familiar; and, bearing in mind that it is the commercial and not the purely scientific or interesting aspect of an invention that determines its adoption, to venture to point out the direction in which it appears to me that the light of past experience suggests future improvement.

Turning first to the cradle of all mechanical processes and engineering operations—the workshop—we find that the introduction of electrical welding has greatly facilitated the manufacture of wrought iron piping and the various small forgings used in the gun, tool, and agricultural implement trades, whilst the fact that there is no wasting of the material by this method is in itself a sufficient cause for its universal adoption for all descriptions of plate work. The simple fusing together now so often practised cannot, however, be regarded as satisfactory. At such a juncture the physical nature of the material must differ considerably from that of the remainder of the plate or bar, this nature having been to a great extent derived from the treatment received during manufacture. Electric welding to be efficient should, therefore, be accompanied by hammering, or by severe pressure from all directions.

A series of tests on the relative strength under alternation of stress of electrically-welded as against fused joints would probably result in much valuable information on the subject being obtained. The extent to which it is desirable to apply the process will greatly depend on the relative local cost of current and fuel, which will also be the chief factor in determining the use of electricity for heating purposes in connection with industrial operations. There is no comparison between the efficiency of direct and current heating; yet in Norway, where water power is abundant and fuel scarce, it is found profitable to utilise electricity to a considerable extent for the heating of nail rods. There a hollow carbon is brought to a high temperature by the passage of a low tension current, and the nail rod fed through it at a speed dependent on the degree of heat required. Rivets are also heated in a similar manner.

In the process of finishing surfaces there has been a marked advance. Milling is rapidly displacing planing and shaping. By milling is to be understood the shaping of metal by rotary cutters. The milling machine is capable, not only of doing with far greater expedition all the work usually executed by the planer and kindred tools, but also of preparing curved profiles hitherto finished by filing to template. It is essentially a sizing-machine, and the work turned out from it cannot be improved by any subsequent treatment. It owes its efficiency to the use of a series of cutting edges, and a continuous feed, as opposed to a single tool-point and

intermittent action. This principle is capable of very extended application, and the metal-working machine of the future will probably resemble in general character the appliances used for the preparation of timber to-day.

Few who have had charge of workshops can have failed to have noticed the inefficiency of the means usually adopted for the conveyance of power from the prime mover to the various machine tools. The wear and tear, interference with space and light, and liability to accident accompanying belt transmission are familiar to most. So keenly was this brought home to me some five years ago that I elaborated a scheme for driving each individual machine by a small "Brotherhood" engine, actuated by compressed air. The problem is now, however, solved in a more simple manner by the use of electricity; and a few years hence we shall look with curiosity on photographs of the assemblage of shafts and strings now considered a necessary part of the equipment of a machine shop.

The advantages which the electric system possesses over its rival are numerous; not the least being the fact that an idle machine absorbs no power, there being no lengths of shafting and accompanying belting to be kept in motion, whether the whole or a single machine of the group is employed. That electric-driving has passed the stage of experiment is evident when we find that Messrs. Siemens are in their own work steadily doing away with the many independent engines they once possessed, concentrating the production of motive power, and distributing it electrically to the various shops, the machines therein being driven either individually or in groups, according to the nature of the work on which they are employed.

Messrs. Siemens inform me that a considerable economy in fuel, wages, and upkeep has already been effected, and that they propose to complete the application of this system. Messrs. Easton and Anderson have for the past live years been driving electrically two overhead travelling cranes, one a 20-ton crane of 40ft. span, in which a single five-unit motor running continually effects the necessary movements through the medium of spur gearing. The current is conveyed to this crane by an angle iron supported on wood blocks, and running along the shop wall. One face is ground up bright and contact made by a sliding spring. The return is through the rails. The second crane is of 15 tons capacity and has a separate motor for each motion, which is stopped, started, or reversed, as required, the current being collected and returned by means of overhead wires. So satisfactory has been the performance of these cranes and of other electrically-driven machines that Messrs. Easton and Anderson contemplate a complete re-arrangement of their driving plant, substituting for independent prime movers a central generating station with triple-expansion engines, from which power will be electrically distributed throughout their workshops. The Northern Railway of France find that, at a small repairing shop, substituting electric power at 6d. per B.T.U., with a separate motor to each machine, has effected an economy of 50 per cent, (all charges and depreciation included) as compared with the cost of the previous arrangement of gas-engine and belting. In mining operations hand labour is being rapidly replaced by power. Coal-cutting machines have effected a saving of about 15 per cent, of the coal vein otherwise wasted in the form of fine coal and dust. The coal is obtained in more solid and larger blocks, whilst the cost of production has been reduced by from 20 per cent, to 30 per cent, as compared with hand labour.

The transmission of power underground has been accomplished by the use of compressed air, hydraulic pressure, and wire ropes—the efficiency of such methods being from 30 per cent, to 40 per cent. By the adoption of electricity, however, the efficiency of transmission can be raised to over 50 per cent., and as this can be accomplished with a reduced capital expenditure, accompanied by a more portable and easily erected plant capable of supplying the power necessary for getting, hauling, pumping, and lighting, it would appear that electricity is in the future destined to become the principal transmitter for mining purposes. It is true that its use in fiery pits cannot at present be regarded as absolutely safe; but enclosed motors, non-sparking switches, and Mr. Atkinson's safety cable have greatly diminished risks which will, no doubt, eventually be completely removed.

The safety cable mentioned consists of a main and a subsidiary conductor, in circuit with each being a fuse. These conductors are connected with the same terminals at dynamo and motor, the current dividing between them in proportion to their carrying capacity. If now the main conductor be broken, the subsidiary conductor remaining intact, no spark results at the breaking, the circuit still being closed but the whole current is thrown on the subsidiary conductor, and its fuse is melted, which occurrence, by means of a suitable mechanical arrangement, causes the whole circuit to be switched off. To carry this principle into effect the cable is composed of a closely wound spiral of tinned copper wire (several wires being arranged in parallel), which is braided over, but not heavily insulated. Over this is laid a stranded conductor of the required area, and the whole is then fully insulated. If the cable be torn down by a fall, or broken in any way by tension, the inner conductor extends to an unlimited extent and maintains the circuit until, by the action of the fuse, the whole cable is disconnected.

Closely connected with mining are the tunnelling machines, which have so lightened what was perhaps the most tedious work the civil engineer could be called on to execute. The driving of the Mersey and the trial borings for the proposed channel tunnel marked a new era in such operations. An average forward progress of

ten yards in twenty-four hours, with a maximum of fourteen, was obtained in the new red sandstone of the Mersey tunnel, whilst the grey chalk of the channel was pierced at a maximum rate of over a yard per hour, the heading in each case being 7ft. in diameter. In extensions of the London Underground Railway the needle system has proved expeditious and remarkably efficient in preventing subsidence, there having been absolutely no disturbance of the heavy buildings under the foundations of which the works have been carried.

The City and South London Railway, which, starting from the Monument, traverses the bed of the Thames, and has its other terminus at North Brixton, is carried for the whole of its length in a pair of tunnels 10 feet 6 inches in diameter, lined with cast-iron segments. The heading was driven the full diameter of the tunnel by means of a cutting shield forced forward by hydraulic jacks abutting on the completed portion of the work. As soon as the advance of the shield permitted it a new ring of segments was put in place, the cutting and lining thus proceeding almost simultaneously. The space between segments and bore was filled with grout forced in by air pressure. Where much water was met with, a stream of grout played on the working face, greatly assisted the air pressure in retarding the flow. The work proceeded at an average rate of 13ft. Gin. per day.

The tendency of modern practice is thus (when the nature of the material to be pierced admits) to conduct boring operations on a large scale in a very similar manner to that in which they are effected on a small one, namely, by the removal at one operation of a core the full diameter of the finished cross section, and, where lining is necessary, to supply it in the form of large segmental pieces or even to mould it in place. In the other operations connected with railway formation, the use of machinery has greatly increased the rapidity of execution. The excavation of cuttings and foundations, formation of embankments, ditching, and even track-laying and ballasting, can be much facilitated, if not entirely performed, by mechanical appliances, the adoption of which is rapidly becoming general.

The production of reliable steel of great strength and moderate price gave a great impetus to the construction of long-span bridges. That over the Firth of Forth, with its spans of 1,061 feet, height above bed of Forth of 570 feet, and in which 50,000 tons of steel and iron were used, will probably remain unsurpassed in dimensions until a material of still higher grade is introduced.

Turning now to inland locomotion, we find that extremely high speeds have been lately attained in England and America, and we are promised still greater velocities on specially constructed electrical railways. Such speeds as 120 miles per hour are of course possible, but would necessitate a considerable distance between the tracks, and an expenditure of energy at the rate of about 250 horsepower, in overcoming air resistance alone. It must also be remembered that it would now be difficult to locate a railway of this kind in a district so populated as to afford reasonable prospect of paying traffic without its being brought into direct competition with some existing steam line having greater facilities for the exchange of vehicles, and which has probably been constructed at a far lower capital expenditure. Though the immediate future of high speed electrical railways is not promising, electricity is fast displacing other methods of traction on tramways and light railways.

In America, horse traction is being superseded by the overhead conductor, or, as it is there termed, the trolley system, on which-150 tramways, with a total of 4000 miles of track, are now being worked. An electromotive force of 500 volts is used, and geared motors are universally adopted.

In England there are two remarkable examples of electric light-railways—the City and South London Railway, and the Liverpool Overhead Railway. The City and South London Railway is about three miles long, and is carried for the whole of its length in the cast-iron tunnels previously described. The average speed of the trains, including stoppages, is eleven and a-half miles per hour, and their gross weight about 40 tons each. The locomotives are of 100 horsepower, and are carried on two axles, on each of which a motor acts directly. The current is collected from an insulated channeliron conductor laid between the rails, fed at intervals by a 61-14 B.W.G. Fowler-Waring cable. The generating station is at the Stockwell terminus of the line, where there are four dynamos, each capable of supplying 150 amperes at 500 volts.

The Liverpool overhead railway may be classed as one of the most interesting of modern engineering achievements. It consists of six miles of double track of standard gauge running on a plate-iron viaduct alongside the Liverpool Docks, and, for the greater part of its length, over the existing dock railway. There are in all fourteen stations, and the steepest gradient is 1 in 40. The main generating station (placed near the centre of the line) contains four 400 horsepower engines, each driving a dynamo capable of an output of 175 amperes at 500 volts. The conductors are inverted channel irons of steel, laid between the ordinary rails and carried on pot insulators. They are jointed by copper fishplates. The current is conveyed to the cars by means of hinged cast-iron shoes, the return being through the ordinary rails, which are electrically jointed at the fishplates. A train consists of two bogie cars, and is capable of seating 114 passengers; each car is furnished with a single motor, the armature of which is mounted directly on one of the bogie axles. The line was first opened for traffic on March 5th last, and during the first three months 71,122 train miles were completed. Trains are now run every five minutes, which necessitates twelve trains in traffic. The average total output at the Central Station is G50 ampères, at 430 volts; the consumption of small coal is at the rate of 241bs., costing $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per train mile.

The trains stop at all thirteen stations, and complete the six miles in twenty-five minutes, the average speed, including stoppages, being 14.4 miles per hour. Not the least interesting feature of this line are the signalling arrangements, which are effected electrically, and are perfectly automatic.

The application of electric traction to existing roads will be attended with considerable difficulty. To fully equip one of the great lines on the conductor system would mean enormous expenditure, and, in the goods yards, prohibitive complication; but when it is apparent that prospective economy warrants such expenditure being incurred, there should be no insurmountable obstacle to main line and branches being so fitted.

The marshalling at goods yards could be carried on by steam or storage locomotives, and the other motors supplied with sufficient storage capacity to enable them to effect shunting operations at way stations. It is to be remembered, however, that an improved storage system might remove the existing necessity for the conductor. In the meantime we have a proposal to apply electric traction to existing railways in such a manner that no special plant beyond the actual locomotive is required. The engine (at present being constructed on the plan of M. Heilmann) differs from the ordinary locomotive in the fact that instead of the engine proper being coupled directly to the driving axle, it actuates a dynamo, the current from which is utilised to turn the engine wheels through the medium of motors placed directly on the axles.

At first sight it would appear that such an arrangement could only result in loss; but a little consideration will show us that vexatious limits as to diameter of wheels, size of boiler, and length of wheel base disappear, whilst the total weight of the engine can be utilised for adhesion. Coupling rods are not required, and all reciprocating parts can be balanced without the introduction of disturbing forces in themselves fatal to the attainment of high speeds; and as the efficiency of transmission is high, and the engine can be run continually at the most economical expansion ratio, the fuel economy of the machine will probably be greater than that of any existing locomotive. It has also the advantages of being capable of attaining a higher velocity, and of dealing indiscriminately with express and goods traffic.

Only practical experience can determine whether these results can be obtained without a disproportionate expenditure in first cost and upkeep. At present it would appear that this locomotive is destined to form a link in the chain of transition from direct steam to electrical traction on our railways, but that it will in turn be displaced by a conductor or storage system.

The excessive waste of material which occurs in the stoppage and control of the movement of railway trains is well-known, and attempts have from time to time been made to reduce this loss and to obtain some return for the energy given up during retardation. It is a matter for surprise, therefore, that no efficient electrical brake has yet been introduced; by electrical brake being understood, not an arrangement where electricity simply replaces fluid pressure as means for actuating the brake blocks, but one in which there is no frictional contact, the kinetic energy of the train being absorbed in the production of electrical currents. On electrical railways it would probably be found economical to conserve this energy, but for present application such complication would be better avoided.

With respect to steam navigation, the high rate of speed now maintained over long voyages and the regularity with which such are accomplished are remarkable. These results are, doubtless, in some measure due to an increased size of vessel, but chiefly to the great advance which has been made in marine engine construction. The adoption of high boiler pressures, triple expansion engines, and the free use of steel has enabled the marine engineer to so increase the efficiency of his machinery that we now find 2.4 indicated horsepower per gross ton of vessel attained, as against the one horsepower per ton often years since. An indicated horsepower is produced for a consumption of a little over 1¼lbs. of fuel, and the careful proportioning of details has rendered stoppages from breakdowns of rare occurrence.

To the active competition between the great English torpedo boat builders much of this progression can be traced, and the new water tube boiler of Mr. Thornycroft promises, from its comparative lightness, to enable a further stride to be taken in high speed navigation. But is advance in this direction to be completely dependent on the engine-builder? The naval architect has certainly somewhat reduced the weight of the hull, but the form of vessel has remained for many years practically unchanged. The great improvement in the speed of our large racing yachts that (under similar conditions of stillness and displacement) has followed the adoption of great beam, shallow body, and round lines, points to the possibility of a beamy, pram-bowed vessel of moderate draught being propelled with a less expenditure of power than is required in the case of the pointed tanks now so common. Between the seaworthiness and comfort of the two types there could be little comparison.

In conclusion, I would refer to the long distance transmission of power. Passing over as experimental the now historical installation at Frankfort, where 300 horsepower was electrically transmitted 108 miles, with a stated efficiency of 78 per cent., we find that the adoption of the high tension alternating current system has rendered it possible to transmit power over long distances with commercial success. An electromotive force of 10,000 volts is now recognised as a safe pressure if proper precautions be used. With high pressures the cross section and cost of conductor is greatly reduced. The smallest sized wire having the necessary strength for line

work (No. 6, B. and S.) will, at 4,000 volts, transmit 100 horsepower ten miles with 80 per cent, efficiency. When pressures exceeding 5,000 volts are employed it is advisable, on account of difficulties connected with the insulation of the machines, to make use of transformers, the current being raised for transmission at the generator and again reduced at the motor terminals. As transformers having an efficiency of 97 per cent, are now constructed the loss from this arrangement is insignificant compared with the saving in cost of the conductor.

The want of a perfected alternating-current motor has alone delayed the rapid extension of this system; but this difficulty has apparently been completely overcome by the recent inventions of Nicholas Tesla, and has been reduced to a minimum in an installation which has for the last two years been in regular work in America.

At the Gold King Mine, Colorado, power was required for operating crushers and stamps: fuel could only be procured from long distances at enormous cost, but a few miles from the mine water power was available; the intervening country, however, was so rough and so often snowed up that no ordinary means of transmission could be made use of. Electricity was therefore adopted. The plant consists of a Pelton wheel driving an alternating-current generator. The current is carried by a bare wire up the mountain side to the mine at a height of 2,500ft.; here it drives a 100 horsepower synchronous motor, which is started by the assistance of a small motor of the Tesla type. The efficiency of the system was found on test to be 83½ per cent, at full, and 74 per cent, at half load, losses in generator and motor, but not those of conductor, included. So satisfactory has been the practical working of the plant that a 750 horsepower generator and a 300 horsepower and some smaller motors have lately been added.

Long distance transmission for lighting purposes has for the last three years been in satisfactory operation at Portland, Oregon. The falls of the Willamette River, thirteen miles from Portland, are estimated at 250,000 horsepower, 300 horsepower of which is utilised by means of turbines driving two alternating-current dynamos. The current, generated at 4,000 volts, is carried by a No. 4 B. & S. wire on ordinary glass insulators across country to the sub-station at Portland, where it is received at 3,300 volts, and reduced by transformers to 1,100 volts for distribution through the city to ordinary transformers, by which it is again reduced to 50 volts. Additions have lately been made to the plant, the total capacity of which is now 8,750 sixteen-candlepower lights. Works for the utilisation and electrical distribution of the great energy of Niagara are being actively prosecuted.

The immense waterpower of the world is now available, and can be conveyed to situations where the difficulty of procuring fuel has hitherto prohibited mining and other operations. It will be possible for manufacturing to exist far removed from coal measures, and even for industries, the profitable prosecution of which has been dependent on abundant fuel supply, to be carried on without such aid. To the small manufacturer the supply of cheap and readily applied motive power will be a great boon, and we may look for a revival in the prosperity of the small workshops now almost crushed out of existence by the competition of their more powerful rivals. The utilisation of power obtained at a distance may, in fact, be expected to effect a change in industrial operations hardly inferior in magnitude to that brought about by the introduction of the steam engine. I think, therefore, you will agree with me in considering the successful transmission of power over long distances as "the greatest mechanical achievement of the age."

vignette

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The Native Land Question

And its Solution.

[New Zealand Herald, 6th February. 1893.

(*The Editor Zealand Herald.*)

THE above subject I notice is being disused in your columns, and perhaps you all permit me, as one who knows, to make few observations. I have lived in this [unclear: itive] district for ten years, and have had [unclear: ig] that time, as well as previously, ex-[unclear: leu] professional experience as a solicitor [unclear: n] Native land business; and as the subject [unclear: imittedly] one of paramount importance [unclear: in] the advancement and prosperity of the [unclear: eth] Island—indeed of the colony—it is [unclear: e] to have it looked at from every point of view.

The universal demand is that some just [unclear: rt] simple and easy mode of acquiring Native [unclear: d] shall be devised, by which the risks, [unclear: lay], and expense hitherto incurred shall [unclear: e] avoided,

with a view to the speedy [unclear: element] and occupation of the land. The [unclear: gnosis] is certain, but the doctors [unclear: premie] various remedies. The two principal [unclear: medies] may be shortly described as (1) [unclear: iivilualisation] of titles, and (2) [unclear: ascertainment] of title, and dealings, by Maori [unclear: Comiliees].

1. There is something to be said for the [unclear: st] proposed remedy, because during the [unclear: at] 25 or 30 years we have been steadily [unclear: tructing] the Native mind to take in the [unclear: n] of individual title to land, of which it [unclear: ad] no notion previously; and, like 'cute [unclear: abers] of the human family as they are, [unclear: the] Natives have now thoroughly learned [unclear: their] lesson. This process of education has [unclear: t] length created an insuperable obstacle to [unclear: nging] back to the old tribal methods; [unclear: ed] it many therefore be fairly argued that if [unclear: there] is to be simplification it must be on the [unclear: es] of such teaching. Unfortunately, how-[unclear: et], there are two formidable practical [unclear: ilties]. The first is the great delay [unclear: sh] the process of ascertaining title and [unclear: ividing] the land in the Native Land [unclear: rt] entails, before each Native owner have his share cut out. This takes its generally to accomplish, in the few where it is attempted. The second is, II the expense in every case—excepting [unclear: haps] that of a valuable block near a town greater than the value of the land. [unclear: nary] country land cannot stand the cost [unclear: rey] and completion of individual title, [unclear: d] the Native owners therefore, in practice, [unclear: ds] not individualize titles. Unless a block [unclear: s] of very exceptional value, and is so [unclear: situated] that very small parcels of land are sought after, land is invariably owned in common. So that though the phrase "individualization of title" is attractive and sounds well, the thing itself is impracticable. Often it is no more than a convenient phrase to play with before people who do not know.

2. The other proposed remedy is attractive too, and sounds well. It would be useless to propose it if not attractive. Corporations, all the world over, are reputed to be without conscience, even among the highly civilized and refined peoples; and it needs little knowledge of Maori character to predict confidently that the conscience of a Maori corporation would be very elastic in dealing with Maori lands not their own. There is I believe sometimes a *little* doubt about the Land Boards of the colony running straight—absolutely straight—notwithstanding stringent legislation, elaborate rules and regulations, and heavy penalties, and even although the press of the colony, as well as members of the Legislature, watch them with lynx eyes. But the difficulties of keeping them running straight would not be a patch upon what would be necessary in the case of Maori Committees, whose dealings would necessarily be in secret—anyway much out of view, or in the shade. How simple it would be to obtain an indefeasible title to land from a Maori Corporation! Hitherto, with individual dealing, the power of Backsheesh has been very effective; but it has been pretty nearly always Backsheesh—more Backsheesh—and still more Backsheesh. With the corporation the thing would probably be more easily, certainly more quickly, done. Quite likely it would still be Backsheesh, more Backsheesh, and still more Backsheesh; but the goal would be reached without unnecessary delay and intense anxiety. The needful cash could be made as bandy as the corporation seal. The latter does not take long to affix, and it has statutory virtue. And then it is a Board that does it all! There would be no risk. It would simply be a case of voting this way or that way, and the transaction is complete. Mr ("adman undoubtedly states the fact when he says Native Committees are not to be trusted. It would be entirely unreasonable to expect of them any high standard of virtue or honesty.

A part, however, from all this, there is the fatal difficulty I have already indicated. The individual Native owners have now been taught to understand what property in land means and can give them. And everyday transactions proves that they decline to allow their chiefs or Committees to dispose of their land. It would be grossly wrong, as well as futile, to attempt to coerce them into placing their interests in the hands of Committees of their own number.

The truth is neither of the proposed remedies is "worth a cent!" They are not remedies at all. Then what is a remedy? There is only one remedy, and that is to declare all land belonging to Natives, which has not been Crown Granted or brought under The Land Transfer Act, to be Crown land, exactly as unalienated land, the property of the nation, is Crown land, and to be dealt with as such; with this one difference, that it is to be held in trust for the Natives, and the proceeds derived accounted for and paid to them. As a recompense for such a valuable service rendered to them by the State a proper charge would have to be made; and an equivalent would also have to be given by them to the State, in land or otherwise, for expenditure on roads, bridges and railways made for opening up territory. Elected Maori representatives ought to sit as members of the various Land Boards in Native districts or where there is Native Land. If our land system be good for administration of Crown land for the nation, it cannot be bad for the administration of the land of the Natives, who are a part of the nation. Hut Humbug wont admit that; Speculation rouses up at the mention of it; and Law—will Lawyers always do the right thing. Simplification is quite in our line.

What good would result from the adoption of such a system of dealing with Native land? To mention some

benefits:

- It would be an immense boon to the Natives; they would quickly appreciate its great advantages, and would readily assent to it. "The West Coast Settlement Reserves Act, 1892," is a remarkable object lesson to the Maoris, and soon they will cry out for Crown administration of their land all round.
- It has the recommendation of being an honest way of treating the Natives.
- Investigation of Native title, so called, in so far as there are now any titles to investigate, would be very quickly completed, because the question being only a question of division of money, not land, the usual wrangling before the Native Land Court would be dropped. The Native Land Court would be very little wanted. Some old business might have to be worked off; successors to dead people would have to be appointed. But [unclear: most] it might be done by the local [unclear: Resi] Magistrate.
- Settlement of Native lands would go on apace: every man [unclear: requi] land would have an opportunity getting it; and the Maoris [unclear: inste] dying off would be absorbed into European population.

It is true that Native land [unclear: dealing] practically stopped by recent [unclear: legisy] restricting alienation, and operating a mild kind of resumption of the pre-[unclear: emj] right by the Crown; but at best [unclear: tie] unsafe, slow, and unsatisfactory as a [unclear: rem] while it is unjust to the Native owners. [unclear: T] there can be no *permanency* in any [unclear: me] excepting that of declaring the whole [unclear: th] Crown land.

Of course there is one alternative to Crown alone dealing, which would [unclear: pas] quickly bring about the disposal of [unclear: na] land—free trade in Native land, [unclear: absen] free trade: that is to say, every [unclear: man]; himself and Devil take the hindmost, [unclear: per] ticularly the Maori. It is, however, [unclear: si] ing to contemplate what would happen; [unclear: t] it is a satisfaction to know, or believe; [unclear: t] the New Zealand Legislature will not [unclear: pa] free trade in Native land.—I am, &c.,

W. [UNCLEAR: SIEVWRIGHT]

Gisborne,

31st January, 1893.

[New Zealand Herald, 14th February, [unclear: 1893]

(*The Editor New Zealand Herald.*)

SIR,—I am tempted, although at [unclear: a] tance, to amplify on one or two points [unclear: w] I said in my letter which appeared [unclear: is] Herald of the 6th instant, because of [unclear: y] query in a leader on the 7th—"Can [unclear: t] done now?" It requires legislation, [unclear: an] doubt there's the rub; but [unclear: Parliament] only to say the word. To my mind all good, and none of the ill, which [unclear: all] method will give rise to, would be [unclear: att] by Crown administration. Further. [unclear: t] would be essentially in accordance [unclear: with] Treaty of Waitangi, conserving the [unclear: inte] of the Natives while opening up the [unclear: w] Native territory to European [unclear: occup] speedily. The last is the important [unclear: t] sideration.

Suppose Parliament, with wisdom [unclear: a] foresight as I think, were next [unclear: session] declare Native land to be Crown land [unclear: be] in trust for the Natives, what would [unclear: t] pen? Assume the Natives to be [unclear: ag] such a policy—which is a huge and [unclear: u] ranted assumption -would they rise [unclear: p] rebellion? Of course not. They [unclear: w] [unclear: ply] give in and accommodate themselves the change. This, however, would also [unclear: ppen] speculation in Native land would [unclear: e] stopped, and thus the only real obstacle [unclear: the] adoption of a high-minded and wise [unclear: y] be removed.

You suggest a difficulty as to apportioning [unclear: ceds] among the Natives. It is not to be [unclear: pposed] that even under Crown [unclear: administaion] everything will go on like clockwork, [unclear: t] were will be the minimum of friction [unclear: d] difficulty. But on this subject it must [unclear: be] forgotten that now the ownership of [unclear: tly] all the Native land has been ascer-[unclear: eal], and the remainder is being very [unclear: lly] put through. And wherever the [unclear: crs] have been ascertained apportionment [unclear: simple] enough, because it is known who is [unclear: led;] and as I have said the local [unclear: ent] Magistrate could settle any dis-[unclear: te] that might arise.

As to reserves, the Natives have now [unclear: ly] more reserves than they make use [unclear: nt] give them more if found desirable, [unclear: if] they wish more.—I am, etc..

W. STEVWRIGHT.

Gisborne,

February 10, 1893.

New Zealand Herald, 14th February, 1893.]

(The Editor New Zealand Herald.)

SIR,—While fully alive to the importance [unclear: n] simplicity of the method of acquiring [unclear: ve] land suggested by Mr Napier, viz., [unclear: ing] it compulsorily as required, paying [unclear: te], let us frankly face the difficulties at-[unclear: ending] it. I propose to notice one or [unclear: to]:—

- To carry out the suggestion thoroughly, [unclear: I] avoid a double system of land dealing—[unclear: by] the Crown, and one by the Native [unclear: ers] (a most undesirable state of things)—[unclear: er] all the land would need to be taken at [unclear: e] and paid for at a fair value, or else it [unclear: will] be necessary, while taking some for [unclear: liate] requirements, simultaneously to [unclear: be] it Natives from dealing with the re-[unclear: nler]—in short to, practically, resume [unclear: e] pre-emptive right in a very arbitrary [unclear: te]. We dare not attempt to do such a [unclear: ing] with Europeans and their land; we [unclear: ting] not prohibit Europeans from selling [unclear: e] land when and to whom they please. [unclear: Was] should Native landowners be treated [unclear: te] wise?
- Then, will Parliament be prepared to wide money or debentures sufficient to [unclear: iv] up all the land of the Natives at once? [unclear: u] roughly, 8,00,000 acres, at 5s per acre, [unclear: e] 2,000,000. Nothing is to be gained by [unclear: ing]. Settlement of the land is really all [unclear: country] wants or cares for, and that alone is the great object to be attained under any method.
- We cannot stop short at taking the land of the Natives for settlement purposes. The same principle must be applied to the land of Europeans when such land is required for settlement; and, moreover, the price to be paid to Europeans must not be more than relatively equal. Injustice ought not to be done to either class of landowners as to price.

These are real and practical objections. Is the game worth the candle? The objections are avoided by the proposed method of vesting the land in the Crown in trust. The land would then be disposed of as required; there would be no need for the Crown to find purchase money; the question of interfering with the land of Europeans is left undisturbed in the meantime at least, though it may not be for long; and, further, the question of rating Native land is not raised, as the land will be rated as it gets into European occupation, or actual occupation, like Crown land.—I am, &c.,

W. SIEVWRIGHT.

Gisborne,

February 11, 1893.

[New Zealand Herald, 4th March, 1893.]

(To the Editor.)

SIR,—Two matters require some reply—(1) the effect of the Treaty of Waitangi, referred to by yourself, and" (2) alleged Native opposition—by bullets, etc. The Treaty of Waitangi—which certainly ought not to be broken down by legislation—did this: On the one hand, the Maoris ceded to the Queen the full sovereignty of New Zealand with all that that implies, and also a right of preemption of such land as the Natives themselves wished to sell. On the other hand, the Maoris, in consideration thereof, were declared British subjects, with all the rights, duties, and privileges of such, and were guaranteed protection and the peaceable possession of their land, etc. Literally, of course, the Maoris have never had, and do not now have possession in any proper sense

of more than a fraction of the Native territory; they do not use it in any way; it is a waste howling wilderness, on which scarcely any of them ever set foot. Will any reasonable man contend that what the Crown became bound to do was to exercise its Sovereign power to retard or prevent this waste howling wilderness from being used? Or that the Maoris themselves intended anything else than that they were to be helped to turn it to account? The preemption given to the Queen, and the sales of vast tracts thereafter, proves the intention and object of the Natives. The very founding of the colony implied it. The scheme of vesting the land in the Crown in trust is not intended to deprive them of this waste howling wilderness, but to give them that which as British subjects they are entitled to, viz., a suitable method of dealing with their land and turning it to account. If their land belonged to English people how would the law deal with it on the application of anyone interested? It is admitted on all hands that it is impracticable to subdivide and cut out each man's share; and in that case the English law of partition provides that such land shall either continue to be held and dealt with in common, or if that be inexpedient that it shall be disposed of and the proceeds divided. Unquestionably the Native owners, as a rule, are as anxious as Europeans to have the land dealt with if they only were shown how to do so in some useful and efficient way. The scheme proposed is that efficient way; and under it their real interests will be far more effectively conserved than ever they have been or than they ever can be under any other method. And this would not create Maori landlordism, for the State would be the landlord, if any-one, just as in the case of Crown land.

Will the Maori oppose this reasonable plan? The bullet bogey has been heard of before, but the type of Maori who at one time might have used the bullet is not now existent. The modern Maori knows better, and will take care of his own skin. Even if opposed, which I emphatically maintain he is not, the modern Maori is little influenced by sentiment. He, like the European, prefers money; only show him how, for his land, he can get a money return, and he will fall in with the plan at once. It is an unjustifiable assumption that the Natives will not fall in with the plan proposed. The times are ripe for it. They know their land *must* now be used; they are fully alive to the imminence of taxation of their land [see evidence given before Native Land Commission in 1891]; and they only want to have the proposed plan put before them to jump at it. On the West Coast the Natives urged that all their extensive reserves there should be taken out of their names and vested in the Public Trustee, to be dealt with for them. It gave the utmost satisfaction. Why should it be assumed that other Native owners will not thankfully accept as good an arrangement, if not a better? Opposition, after all, is only a bogey, even when sincerely put forward by such good men as Dr Maun-sell, who I suspect only think of, and live as it were in, long past times.—I am, &c.,

W. SIEVWRIGHT.
Gisborne,

25th February, 1893.

New Zealand Herald, 13th March, 1893.)

(To the Editor.)

SIR,—Controversy is unprofitable at [unclear: bes] As Burton says, it is like cutting off a [unclear: hydra] head, "one begets another, so many [unclear: dup] cations, triplications, and swarms of [unclear: que] tions." It is particularly unprofitable [unclear: a] obnoxious when your opponent, with [unclear: co] assurance, makes you seem to say what [unclear: y] never said; hangs up your effigy, as it [unclear: wer] in the public square labelled in large [unclear: chara] ters, "This man swears that black is white then very easily proves you wrong, and [unclear: ther] upon decapitates you. That is Mr [unclear: Rec] "easy solution" of me and my proposition in regard to this question in his letter of [unclear: l] instant, which I have read to-day in [unclear: you] issue of 7th instant. He represents me [unclear: i] proposing that Native land shall be [unclear: declar] Crown land, without qualification. [unclear: H] writes:—"When the great estates held [unclear: I] individuals and by business corporation and, indeed, all freeholds are declared [unclear: k] statute to be Crown lands, then Mr [unclear: Sie] Wright's proposals regarding Native [unclear: land] will be equitable, because all will be [unclear: treat] alike." "They amount, if not to confiscate at least to something very much [unclear: resembing] that process." Now, my proposed [unclear: rene]d] is to declare Native land Crown land, [unclear: "he] in trust for the Natives, and the [unclear: procesed] derived accounted for and paid to [unclear: them] There is certainly no such equity in [unclear: sto] for the Natives if Mr Rees' proposed Native Committees have any effective power [unclear: given] to them.

But if the great estates referred to [unclear: we] in the same position as to ownership [unclear: a] Native land, the remedy would be the [unclear: same] The owners being unable to manage [unclear: to] themselves,

the proper authority [*unclear*: wo] manage for them, or appoint someone to [*unclear*: be] so. That is all the Crown would do for [*unclear*: the] Natives.

I am not, however, going to prolong [*unclear*: the] discussion of this question, as the issue [*unclear*: e] now pretty clearly before the public, [*unclear*: The] only pity is that so many of the public [*unclear*: rege] this question as the one they ought not [*unclear*: t] meddle with, as one which only experts [*unclear*: un-] derstand or can deal with. The sooner [*unclear*: they] think otherwise the better.

In conclusion, I, too, like Mr Rees, "[*unclear*: res] ture to warn the people of Auckland and [*unclear*: of] New Zealand against being dazzled or [*unclear*: left] away by any apparently simple," if [*unclear*: has] heroic, method of settling the Native [*unclear*: has] question, *which stops short of giving to [*unclear*: the] Crown the absolute and exclusive control [*unclear*: of] "dealings" with Native land as if it [*unclear*: n] Crown land.* If the Native Land Laws [*unclear*: Pa] form League will work for that end. [*unclear*: and] close every door against opportunity for speculation in Native land, it will deserve well of the country.—I am, &c.,

W. SIEVWRIGHT.

Gisborne,

March 11th, 1893.

(The Editor Poverty Bay Herald.)

SIR,—In your leader last night you are not fair to the Administration Act of 1886 when you say that under it "a man with small means would have absolutely no chance of obtaining an acre," and when you clearly imply that under it the land would not pass through the Crown, Section 29 expressly provides that the Commissioner shall dispose of the land "in accordance with the provisions of the Land Act 1885, or of any Act passed in substitution thereof, and he (the Commissioner that is) shall have all the powers of a Land Board." And section 33 prohibits private persons from acquiring land direct from the Natives. A man of small means could of course acquire through the Commissioner, just as he could from a Land Board. These are the strong points of the Act, and its virtues ought to be acknowledged. Its weak points are:—(1) the voluntary character of its provisions—Natives need not have come under it unless they liked, might keep roofof as long as they liked; and (2) the powers given to Committees to direct the Commissioner as to land to be dealt with, and the terms on which the same might be disposed of. Notwithstanding, in my opinion it was by far the best scheme embodied in legislation upon the lines of Native Committee management. Its weak points really only spring from an evident desire to act justly to the Natives, and to carry them along with the forward movement. If there is to be compromise at all it must be in the same direction though in my opinion Native Committee management in any shape or form will only and in smoke, if nothing worse.—I am, &c.,

W. SIEVWRIGHT.

Gisborne,

14th March, 1893.

(The Editor Poverty Bay Herald.)

SIR,—Your leader last night tempts me to say that you hardly do the "Devil's Brigade" justice. That brigade, regarded as a whole, is a fair reflex of the community, to my mind, because unquestionably the objectionable ones exist on the ordinary principle of demand and supply, and there must be at least a section of the community which requires them. My only complaint as to the profession, in the letter referred to, was the opposition almost always shown by it to anything like simplification. A recent writer says that it is more difficult to get a now idea into the mind of an Englishman than it is to get the proverbial joke into the head of a Scotchman; and that, I think, is eminently true of the English lawyer. He is mentally saturated, as it were, with musty precedents, and it is quite natural to him to refuse to see any advantage in moving out of the beaten track. Hence he needs to be driven by lay pressure into reformation of any kind. No better illustration of this can well be got than the fact that a young community like New Zealand, full of energy and push, can sit down and patiently acquiesce in the existence of such an incubus as our half-yearly itinerant Supreme Court, with its

delays and expense, and general cumbrousness, all the fruit, specially, of the legal mind. One would expect that the settlement of disputes quickly and cheaply by a good local Court, with an appeal on facts, is a thing such a community requires. No doubt it is so. Yet we are all content to leave things alone. Why? Just because *we have it*. The same thing is applicable to Native legislation. But it is only fair to the devil's own to add that, if Native legislation had always been shaped finally by the lawyers, it would have been at any rate consistent, or fairly consistent, as a whole. It was never so though, for after a Bill came out of the legal draftsman's hands, it was invariably tossed about in Committee by all sorts of people, particularly by the "export" members who looked at it in some particular interest, or with some special object to be served, until the draftsman's work was hardly recognisable. Of course a tangled maze of legislation was the result. Why should you accuse the lawyers of having "a double sin to answer for in this Native business?" They have no doubt enough to answer for; but Parliament alone is answerable for the making of the laws; and it must be admitted that it has always been an extremely difficult business to interpret the laws so made. Editors, I believe, are more or less given to dogmatise, and they can always construct a telling paragraph by making a serapegoat of the lawyers. You might now give the wily Native land purchaser a turn, he who "needs and uses the lawyer. Fair play is a jewel, day Could, you know, never came to the front when he had any big public robbery on hand: he always accomplished his nefarious work by using weaker men. So does the wily ative land purchaser. All Native land purchasers are not wily of course.—I am, &c.,

W. SIEVWRIGHT.
Gisborne,

14th March, 1893.

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Front Cover

The Effects of Prohibition In the Prohibited States of America.

By H. Gilbert Stringer

Official Shorthand Writer to the Tasmanian Parliament.

vignette Wellington: PRINTED AT THE NEW ZEALAND TIMES OFFICE, LAMBTON QUAY. 1893.

Prefaratory Note.

In February last the Executive Council of the New Zealand Licensed Victuallers' Association was instructed to obtain from the Prohibitory States of America the working of the Prohibition Law in those States. Soon after arrangements were made with Mr H. Gilbert Stringer (official reporter to the Parliament of Tasmania) for this purpose.

Mr Stringer was proceeding to the World's Fair in Chicago in the interest of certain newspaper companies. Our instructions to him were to ascertain the true state of the trade in those States from every possible source, especially from officials, and official statistics, verifying them from personal observation, and signatures of prominent citizens and officials where practicable.

The first instalment of Mr Stringer's investigation is now placed before our readers, trusting it may assist them to a better knowledge of the subject now agitating the public mind.

Prohibition as it is In the Prohibitory States of America.

The President of the N.Z. Licensed Victuallers Association

Sir—

WITH the special mission of seeing on my own behalf and also as representative of your Association, I, on May 24th, set out to make my acquaintance with the States wherein Prohibition is now an existent portion of the State Legislation. Prior to entering upon any of the details of my experiences, let me here state that my

original intention was to journey into Iowa first, but by accident my steps got guided Kansasward, and that with no mapped route except such as was forced upon me by local train services, I have paid visits to eight of the cities in the State of Kansas. Having no local knowledge except such as was obtainable from a Commercial Travellers' Guide, which furnished the names and population of Kansas cities. I have yet in many cases unwittingly halted at County Seats. In order that the reader may be familiar with the character of settlement, etc., existent in the State. I purpose here placing before him some figures respecting the area, population, etc., &c., extracted from the "Eighth Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture Kansas 1891-2," Vol. XIII. Kansas is a State lying within the meridians 94, 37 and 102 W. longitude, and between the parallels 37 and 40 deg. N. Its extreme east and west extent is 400 miles, and its north and south 200 miles, or an area of 81318 square miles, 52,572,160 acres. Its northern boundary is Nebraska, a State in which the licensing system is high-license. Missouri River and the State of Missouri forms the eastern boundary, Colorado the western, and to the south the Indian Territory. The State is the most centrally situate in the Union, lying equidistant between Canada and the Mexican Frontier, and its centrality east and west is shown by the fact that at Fort Riley (Gleary County) is the Geographical centre of the United States. This State, despite the fact that Mrs. Brown holds that "comparisons are odious," will be seen by a comparison to be as large as England, Scotland, and Wales. Now this vast area is in typography most simple. The trend of the streams is easterly with a southern variation, thus the general slope is westwards towards the Mississippi River. In the main the greater portion is gently undulating plains. There are mountains, the valleys are all valleys of erosion, and about their sides are billy districts, some rugged with fantastic forms, others with feat-topped mounds and long promontaries, and there is but little timber, i.e., native, although there are numerous plantations and orchards, and every city has its streets planted with speedy growth trees, which lend unexpressible charm to the scenery which otherwise would be from an artistic point of view "flat, stale, and profitable." Of the area mentioned, 18,300,200 acres are included in farm areas, and therefore may be fairly said to be under cultivation, and as a fact the state is one of the chief agricultura States in the Union. The return of value of products for 1892 was 164,668.955 do 1s On the question of population the State yearly for taxation purposes takes a census. From this source I glean that from 1887, when the State held its largest population, until 1891, there has been an alarming exodus. It would be unfair to endeavor to arrive at the full cause of this. Undoubtedly in '86 there was a property boom, but the figures which are yielded by analysis are not fairly attributable as results of decline. Some anti-prohibitionists attach great weight to the enforcement of the law of which the Hon. J. Murray is credited with being the father. They direct attention to the decline of population in this State and other Prohibition State, which I shall analyse at a later period when I have their State returns before me, and compare this with the rapid growth in nearly every State where licensing is legalised. Be this as it may the figures are worth reproduction as affecting Kansas; this return was obtained from the Agricultural Bureau on May 31st.

Thus it will be seen, making due allowance for the increase in 1892, in fact, basing a calculation thereon, the decline of population in Kansas, or the excess of emigration over immigration has been in the period since 1888 when the maximum population was registered, 171,125 persons, or an average each year of 42,781, & weekly exodus from the State of 822, or daily outgoing for the whole period of 117 persons. Certainly the thing which has contributed to make Kansas what she [unclear: is], is the splendid railroad facilities she enjoys. It is here that private railroad enterprise at its best can be seen, for the State is intersected in every direction, and its railroad map is perfectly bewildering in its network puzzle of railroads. [unclear: Thses] from surroundings it will be seen that Kansas was a specially suitable area wherein to make a good forward Temperance movement, It was chiefly agricultural, and the agriculturist if he be well handled in his own home need not fear, in fact, is not subjected six days out of the seven at least to the temptations that beset the thirsty souls in the great centres of population. There then was promising ground [unclear: for] Prohibitionists, but the story of the introduction of legislation thereanent is [unclear: but] another illustration of the banding of a "third" party with one of two factions. I few years back, nay it is even now so in the majority of the States if my information speaks correct, and if one may credit what they read in the daily papers, it [unclear: was] question of Republican versus Democrat, a tight betwixt these two for the plunder. The word seems a severe epithet, but I know of none other that meets the cast Parties here are not as they are known to the Australian mind. Here they have a huge scheme of political preferment ranging from the Cabinet officials right down to the very street cleaners, the postmen, the janitors in public offices, there is no, exception, you must vote solid if you would hold your billet. Your tenure of office is only that of your party, but your party once in is bound to last four years, these heigh ho for a good solid vote and a hope of return to power of a President with tendencies like to your own, for if he be an opponent be sure no mercy will follow, If he be a Republican then out from office walks every Democrat, and *vice verm*, No life appointments here in a kindly civil service. Four years is all you can surely count on, and in that four years the general idea seems to be to "do well," in other words refuse nothing that comes in your way. Provide yourself with big pockets and an elastic conscience, or better still, no conscience at all, and devote yourself to did I hear someone say, "your country and your country's good,"—oh, dear no, nothing so prosaic or

Utopian—I repeat devote yourself to making as much as you can. Bribery and corruption thrives on every hand, but there, why need I dwell or dilate upon what others have written before; nevertheless it is a little difficult the Australian mind, with their mild little occasional jobberies, to grasp the extent to which public pillaging goes on in this glorious land of freeborn. Some idea will however, be gleaned from these remarks of the power possessed by a third party when things are any way close. It was just this position that occurred in Kansas in 1870-80. The Republicans feared for their heads; the Prohibitions had been [unclear: gradually] gaining strength until, while only a miserable factor in the whole, yet [unclear: attached] to either side their coalition must prove fatal to the other. There were in [unclear: the] Republican ranks men who had been itching for a long time to get Prohibition [unclear: raced] in their party platform, and their suggestion of course was backed by the [unclear: Proaibitionist] third party by a demand to this effect, or a fearful alternative, the [unclear: defeat] of Republican hopes. In a weak moment the demand was acquiesced in, and [unclear: then] in 1880, thus committed, the Republican party carried the amendment to the [unclear: Constiution] of the State, which sets forth that the manufacture and sale of [unclear: intoxicating] liquors except for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, is [unclear: pressly] forbidden in the States. In the following year the people were asked to [unclear: note] upon the proposed amendment, and it was carried by a large majority. Then [unclear: is] fell upon the Legislature to frame a law giving effect to the amendment in the Constitution, and in March, 1881, such law was carried, and came into force on May 1st. 1881. The night the bill was passed there was a high old time of it among tie supporters who were not what we know as teetotallers, and from more than one [unclear: resident] of the capitol I have the information that "lashings of drinks," as Pat would put it, were sent up to Parliament House. Then followed in Topeka a [unclear: orious] all-round inebriation, the whole city on a final bust, until for self-proteetiou the saloon-keepers had for two days to close their doors; not for any fear of the law, [unclear: fc] dreading damage of their worldly goods by their customers. For two years, I learn, there was little closing of saloons, the Act was a piece of mechanism that though it had been got upon the Statute books, yet no method of administering it should be found. You will ask where was the majority that had voted to put it there? The reply is found in the party conduct of legislation referred to. The absolute [unclear: believers] and faithful disciples of the creed of Prohibition were few compared with the men who bad voted for it because it was on their ticket. Better to reign in [unclear: Pandimonium] than serve in Heaven was the choice of the Prince of Darkness—better to have a law and break it and retain our reins of public government, than to [unclear: ve] in the cold shades of opposition and enjoy the honesty of our convictions was [unclear: be] choice of the Republican party; therefore the Prohibition third party men, or [unclear: the] Republican addition, were still Prohibitionists, but the Republican Prohibitionist [unclear: once] assured of his warm convenient office, didn't hesitate to come down from the [unclear: recomfortable] perch, throw over his newly-found convictions, and—take a drink [unclear: lx] his stomach's sake when the inclination dictated. For two years the Prohibition [unclear: ty] bore it very quietly, chafing beneath the gall but abiding their time, when [unclear: with] an eye to the future the Republicans considered it time to swoop down and [unclear: dose] the open saloons. There were hard fights against the constitutionality of the [unclear: w], but it was upheld by the Supreme Court, and drink had for a time to be [unclear: cained] for a time under the rose. A favorite form was that of the "bottle legger," a man who imported *for his own use* a small quantity of the vilest of vile liquor, and [unclear: gave] you, a drink out of the bottle round a corner. Then it was discovered that the [unclear: law] did not prohibit the importation and sale in the "original package," i.e., you [unclear: ld] import a barrel or a bottle and sell in an unbroken condition despite the law, [unclear: It]—Agencies (wholesale) were established everywhere, beer was imported in [unclear: mall] bottles containing just a glass, and you could buy these "original packages" in every shop. This ran on until legislation preventing it was adopted. Then [unclear: followed] personal importation. The agent of a brewer would take your order and [unclear: h] on Kansas ground, go to Missouri and ship your beer over. Appeals to the [unclear: Supreme] Court shewed that payment in Kansas made the sale a Kansas one, and [unclear: meable] to the law, and not a few fines resulted. Then came the question of the [unclear: right] to bring the liquor into the State from neighboring States. This was a [unclear: ta] point as affecting the Interstate Commerce Law, whereby no State can [unclear: te] out the products of another, if a resident in said State desires to acquire same [unclear: for] personal use, not for sale. The Supreme Court held that such importation was [unclear: a] and since that time it is generally understood that the large purchase of [unclear: ers] made in Missouri and Illinois are for "private consumption," or for sale [unclear: under] the clause in the Act which provides that a druggist may sell, on the [unclear: furnishing] of an affidavit made by the purchaser, to the effect that the liquor so purchased [unclear: is] required for "medical, scientific, or mechanical purposes;" but the law controls [unclear: the] sale in this much, that if your requirements be whiskey or spirits you can *only* purchase *half a pint* or a *pint* of whiskey on one affidavit; or if be beer, only four bottles. The price for whiskey to be *Idol*, a *pint*, and for the four bottles of beer a like amount. With all this legislating and appealing to the Supreme Court, it will be generally thought that the status of the people would be pretty well established The uninitiated will say, as I said after acquainting myself with the Act, "Why this is a place where

you cannot buy drinks, where you would only be likely to get intoxicants is in a rich man's house, in the I house of a man who would import for his own comfort." I had been told in Australia of men who had "worked the oracle" in Maine in days gone by; but said I so strict a law as this must preclude anything but the men who are initiated into smuggling societies, with doubtless their accompanying oath of diction, dreadful, and with penalties direful from tickling their palates with aught of a character that shall cheer and inebriate. Even trade-men brewers' confidants in Chicago—who, if anyone, should certainly have possessed an acquaintance with just how tilings were worded, said. "Well, Kansas, that's the state Prohibition a strongest. It is dying in Iowa, but we can't say much about Kansas, except in one or two places where public sentiment has caused the latter law to become a dead letter." I decided that to fairly examine into Prohibition, and how she is worked, required that I should not only visit the State, examine Statistics, walk around the cities, &c., but that I should, during my stay in each place, endeavour to gain the opinions of some of the prominent public men, taking absolute verbatim notes of their remarks, and apprising them of my intention to publish same or extracts there-from if requisite. Then, in view of statements made that there were places where liquor was illicitly sold, I considered that a fair test of the administration of the Act would be that I should in every city endeavour to obtain liquor without asking the aid of any resident—in other words, that having once become acquainted with the character of such sly-grosselling places I should thereafter depend upon my own resources—as an entire stranger—and thus test the difficulties any but the initiated would have in getting supplied. I mapped out no routes, but made one thing an object—to go right to the centre of the State, so that it might not be said I had only visited the outskirts. Taking, as my departure point Kansas City, Kansas (the nearest Kansan point to Chicago) I journeyed by the Union Pacific Railway midway across the State to within four miles of the dead geographical centre point then transferring to the Missouri Pacific. I ran south and south-west to Wicheta, nearly a hundred miles. &c., taking the Santa Fe, completed a triangle, and returned to Kansas City. The opinions of Prohibitionists to whom I have submitted this rote is, that I have obtained a fair representation of this State. In order to let my observations be general, I have visited cities of varying size to note the application of the Act. Thus I find there are ninety-seven cities having populations of a thousand and over. I have visited Kansas City (1), Topeka (2), Wichita (8), Lawrence(7). Salvia (14) Newton r (17), Junction City (19). McPherson (27)—the figures in parenthesis denote the importance of the cities.

Before I proceed further it will be well that I acquaint my readers with a few of the local terms and thus remove, perhaps, some difficulties which might otherwise arise and correct, mayhap, some impressions which owe their origin to [*unclear: unservupulse*] lecturers, who, acquainted with the circumstances, yet use ambiguous phrases.

"Open Saloon."—First let me say that an open saloon as it is known in America—the open saloon against which temperance orators have so long inveighed, and, I think, not without some cause of complaint—are unknown in any part of Australia or New Zealand that I have ever visited. In the States I have been in where saloons have been licensed, they take the form of a large ground floor room very often finely fitted with large bars fronting the open street. In many cases the doors are wide open—there is no attempt at screens; and in others it appears that the front of the room looks right out, leaving only an open saloon. The banishments of these certain drinking shops (for there is no clause in the license demanding that the keepers should have a house open for the accomodation of guests) is a result to which prohibitionists point with pride. Say they, "We have no *open Saloom*; when I say, "Yon have places actually fitted up with bus, to which the ingress I merely to go in at the side door, just as I would walk into the private bar of licensed hotel hotel in Australasia;" they reply, "Oh yes, there are places where drink is sold, but *you* cannot find them." Either they arc blinding themselves; or they know as a positive fact that the Act absolutely fails.

"Joints."—This is the term applied to any place where liquor is obtainable (aside from druggists's shops). It matters not whether the place has a bar elegantly fitted up—in fact, exceeding in character of appointments, any bar in Australia, not excepting even that in the Australia Hotel, in Sydney, where they dispense American liquors—or whether it be only a back room with a keg of beer standing in it, all alike are "Joints" to the Kansan mind.

"Clubs."—This is a neat system of evading the law. In Topeka the German Clubs purchase in bulk the requisite stock of liquors, and you get supplied according to your credited rating, for which you first pay your cash (this before the stock is sent for), and receive checks. The question of the right of one man to drink from the general supply having been raised in the Supreme Court, in some small places, they now purchase in bulk, and each man puts his supply away in a private locker. This, of course, is for form's sake; and one member hinted to me that any key would fit any locker, all they wanted to do was to keep outside the law. (The statement of Marshall Myers and of Governor Llewellyn on this point are interesting.)

"Justice of the Peace."—The American Justice of the Peace is a paid officer, possessing a jurisdiction similar to that employed by our Resident Magistrates in the smaller cities; and preliminary investigations are always conducted before him.

"City Marshall."—An officer in control, and at the head of the police force.

"Probate Judge."—Amongst other duties, this official has to take record of applications for sale of liquor licenses by druggists. He also is required to till returns of sales made as deposited by the sellers, on the first of every month. There is a Probate Judge in every county in the State (in the case of Kansas there are 106 counties, and consequently a like number of Probate Judges).

"Bottle-leggers."—A man who carries a supply of whiskey (usually of the vilest character), and singling out his customers sells them "nips," in dark comers or up alleyways.

Hoping that 'this by-way of explanation' will leave the reader in a position to understand all allusions in my report, I will now proceed by detailing my experiences in each city, leaving the reader to occupy the position of Judge.

Kansas City (Kansas).—This is the first part of Kansas that the traveller, journeying by the Southern railroads, enters. It is an addition to Kansas City, Missouri, but has a separate City Government, and of course is under the Kansas legislation. Missouri State allows no gambling, but licenses the sale of liquor. Kansas reverses the order of things, there you may gamble, but you must not drink—that is, you must not keep an open saloon. I was credibly informed, on entering Kansas City, Missouri, that there were any quantity of "joints" over ill Kansas City, Kansas, despite the prohibitory laws. As an evidence of the sale and transport of liquor into the prohibited State, Mr. Becker, Manager for the Pabot Brewing Company's Agency and Warehouse, showed me entries in his ledger showing sales all over the State of beer, and then followed this up by taking me to their bottling or packing room and pointing out returned empty cases, bearing the addresses to which they had been sent; barrels likewise addressed, and (a favourite form of importation by druggists) flour casks used for the conveyance of beer. Of course no concealment was necessary, as importation is allowed in any quantity, and you may give away as much ale or beer as you like, provided it is not with the intention of evading the law—i.e., sale under the pretence of gift. Next I was shown the address-labels, then being written by a clerk, and the bills of lading to accompany the rail packages, some of which I found to be addressed to Kansas, and to Kansas towns. It was an off-day said Mr. B., but if I happened along early in the week he would show me car loads carrying tons of beer to thirsty residents in the home of Prohibition. A pertinent remark was made by my guide, said he: "I'm a Prohibitionist." I looked up aghast. A traitor in the camp of the enemy, what could it mean? Then he added, and a twinkle gleamed in his eye—a Prohibitionist for Kansas, you know, but not for Missouri." "How do you draw the distinction?" I queried. "Well, you see. Prohibition for Kansas gives us a big trade, which, if they hadn't got, it would doubtless be largely eaten up by local breweries." was the answer. Fearing that a stranger might not be favourably received at the "joints." I decided to gain assistance, and secured the services of a Pinkerton detective. This is a fine institution—the Pinkerton Agency. You want to go in the direction of slumming, and straight-away you produce the golden key, and your attendant appears and guides you whersoever you will. The journeyings *incog* of Havoun Al Raschid, and other emulators of that worthy Caliph, all sink into insignificance alongside the ease with which you can be brought face to face with vice, misery, lawlessness, in fact, anything that is to be found in that other half of the world of the which this half knows so little, and possible cares even less. At 7.80 p.m. on the 25th May I left the Midland Hotel, Kansas City, Missouri, accompanied by my slave of the "greenback"—a pleasant fellow, and intelligent, too, this representative of a detective agency that has made its name famous throughout the length and breadth of the world. The dividing state line is simply a street some half a chain in width. On one side of this you are in Kansas City, Missouri, amenable to all the pains and penalties attached to illdoing in Missouri State. Over on the opposite flagged pavement no Missourian policeman can touch you, and Kansan law reigns supreme. As may be pretty readily conceived, the Missourian is nothing loth to benefit from the condition of Prohibition existing across the line, so for a distance of fully half a mile their side of the state line I was not, in a certain degree, surprised to find that saloons abounded. Saloons in drug stores (chemists' shops), saloons running as open saloons, and wholesale shops, but one and all prominently displaying to view offers of special inducements to the thirsty soul from Kansas. The new arrival, then, hailing from the country of Prohibition, assuming that there were no quiet corners in his own land, assuming that if there were he knew them not, or cared not to brave the strong arm of the law, need not go long athirst. And on his return to the land of drought need he go empty-handed? Certainly not. Private purchase, private consumption, donation to friends of any of the liquors, sale of which for refreshment is prohibited, was not debarred, and 'twould be a foolish Kansan who, not being a Good Templar, should go back empty-handed—at least, that I take to be the creed of the Missouri sellers. Turn where he would your Kansan's eye would rest on urgent invitations to protect himself against the tortures which the demon thirst may inflict. In every saloon doorway, in every merchant's window, were to be found inviting kegs of beer, demijohns and bottles of whisky labelled "Take me to Kansas." "Take me with you," "Don't forget your home comforts," and so forth and so on. Who with such facilities need go long thirst? John, requiring a revivifier, had only to take a small whisky store with him, and arrived back in his beloved Kansas, although he could not get a drink of whisky, a single drink in a saloon, yet he could make a night of it

at home to the discomfort and misery of his wife and family. (This, of course, is all assuming his Act of Parliament to be as rigidly administered as the advocates of the system of Prohibition assert is the case.) In view of attendant circumstances I say this condition of affairs—this effort on the part of Missourians to make hay while the sun of Prohibition continues shining on the neighbouring state, was not a surprise to me, but, said I, at least the open-handed sale of liquors will cease so soon as I get into Kansas, for that is a Prohibition state. We crossed the line, and left two flaring open saloons (more like two gin-palaces in East London than anything I have seen since I quitted the Old Country) behind us on either corner of the Street, which was intersected at right angles by the state line. We paused on the other pavement, and my guide vouchsafed the information that we were on Kansan soil. Sojourners in the state whose people and legislators had, in 1881. decreed,—

"Any person or persons who shall manufacture, sell, or barter any spirituous, malt, various, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors, shall be guilty of misdemeanour, and punished as hereinafter provided: provided, however, that such liquors may be sold for medical, scientific, and mechanical purposes, as provided in this Act."

And then, being of a curious temperament, I had turned up the said provisions, and found them to be, That (Section 4.)—"Any druggist having a permit to sell intoxicating liquors under the provisions of this Act, may sell the same only by himself in person, or by a clerk who is a registered gharmicist or assist pharmacist, under the laws of this State, for medicinal purposes only, upon the printed or written affidavit of the applicant setting forth the particular medical purpose for which such liquor is required; the kind and quantity desired; that it is actually needed for the particular purpose by the patient to be named; and that it is not intended as a beverage, nor to sell or give away; that the applicant is over twenty-one years of age."

A similar provision existed in the case of sales for mechanical and scientific purposes; and later on provision was made preventing the drinking of any intoxicating liquor on the druggists' premises, whether purchased upon affidavit or otherwise. Then turning the penal clauses, I found that any sale of intoxicating liquors incurred a punishment, taking the form of a fine, of not less than 500dol., together with a concurrent punishment of not less than thirty days or more than ninety days in gaol.

Bearing all this in mind, and although I was confronted by the engagement made to show me how I could treat the law, you may judge I was anxious to see the [*unclear: modus*] *operandi*. Near us, at the corner on which we stood, was a lottery agency, and next it, judged from outside appearances was a pool-room—another form of gambling, for here they race horses by electric light, and the pools go on just as in daytime. We entered, and found the place badly lighted, and evidently undergoing alterations. At the end of the room was a long bar, but no liquors visible, no attendant behind it, and no appearance of business so far as drinking was concerned. We journeyed upstairs, and found a veritable gambling hall in full swing. Not such a hole and corner affair as is sometimes unearthed by Australian police, but an open and above-board place, in which every form of gambling with just the same chances of plunder as are to be seen at Monte Carlo; but here there was a difference—all the neatness and luxuriance of furnishing of the latter place was missing; but gamblers care little of surroundings so long as their pet vice, with its demoniac facination, is obtainable. There they were in this very moral community playing ecarte, roulette, faro, chicken hazard, in fact a multitude of games too numerous to particularise in detail; and their clients—these embraced all ages, from the boy of fifteen to the blear-eyed aged man, whose very existence seemed by his pent-up breath to tremble upon the turn of a card, or the roll of a ball. It was a pitiable sight. My guide, who had evidently been greatly nonplussed regarding the condition of the lower floor, made an enquiry of one the attendants as to why the bar was closed, and received the reply there had been a row with the landlord, hence the closure. We left this beautiful spot, No. 4, Central Avenue, and passing to the next building entered the open door fronting on the street. A turn through a side door to the left, and we were in a large room dimly lighted. On the right hand, away in the corner, visible only on going to the centre of the room, was a long 12ft. bar, behind which gleamed any number of bottles, some bearing Hennessy's label, others the labels of favourite American brands of whiskies. At the bar there stood six men conversing, one of them had before him what, judged by colour and appearance, I should say was whiskey, and another had a glass of beer beside him. I called for a glass of beer, and my companion took a cigar. We were at once served. I drained a portion of my beer, tendered a dollar in payment, and received 80 cents change. Emerging thence we journeyed to No. 6, James Street, some half a mile away; this too is a pool room, brilliantly lighted, but empty. Upstairs we found the usual gambling room, and at the back, not concealed in any way was a bar well stocked with liquors. The beer and cigar episode was repeated. Then we made for a cable car to carry us to the chief's street in Kansas City, Kansas. *En route* my wits having been sharpened I noted a place that bore all outside appearance of being a "Joint." My companion agreed in this opinion, so we entered No. 85 James Street. We entered a side door and thence gained direct access to a well-lighted room with a 15ft. to 20ft. bar, fitted luxuriously and furnished with the never absent check-till. Two beers was our order, but there was testimony of the stock of spirits in the bottles on the shelves behind the bar. Strangest feature of the whole concern—the thing that nearly asphyxiated me with the sudden loss of breath, at the bar lolled a real live city

officer or police constable. We got our beers without demur, and by an advertisement pinned on the wall, I was led to believe that the supplying brewery was the Anhauser-Busch Co. The officer greeted my companion, then, whether intentionally I know not, turned his lack upon us, and we drank our beers. Perhaps that was his way of not seeing; mayhap he thus stifled conscience, at anyrate the fact stood, he was an officer employed by an Prohibitionist Executive, in a State where Prohibition was the law of the land, and had sworn to preserve the law of the State, but I dont think he saw us drink, and he may not have had a sufficient acquaintance with intoxicating liquors to enable him to discern what was being dispensed over that counter. We had beer in the presence of an officer, we called for it openly and drank it openly, yet were not arrested as habitués of an illegal resort, nor was the keeper of the premises arrested! I thought further sampling of law administration in that locality needless, so we journeyed to Minnesotos Avenue, a chief street, or rather the chief street in Kansas city. We went into the principal hotel in the city. Walking up to the clerk my companion intimated that we would like a drink. We were told that they had given up their bar, but that if we went across the street we could get all that we desired. We did so and entered No. 420. It was a tobacconist shop, and fairly large one at that. At one end was a wooden partition with a door through which the light was streaming. We made our way to this where we were met by a small black hoy, who divining we were thirsty souls did not intercept our passage. In the second room to our left were seated men playing cards, to the right was a well-storked bar with the ever smiling tender behind it. Two more beers filled our bill. It now dawned upon me that seeing how easy a matter it was to obtain liquor in their so-called "joints," I should like to test the manner in which the affidavit business was conducted by the druggists. I intimated my wishes and we entered the first drug shop we came to. My companion asked could we have a drink of whiskey. The clerk looked at us and replied that they did not keep it, but that if crossed the road above another drug store we would Bad a joint running. We withdrew and directed our steps to the spot indicated. No. 525 Minnesota Avenue, and although the drug store on the ground floor was as dark as Erebus, we journeyed upstairs and knocked at a glass frosted door, which was opened and disclosed to view a gambling room. "We want two drinks." said my guide. "Go to the door at the top of the stairs," said the man. We obeyed the injunction, and opening said door found ourselves in a room containing a bar, whilst to our left was a billiard room. There were three other worshippers at Bacchus' shrine, and our demand for a cigar and beer was quickly met, we paid, drank, and retired. We came next to a small out-of-way saloon, found more card playing, and had two more beers. I was not, however content *re* drug stores. I said as much, and we entered No. 436 Minnesota Avenue. We walked to the soda water fountain, and on the clerk attending, my companion said, "Give me a little whiskey and cherry phosphate." The clerk reviewed him and replied, "I can give you some nice *wild* cherry phosphate." From a bottle labelled " *wild* cherry phosphate," the young man poured our two fair "ripe," then from another bottle labelled "cherry phosphate" he poured a few drops. "Did we want any soda?" My companion said, "Just enough to kill the whiskey." A little soda was poured in, and on tasting I found we had been supplied with veritable 40 rod whiskey with a cherry flavoring, and undoubtedly the vilest drink ever offered a man. We didn't empty our glasses, but after meeting a taxation of 30 cents, adjourned thoroughly satisfied that with a knowledge of bow to ask for a thing you could get whiskey or beer in almost any place in or part of the city. This was sufficient experience to satisfy me, and despite offers on the part of my chaperone to take me to dozens like spots I declined with thanks and returned to my hotel to ruminate on the manner in which, at anyrate in Kansas city, the Kansas prohibitory law does not avail to dispense With the saloons. The next day I made it my business to visit the pool room at No. 0, and there witnessed the bar open and a roaring business being done, while the people were also occupied betting on the races then being run at St. Louis. The same afternoon I interviewed Mrs. Bradford, the Secretary of the Kansas State W.C.T.U. and that lady, while she admitted a knowledge of the existence of joints, yet emphasised the good she considered arose from making drink selling an outlawed practice. I asked how many illicit selling places she would estimate there were in Kansas city. Kansas, said she, after conference with another temperance worker who was present, gave a possible total of over one hundred and twenty. She deplored the inability of the temperance party to close these, as the officials were evidently favorable to them, and she had no doubt were receiving payment to remain quiescent. I journeyed on to Lawrence a city of 10,810 inhabitants, and arrived at Eldridge House at about 10.30 p.m. I thought *en route* I would sec into the question of obtaining supplies in a hotel, and so when shown up to my room I turned to my dark pilot and said, "See here, I'm not a Good Templar. Now George, is there any way of getting a drink." It is always safe to call a darkey George. He replied. "I guess I can get you a bottle, sah." I said, "A bottle?" "Yes sah, a bottle of beer." I bade him go ahead, and after an absence of a few minutes returned bearing a bottle under his coat. He produced this after first locking the door, then asked had I a corkscrew. His manner of putting the question aroused my suspicion that he was testing, and I replied that I usually carried one but hadn't it then, following this by an injunction to break the neck. "That's all right, sah, I'se got one," and straightway produced the article and opened the bottle. I poured out a glass of the beer, and George inquired if I would pay for it then or have it booked. I paid 25 cents and gave the darkey a like amount for his trouble. On an examination of the bottle I found it had been brewed by Schlitz. & Co.. Pilsener

lager beer brewed for export, and I doubt not known to some of our Australian hotelkeepers. I inquired of the darkey if there were any joints, and he guessed there were. Asked where I could get whiskey, he said I'd have to swear my life away in a druggists to get any. If I wanted any beer and would visit a billiard saloon close by I might get it. The next day I visited this spot and saw plenty of beer dispensed. As I passed down the main street I likewise saw in front of an Express Agency about eight barrels of beer and a dozen cases bearing brewers' address cards lying on the sidewalk, doubtless awaiting delivery. I obtained statistics from the County Clerk regarding population and later interviewed Mr. Jno. Charlton, one of the Justices of the Peace—there are two in this city.

"Topeka."—I reached this, the capital city, at 7 p.m., May 27th, and put up at the Hotel Throop. I did not doubt my ability to obtain liquors here, but considered my Lawrence experience had proven this. Had dinner, and journeyed through the main street. There is only one business street, known as Kansas Avenue. There is a fine broad street—140ft. broad. Could not locate to my own satisfaction the existence of any joint, so eventually decided to try my luck in a billiard-saloon. I entered one situate near the Post-office. I noticed in the window several bottles of hop tea, etc. I watched the play, and at the same time the bar near the doorway—by bar I mean a counter behind which stood an ice-chest, and beside it a large barrel, which bore a close impression to some I had been shown in the brewery at Kansas City, used there for conveying bottled beer. I asked the ostensible keeper of the saloon if he could find me any one to play a game with. He accommodated me, and in the course of the game I made it apparent I was a stranger, and stated I came from Australia. When the game had ended I invited my opponent to drink, and he accepted. We strolled to the bar and queried what I would take. I replied, "Oh, some hop tea, but hot." I thought this addendum, even though not a local password, would, perhaps, lead to the production of beer. He took from the ice-chest a bottle labelled "hop tea," Then apparently searched for a corkscrew, and commenced to curse his luck. I replied that I had not mine with me, though I usually carried one, and this apparently satisfied him, for, turning to one of the players, he asked him to lend his. This done, he ignored the existence of the bottle he had brought out, and going to the ice-chest took out another bottle, one having no label, and opening it, poured out two glasses of beer. Then he volunteered the information that if I had any friends I would bring them round it would be all right. He invited me to finish the bottle with him and I did so, paying ten cents, for my two drinks. During my stay in this place, lasting six days, I visited the State buildings, interviewed the Governor of the State, Attorney-General, Superintendent of State Lunatic Asylum, Messrs. Gleed, Griffin, Mohler, and other prominent Prohibitionists, the Chief of Police, Probate Judge, President of Police Commission, Messrs. McKinley and Jones (two prominent druggists, one of whom is also a M.D.) Not one of these denied the existence of drinking. The chief argument was, there are no open saloons. The population of Topeka is 33,245, and from the Probate Judge I obtained an instructive return, viz: that in the last twelve months 70,192 affidavits for liquor supply were filed by twenty-nine druggists (average). Now, if you divide this into thirds and say, one-third obtained half a pint of whisky (the minimum), one-third a pint (the maximum), and one-third four bottles of beer (the only sale allowed). You get these returns as Topekan licensed "medicine "Bill under a Prohibition law:

Each bottle of beer holds a quart, and costs 25 cents. Each pint of whisky costs a dollar. Thus we get
Or in English money, £12,083 13s. 8d.

Now the school population of the county is 17,079, which, deducted from the gross census of the county of 49,483, given an adult total of 32,454 to share this consumption. This allows nothing for the clubs, joints, private consumption, and other numerous heads under which beer and spirits are imported into the county, and of which no returns could ever be made. May 30 here was Commemoration Day, and of course a holiday, and I had some curious experiences that day. Early in the morning I interviewed Mr. Gleed, a prominent prohibitionist; and later in the day his brother, Mr. J. W. Gleed, also a solicitor, and his partner accompanied me to Mr. Murray's office—Mr. Murray is the father of the Prohibition Law—for the purpose of introducing me to that gentleman. Mr. Murray was not in, and during the course of general conversation with Mr. Griffeu, founder of the Republican Anti-Saloon Association, I enquired if the authorities had an Inspector of Adulteration, whose duty it was to see no sales of beer or spirits were made under the guise of harmless drinks; also incidentally remarking that I had not yet tested some of the refreshing beverages I saw advertised as "Hop Tea." "Hop Tonic," "Good for your Nerves," "The Finest Nerve Tonic," &c, &c; but that for my own satisfaction I intended doing so before leaving. Mr. Gleed said no such officer existed, but had always been under the impression these drinks were harmless, and suggested an immediate test of "Hop Tea." I readily assented, and asked him to lead the way, which he did, and took me to a shop at the junction of Kansas Avenue and Eighth Street. Outside was a stand containing some sixty or seventy bottles of various tonics. We entered, and he called for "Hop Tea." Said the man, "Do you want a bottle?" "Yes, lets have a bottle "said Mr. G.; and here I interpolated, "It's hot, very hot." The man looked at me, and then went to the ice chest, and returned with a pottle bearing a "Hop Tea" label. Could not extract the cork, so called assistance, got it drawn, and poured out two glasses of frothing amber liquid. One mouthful was sufficient to satisfy me that I had got beer, and beer of

a very indifferent quality at that. I said nothing; but as my companion completed drinking his, I had to follow suit. He paid 20 cents—exactly double what in an open saloon would be the charge for the best lager—and on our regaining the foot-path I asked, "How do you like 'Hop Tea.'" My companion replied, "Well, I have done some beer drinking when I was in Germany, and it seemed to me that, from what I recollect of the taste of beer, what we've just had tasted very like beer." I replied, "I had little doubt it was, and bad beer at that;" and added, "that we had unintentionally broken the law, or at least aided in so doing." I said, "If you had an officer who could go in and demand the seizure of one of those bottles in that ice chest, seal it up to the satisfaction of the vendor, and then place it in the hands of your State Analyst, I would bet on his examination proving it to be a fermented beverage which I should call beer; and if this was not the result I would willingly pay all incidental costs." Of course no such method of dealing with the case was obtainable. Mr. Gleed, however, later on related to his brother, and likewise to Mr. Welsh (ex County Attorney, and a hard worker for the enforcement of the law during his term of office) his belief that we had been drinking beer. During our journey I called Mr. G.'s attention to two lads of about fifteen, who were staggering in the streets, and bore every impress of being under alcoholic influences. After I left Mr. G.'s office, and was journeying to my hotel, I encountered a trio of worshippers of the Bacchanalian order, who were in a tit condition to be locked up even in the most lax city; yet a city officer was wrangling with one of them, and eventually left them masters of the field, doubtless realising he could not handle all three. This was in the main street, and a large crowd of onlookers witnessed the altercation. Another "happy" individual came out of the billiard saloon I have referred to, and sidled down the street making a very lengthy passage of his route. These are the first drunkards I have encountered in Kansas. A curious record for the severest Prohibition City in the United States—four drunken men and two boys in one afternoon, on the main thoroughfare.

"Junction City."—I arrived here at 9.45 p.m., June 1st. I find, by reference to statistics that the population of the city (which is the county town of Geary County) is 4,051 persons. It consists of one main street, where, as usual, all the business premises are situate. They are not numerous, nor do they bear the impress of doing a huge business. There are four drug stores, however. I put up at Bartell House, and even as we drove through the city from the railway station, I, in my own mind, located several likely-looking places wherein I could find joints. As a usual rule, if you see a store (shop) with central folding-door, dark drawn blinds, yet a bright light evidently burning behind them, you are pretty safe in entering, going around the screen, and finding a bar; in fact, the reproduction in country places of the bars we find in some of our smaller hotels. I put my things in my hotel and strolled out, eventually entering one of my suspected places. I was not mistaken. There, once round the screen which blocked the entrance, I found a large barroom, having very fine appointments and a large safe in one corner, whilst the presumable proprietor was operating a typewriter. The bar-tender was a colored man, and my demand for "a beer George" received quick attention. I strolled into an adjoining billiard-saloon entrance, to which was gained through a partition having roller doors. This saloon had four billiard tables, a bagatelle-table, and two card-tables. I watched the play, and likewise the bar, for about a quarter of an hour, during which time a good business was done. One group of patrons who entered consisted of four youths, the oldest about nineteen years of age, and all evidently the worse for previous libations. They (different members of them) "set 'em up" just three times, then staggered off. I left, and was about to seek my room when I thought one single instance was, perhaps, not a fair trial, so I journeyed to the other end of the town, and located another likely joint, and entering found the usual bar, with five army men in uniform standing at the bar drinking beer. I had a beer and left. The next day I interviewed Mr. Hurley (candidate at last election for Congress in the Prohibition interest), and the editors of both papers. There was no attempt on their part to shield the illicit trade prevailing. Mr. Hurley lamented their inability to suppress it, but pointed out that the whole of the city officials favoured it. From the "Junction City Tribune," of April 27th, I obtained a list of fines levied against intoxicant sellers, shewing that during the eleven months ended March last, 105 persons were fined 50 dollars each. There were 34 "taxations" of 25 dollars each again gambling-house keepers, 7 "taxations" of 10 dollars each, 21 "taxations" of 10 dollars each for keeping houses of ill-fame, and four of 25 dollars for a similar purpose. The paper in question, a strong advocate for Prohibition, published the list of "fines" taken from the Court records, but the editor informed me there were never any judiciary investigations, but that this was a system of assessment (despite the prohibitory law which provides a minimum penalty of 100 dollars, together with thirty days in gaol) and was collected monthly.

"Saline" (June 3).—I reached this pretty little city, the county seat of Saline County, at 6 p.m., and put up at the National Hotel. The city has a population of 6,341 persons, and is a big educational centre, and one of the most important of Kansas central cities. From the Probate Judge, whom I immediately interviewed, I learned that there were "joints" in the city, although their existence was not recognised, and they had "outlawed the open saloon." Mr. A. C. Potter's statement speaks for itself. I next interviewed the City Marshall, whose remarks also will be found. In the evening I visited one of the liquor-selling places, a cigar store, through which you passed to a kitchen, where beer can be found in a stone filter jar, or else a wooden cleft in the corner. I

sampled a bottle of lager, and payment was made under the ostensible guise of paying for cigars as you left. I did not deem it necessary, in view of the statement of the City Marshall, that I should further prove the existence. At my hotel I called for beer, having a visitor in my room, and was supplied without any demur.

"McPherson" (June 3).—I got here at 10.30 a.m., and quickly made the acquaintance of a local resident, who kindly gave me introductions; and further, although a temperance man, yet pointed out five "joints" within a space of 100 yards or thereabouts. I interviewed the Mayor and Probate Judge, also editor of local paper. They all admitted there were "joints," but they are not run under permits or fines as in some cities. In the afternoon I went into a billiard saloon, and noticing a goodly number of visitors going upstairs, through a locked door, I gave my card to the proprietor and told him I'd like to go up to the club room if he didn't mind. Satisfied that I would not give him away he opened the door, and I went upstairs and found the usual bar, got a bottle of beer, of which I drank a glass, and having paid 25 cents for it left.

"Wichita" (June 3).—Got here at 10.30 p.m. Put up at the Manhattan Hotel, and got a staggerer, for on coming downstairs I saw a passage leading from the hotel office and hall into a "sample room." Investigation showed this was a bar-room or saloon, splendidly fitted, and doing a good trade. An exit from here gave admission to a large billiard saloon and barber's shop. On Sunday (June 4), time being pressing, I interviewed the Chief of Police and the President of the Police Commission, and learned how the "fine system" is worked. There is no difference whatever in the hotels here and in Melbourne or Sydney, or say Coker's Hotel, Christchurch, for the bar is off the street; but it is a "joint," and is not run by the hotel proprietor, who merely leases the premises. Mr. Coves' statements I think well to reproduce in verbatim form, giving both question and answer. Monday I took a Kodak view of an interior of one of these saloons, but cannot yet say with what result. I left for Chicago at eleven o'clock. Wichita is the county seat of Sedgwick, and has a population of 20,728. It is splendidly laid out—has tramways (electric), and electric lighting.

"Newton" (June 5)—*En route* to Chicago we stay here half-an-hour. Whilst we were standing in the station we took occasion to enquire of a hotel-runner who was on the platform as to how things were worked there. He said, "We used to run joints in every hotel, and some in other places like Wischita, but now they're kept quiet, but if you want a drink go over to that hotel and say I told you; there's always some there." I didn't go, for I feared the safety of my passage, but the incident is worth reproducing. Newton is a city having a population of about 5000 persons.

REVIEW.—Thus it will be seen, in all the cities visited by me, I have never failed to get supplies without resorting to even as much trickery as is at times necessary in New Zealand to get served on a Sunday. I purpose, if possible, when *en route* to Iowa, to visit Leavenworth and Atchison, but even if I do not do so, I think it will be conceded by Prohibitionists themselves that I have fairly proven that no such thing as prevention exists, that their very preventive law offers a premium for perjuring one's self, and therefore must have a bad effect, that young people are not prevented from acquainting themselves with the character of strong drink, and that such a widespread and universal (so far as the Kansan is concerned) violation of a law is demoralising. I shall hereafter endeavour to put more convincing figures on the subject of the kansan Licensed Drink Bill, or, in other words, the huge sale by druggists, but time is required to gather returns from the head centres, as in this State it is impossible to get a formulated return shewing anything in complete form. It is owing to the miserable system of local self-government without any statistical bureau at the capital. For this reason I cannot possibly furnish any details regarding the growth or decrease of crime, and any that may be published by advocates of Prohibition are, in the face of existing circumstances, just personal collections, and may be complete or incomplete. One thing certain is, there is no authoritative work wherewith to check any statements set forth. In such cases as were possible I have submitted transcripts of notes made of inter-views to those interviewed, in order to obviate even small mistakes creeping in Those so submitted bear certificates at the foot.

H. Gilbert Stringer,
Special Newspaper Correspondent, and Official Shorthand-writer to the Tasmanian Parliament.

3220, Indiano Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois, U.A.A.,

June 16th, 1893.

Copy of Report furnished by Punkerton's

National Detective Agency:

Kansas City, Mo., May 26th, 1893. H. Gilbert Stringer, Esq., City.

Dear Sir,

Operative W. J. M. reports as follows:— Thursday, May 25th, 1893. Today in Kansas City:—

In compliance with instructions received from Supt. C. H. E., I left the Agency at 7 p.m., and proceeded to the Midland Hotel, where I reported to H. Gilbert Stringer, for the purpose of accompanying him to Kansas City, Kansas, and point out him places where liquor is sold. On my arrival at the hotel I sent my card to Room 241, which was occupied by Mr. Stringer, and in a few moments was joined by him; as it was raining quite hard, Mr. Stringer invited me to his room where he informed me fully as to what he desired. At 7.30 p.m. in company with Mr. Stringer, I left the hotel and proceeded *via* 5th St. Cable line to the Kansas State line. The first place I visited was Maltby's pool room, No. 4 Central Avenue, which was open but was doing no business; I also noticed that the bar had been removed. We then proceeded upstairs to the gambling room which was crowded with players; after looking over the games I asked one of the employees, with whom I was acquainted, what became of the bar, and he said that Mr. Maltby had had a quarrel with Mr. Hanson, the owner of the building, and was compelled to close up the bar on this account.

We then proceeded to No. 10 Central Avenue. Above this saloon is a gambling room. When we entered we found several men at the bar drinking: we called for some beer, which was delivered to us without any ceremony whatever. After drinking the beer we went upstairs to the gambling room, where also we found a large number of players. The door of this saloon was wide open, and the bar and parties drinking could be plainly seen by passers by.

We next proceeded to No. 6 James Street. This is a large room 150 x 50, and is occupied as a pool room; in one corner of the room there is a large open bar, which is shut off from the street by means of large curtains hung from a pole. We stepped up to the bar, called for drinks, which were promptly served; there were six or seven other parties drinking at the bar at the same time.

After leaving this saloon we proceeded north on James St. to No. 85. This is an ordinary larger beer saloon, with no gambling house attached. The saloon has regular bar fixtures and an ice box. We entered through the side door and found several men drinking; also a city officer in full uniform standing at the bar. We called for some beer which was promptly served, and after drinking same left and again boarding a cable tram, proceeded to the Ruys House on Minnesota Avenue. This is the principal hotel in Kansas City, Kansas. We entered, and going up to clerk informed him that we would like to have a drink. He stated that they did not keep liquor, but that if we would go across the way to No. 420 we could get anything we wished. Thanking him for the information we proceeded to the place designated, which was a cigar store on one side, and a cigar manufactory on the other side in front. Passing through these we entered through a wooden partition, and found a regular bar in the rear, with several men playing cards for drinks. We called for some beer which was served in the regular way, and after partly drinking same we left.

We next entered a drug store a few stores further on, and asked the attendant if he could oblige us with some whiskey. He informed us that he did not keep any, but that if we would go across the way to No. 525, Minnesota Avenue, that there I was a joint upstairs where we could be supplied. We proceeded at once to the above number, and on going upstairs we found it to be a gambling house. On knocking at the door a man opened the same, and we told him what we desired; he then instructed us to pass through the centre door at the head of the stairs; and on entering we found several pool and billiard tables, with several persons playing. To the left of this is a regular bar. We called for some beer, which was also promptly served. In the rear room, to which there was an open door, there were several parties playing poker. After remaining for a few minutes we left, and proceeded to the drug store, No. 430, Minnesota Avenue. We stood up to the soda fountain, and when the clerk came to wait on us I told him we would like to have a little whiskey and cherry phosphate. His answer was that he could give us some good "Wild Cherry Phosphate." He then took a bottle labelled "Wild Cherry Phosphate," and poured some whiskey which it contained into a glass. He then took another bottle which was labelled "Cherry Phosphate," and poured a portion of it into the whiskey. He asked me if I wanted any mineral water in mine, and I told him I wanted just enough to kill the whiskey. After drinking a portion of this drink—there was no doubt about its being whiskey, and very bad whiskey at that—we left the store, and, Mr. Stringer being satisfied with what he had observed, we boarded a cable car and returned to Kansas City, Missouri, where I accompanied Mr. Stringer to the Midland Hotel, and there left him.

Yours respectfully,

Pinkerton's National Detective Agency.

By W. A. Pinkerton.
C. H. Eppesheimer,
Resident Supt.

Statement by Mr John Charlton, Justice of the Peace, for the City of Lawrence, made on May 27th, 1893.

[The American Justices are all salaried officials having a jurisdiction almost identical with that of a Resident Magistrate in New Zealand.]

I am one of two Justices of the Peace for this city, From an examination of my record book I find there have been 18 charges and convictions made before me for breaches of the Probation Statute since July 10th, 1889. In all of these the Act being mandatory, fines and sentences of imprisonment were recorded. The draft form of indictment is "For selling intoxicating liquors without having a permit, as required by law." The law, of course, allows the sale by druggists under certain circumstances. Every sale made contra to law is a count, and the penalty is 30 days' imprisonment, and a fine of not less than 100 dollars, with a maximum period of imprisonment of 90 days, and a fine of 500 dollars. From a lengthy and personal observation I am certain that in very few cities is the law rigidly enforced. The few instances are places having very small populations, but in none of the large cities is a person unable to obtain liquor, and this without the necessity to make the declaration before a druggist, as required by law. In the larger cities in Kansas licenses are granted in the shape of fines levied on the liquor sellers (or as they are better known here, the "joint-keepers,") and collected without any preliminary judiciary investigation by the civic authorities. Generally this collection is made by the police. The call made on the joint-keeper in this direction usually occurs monthly. In other instance, the joint-keeper comes up once a month, and voluntarily tender the fine, which goes to swell the city revenue. In relation to the use made of the fines inflicted for breaches of the law, that is fines arising from cases of liquor-selling investigated by the courts, part of these go to the informer, when recovered, but I do not hesitate to assert that not more than three of the fines I have inflicted in the period mentioned were ever collected. The offenders are generally pardoned, and I know instances have occurred in which the order for [unclear: the] pardon has been procured by telegraph. In others, as the defendants have no money, they would only become a State burden if detained in prison, I have no doubt "joints" exist in this city, but it would be extremely difficult, it not an impossibility, to eradicate them. I am not a drinking man, in fact I am a temperance man, a member of a church, and have never been in a saloon in this city, but I do not doubt if I made an effort it would be possible to find quite a dozen different places where you could obtain liquor—places of the "joint" description, not druggists' stores. Pardons have to be granted by the Governor, and, as a rule, the persons convicted under the Act serve the whole, or major part of the term of imprisonment thus involved. We have no alternative period of imprisonment in the event of the fine not being paid. The County Commissioners cannot pardon, or I do not doubt even that portion of the sentences relating to imprisonment would have been remitted. The result of Prohibition has been to create a system of sending across the State line for liquor, which is delivered at the homes of the drinkers, and in many instances the homes of families are flooded with it. The express system is the means of transportation, and these companies do an enormous business in furnishing liquors. I have a son who is an express messenger on one of the railroads running into this State, and from him I learn that every time his train (once daily) enters the State the car of which he has charge carries an average of 800 packages of liquor to residents in the State where Prohibition is the law of the land. This, of course, is only one instance out of the many trains which daily enter the State. Three-fourths of the convictions made under the Act, in so far as my experience goes, are proven in evidence to have *notice a propense* as the originary cause of the laying of the information; or else they are made just before an election fight to win party support. So far as the amount of whisky consumed is concerned, there does not, to the casual observer, seem to be a bit of difference. As I have said I have never entered a drinking saloon in my life, but my conscientious opinion based upon observations made is that so far as Kansas State is concerned Prohibition has not effected a reduction of ten per cent, in the drinking done in the State. Virtually, of course, the fining system I have described is a license, for while the joint-keepers pay monthly they are not interfered with. In Hayes City they have a system in vogue by which the liquor-sellers all own billiard-tables, and there a license for keeping a billiard saloon is fixed at 25 dollars a month. The right to keep a table implies the right to violate the law regarding Prohibition, for they are never interfered with. I give you my word of honor that so far as I have been able to judge, and there are few men who read the newspapers more than I do, there is not one-tenth of the editors and leading newspaper men in this State who are practical Prohibitionists.

Mr. W. A. Sells, President of the Metropolitan Police Commission, Topeka, replying to questions put,

said:—

When the Prohibition Bill became law, and for two years afterwards, it was virtually a dead letter. Since then, however, I think we have been attempting to enforce it. Since its passage I should estimate that fully two-thirds of our litigation has arisen from efforts to enforce the law, but in my opinion it has proven an entire failure. I am a Temperance man but cannot help expressing this opinion. It is the most outrageous failure ever perpetrated on a people in the form of law giving, for whilst it prohibits it does not prevent. What it does is to drive away from the State, keep them from coming amongst us and increasing our settlement, a class of men who, were it not for Prohibition, would come in and develop our country, now they shun us and settle elsewhere. An instance of this is that all German or English immigrants give us the go-by. No German will come here because he is a believer in, and wants his beer. Thus it is that a Prohibition State does not suit him, and he goes elsewhere, but no one will deny that Germans and English make good citizens and settlers. Our State has been badly run, for there has not been a fad or an "ism" that has not been eagerly seized upon by our people, and they have had to suffer for it afterwards. My observations made regarding the working of the law are not confined merely to an acquaintance with this city, as I have done a great deal, a very great amount of travelling throughout the States. As a result of Prohibition, for it has followed its introduction, property has decreased in value. I am a large holder of property here, and if I could to-day realise the money I have invested in it. I would gladly quit the lot, and likewise the State. It is only my interest which I cannot quit at reasonable figures, that keeps me in it. The most reprehensible feature of the law is that it offers a direct premium to a man to perjure himself, that is if he is determined to have whiskey or beer, and cannot order in bulk from the wholesalers in Kansas City. What has been done in the immediate past, but in my opinion no thanks are due to the Prohibitory law, is to gain ground against the drink evil by moral suasion. Then too, the class of our residents is changed. The western rough element which accompanied early settlement has departed, not driven out by Prohibition, as some of its advocates would have you believe, but swept aside as in all new communities by the influx of a better class. I have no hesitation in asserting that the passing of the law arose from political motives, and not as the result of the change of opinion resulting from the agitation of the Prohibition party. Party politics demanded, in order that the Republican party should retain its power and control legislation, that there should be an alliance between the Republicans and the Prohibitionists. Why, the night the law was passed I know as a fact that many of the legislators who voted for it were drunk in the legislative building. If any body of men ever acted conscientiously and endeavored to enforce the Act, it has been the Topeka Police Commission, but I feel confident that even now liquor is being freely and constantly sold in direct violation to the law, and under no druggist's permit clock. The club system, too is most pernicious, as anyone can readily understand. There will always be a certain number of men who, despite the law to the contrary, will have drink, men not necessarily drunkards, but often times just moderates. I cannot give any estimate of the average per year of convictions for drunkenness. I am of belief from personal observations that eight out of every ten visitors to a drug store after ten o'clock at night come simply to purchase liquors. I would not like to offer any estimate as to how many knowingly break the law. I do not hesitate to say that large quantities of liquor are acquired in drug stores without any declaration or affidavit being made. The Prohibition law has certainly been more rigidly observed here than anywhere else in the State.

Mr. F. R. Jones, druggist, of Kansas Avenue, Topeka, in reply to questions, said: I think the fact that we have no open saloons is the most desirable feature of the Prohibitory Statute. My honest conviction regarding the working of the system of sales by druggists is that not more than one in twenty-five purchasers who make affidavit as to the ailments they would alleviate or cure with the whisky they buy really require it for medicinal purposes. I feel confident four per cent, is not below the mark. There is probably no city in the world where Prohibition is more rigidly enforced than it is in Topeka. The principal drinking aids in this city are what are known as clubs. It is not necessary for them to register a club, and thus establish its identity and membership, but a number of men can jointly rent a place, and this need not be more than a single room. Then they order in what they please, and drink as much and as often as they like. There is, of course, the statement in order to keep outside the law, that every man has his own stock of liquors, and nobody buys or sells. I cannot estimate the probable number of these, but they are very numerous. They are neither more or less than places rented for the purpose of evading the law. The sales I have recorded during the month of May (to-day being the last day) are 232. That is hardly up to the average. There are quite two hundred cases of sales of whisky, and I never sell less than half-a-pint or more than a pint. You could fairly estimate that one-half would be half-pints, and the balance pints. I have known instances where as many as five hundred sales in a month have been registered by a druggist. I do not think Prohibition is so effectual in dealing with the curse of drink as is a high license system. My reason for saying this is, that the Prohibitory legislation has a bad effect upon the morality of a people when it leads men to wilfully perjure themselves. Further, it does not prevent the drinking, although it may, and I believe does, diminish it, but also does a high-license system, without degrading a man who will have a drink. I have had illustrations where men have gone from the State, before Prohibition was in force, and

obtained work in a licensed district. They were sober men there, and, perhaps, did not enter a saloon (but I cannot say this of my own knowledge). Well, they returned here and found Prohibition, and the first thing they did was to obtain whisky and get drunk. Further, I think the Act has a bad effect upon young men, and it is "smart" to evade and break the law in such a case as this. They want to see and know something about it for themselves, and to do this they have to sink all that which is manly and honourable and resort to trickery to get an acquaintance with beer or whisky, whereas had you not forbidden them the possibilities are the ideas would never have entered their heads. It is a mistaken idea to think that by taking away the saloons you have removed the temptation or the possibilities of the creation of an appetite for strong drink. I base my remarks upon an acquaintance in two States—Maine and Kansas—with the working of Prohibition, and I have been here during a period of sixteen years. Prior to the introduction of Prohibition, we were as a city advancing rapidly. Since then we have been retrograding, and I consider you have to kill a town, make it a dead spot, take all the life-and-go-ahead-business energy out of it before you can enforce Prohibition. You can't find any such thing as Prohibition in any lively town full of business, and one that is making rapid forward strides. I am of opinion that if druggists had never had the right to sell liquor under the Act, if they had remained as druggists and drug stores alone, you would not have found more than sixty per cent, of the number there are now existent in the city. Take away the sale of liquor and the remainder could not exist.

(Transcript shown to Mr. Jones, and admitted to be correct; but he declined to sign it for business reasons.)

Mr. L. D. McKinley, M.D., stated in reply to questions:—I am a doctor of medicine, and proprietor of the Chesterfield Pharmacy. I have been in the drug store business in this city (Topeka) for five years. During that period I have taken particular pains to ask persons who have come into my drug store for the purpose of buying whisky to declare, as required by the prohibitory law, what disease they desire to apply the whisky to. I am always very cautious to completely fill out the form. I have had instances in which men have said when I have demanded their signature to the affidavit, "Well, I don't like to sign that." My reply has been, "Well, that is the law, sir." Then they sometimes get pretty hot on the subject, and knowing their Republican tendencies, say, "I suppose you voted for the law, didn't you?" and the general reply is, "Yes, I did, but now I find I am mistaken." From observations made respecting the character of the men who come to buy whiskey, I honestly believe that not more than five per cent. really and truly obtain it as a medicine; in other words ninety-five per cent, of the whisky buyers knowingly perjure themselves. I have also had men say to me. "I voted for this law because it was in our platform (meaning their party platform), but I have the most supreme contempt for it as a law." A drug store in this city is usually open from 7.30 a.m. until 11 p.m. I know of one drug store in the city that regularly remains open until midnight, and there are occasional cases to be found where they remain open even later; the first-mentioned hours are, however, the fair average. We have had drug stores opened in the city whose proprietors avowed that they would sell no liquor, but they quickly tired of this. One instance occurred in which the proprietor after running a strictly temperance drug store remarked to me that he would (having failed to make the thing pay, although a musical instrument establishment was joined into the concern) have to apply for a permit to sell, and he did so. If the law was to be now altered pro-venting drug storekeepers from selling as at present, I am of opinion that at present stores now existent would retire from what would be then a non-paying business. In order to get a permit I have first to obtain the signatures to a petition to the Probate Judge of twenty-five respectable women. With the application I pay a filing fee of five dollars. The judge fixes a day of hearing, and this has to be advertised thirty days before the sitting of the Court. If a permit is issued, I have to file a bond of a thousand dollars to protect the State against any ill doing on my part, and then upon payment of twenty-five dollars I get the United States license to sell. On the last day of every month I have to complete a return of all transactions in relation to sales or purchases of liquors, and of all stock in hand. For the affidavit forms I am charged by the County 75 cents per hundred, and when I file my return of sales and lodge the affidavit, there is a charge for filing of a dollar and a half for every hundred sales I have made. My sales range from 175 to 275 per month. I only sell a half-a-pint or a pint of whisky per time, or four bottles of beer if that is what is asked for. The price for that quantity of beer is a dollar. I do not object to your seeing my affidavit books for this month. They total up to the present 271 sales; of course we shall close the list when we shut up store to-night. I find on reference to my record of April sales that I sold 14 gallons, 3 pints of whiskey, and 432 dozen bottles of beer. That is a fair average month's sales. Of course it might vary a little according to the weather, as in hot weather there is more demand for beer, and in cold whisky is the "medicine" most sought after.

I have acquainted myself with the above transcript of notes of my statements made at an interview with Mr. H. Gilbert Stringer, and find them faithfully recorded therein.

L. D. MCKINLEY.
Topeka,

June 1st, 1893.

RETURN of a MONTH'S SALFS, made on affidavit extracted from Mr. McKinley's book of affidavits.

Statement of Major S. J. Anderson, an ex-member of the State Legislature, and present Assistant-General Ticket Agent of the Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, living at Topeka:—My opinion regarding Prohibition is that it is an impossibility to enforce the law should public sentiment be opposed to it, as is the case in many of our large cities. I think the opposition to the law largely arises from change of population. Of course, the hardened drinker you will hardly ever succeed in converting to the viewing of the law with favour, and then the stranger coming in from other parts feel the restraint. One of its advantages is that the open saloon has disappeared, and this, I hope, will have a beneficial advantage on the young men. The law undoubtedly prejudicially affects settlement, for it keeps away many desirable settlers, who, as in the case of the Germans, must have their beer, and who, whilst they drink in moderation, are certainly an example to some others of our settlers who do not admit that they themselves do so. I have no doubt, in my own mind, that the man accustomed to drinking, even if a moderate, would not attach much weight to the affidavit required under the Act, although, as you point out, it would decidedly be perjury. This, of course, applies only in general, and not in individual cases.

Statement made by Governor Llewellyn.

Prohibition has not been a success in the centres of population in Kansas, and the difficulty arises from the fact that in these places public sentiment cannot be brought to the support of the law; the Act, indeed, being in such instances most unpopular. Now, Leavenworth for example, and Kansas City, Kansas, and Wichita are three of our largest cities, but in each and all of these public sentiment is so overwhelmingly against the law as it now stands that something in the form of a regulation of the traffic, which it is an impossibility to suppress, has been locally undertaken. In these places, I live in Wichita myself, there is an undoubted inclination for the institution of some form of high license. In the rural districts and a large number of country towns or cities, prohibition has proven fairly successful. I think if a plebescite was taken on the subject of a repeal of the law the result would be most difficult to foretell, as in my opinion public sentiment is pretty evenly balanced. On an occasion like that, where there is to be a vote by the people, there is more or less agitation and discussion, and the voters get worked up, whilst at the same time party interests get imported into the contest, but I think if a direct and immediate vote was obtainable without any previous agitation it is possible the repeal would follow. I have no hesitation in saying that the voting for prohibition would not be so large as when the vote to amend the constitution was taken. Whether there would be a sufficient number to carry prohibition is a very doubtful question. Changes have arisen in the voting powers of parties since the passage of the law. One contributory cause has been the class of immigration which has in many instances had to supply the vacancies caused by emigration. I am an ex-resident of Iowa, where I lived several years, and undoubtedly in the case of that State this cause strongly contributed to the present anti-prohibition feeling existent in that State. There emigration from Iowa of prohibitionists who settled in the Dakota has been followed by the influx of Germans and other foreigners, who whilst they are good settlers and fine agriculturists, yet entirely disbelieve in prohibition. There has been some change in Kansas from a similar cause, but we have not had so great an influx to replace the people we lost at the time of the settlement of the Indian territory. Then, too, a good many people who voted solid for prohibition have become convinced by results that the law cannot be satisfactorily enforced. I do not think that prohibition working under the administration of a National police such as you instance as existing in New Zealand would prove any more successful than it has done here. I think this is the city in the whole of the United States where Prohibition is best enforced. We have no open saloons, but I will not say it is not possible for a man to get a drink of beer in an open store, or shop, and drink same in view of the passing public. Indeed, after what you have related to me, I should say it was not a difficult matter, but had you not related some of your own experiences, I should from my personal observation have said such were almost an impossibility. I know, of course, that there are clubs as I have said, in fact I am aware of the existence of two German clubs, and another called The Elks. I believe the Germans drink in thoroughly Socialistic style from a common store, but in the Elks every man possesses his own locker. Undoubtedly other like institutions exist, but I cannot speak from personal knowledge. I should not think great difficulty would be experienced by a stranger in

obtaining supplies at his hotel. It is unfortunate that the law, owing to its not being administered in our centres of population, leads young men and others to regard with some contempt all legal restrictions. This must have a demoralising effect. In Wichita the "joints" are run in an open manner, that is they have all liquor bars, but they do not front on the street, and the keepers are fined monthly in such a manner that whilst they are not made amenable under the Prohibition law (which inflicts penalties of imprisonment as well as fines) they yet indirectly contribute largely to the city revenue in the form of fines for breaches of some city ordinance.

Statement of George H. Meyer, City Marshal (Chief of Police) for the City of Saline:—My opinion regarding Prohibition and its effect upon this community is that whilst its introduction has led a number of men to abandon drinking, yet I believe a greater number have, owing to the existence of Prohibition, started drinking that otherwise would have probably left it alone. This because the moment you prohibit them these men are determined to have it. Then, again, we have a class of men whom we call "bottle-leggers." They send for a keg of liquor, then sell it in some out-of-the-way place. I have known them even say to a man, "You can have all your drink free: just bring me customers." This is an inducement to old toppers to tout for them, and oftentimes young fellows, who would never be seen going into an open saloon, will visit these joints, believing it is something manly to deft the law, and that their relatives will never know anything. Then another evil is the numerous societies which are inaugurated solely for the purpose of getting young people together that drink may be introduced under one plea or another. Card-playing clubs, even singing societies, are not free from it, and in this latter instance I speak with the certain knowledge of having been asked to become a member of such a society, when in course of formation, and on my putting the question, "Do you intend to introduce any drink?" was told they had thought of getting in a barrel of beer for subsequent refreshment. I declined to join that "singing." The profit derived from the sale of beer on such occasions, for it is retailed at five cents a glass, just as it would be in an open saloon, and is not a keg set up in a room where members can help themselves, is usually divided by the originators of the schemes. Now, I do not believe, even if we had open saloons, we could run the thing in better shape than it is at present. Our system is this: Although there are no regular recognised saloons doing business and paying monthly fines to the municipality, as you will find in some other cities in the State, yet there are joints, and we do not interfere with them so long as they do not sell to minors or drunken persons, or supply habitual drunkards. We do not close them all up, because if we did so to-day, to-morrow just as many would start up elsewhere in the city, and then you could readily bankrupt a county by a lot of these cases, for, the witnesses' expenses would be excessive, and then it is next to impossible to get a conviction. In my opinion Prohibition has proved a failure. It not only takes our surplus money out of the State, but bads young men whom, I am positive, would not be seen going into a saloon to lower their manhood, and sneak into places where liquor of the vilest quality is being sold. These young fellows think that their purpose in walking, say into a billiard-saloon, or through a cigar store into a backroom, is never divined, and that nobody is any the wiser as to the reason for their going into the place, I think if you would stay in this city for a few days and watch at the railway depots the quantity of stuff that comes into the place, you would quickly realise what a farce the law in its present form is. Why, I should estimate that we have one or two carloads a week come in here, and then additional to this are all the cases of bottled liquors. We gave the monthly fine system a trial two years ago, but it was not a success, because we found that some of the keepers considered that having paid this they could carry on just as they liked. Of course, we quickly stopped that, but we find we can best keep them in bounds by letting them sell quietly, and keep the young people off their premises. In cases in which fines have been inflicted they just got somebody else to act as their agents, and went on selling again. Now, you see a case of beer containing two dozen bottles costs wholesale two dollars sixty-five cents, and the bottles can be retailed in a joint at twenty-five Cents each—a good profit. I am in favour of a high license system, with a limitation of licenses based upon population. We had sixteen saloons here before the law of prohibition came in. Well, for the last few months we have not had much trouble, but before that period there was considerable drinking going on. Now we have got the joint-keepers pretty well in hand, so that they know who to sell to, and also know that we will stand no nonsense. The United States Revenue Returns show that there are twenty-eight holders of United States licenses to sell intoxicating liquor. Four of those are druggists, so it is not a difficult thing to arrive at the conclusion that we have somewhere in the city twenty-four "joints." As a fact the law was utterly powerless to touch the offender. Our population, according to the local census taken this year, is 6,835, and we boast of having five public (national) schools, and five other large educational establishments in Saline.

Statement by Mr A. C. Pattee, Probate Judge for the County of Saline.

From an examination of my records I find that four druggists hold licenses to sell liquor of an intoxicating character for medicinal, scientific, or mechanical purposes. There were more, but the other holders of permits have allowed them to run out. My observations of the wording of the law relating to Prohibition lead me to be

of opinion that it is an undoubted advantage. Its chief recommendation is that whilst a legislative enactment will never prevent certain old soakers from obtaining intoxicants, at the same time it prevents young people gaining an acquaintance with the interior of an open saloon. Prior to holding my present appointment I was a Minister of the Gospel, and came from Connecticut some six years ago. I have actively identified myself with the carrying into effect of the law, and I think we are very much better off now than under the old *repime*. The number of affidavits filed during the twelve months ending May 1st, of this year, and upon which affidavits a like number of sales of intoxicating liquors were sold, were 6,341. The worst feature in relation to the administration of the Act is the false value so many men attach to the oaths which they take in whisky cases. Many undoubtedly deliberately perjure themselves. My idea is that until the drink legislation is nationalised we shall never have any real control. As the law stands there is not a druggist, or a "joint" keeper who dares sell a drop of liquor until he has paid Uncle Sam his license fee. Put the whole liquor traffic in the hands of the Government and I think then good would result. At present, although we may do much good by educating the people, and by keeping this sale of liquors away from the sight of our children, still we recognise that we cannot prevent the sale of intoxicants.

Mr Rufuss Cove, in reply to questions, said:—

I am Chief of the Metropolitan Police for the City of Wichita, and have also held the position of Sheriff to the County. I have been employed in those offices for the past nine years, and my observations of the application of the Prohibitory Law, and the results therefrom has caused me to be of opinion that the law is a failure.

Why do you think that?—Because I do not think any legislation can prevent men from drinking.

Then, do you think that even if legislation preventing the legal importation of any intoxicating liquors waft adopted there would be smuggling?—Yes. I am certain there would, and, what is more, there would be illicit manufacture in the State. I think, however, you can largely minimise the evil of drinking to excess by educating the people to let it alone; but you cannot drive them, by any law, to do so.

Were you a resident here before the law was brought into force, or rather, before it was adopted by the people?—Yes. I was here nine years before we had any Prohibitory law.

About how many open saloons I had you then in the city?—Well, our town was only one possessing a population of three thousand people when I first came into it, and when Prohibition came in we numbered about sixteen thousand, and had about twelve open saloons. Now our population is about twenty-three thousand persons, and we have twenty-seven places which are tacitly permitted to sell liquor.

Was there any effort made in the past to enforce Prohibition?—Immediately following the introduction of the law there was a most strenuous effort made. All open saloons were closed, and every possible effort was made to have the law observed. The officers did their best to enforce the law strictly.

The result was what?—The result was a dismal failure. We had just as much whisky sold here as there had been before, and it was of a poorer quality. I saw more drunkenness in this town, while every saloon was closed, than I had whilst they were wide open. I have seen men during that time, men whom I had never known to be drunk previously, in a state of blind drunkenness on the public streets, and this was immediately after the attempt, and while we were, in fact, attempting to enforce the Act. There is no doubt there are existent a class of men who so long as they can get a thing do not want it, and do not care for it at all, but the moment you say they shall not have it, the moment you try to prevent them, as well as others from getting it, they make up their mind they will have it, and you can bet they'll do so. They will not be forced, and that was just how it was in relation to the drink. I am not a drinking man myself. I do not make a practice of the habit, but I never knew what it was to crave a drink of intoxicating liquor until after the 1st May, 1881, when I found every saloon closed against me. If ever I wanted a drink in my life it was then, and you bet your life I got it. There is another thing in connection with closing the saloons, it is a matter of impossibility to put things in such a shape that it will be impossible to prevent a man from getting whisky if he is possessed of enough money to pay forfeit. With open saloons a man if he wants a drink will go in and get it, pay for it, and walk out. Well, when he had no open saloons it was pretty hard to get a single drink. You would have to buy a bottle in order to get it, and this was more than a man wanted, but having got it after some trouble, and run the risk of being caught, he, although he don't want it, would not throw it away. Well, he could not take it home, and so he would drink it, and consequently get drunk. Another thing. While we had open saloons, or even as we have them now, I find we can control the people who run them—that is in a certain measure, we can say to them, "Now, gentlemen, if you allow minors in your places of business, you will be forced to quit. If you sell liquor to an intoxicated man, or to any man who is in the habit of getting intoxicated, or if we see any drunken men leaving your premises we shall force you to quit." While they are now anxious to run saloons for their own good, they see that they run an orderly house.

What system have you in force here in relation to these places—there are twenty-seven of them you say? If a man wants to start business here as a "joint-keeper," he has first to obtain the permission, or rather the assent

to his doing so, of all the business people and property holders in the district or block where he proposes opening. Of course we do not license them, that would be contrary to law and we cannot really fine them at regular periods, because if they are convicted of selling only so much as one glass of beer it entails a fine of 100 dollars and thirty days imprisonment in the county gaol; but we get round that by simply ordering them to come up to my office on the first of every month. Then the clerk puts down their names as offenders against the law, in that they have been keeping or maintaining a nuisance, which is an offence against the city regulations. Then I require them to put up a surety for their appearing to answer the charge the same afternoon. This amounts to 75 dollars. They put up the cash, and, of course, do not appear, and the bail is forfeited, and handed over to the City Treasury; of course we do not proceed further with the charge. This is done monthly, so a "joint-keeper" has to really contribute in fines in lieu of a license a sum of 900 dollars a year. Owing to our rule requiring a man to have the consent of the property-holders and business people in the block where he desires to open, the class of men keeping the saloons is generally of a respectable character, and having money wherewith to well furnish his saloon. Now, under Prohibition where strictly enforced, any dead-beat, any thug, any tough, or criminal, a man entirely void of self-respect, if he could raise three and a-half dollars, could get a pony keg of beer, or a bottle of "burst-head" whisky, and start a "joint" in some outhouse, coal cellar, or shed, in the backyard of some workshop, or a stall in some livery stable, and then to catch them was almost impossible, for they would move from place to place, and no officer, or set of officers, no matter how keen, could keep track of them, or know what they were doing. Well, at the same time, with these shifting joints," or walking whisky stores about, any old toper who could raise enough to pay for a drink, any boy who could do so, could purchase for very little, enough of this vile stuff to paralyse them. These men cared nothing for the imprisonment portion of their penalty. Gaol was nothing to them. In fact it was a sort of picnic, and as for the fine, well they had nothing, and so you could not get anything. That, of course, is presuming you secured a conviction. But to do this you had to subpome your witnesses, and often they would evade service by running away, whilst if you got your witnesses, the next trouble was to secure a jury. Here it is considered a disqualification if a juror considers the punishment provided by law is more severe than the offence merits. Well, I have seen four days occupied in trying to get a jury for one little whisky case, because you might be certain the accused's counsel would ask the jurymen, "Do you believe that the punishment is too great for the offence?" In other words, "Do you believe that a fine of 100 dollars and imprisonment in the County gaol for thirty days is too great a penalty for the sale of one single glass of beer or whisky?" And almost every man you got would disqualify himself by expressing the opinion that it was too severe. I have seen whisky cases here that cost the County from 500 dollars to 1000 dollars in expenses to secure the conviction of a man who had nothing. Then you had no sooner got him gaoled than another one would start again in the very same place, and you had all your work over again.

Could not Prohibition be framed to prevent all this?—If you could get a large majority, a large public sentiment in favour of it, but where there is a large feeling against it, it is impossible. I do not mind what country you try it in.

How do you arrive at that conclusion?—For this reason. You may indict and convict a community. Here, in this city, we have 23,000 population, and we have practically open saloons, which number twenty-seven. Topeka, our capital, has a population of 35,000, and they say there are no open saloons, or "joints." but I can go with you in that city and point out a good many places where drink can be bought, whilst I believe I could show you more drunken men on their streets going scot free than you would find here in a week. We are exceedingly strict here regarding the arrest of drunken men. You go to Topeka and stay at the best hotels, above the first floor, in the morning, before the rooms have been swept out, you will find the corridors lined with empty beer bottles, and in the majority of the rooms you will find similar evidences of sobriety of that kind. Where it is obtained from, of course, I cannot say for certain. You can get drink in every druggist's store, and there are plenty of bottle-leggers, as we call them—men who carry a bottle and will sell you a drink in a by-street.

What is your opinion of a high-class license system?—I think a high license system with a law prohibiting any kind of games in a bar-room, or in any room attached thereto, or any premises connected therewith, would be of great advantage. You would, however, require to so frame the law that the bar-room should have no seating accommodation of any kind, then if a man wanted a drink he could go and get it and walk away. Then make it a punishable offence to do any treating, and an offence to tacitly allow any to be done on the premises, and you have got rid of one of the greatest aids to intoxication. I would also compel every saloon keeper to provide sureties, say of 5,000 dollars, as guarantee that he or his servants will not sell to minors, persons who are in an intoxicated condition, or who are habitual drunkards. If he breaks this let his bond money go to the County or City Treasury.

(Copy of declaration at foot of transcript of foregoing note.)

I have made myself acquainted with the foregoing transcript of note taken of my remarks in an interview with Mr H. Gilbert Stringer, of New Zealand, and find them correct in every particular.

Rufus_Cove,

Wichita,

June 5, 1893,

Chief of Police, Wichita, Kan.

Mr G. M. Dickson, in reply to questions put, said:

I am President of the Metropolitan Potice commission for the City of Wichita. In my opinion Prohibition has proved to be a most dismal failure so far as this city is concerned. The reason for this has been that almost unanimous public sentiment has been expressed against the law. There was an honest attempt to enforce it after its passage by the Legislature, but it utterly failed. I think it is impossible to enforce it. In this city a man can now get a drink with as much impunity as in St. Louis, and only have to pay the same price. By our working under the present system a large saving in the matter of maintaining a police force is effected, and public safety and order is better provided for. If we have to look after bootle-leggers, and jug people who can gain no foothold under our present system, because no one need go behind holes and corners to get a drink, we require a larger force. This was the case when we endeavoured to enforce Prohibition. There was more trouble and more crime during the time we were endeavouring to carry the law into effect than has ever been the case since. Nearly double the number of police were requisite then with less satisfactory results. The crime sheets showed an increase of drunkenness, petty thefts, and quarrelsomeness. Doubtless much of this was traceable to the bad quality of the liquor illicitly obtained. The supply obtainable from men who were known as "bottle-leggers," was of the vilest quality and consisted chiefly of reduced alcohol, and a man who took but a small quantity of it would bring on *delirwn tremens* in its worst forms. Another feature is that the law engenders an antagonistic spirit in men who do not as a rule drink. It seems to be a prevailing characteristic of the whole human race that the moment you say, "you shall not have a certain thing," to a man that particular article becomes at once the most coveted, and get it he will if any possibility exists. Then too with Prohibition as strictly enforced as possible, there is nothing that can prevent a man procuring a supply and surfeiting himself, whereas in the case of a restricted saloon business he would only take a single drink. If a jointkeeper in this city permitted drunken men on his premises, he would be forced to immediately close his place. Secondly, the joint keeper here instead of merely having little hole and corner bars of no value, have all expended large sums in adequately furnishing their saloons. We have saloons here that cost between 2000 and 3000 dollars for fittings, exclusive of the large stock of liquors and the loss of these, because all would be forfeited, would be a serious item. We compel them to close rigidly at midnight on Saturday, and to remain closed throughout Sunday This rule I believe is faithfully observed. In Wichita I think we have one of the best governed cities of its size in the United States. Our records show that we are pretty free from criminals. The report of our Commission for the year 1889, made to the Attorney-General, shows that during the year ended April 30th, 1890, there was a feeling existed that the County Attorney was not enforcing the law; and the Prohibitionists obtained the appointment of an Assistant Attorney-General (Mr. G. Coffin), who was appointed solely for the purpose of pushing matters to extremes in the enforcement of the law. Mr. Coffin was an out and out Prohibitionist; yet when the returns for the year were complete it was found that prosecutions had been instituted by the County Attorney numbering 115, and by the Assistant Attorney-General numbering 90, a total of 205. The County Attorney secured 24 convictions, the Prohibitionist representative and council only 10. It is most difficult to obtain testimony regarding a liquor-selling case. Men whose word might be taken in the smallest particular aside from this, yet seem to attach no weight to their testimony and the truthful nature thereof in a case of this kind. For these reasons I am of opinion Prohibition cannot be successfully applied.

RETURNS respecting the sale of whisky (or other spirits) and beer by druggists in various centres. These figures are extracted from the Probate Judge's returns of receipts at \$150c. per 100 sales made, an affidavit in each case being required of the purchaser, and such affidavits being lodged with the Judge monthly by the druggists. There is not a uniform method of recording these sales in the books of the office, but in all instances their correctness of figures is vouched for by the fact that the County Treasurer has to give receipts for the moneys paid him from this source, and a small arithmetical calculation yields the exact number of sales:

vignette

The Social Safety Valve: Graduated Income Tax. A REPLY TO MR. EDWARD WITHY'S PAMPHLETS "Property—Moral and Immoral" and "The Single Tax," BY J. E. TAYLOR, "Water Liea," Mangere, Auckland. New Zealand. September, 1893. Price-THREEPENNY. Wilsons and Horton, Printers, Auckland.

The Social Safety Valve: A Graduated Income

Tax.

A Reply to Mr. Edward Withy's Pamphlets

"PROPERTY MORAL AND IMMORAL" AND "THE SINGLE-TAX"

With an Alternative Scheme.

IN dealing with this question I shall not attempt to go into the fine shades of meaning, by which so much of Mr. Withy's first pamphlet is occupied in trying to shew Mr. Ewington that he has not properly conceived Henry George's meaning on so many minor points; nor shall I notice the thin partition between Land Nationalisation and the Single-Tax, which Mr. Withy by much elaborate argument tries to prove really exists. If there be a difference, it is so small that to *landowners* the result would be the same, so far as either levying the Single-Tax or nationalising the land would affect their characters, and also in the action they would take to resist the execution of any such attempted *robbery of their property*; for I have never read of any scheme, if carried out, better calculated to change peaceable, quiet, respectable, industrious subjects of the Crown into reckless and desperate Anarchists and desperadoes; the seriousness of which would be deep indeed, compared with the trilling difference between one or other of the two schemes.

If Mr. Withy does not like the term "robbery" to be used by Mr. Ewington, he should not advocate such a course. Calling it by any other than its real name does not alter its true meaning. He evidently anticipates that whenever his scheme is attempted it is quite possible to result in a revolution, for he quotes Ruskin, on the inside cover of his pamphlet, as saying:—"The future, not only of England, but of Christendom *must* issue in abolition of rents; but whether with *confusion and slaughter*, or by the action of noble and resolute men in the rising generation of England and her colonies, remains to be decided."

Titles to Property.

I can assure Mr. Withy that as I read his pamphlets they raised a very rebellious spirit in me; and I think I am in that respect typical of every landowner in the Colony who has read his pamphlets or who may read them, and who has honestly bought and paid for his land, and holds a title to it ratified by the Government. And if Mr. Withy says that Government had no right to give me a title to my land, so as to ensure to me the value thereof—or, having done so, they have a right to take it back again after I have paid for it,—then, I say, they have just as much right to issue an order to every one in the Colony for every man, woman, and child to help themselves to anything they fancy, and that there would be no policeman to touch them, or any penalty following; for one would just be as right as the other—according to *my* ideas of *right*. Perhaps Mr. Withy will allow me to have *my own* ideas, although he denies me the right to my own property.

Or, if Mr. Withy has shares in companies or consols, it would be equally right for Government—the representatives of the people—to say that *these* are the only kinds of wealth from which we will draw for our requirements. I do not think Mr. Withy could even shew a New Zealand Government title to these forms of wealth; but he says they should be free from taxation. I will try and shew him later on why I think *all wealth* should be taxed, and in what form.

Is it Right?

But let us consider further this fundamental question of right. Would it be right (and I should like Mr. Withy to answer this question) for a man to arrive here from England next week, say, with £20,000 capital—nearly all that he possessed,—and, after making full enquiries regarding properties and investments, he elects to purchase £20,000 worth of bare unimproved land in the City of Auckland, under the Government Land Transfer Act, and receives, in exchange for his money, a Government title to it; and, then, for the Government to bring Mr. Withy's Single-Tax into operation and *rob* him (I decline to use words that do not express the true meaning) of the income from the purchase?

If I understand Mr. Withy aright, that is what the Single-Tax would do for our new-chum. If so, I wonder

what Mr. Withy's feelings towards the man would be whenever he met him, especially if he happened to come as a mendicant to Mr. Withy's door—having been robbed of his money, and having lost all heart to try and help himself, and all faith in being able to keep *anything* as his own, if even he had the heart to try and earn something. I don't call *that* right—Mr. Withy may if he likes; and I think most working men would disdain to participate in any such ill-gotten wealth.

But when two people disagree as to what is *right*, and *both* are equally *sure* they are right, and are determined to have *their* right; or, if two pretty nearly equal sections of a community are in the same unfortunate position, and when the question is as to whether one section or individual shall take what the other possesses and owns, there are only two ways of settling it—either by fighting for it, or by law. When the pakehas came to this colony they settled it by the former method, and, being the stronger they kept what they got. I think if ever the same need occurred to fight again for the same thing, the strongest would get it and keep it; and might would be right, as it has been many times before. But suppose the difference was settled by law—constitutionally,—as Mr. Withy and his supposed majority think it should be, and according to their standard of what is constitutional. In that case, I suppose Mr. Withy and his following would not object to come under the operation of other constitutional laws, according to the same standard of what is constitutional; especially if I could obtain as my supporters, by their votes, in making those laws, a large majority of those who had supported him in making his law.

If Mr. Withy is prepared to accept this, I shall think that he is fair in his means of advocacy of the Single-Tax. If he does *not* accept it, I shall think he is very unfair, and wishes to make laws to the detriment of others, by the same means that he would call unfair if laws were made to his own detriment. I will thank him to kindly answer this question; and, in order to be able to proceed, will assume that he is honourable enough to willingly obey laws made by the same means as those by which he imposed laws upon others. And I believe, from what I have heard of him from mutual friends, that he is honourable enough to be quite ready to agree to these conditions; and that he is sincerely desirous of bettering the lot of poor humanity; but I must still say that his proposals to do so are so radically opposed to my idea of what is right, as to justify me in using the word robbery if they were carried out.

I claim to be as sincerely desirous as Mr. Withy is, or any other man, in my wish for the amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes, and in endeavouring to find a way by which they may have help and opportunities to raise themselves from their low condition, and give them as many pleasures and as much real happiness as it is possible for them to have from the beginning to the end of their life's journey.

But if I am wrong in my way of doing it, Mr. Withy may call it robbery, spoliation, or by any other name that he may think it deserves. But I promise him one thing, that my plan could not cause any mendicants, or make very poor those who thought they were rich.

One of Mr. Withy's charges against Mr. Ewington and others is, that they do not propose any other scheme. Before laying down my plan, with the object of bettering the poorer classes of the community, I should like to make a few more observations upon Mr. Withy's.

The Single-Tax no Relief whatever to Tenants.

Under Mr. Withy's system, tenants would be in no way relieved; the money they paid would be the same—that is, the full rent upon the value of both the bare land and the improvements, the only difference being that the landowner would have to pay to the State, at the nearest post office, the rent that was supposed to accrue from the bare land alone. And I would here like to ask Mr. Withy what he proposes should be done to the landowner if he thought that all the rent belonged to *him*, both for *his* land and *his* improvements, and on that ground stubbornly refused on principle to part with a penny of it, except what would represent according to his own idea his fair share of taxation as a member of the community; no matter how many yellow or blue papers were sent to him demanding this land rent, or how direful the penalties they declared he should suffer in case of his noncompliance? Or if the landowner were a very meek man and afraid of the law, and, therefore, unwillingly parted with the rent that was threatened out of him, would he be as willing to make concessions to his tenant out of what remained of his rent in case of bad seasons, or the reduced price of produce, as has been so often done equitably and considerately by many landowners? No, these inability to pay the rent having been caused by too much sunshine or too much rain, or by too much produce from other districts that had been more favoured in this respect, or by an invasion of caterpillars, or grubs in the land that destroyed the grass at its roots, or from many other causes that could operate upon the *land* or its *produce*—and by which the improvements upon the land had not been in the least affected as to their efficiency—the landowner could not in that case, even according to Mr. Withy's mode of reasoning, be expected to part with a single penny of concession, as the loss would have been caused by the *land* refusing to yield its usual produce or by that produce having fallen in value. Would the Government—having got the ground rent through the

landowner—listen to any appeals for consideration from the tenant? And if they did, how would they respond, if they responded at all?

They would probably, in a few months' time, ask the tenant to fill up a paper stating the nature of his loss, how it was caused, the amount he estimated it to be, and a score more questions that only those who compile and send us the yellow papers can think of. If the tenant succeeded in answering these questions satisfactorily the first time, he would probably receive a visit, in a few months more, from some high-salaried Government official who would enquire into the correctness of the claim, and then leave with the assurance that he would report.

And when the allowance from the rent came, if any did come, would it much more than equal the cost of this gentleman's salary and travelling expenses, and the working of the elaborate machinery that had been set in motion to obtain it? And if it did not come the expense to the country would be all the same, and the disappointment to the tenant intensely embittered after all the fruitless trouble he had undertaken.

Would not tenants rather go straight to a landowner—who knows beforehand as well as the tenant the true circumstances of the case, and who, in more cases than one, has voluntarily offered to bear a fair share of the loss caused by exceptional circumstances?

Landowners, Mortgagors, and Mortgagees.

We will now take the case of the land-owners, supposing they were to submit to the Single-Tax. Some have mortgages on their properties, others have not. We will first consider the case of those who have. Some mortgages are fixed for a few years, others can be called in at a few months' notice; and, as Mr. Withy advocates that the mortgagee shall share with the owner *pro rata* the total loss of the land value, what is to become of the owner if the mortgagee, on hearing that Mr. Withy's Bill is soon to be brought before the House, calls in his money, and if no one else is willing to lend the amount to the owner on the security of his improvements alone? The mortgagee could sell him up, stick and stone, and could turn him out of house and home, and even then fail to recover the full amount which he had lent upon the property under the laws of the land, and the owner's interest both in land and improvements would have ceased to exist, and he would have become a bankrupt; so that., in the words of Henry George, whose professed disciple Mr. Withy is, the Single-Taxers would literally "have taken the kernel, and left the shell to the landowner." It is open to some mortgagees, even now, to call in their money at once, under the fear that Mr. Withy's scheme could possibly be carried out, with a result just like that I have stated above. If any such cases happen, Mr. Withy will have assumed a responsibility that I should not like to bear, nor should I like to meet the victim of such a course of action if I had been one of the authors of it.

Now let us consider the case of the man who once had a mortgage on his property, and who has been striving for years to pay it off, and has at last succeeded in doing so, after paying 8 per cent. interest for a long time, which was the current rate eight years ago. He may have enjoyed his freedom from this incubus for a few years now, and has begun to feel his feet a little, and to have a better chance of progress; when, all at once, an Act is passed that gradually imposes on him an amount equal to the amount of interest on his former mortgage, which he can never get rid of, and which both he and his successors will have to pay yearly for ever, and which is liable to be increased indefinitely.

These are typical cases of what would happen to the four different classes that I have mentioned, viz.—the new-chum, who invested his £20,000 on bare land; the farming tenant; the landowner, with a mortgage on his property; and the other that by years of hard work and careful frugality had managed to rub his off. With consequences like these, let all lovers of right strike a blow at once for the complete freedom of land *from all taxation*, and nip in the bud the insidious attempt, that has been begun already, to gradually filch from a section of the people what is their own. Now is the time to put the test to every candidate for Parliament.

Arguments for the Alternative Scheme.

Now, my scheme is not to tax one class or section of the community for the benefit of all the rest, but to tax all, as nearly as possible, in proportion to the extent of their strength to bear it. Does Mr. Withy contend that wealth derived from the unearned increment in land is the only kind of wealth that has been acquired without much effort; or that speculation in land has not often resulted in great loss; or that business people, wherever they can, secure to themselves monopolies, and thereby make the public pay more for what they require than they otherwise would?

Are there no business firms in Auckland who are powerful enough to secure the sole agency for the sale of certain articles of common use, and who would not have anything to do with them if others were allowed to purchase direct from the maker of them at the same price, and are therefore able to charge the public more for

them than if the law of competition were allowed to prevail, and thus increase their wealth at a great rate, at the expense of the public? And what would these valuable businesses be worth, if it were not for the large community that has grown up around them, and by which Mr. Wither appears to think that landowners *alone* have benefitted, and should alone be taxed? What about these rings and corners in America, by which the prices of commodities are forced up to a high artificial price by a number of already immensely wealthy men buying those commodities all up, and holding them until the people sorely need them, and are prepared to pay their price for them? It is quite possible for people here to carry on the same thing as some of them grow wealthier, and it is not improbable that it is done now on a small scale. Ought not such as these to be taxed? I think so.

While reading the manuscript of this pamphlet over to a friend, he told me that he had it on the best authority that the proprietors of a coal-mine, not 100 miles from Auckland, were receiving £900 a year to keep their mine closed, this sum being paid to them by neighbouring mineowners, so that their mines—which produced a much inferior coal—might be worked by their proprietors. Who pays this £900? Why, the public; by paying more for every ton of coal than it is worth if subjected to fair competition. And, yet, I suppose the receiver of this £900 a year should escape taxation. The fact whether this land is held under a long lease from Government, or whether it is freehold, does not determine the question as to whether these people have a right to enter into such a compact.

Should not professional men be taxed, such as are able to charge for their services at the rate of about £1 per hour or more, and who have formed a ring, which it would be *infra dig.* to break by charging anything in reason; but which his milkman, and baker, and butcher cannot imitate, by reason of there being too much competition in these businesses; all attempts at forming a ring in their line having failed, and yet these commodities all come from the land, which Mr. Wither proposes alone to tax.

Have there been no cases in which men have made immense fortunes, their incomes steadily increasing year by year, from businesses in which the labour that has been engaged to make this money was all the time scandalously underpaid, until these employers have become multi-millionaires? Is it right for these men to escape taxation? Would it be right for a man to live here, or in England, and receive a large income from a cotton factory in India, that was run by British capital, the operatives receiving about sixpence a day for very long hours, and for him to be exempt from all taxation?

About ten weeks ago I returned from a twelvemonths' trip to England and back, and on my way here again called at Ceylon, and saw about 400 black men (natives), all nearly naked, weaving cotton on Lancashire looms, at the rate of about sixpence a day for wages, the concern being run by British capital. It was about three o'clock on a Saturday afternoon, in April last, when I reached this cotton factory, and I went there quite alone; the other passengers by the steamer being evidently more interested in seeing the sights of Colombo, than in taking an interest in this phase of the labour question, so I could not get a companion. To reach the factory I had to go about six miles by rail from Colombo, and then to walk about two and a-half miles more through native villages. When I got there, they were just beginning to pay the wages, the men coming out in lots, and returning again to work until five o'clock, when the engine stopped until Monday morning early. During these two hours I had a good look at the place, and walked backwards and forwards along the aisles running between the long rows of looms. I examined their machinery and their work, and the physique and appearance of the hundreds of dusky human beings who threaded and changed the shuttles and wove the cloth. The place was scrupulously clean and well-managed. It was a strange sight. The clicking of hundreds of swift shuttles, and the noisy nicketing-nocketing sound of the numerous tappets and picking-sticks, was like old familiar music to me, and reminded me of my old business in England; but the presence of those dusky operators, their very scanty wrapping displaying their naked limbs and lithe figures, with their long curling or matted hair, as black as a raven, quite effectively dispelled any dreams of Home. But other thoughts crowded upon me. I wondered what this was the beginning of, for these men could surely comb Australian wool by machinery on its way to England, even at a much lower rate than the hundreds of poor night toilers I had seen at Home, and engage in many similar occupations; but what increased distress it would cause, and reduce still further the condition of ordinary white labourers. Can such competition with English workers be admitted without restrictions? My guide about the factory was a bright-eyed, intelligent black boy, 14 years old, who spoke English very well.

British capitalists are to-day employing their money also in India to a very large extent in cotton factories, and at about the same rate of pay for labour. Is there any wonder that the Lancashire cotton operatives and employers were then engaged in a deadly struggle as to the rate of wages, in which the operatives alone lost more than a million sterling, and the masters nearly as much, while other more fortunate British capitalists were making wealth in the same trade in India, by means of cheap native labour? And yet Mr. Wither says all incomes from companies should not be taxed. I suppose it does not matter if the money has been made by labour at sixpence a day, or if the poor labourers have been engaged in making it from daylight to dark, and all day on Sundays too, as was the case only a few years ago in India, and probably is so yet, and which was the cause of several enquiries by a special commission ordered by the Secretary of State for India.

Others, in all parts of the world, have amassed immense wealth purely by good luck, who have been no more deserving of it than many who have struggled hard all their lives, with equal or superior abilities, and who have only just been able to maintain themselves and their families in poor respectability. We all know there is nothing more capricious than Fortune, and she frequently lavishes her favours upon the most undeserving, and leaves those who merit them without any recognition or reward.

The absence of opportunity is the great factor in most men's lives that prevents them from rising very far in the social scale, and damps their spirit and energy; an absence of cheek and selfishness often prevents deserving men and women of real merit from making the same advance in obtaining wealth and power, even where the opportunities are equal, and we all know how many more chances a man has who is the offspring of influential and wealthy parents, and who is born with the proverbial silver spoon in his mouth. It is the fault of no man that he is born poor,—a state from which, under present conditions, it is impossible for so many ever to emerge, however they may try. Neither is it the fault of any that are born blind, to be so afflicted and handicapped from their very beginning of life's race, or if they lose their sight or suffer any other calamity by accident at a later stage in their career. These are pitied and taken care of, and assisted by a benevolent public to some extent as a rule, but not to the extent that they and all other poor unfortunates ought to be by their more lucky, and stronger, and happier fellow-beings; and a greater share of this world's goods and comforts should in no sense be bestowed upon them as a charity, but be theirs as a right.

When we learn that there are three men in America that could together buy up the whole of New Zealand (the Rev. Mr. Berry's lecture on "America"), and all the cattle and live stock and property owned by its people, have we not a forcible example of how wealth can make wealth, and can hardly help making it, when we consider that America is but a young commercial nation? And can we deny that wealth is synonymous with power, and that it is dangerous in every respect—that such power should be in so few hands, and that such a vast and increasing difference in individual wealth and power is continually going on between members of the same community?

While I was in England this year I heard of a wealthy Member of Parliament saying that people were beginning to look upon the possession of wealth as a crime; and I believe that there is a great deal of truth in that remark, where the wealth is inordinate. He was a large employer of both juvenile and adult labour himself, and had been for 30 years, and his father before him.

All my adult life I have held the opinion that individual wealth should be limited; but what that limit was to be has always been my difficulty, and what tribunal would be able to state the fairest amount of maximum individual wealth, all things considered.

To arrive at any solution of this question, the only way is to lay down a plan to be subjected to public opinion for modification and final adoption.

If every one in this Colony who is possessed of say £10,000 and upwards were required to give an account of how that wealth had been acquired, and to go back two or three generations, if necessary, in order to be able to account for it, I think there would be some strange revelations, and much of it would be found to be the result of selfishness, sweating, sharp practice, and intrigue. Some of it may be the proceeds of land sold in England, and now invested here in shares or business, and thus have passed out of the clutches of the Single-Taxers.

Vast areas of land here have been acquired by very questionable means from the natives in times gone by, and are even yet, at a very nominal price, and the owners have become possessed in that way of the means of piling up wealth at a very rapid rate, and with the expenditure of very little in labour, after the land has once been cleared and sown in grass; and the owners may now if they like stay out of the Colony altogether and draw the income from it to where they live. I heard the Premier, Mr. Seddon, in his recent address in Auckland, state that he knew of one man who lived in England and drew £80,000 a year from this Colony from property that he owned here. And yet I suppose Mr. Wither would let this man escape all taxation if his land, which yielded this amount in produce, had not yet acquired any unearned increment by reason of the influx of the people around it. *Much of it is held in such vast areas that the owners can prevent many people settling around it.* I should very much like to know how this man acquired the land that returns him £80,000 a year, how much he paid for it, and how much it has cost him in labour to make it so remunerative, and how much goes to labour yearly to produce this nett sum of £80,000? And yet Mr. Seddon said that this was but one of many similar cases that he knew of; although perhaps not so large in amount as this. How can a man help getting enormously rich under such circumstances, by the help of the system of compound interest, unless he squanders his money foolishly? Would Mr. Wither call wealth acquired in this way moral or immoral?

There is a strong feeling on every hand that matters need to be equalised to a great extent: that this great and growing disparity between the condition of the very rich and the very poor must be lessened, both on account of its unfairness, and also in order to reduce the growing dissatisfaction and *danger to Society*, of which we have evidence all over the world.

On November 29th last I had the pleasure of listening to W. S. Caine, Esq., M.P., in my native town,

Bradford, Yorkshire, for which he is one of the three members, and was then introduced to him. He is one of the most able and progressive statesmen in the British Parliament, and the subject of his lecture was "True Democracy." In it he strongly and ably advocated abolishing the House of Lords as a useless drag on the wheels of legislation, and as an institution that prevented the people from carrying out their expressed will. He was altogether in favour of *one House only*—the direct representatives of the people. Mr. Caine, although a wealthy man himself, advocated a graduated Income Tax as the fairest and best means of providing for the national expenditure, and urged that it should be levied up to 10 per cent. on the largest incomes, such as that of the Duke of Westminster.

I thoroughly agree with this, in principle, but I do not think it goes nearly far enough; it is only a question of degree.

The Alternative Scheme.

Here is my proposal—that the graduation should go up to 50 per cent. on the largest incomes, whether from unearned increment, or wealth obtained in any other way, so that it would catch all, and all according to their position would be treated alike; neither would it make any paupers. But I should consider that any man with £50,000 a year had got at least half of it by the help of mankind, or his progenitors had; or that he had in some way acquired more than his share of land, and more than one individual ought to be allowed to possess, and that he should be made to divide the income equally with the community; some members of which had enabled him to make or obtain it. Even then many would like to exchange places with him. I was in business in England from 1869 to 1881, and for ten of those twelve years I paid Income-tax, and was always best pleased when we had most to pay, because it meant that we had a larger income.

The rate of progression I would suggest would be as follows:—All incomes up to £1,000 a year, 1 per cent., less £100 exemption on all under £500. Between £1,000 and £2,000, 2 per cent. Between £2,000 and £3,000, 3 per cent., and so on up to £50,000 and upwards, 50 per cent.

I would not tax Companies collectively—but every individual separately. If a man had a family I would consider that as they came of age their share pro rata of their parent's income should be treated as belonging to them, and be taxed accordingly. To give an example. If a man had two children and he had an income of £1,500 a year, he would pay at the rate of 2 per cent. But when his eldest child came of age (assuming the income to remain the same) the parent would pay 2 per cent. on £1,200, and the son or daughter 1 per cent. on £300. When the second child came of age the parent would pay 1 per cent. on £900, and the two children grown to adults would each pay 1 per cent. on £300. So that a bachelor or a married man with no family would not be able to escape the 2 per cent. on the whole £1,500 of income.

This is *my* only tax (except Customs duties) which would, I believe, include both myself and Mr. Withy. I would abolish at once all Customs duties on such articles as kerosene, rice, sago, tea, coffee-beans, raisins, currants, all kinds of spices, and everything which this Colony is not naturally fitted to produce.

Mr. Withy says he would gradually abolish *all* Customs duties, and so would I, except on injurious luxuries, if all other nations wishing to trade with us in goods that can be produced or manufactured here would adopt the same minimum wage, below which no person should be paid, and the same maximum number of hours per week, beyond which one person should not be allowed to employ another. And this opens up a very large and important question, for we find that cheap foreign labour, the cheap labour of Asiatics, and the cheap dark labour of Africa and India, is pressing and encroaching on white labour in almost every direction; and this has been going on and increasing for several years past, and is now at an ever accelerating rate; and is the greatest factor to-day in causing the universal distress and the strikes against lower wages, by which the workers of Great Britain and other nations are at present suffering so severely, and have been for some years. Let me give a few examples of this. In July of last year I travelled to England in the P. and O. Company's steamer "Victoria," and returned in April this year in the same Company's largest and newest steamer "The Australia." I believe the boilers of all the 53 large steamers comprising this Company's fleet, aggregating 217,596 tons and 222,650 horse power, and trading to Australia, India, and China, &c., are fired by blackmen, mostly Africans and various similar races. It was the case on both the steamers I travelled in, and the common sailors were Lascars and Indians of different castes; and I was told the same thing prevails throughout the service. Both firemen and sailors receive as wages 18 rupees per month—the rupee being a shade heavier than the British florin—but on account of the low price of silver worth at that time about 1s. 3d., which would make their wages equal to 22s. 6d. per month, or 5s. 7½d. per week, Sundays included. The labour of firing through the tropics is very arduous. They live on a very cheap class of food, mostly curry and rice, which they roll and knead together on a board; and they huddle together for rest in a small crowded hole that no decent European would like to put his head into; so that their food, clothing, and accommodation cost very little.

Here is an illustration of the direct competition of dark labour with white labour; and the dark has ousted

the white labour by its cheapness, and the white has been thrown upon the general labour market of the world to increase the competition and congestion somewhere else.

I heard that coercion was to be used on the expiration of the mail contract with the Australian Colonies, to reinstate white labour on these steamers, and in this manner. The whole force of labour influence in Australia was to be brought to bear on their several Governments, to compel them to withhold all subsidies for carrying mails unless white labour was solely employed on these steamers. I wonder what would happen here were our Union Company to attempt to engage similar dark labour at the same rate. I am afraid there would soon be a serious and direct violent conflict between the two races. Our seamen and firemen very justly protect themselves from such an invasion of cheap labour by their strong union for mutual benefit.

What is our poll-tax on Chinese of £10 per head—and of £100 per head in Australia—but a means of protection against the immense influx of these people? The limited number that each vessel may bring to these Colonies is another protection. If it were not for these protective measures a white labourer would hardly be able to live here. Would Mr. Withy and all absolute free-traders remove these restrictions? If not, why does he advocate the gradual abolition of all Customs duties—for that would surely mean as real, although a less direct, way of bringing cheap labour and long hours into competition with the standard of labour here—and which standard is only maintained by protective duties and legalised restrictions as to hours, etc. If these duties were removed our restrictions would be of no use, for all engaged in industrial labour here would have to manufacture at the same prices as those of any other country that could make the same articles, plus the cost of bringing the goods here. If we did not or could not do this, our factories where such goods had been made would soon be all closed. I say these protective barriers are necessary against all countries where longer hours are worked and less wages are paid, and so long as these differences exist, we shall have to maintain these barriers, and on that account they ought to be differential, the least duty being imposed on goods made in countries where wages are highest and the hours shortest. Near the end of that interesting little book, "Cæsar's Column," a passage occurs to forcibly illustrate this. It is to the effect that if there were no barrier between Heaven and Hell, the people in both places would soon be all alike by contamination on the one hand and elevation on the other.

From the report of the Commissioners I referred to before, appointed by the State to enquire into the condition of the operatives in the cotton manufacturing industry in India, I extract a few statements:—

"The opinion amongst the witnesses was practically unanimous that the mills ought to be closed for one day in the week, and that it was necessary for the health of the men, as well as that of the women and children, that one day's rest after six days' labour should be enforced."

Again, "The hours of work are much too long. For the last ten weeks the cotton press of the Indian Press Company has been working from five a.m. to nine p.m., or sixteen hours every day. The work is very heavy and disagreeable. The operatives had had only one holiday between January and June. Presses should be closed by law once a week. Most of the operatives suffer from asthma. The work kills the men. How can you expect to make changes without an enactment?"

Again, "Legislation is certainly necessary for ginning factories, as some of them work for twenty out of twenty-four hours, on Sundays as well as week-days. No factories should work on Sundays."

Mr. Arthur Arnold visited several cotton mills in Bombay, in 1878, and gives one as a sample, and says: "The hands were leaving the mill for their meagre mid-day rest of half-an-hour, the only rest they have in the whole of the working-day. Never have I seen such a wretched crowd of working people—the men pale and haggard, the women and children drooping and grey with cotton dust. The time was half-past one when they re-entered the mill, and the little children, some of them not more than seven years old, exhausted with the previous six hours of continuous labour, were again at work in the terrible atmosphere of a Bombay factory for another three and a-half hours. There is no observance of any day of rest, and for forty-six out of the forty-nine days preceding my visit, these children had toiled from seven a.m. to five p.m. at their exhausting labour."

Another says: "Flesh and blood, coal and steam, it is all one to the native millowner. Get as much out of them as you can is their way. What say you, my Lords, to a continuity of toil, in a standing posture, in a poisonous atmosphere, during thirteen hours, with fifteen minutes of rest? Why, the stoutest man in England, were he made in such a condition of things to do nothing during the whole of that time but be erect on his feet and stick pins in a pincushion, would sink under the burden. What say you, then, of children of the tenderest years? Why, they become stunted, crippled, deformed, useless."

Mr. Meade King, in his report on the condition of mill hands in 1882, says, "So far as labour is concerned the Indian Factories Act protects children under twelve years of age only—women, and all others over twelve, are allowed to work from sunrise to sunset every day in the week, including Sunday. This means about 11½ hours in winter, and nearly 14 hours in summer. The Hindu holidays, about fifteen days in the year, are usually observed."

In the 1884 Commission Mr. Drewet, a witness, gave evidence that "The women sit on the back of the

cotton gins and have simply to lift up the cotton and push it forward, I have often seen them doing it mechanically, three parts asleep. I have seen a child at the breast sucking one minute and throwing cotton into the machine the next. I think you will find that the women had sometimes worked night and day, for as long as a week at a stretch, 23 out of the 24 hours."

In some parts of England excessive hours are still common in factories. I wrote two long letters, which appeared in the "Star" of 4th May and 15th June, 1892, shewing the need for the compulsory reduction of the hours of labour all the world over, so as to find employment for those who could not get any—on account of machinery doing so much,—and gave wool-combing by machinery in England as an example of this. I reprint one of these letters at the end of this pamphlet, and the revolutions I there foretold are fast coming upon us, the fearful outrages by the Yorkshire coal-miners and others being one forcible illustration.

I saw hundreds of these machine wool-combers while in England this year. They receive less than £1 per week, and the machinery they look after now runs continuously with some firms more than twelve hours through the night without stopping; their hours being from 5.15 p.m. to 6 a.m. The men were then combining to resist working on Saturday afternoons and immediately after midnight on Sunday. The following extract is from the "Bradford Observer" of 14th November last:—In very busy times the men, after leaving work on Saturday morning, are asked to go on again in the afternoon and work till just before midnight, and are even on occasions asked to begin just after midnight on Sundays."

Shall we accede to Mr. Wither's proposal, and receive into this Colony, free of duty, the goods that have been made in England by such ill-paid and overworked labour, and thus bring down our factory workers here to the same condition?

From Ceylon our steamer took several bales of cotton, that had been manufactured there, to Australia in which to wrap the carcasses of frozen mutton that were to be sent to the English market. I have a sample the manager gave to me to see what business could be done in New Zealand in it. How long will England continue to be a good market for our frozen mutton and agricultural products if her industries are to be invaded and usurped by a race of people who can live on 3d. a day, and whose cost for clothing per annum about equals what a colonial workman spends on his pocket-handkerchiefs?

The cotton spindles in India have increased from 593,000 in the year 1874 to 3,274,196 in the year 1890; and the looms from 9,139 in the year 1876 to 23,412 in the year 1890. The average number of hands employed daily was 42,914 in 1879, and 102,721 in 1890. The approximate quantity of cotton consumed in 1874 was 19,950 tons, and in 1890 176,480 tons. They have already to a very large extent ousted British coarse cotton yarns from the Eastern markets.

China and Japan are also pushing their way quickly and extensively into manufactures—the latter, especially, being now a large and increasing buyer of Australian wool. Shall we receive their manufactures free in time to come, as advocated by Mr. Wither, when they come this way with their wares, no matter how little has been paid in labour to produce them, or how long the hours of their producers, or how little of our food stuffs they would take in exchange? It would be a fine thing for people with capital here, as they would get so much more for their money; but how about our own industries, and the wage earners in them, whose means of earning money had been taken away by the importation of cheap foreign products, made by a people who as yet have no idea of combination for the rights of labour?

When in Ceylon last year I travelled about seventy miles on the railway to Kandy, in the company of an intelligent gentleman who had lived some forty years on the island, and who owned tea plantations. I obtained much interesting information from him with regard to the natives, whose crowded villages the train passed through; and numbers of these people were working in the rice fields. The ploughing was done while the land was covered with water about knee deep; one small buffalo being attached to each plough, which is made of two stout crossed sticks only. In one field I saw two human beings harnessed to a plough, and another guiding it as they all tramped through the sloppy puddle. They get about 4d. a day, and the gentleman told me the children are now receiving an English education in their schools, and he expected that, as they became more enlightened, they would have combinations and strikes just as they had in England.

What a forcible example of the need of combination, for self-preservation and progress; and of the difference between their standard of living and ours. Yet, as regards many industries that they can be taught to engage in, there is only the distance and the protective tariffs that can operate as barriers to their direct competition with what is made here or in England. In the cotton factory there I saw them weaving checks with box-loom, also stripes and small figures; and it is more than probable that they will soon compete with us in woollen cloths and blankets, and other trades, such as leather, and the manufacture of boots and shoes. The latter business is already established in India; and last year I became acquainted with a fellow passenger who was returning to England from Bombay, where he had been engaged in fixing a pair of large steam engines at a new boot and shoe factory; these engines having been made by his employers, Messrs. Pollit and Wigzell, of Sowerby-Bridge, Yorkshire. When India has satisfied the demands of her own markets, I suppose she will be

wanting to supply England and her colonies with boots, shoes, and clothing, etc., as I understand she has an almost unlimited supply of cheap labour, and British capital is abundant and ever ready to form this combination.

Is there any wonder that the British exports are declining so rapidly, and that many of her largest and wealthiest manufacturing concerns have come to grief? Many of the countries which were formerly supplied by England now manufacture their their own goods, and by the help of tariffs shut out the goods they formerly received from England.

More than twenty years ago fully 5,000 workpeople were engaged at the large and handsome factory at Saltaire, near Bradford. I often saw them then turn out in the evening for their adjacent homes, their principal trade being the manufacture of alpaca and mohair goods. Three of my uncles were managers there. Saltaire derives its name from the river Aire that flows past the bottom of the village, and the name of its founder, Sir Titus Salt-It is beautifully situated. It is now about forty years since the business was removed from Bradford and established at Saltaire, and for a long time a most flourishing and prosperous trade was carried on there. Its founder was a noble-minded man, and provided handsome facilities for the moral, intellectual, and physical advancement of his workpeople. Neat, substantial cottages, and houses for the managers, all the streets paved with stone and named after his children, mechanics' institute, free library, news room and reading room, gymnasium, concert and lecture halls, scientific apparatus, high-class schools for the children, medical dispensary, free houses and a small income for the aged poor, garden plots between the canal and the river, and facilities for boating, two large handsome churches (Congregational and Wesleyan), with a large organ in each. But no publichouse was ever thought of, or provision made for the sale of intoxicants. All the buildings are of a clean-looking, solid, light-coloured stone, and very substantial. Four huge lions, carved in stone and mounted on high pedestals, guard the entrance to the principal buildings in the main street, and the whole place is a model of architectural beauty, wise arrangement, and perfect order, and may well be considered one of the marvels of the age. Its proprietors became immensely wealthy and were renowned for their munificence and generosity.

But what a change! When I saw the place this year it seemed almost deserted. Only a fraction of the machinery was in use. The place was changing hands; a syndicate was being tempted to buy the whole property at a very low price. The people were nearly all out of work, and anxiously wondering if the place would ever run again, and it was likely soon to pass out of the hands of the Salt family altogether. This is the result of bad trade for years, caused by high hostile tariffs, the caprice of fashion, and foreign competition. It is properly looked upon as a national calamity; but I am sorry to say it is only representative of many other large firms that have been established for more than half-a-century, and whose businesses during the last two or three years have ended even more disastrously than that of Salt's. Many of them have become bankrupt, and have not had either property, machinery, or a business to realize, that would still leave them well off.

Shall we adopt this one-sided free trade, which is, I believe, largely responsible for the decline of England's commerce and ex-ports. We ought to profit by her experience, and refuse to trade freely with people who will not treat us fairly in every respect. I am well aware that we have the advantage of her in many vital points, and that we are better able to dictate our terms. If we were cut off tomorrow from all possible communication with every other part of the world, and had, therefore, no interest to pay on our large debt, we should not fare very badly. The greater part of the people in England in such a circumstance would soon starve, and they must exchange their manufactures at some price, for food from other parts of the world, in order to live. It is more difficult for England now to make reciprocal terms than it was years ago, because other nations are less dependent upon her for her manufactures; but she still has the power to say: "We will give the preference of our custom to those nations that take our goods free of duty, and whose standard of hours and wages are nearest to our own." It is only on this basis that any Imperial Federation can be made workable, or any trade league can be fair to the actual producers in each country concerned.

What a forcible illustration we have just had of the futility of any limited endeavour by strikes to better the condition of those engaged in labour, when we read in the paper this week of coals being sent from America and India to England, while French and Belgian miners had refused to work if their brothers in England were to be hampered by sending the coal there that they had won. The brotherly feeling of unity and sympathy with the efforts of labour is growing and extending between country and country.

Another serious question that all countries joining in a trade league will have to face is the free interchange of population of whatever class, from any part of the world. America has attempted to prohibit the Chinese from landing in their country from the west, and the paupers of Europe from the east. The Chinese to some extent have evaded this restriction by landing in Canada and crossing over the border. England has no restrictions, and has; therefore become the dumping ground for all the poorest beings that bear the shape of humanity, who can by any means succeed in being landed on her shores.

And if any lessening of social distress were brought about by shortening the hours of labour, and

establishing a minimum wage, the streams of poverty and want from foreign countries, if unchecked, would increase their speed and volume as certainly as would the feeding streams of a lake suddenly depressed rush in to establish a common level again.

The better way is to establish an object lesson, and there is no place on the face of the earth where this can be done so well as in our own little colony. Let the world see that by the absence of militarism, by moderate industry, by perfect sobriety, and the abolition of all betting and gambling; by the law that he who *personally* produces something, or does some service, shall have and own its equivalent in value, and by opportunities being made as nearly as possible equal, consistent with the rights of fairly acquired property; by the absolute refusal to grant any new pensions and the abolition of fanciful salaries and sinecures; by well-spent leisure and wholesome recreations; and a steady determination to observe the golden rule—"Let us do unto others as we would that others should do unto us" as far as our imperfect natures can do so.

Let the world see this and profit by it; but if we manage to make a life-saving raft of this sort, and allow all the struggling wrecked humanity far and near to get upon it, we shall all be swamped and drowned. Let them go and do likewise with such materials as they can lay hold of, even if they cannot for a long time make as good a raft as ours.

We might even take some of them on as fast as we could safely do so; but we ought to have the privilege of making a selection and on certain conditions. I have lapsed into a little metaphor, but I think it will more concisely present my meaning than more direct language.

On such principles as the above I see no reason why every one in our Colony should not have enough and to spare, and why does anyone require more? The only legitimate need for acquiring wealth should be to provide in reason for a rainy day; beyond that it becomes a sordid passion, and the greater our opportunities and assurance of being able to live by moderate industry; the less need is there of providing for the future.

When I was in Melbourne last year, I called at that large, wonderful institution "Cole's Book Arcade," where they keep open early and late, and where they entertain the people who call to inspect or buy their books, with a band of music which plays at intervals. Having only three days to spend there before the steamer I had booked by sailed for England, I wanted to see all I could of marvellous Melbourne with its busy wide streets and handsome buildings, lighted up at night by large globes of brilliant electricity, and its wonderful system of cable tramways. It was ten o'clock p.m. when I was in Cole's Book Arcade, and I ventured the remark to the lady attendant who sold me some books that they must be very tired after such a long day, at so late an hour. "Oh, no!" she said, "we shall close at eleven, and then all those who are serving now will have been here seven hours; there was another set here this morning, who also served seven hours, and we change every week." I replied, "Yes, and that is just as it should be, as nearly as possible all the world over." If this plan could be adopted in New Zealand, it would solve the difficulty as to half-day holidays, and the public would be better served. I believe these attendants got a fair living out of their occupation, and they would have time to get some recreation or perform some domestic duties at home as a change. Within fifty yards of this place I saw about a hundred haggard, hungry, cadaverous-looking men, waiting to get a free feed at a restaurant, the proprietor of which very generously offered to give at the close of each day's business a feed to each applicant, to relieve the great distress then prevalent. If the limitation of the hours of labour had been the same throughout Victoria as at Cole's Book Arcade, these men would have been required, along with the whole percentage of surplus labour, and they had to live, even if they did not get the opportunity of doing their share of the work required by the whole community.

We in New Zealand need to make great reforms in the apportionment of the opportunities for earning a living, and in rectifying certain strange anomalies. It is certain that in the country the number of hours required of producers, and the payment they receive for it, is altogether out of proportion to the hours generally spent by the consumers in their various occupations, and the wages they are paid. The hours in the country being considerably more, and the wages very much less. What a large number of civil servants we have now at our schools, post offices, telegraph, money order, savings bank and patent offices, deeds, land, and Customs offices, etc., etc. Then there are our banks, harbour boards, and solicitors and land agents, whose employees have all very short hours and very good pay, say on the average not more than seven working hours, and in my opinion quite as long as necessary. I would not make them any longer, but I think there should be an attempt made to assimilate to some extent the condition of employees in the country in these respects, to that of the more fortunate dwellers in the cities and towns. The working hours in the country being nearly double, and the pay considerably less.

The country population is so scattered, and there is such a lack of cohesion and facility for combination, that nothing has ever been attempted to my knowledge to bring about any limitation of the hours of labour, or any acknowledged standard of payment. Even daylight does not determine the length of the working day a great part of the year, and in the cities and towns it would be considered a great hardship to work as long as then could see by daylight.

What is there to prevent the organisation of a society, with the object of having a law passed that will limit the number of hours per week that one person can work for another in the country as well as in the town, and to establish a recognised scale of wages. This would never have been accomplished in the various trades except by combination and union. Begin with a very reasonable limit, say sixty hours a week—can any consumer complain that it is too short?—and decrease gradually, but as quickly as possible, consistent with what is found to be expedient. The great thing is to combine and reason together. This would possibly result in a slight increase in the cost of provisions, which are often sacrificed now in town at a ridiculous price. But a halfpenny a quart for milk, a shilling a cwt. for potatoes or hay, or sixpence a bushel for wheat, would more than compensate the farmer for any extra cost of labour, and it should not be grumbled at by those who earn their living so much more easily. My neighbours know that this is not the first effort I have made for them in this direction. It must be remembered that there are many in country places with qualifications that fit them for filling some positions in the civil service, with as much ability and integrity as many of the fortunate ones that hold them; and if an effort is not made to effect some approach towards an equilibrium in their conditions, it will result in an enquiry as to why these things are so.

The standard of salaries and hours of those in Government and official employ are maintained largely by the concentrated ability of those who receive them and work under them, who have plenty of time and opportunity for organisation. Five days constitute a week's work for many of them, to say nothing of the long holidays and wet afternoons for which they are paid. The people think so little of it that it has become quite conventional.

I sometimes wonder, whether if £500 a year was the highest salary that could be paid by law to any individual receiving money direct from the Government for his services, how many would resign their positions, and whether they would not be immediately filled by equally good men if they did. If any man thinks he is worth more he could let the balance go as so much patriotism. I think a little competition in this direction would do no harm and save the Colony a lot of money, and free it from the incubus of mere place-seekers. If the *people* thought any man deserving of more than this let it come direct from themselves by spontaneous action, or at least let it be referred to them and submitted for their consent. The annual honorarium to members should not exceed £200.

Farmers and owners of property could be greatly helped also by the Government lending them money at the lowest possible rate that would involve them in no loss, say at 4 to 4½ per cent. (They are paying only 3½ per cent, now to depositors of over £200 in their savings banks.) Limit the loan to not more than one fourth of the Government valuation of the property, and those who required more could borrow on second mortgage from the public; the Government valuation would be a guide as to how much more might be safely lent by others.

This would enable people with moderate means to take up land, and have the use of one fourth more capital than they possess at a very low rate of interest. There is plenty of land to be had for those who want it, and will be for very many years to come if we give our attention to encouraging only the right sort of people with some capital.

Whenever land becomes at all scarce it would be a proper thing to limit the area that any one individual may own, according to its class, by compelling a public sale of the excess quantity. City land, suburban, or country and back-country lands. A limitation of rent might also be established, according to the purpose for which the land was required or used, the limit to be fixed so as to secure a fair return on the cash paid for it. There is one question I should like the advocates of the Single-Tax to answer, and that is:—Would they place any restriction against an influx of even white people from other countries to share the spoil with them when they had robbed landowners of their rent? also, would they place Maoris on the same footing as Europeans and take all the revenue from *their* land?

With regard to the large amount accruing from the graduated income-tax I have proposed, I would strongly urge that the bulk of it be applied to the reduction of the debt of the Colony, so that the interest upon it would be substantially reduced each year, and until the whole is paid off. The chief drawback with all people who sincerely desire to improve the welfare of the lower classes is, that so many of them would put to a bad use any share of the wealth that might come to them by a more equal distribution. If we could abolish drunkenness entirely, by giving the people entire control of the Liquor Traffic without any impediments; if we could make every form of betting and gambling, and playing for money (except prizes for athletic sports, etc.), liable to severe punishment and thus get rid of it; and in the place of these spend our money upon technical schools, schools of art, both in town and country, libraries, baths, gymnasiums, etc., all free. If we could reduce the rates of our passenger fares by half, and still have sufficient left for all necessary public works and the development of the Colony, there would be some encouragement to all who wish for the greatest good to the greatest number—including also the original owners of these islands, the Maoris—to do their best to bring about such a desirable consummation, and legislation to bring about these conditions should be simultaneous with any redistribution of wealth. In my native town, Bradford, Yorkshire, this year, I saw a splendid pair of steam

engines that had been made by the students at the technical school, just ready for delivery to a purchaser. It is an immense handsome building and a wonderful institution, where engineering, smith's work, weaving, dyeing, carpentry, chemistry, painting and modelling, etc., etc, are taught to a large number of pupils. We want just such institutions here. But when we make the change that will gradually bring us these things I think we ought to require of any new-comers that they shall bring with them a moderate amount of wealth, as it is often an indication of thrift and respectability.

I often wonder how soon it will be a serious question, how to preserve New Zealand for the New Zealanders. We have a fair possession here, and as we progress envious eyes will be cast upon us from all quarters of the globe. We can do this best by inculcating that love of equality amongst ourselves, and a mutual sense of the need for self-preservation, and a desire to help our mother country in any extremity, the signs of which may even now be discerned in the hopeless, helpless, seething mass of humanity which is struggling for existence. There are many ties of relationship and friendship there, whose interests and welfare are dear to us, and whose security and prosperity we should like to see increased. We are interested in this question, too, because if Great Britain be weakened by any form of internal dissension, it means that we are most certainly weakened too, both as regards our commercial activity and prosperity, and also as regards our safety from attack by an enemy. Let us inculcate amongst the noble race that was found here by the white man, the idea of the necessity of joining with us as one people for our common safety, prosperity, and happiness. Let them see that we wish to deal quite fairly with them—consistent with the progress of the Colony—and that the best way of doing this is to cheerfully come under laws that are common to both races, and to agree that the area or value of land owned by any single individual shall be limited. Let us teach them that it is disastrous to their welfare that there should be very rich and very poor in any community, and that an opportunity to live in comfort by moderate industry should be open to all. The advantages of my scheme over that of Mr. Withy's are many.

Firstly—It is practicable, and could be brought into operation immediately, or as soon as the people shewed themselves to be worthy of it, because the number it would benefit as compared with those who would suffer from it would be immense—probably a thousand to one. And all those *ones* are well able to bear it, and they need not eat a meal less or deprive themselves of a single garment.

Secondly—It is much more just, because it breaks no bargain and violates no title which the State, as representatives of the people, has granted in honour and good faith *for value received*.

Thirdly—It bears on the whole community, whatever their business, in proportion to their strength to bear it, and does not single out one large and important section of the community to be fleeced for the benefit of the rest.

Fourthly—It is in no danger of bringing about a civil war in the Colony between two pretty nearly equal sections of the community; one of which would resist to the last, the wilful violation of a bargain with the whole people. These would have the sympathy and assistance of all lovers of right, and security of life and property, and of every working man who hopes some day to be able to own his bit of freehold without paying a continual rent for it.

Fifthly—It would take away the possibility of men starving for food, and at the same time thousands of sheep being boiled down for tallow, and good mutton being sold at a half-penny per pound alongside them and they could not buy any, as was reported to be the case lately near to Sydney. It would also prevent the owners of coal mines from receiving more in royalty on every ton of coal that comes from the pit's mouth than the miners do for winning it, as is often the case.

Sixthly—It would lay down the principle that capital should be, and is, only so much bottled up labour, and that no man ever had the power to personally win so much more of it fairly than any other man of ordinary intelligence and physical ability, and that a means of redistribution to a reasonable extent of all wealth is, therefore, necessary and just.

Seventhly—It provides an immediate safety-valve for the powerful and oppressed social forces, which have become so great as to almost break the bonds that hold them, the increasing pressure and bursting of which would be a thousand times more disastrous to everybody than any well-meditated change for relief could possibly be if acted upon.

It is with feelings of great diffidence that I place these views before the public, but holding the opinion that no honest thoughts should be withheld that are calculated to ameliorate the condition of poor suffering humanity, I have determined to have the courage of my opinions. I admit my proposals are drastic, but not more so than the need for them is serious and deep, and so I launch them upon the sea of public opinion, to receive the criticism that they merit.

I shall be glad to receive communications from any who approve of my scheme, with a view to united action to carry it out, and for the defence of right and the safety of the Colony from revolution.

"Water Lea," Mangere,

Auckland, New Zealand,

September, 1893.

vignette

Appendix.

Copy of Letter sent by the Author of this Pamphlet to the "Auckland Evening Star," and published in that paper;—

A Review of the Labour Question.

(To the Editor.)

SIR,—Your able and interesting article of the 21st ult. on the disorganised and unsatisfactory state of the labour world, as exemplified by the present strikes in some of the colliery districts in England, and other most interesting articles on the same subject that have lately preceded it in your paper, have prompted me to make some comments upon this subject. I shall feel obliged if you will kindly insert them in your valuable paper at an early opportunity if you think them worthy of the space they will occupy.

The difficulties that present themselves on every side of this great question are so great and complex, and the interests involved so conflicting and subtle, that a feeling of great diffidence is inspired in any thoughtful mind in attempting to deal with it, even as the very verge of it is approached. But in my judgment there are two principles which must be acknowledged as necessary to any successful solution of the question, and which, as far as I have read, are not sufficiently emphasised as being the only true basis upon which any system of regulation can be built.

The first and principal of these is an international federation of all industrial labour, between all nations who could be induced or forced to trade with each other on equal terms, and all nations that would not join this federation to be heavily handicapped by hostile tariffs. The main object of such federation should be the limitation of the number of hours, that one individual should work for or serve any other within a day of 24 hours, with certain unavoidable but equivalent modifications—outside that, everyone's time to be their own for any legitimate purpose whatever, but one condition of employment to be that a certain time shall be devoted on five days in each week to educational progress, under State-appointed instructors, until a certain standard has been passed, and a high standard of morality inculcated as part of the teaching. The object of this limitation to be the raising of the standard value of all labour, and the more proportionate sharing of all labour (and therefore of wages) between all who require to live by them, for I believe it to be true that everything rises or falls in value according to the law of supply and demand. If labour were always so scarce that remunerative employment could always be obtained by all such a large and universal tackling of the question would not be necessary, and it would not be pushed to the front as it is by the exigencies of human distress for want of employment.

I could quote numerous cases, illustrative of the need of labour organisations, that have come under my own notice in my native town in Yorkshire. I will quote one which I know has been current during the past twenty years at least, and is still going on the same.

The wealthy owners of a large machine woolcombing establishment, Messrs. Isaac Holden and Sons, who employ hundreds of men, and whose works are nearly always going day and night the whole week through (Sundays and meal times excepted), pay their men operatives less than £1 a week for at least sixty hours' work. I have hundreds of times seen their men waiting to pass through the huge pair of iron gates into this establishment at six o'clock in the evening, and from which they would not emerge until six o'clock next morning. The night-men each carried in their hands a can of tea or coffee, and something to eat in a handkerchief (probably bread and butter), provided by themselves, and they had two short intervals of rest of about half an hour each, during the whole night, in which to consume these victuals. The atmosphere in which they work is necessarily close and hot, on account of heat being used in the process of woolcombing, and I should think unhealthy in consequence, and must be a great and injurious contrast to the sharp, keen frost which

they encounter on their emergence from the huge buildings on dark winter mornings at six o'clock. We cannot wonder that they are the most dejected, sallow, spiritless-looking lot of men one ever met with, and their clothing both patched and ragged; and of course they are drawn from the lowest class of society, from which there cannot ever be much hope of their rising under these continued conditions.

Now contrast the condition of their employers to the state of these men. Two of the younger relatives of this firm were, some twelve months ago, making a tour of the world, and I saw it stated in the *Herald*, when noticing their visit to Auckland, that their firm combed more wool in a year than double the weight of all the wool that New Zealand produced in the same time. This firm have immense establishments in France, besides that in Yorkshire, and, I believe, a monopoly of certain patents, the inventions of the senior partner, by means of which they are able to turn out better work, and are always kept busy. (This work was wholly done by hand labour up to the year 1851, mostly in the houses of the wool-combers, and much of it for three or four years later, when it gradually succumbed entirely to machinery, which caused great distress. Amongst my earliest clear recollections, I remember well, watching this hand-combing for hundreds of hours in a neighbour's cottage of three rooms, one of which was used both as a bedroom and a combing-shop. It was not more than loft, square, and in the middle of the floor was a "pot of four," which was something like a copper with a lid on, but all made of fire-clay. In this pot charcoal was kept burning to heat the four rows of long steel teeth of the wool-combs, that part of them being thrust through apertures in the comb-pot. Four men combed wool here all day, and at night it was used as a bedroom.) The partners in this firm, and more especially" the head and founder of these establishments, are most estimable characters in all things (except this apparent indifference to the condition of their operatives). The head of this firm has been often and justly set up as a high standard of every moral and virtuous attainment, in various biographical sketches, and has been eulogised as a pattern of liberality, kindness, and gentleness, and deservedly so if we leave out the workers who have helped to make his money, in conjunction with his capital and wonderful inventive power and business capacity.

There may be some unexplained cause for this apparent neglect; but I think these men should have been the first recipients of any help that could be afforded; and if they were low down in the scale of social life, so low that they had not even the hope of any amendment in their condition, or the faintest desire for any mental improvement, I think it should have been a condition of their employment that a certain portion of the time should be devoted to their instruction by a competent tutor, without any abatement of wages, but if possible with whatever increase could be reasonably afforded. To the gentlemen of this firm it appeared to be as nothing to present a £1,000 organ to a local place of worship, or to place their name at the head of the list for all sorts of good objects; and seldom for less than a contribution of three figures, if the requirements were large, such as for the building of a new chapel. Their annual subscriptions to such institutions as the Infirmary were constant and munificent, and there was a continual flow of well-directed benevolence from their rich coffers. My father remembered the head of this firm as cashier at a country factory some sixty years ago, and now he is reputed to be a multi-millionaire. All honour to his character and ability for this, but what of the workers? By means of his wonderful energy and great wealth he has been able to convert a bleak, wilderness-like place (situated about ten miles from their works) into a modern Paradise. This is near to Haworth in Yorkshire, where Charlotte Bronte's father became clergyman of the parish in 1821, and where she and her sisters lived and wrote their wild tales of the rough people of that district, about half a century ago, and where a great hatred and dread of the introduction of machinery was exhibited by the hand-workers; and where they banded together to smash the machinery, as the mill-owners were trying to stealthily convey it by night on waggons to the factories (as so clearly and interestingly depicted in Charlotte Bronte's "Shirley," published in 1849). And although no sane man can doubt that machinery has been an incomprehensible blessing to the world generally, yet these poor hand-workers were not wrong in their anticipations of the distress it would cause for a time to them, and wherever machinery has been introduced for the saving of human labour—but all for want of labour organisations, and the legitimate result of all labour-saving appliances, viz., the compulsory shortening of the hours of labour to an expedient extent. This wild place was more than ten years ago, when I left the Old Country, already converted by Mr. Holden into a veritable Paradise. A mansion was built and embellished by all that money and art could accomplish. French artists were engaged for laying out the grounds and flower-beds; and French vigneronns to superintend the erection of immense vineries, and carry on the production of grapes there; from which I was told that thirty tons had been obtained in one year. There were other large estates besides this, and every evidence of untold and continually increasing wealth; and yet no apparent attempt to lift those who were helping to make it from their low condition; although they and their employers are all human, but with different capabilities and opportunities.

I make no comment here, but simply state facts regarding these men which came under my own notice, many of them for twelve years, during which time myself and partner carried on a manufacturing business of dress goods, about half a mile from these works. That is ten years ago, and I am informed the same general routine has continued ever since. And there were many other similar examples that I could give of millionaire

masters and tired toilers, and no apparent interest between them beyond their actual need of each other as master and man.

This appears to me to be a question in which both employers and employed are equally self-interested, and the benefit to be secured from the compulsory but universal shortening of the hours of industrial labour must be common to both. Whether this can be attained through federated labour organisations, or by means of a Parliamentary Bill common to all nations that may be willing to trade with, each other on equal terms, and to which, they can be induced to agree, or in which they can be forced to acquiesce by the will and self-interest of their respective peoples. I do not know; but I cannot see how there can be a hope of any real, material, or speedy improvement, apart from some such universal agreement. It must be either one thing or the other—either a united effort in a common cause to prevent one section of workers and employers from taking full advantage of another section immediately a number of them attempt to get shorter hours—or there must be continued rivalry and unrestrained and distressful competition, and the readiness of one section to take every advantage of another, and utter disorganisation. To illustrate: What use would it be for the coalminers of Durham, or half the number in Great Britain, to strike for shorter hours if the colliery owners of the other half, and of Belgium, and every coal-producing country within a feasible distance of England, could increase their output by working longer hours, and send their coal away at largely enhanced prices, the benefit to be shared between master and men? Such a course of action is suicidal to any system of combination, and the principle will apply to the whole labour world, as the facilities for the international exchange of the world's products are so great and so quick now that any part of the world can begin a commercial warfare with all other parts, whether by refusing to curtail the hours of Labour or by increased and unfair hostile tariffs, in either case obtaining an advantage.

This brings me to the second principle that must underlie any successful dealing with the labour question, and that is the principle of free trade between all nations participating in any agreement of limitation, if any such agreement to a uniform labour scheme is to be of any effect. For we cannot understand any fair or effective agreement to establish an equal chance for all, so far as limiting the hours of labour equally for all employees would effect that—if this object were to be annulled by a system of hostile tariffs, set up by some of the parties to the agreement, and which would handicap the rest of them; so that any agreement on the question of the universal curtailment of the hours of labour, also involves an international agreement to trade on equal terms.

Sir, we are all agreed upon the dire necessity for something to be done to alleviate human suffering from poverty; the illustration I have given emphasises this. To-day I read that the women chain-makers in England can only earn five shillings a week; and that trade is so bad in Bradford that the average earnings of employees is under nine shillings a week, on account of short time, leaving out of the return large numbers who cannot get any employment at all: and a similar state of things exists in nearly the whole of the labour world. Is it better to have this state of affairs, which limits the number of working hours with a vengeance for some, and utterly demoralises them; or to have a regulated limitation for all, and thereby raise the status of all? When we read of a machine being invented by means of which *one girl* can make as many needles, and as perfect, as it required *one hundred girls* to make in the same time without this machine, can we wonder at the plethora of human labour? And this power of production by machinery in every branch of manufacture has been for years, and is now, rapidly increasing every day, and throwing people out of employment *all the world over*. What other course then, can be adopted to find employment for these than the compulsory reduction of the hours of labour for all, and so give them their share?

Since writing the foregoing, I have received a letter from Bradford, in which are the following words:—"A great wave of depression is passing over us here. Short time is being extensively adopted. One firm that has one thousand looms, has only one hundred of them running. Everybody one comes across complains of the badness of trade. The McKinley Tariff Bill is one of the chief factors in causing this state of things."

We may depend upon it, Sir, that we are on the eve of a great and world-wide revolution, either a lawless one, or one that must be accomplished by wise and speedy legislation, and which shall be radical and powerful in its operation. I think I have shown the futility of any other than a universal effort and system for curtailment, if any amelioration is to be hoped for, and the necessary inclusion of free trade. What a big question! Will it ever be accomplished? The brotherhood of man alone can do it, as it will require sacrifice on the part of some. I have done my mite towards it; let others more able try; the object is a good one,

31st March, 1892.

Yours, etc., J.E.T.

P.S.—Latest cable news: "All the spindles in Ashton-under-Lyne, in Lancashire, will be stopped for a month, in order to reduce the quantity of stocks on hand."—J.E.T.

A Few of my Ideas Upon these Questions Sixteen Years Ago.

In order to shew that the tendency of my ideas has for a very long time been in this direction, I give an extract from a few words I addressed to our workpeople on the occasion of a Christmas tea and jollification that we gave to them in 1877, or nearly sixteen years ago. There were about 200 present, including friends.

"When we consider the system of compulsory education that has now been established as the law of our land, we may expect that in the future the children of the middle and poorer classes will be placed in such a position that they may obtain an education equal to that which the most lavish expenditure of the rich can procure; it will be a question of who will work hardest at their studios, and bring the brightest faculties to bear upon them. The best tuition that can be had seems now to be placed within reach of all, from the richest to the poorest, and not only that, but there are inducements held out by the noble philanthropy of; many gentlemen by which those who excel may have the highest education free of any charge.

The Right Honorable W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P., who was one of our members for Bradford, from 1861 until his death in 1886, was the originator and author of the splendid compulsory system of national education which this and other Colonies have copied as a basis.

"These and other matters, upon which I cannot enter now, are calculated to work great changes in the masses of the people of this land, and I believe will have the effect of raising in the esteem of all factory life and factory labour, so that it will be looked upon with more favour and more respect, both by those who are employed in it and those who are not.

"Since we met together before in this way, there has also been another change—viz., a reduction in the hours of factory labour by law, and I do not think that we have by any means reached the limit in this direction; but I do think that, taking the whole manufacturing world, and the vast extension of manufacturing in this and other countries, and the wonderful and numerous inventions by which production has been vastly increased and is still increasing, I do think, taking all this into account, that the world could produce more than its requirements in eight hours per day, and let the other sixteen hours be spent in domestic requirements and comforts, and in self-improvement, recreation, and rest; and until then, all these inventions and extensions of trade and production will not have had their legitimate result. I believe in only one kind of slavery, and that is—mind making a slave of matter, and man making inanimate things in nature do his drudgery for him; but it is no use inventing things for this purpose if we do not take advantage of them, but go on working as long as before, at an ever-increasing rate of production.

"Now, I believe that England has set all other nations a glorious example in this respect, and that we have gone quite far enough in reducing the hours of labour until other nations follow after us a little nearer, and also grant us free trade as well; when that happens, but not before, I think we might safely extend our good example, by showing them that eight hours a day was quite sufficient, and that the factory people of this country could go to their work at eight o'clock, after a comfortable warm breakfast, like people in many other occupations do now, and could also afford an hour for dinner and leave for good at 5.30.

"Perhaps trade would then be healthy once more, and as a sign of this, like all healthy people, it would sometimes be hungry, and swallow up more nearly the production of the world; perhaps we should hear less of old stocks fearfully depreciated in value because they could not be sold at a reasonable price while they were fashionable, and perhaps we should also hear of more regular employment, because of a production more equal to the demand."

Wilson and Horton, Printers, "Herald" Office, Queen and Wyndham Streets, Auckland

Front Cover

New Zealand

Its Past, Present and Future.

Paper Read by THE HON. Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G.

At the Imperial Institute, on

December 4th, 1893.

London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, London Wall. 1893.

New Zealand:

Its Past, Present and Future.

IT is particularly gratifying to me to be one of the earliest to read a paper in this building which is destined, I believe, for a period to which no limit can be set, to hold the records of the advancement and unity of a great nation. No happier idea than the Institute could have been devised for impressing on future generations a sense of the extent to which the Queen Empress has endeared herself to her people. Situated at the very heart of the

Empire, in the greatest and most populous city the world has probably ever known, the Imperial Institute holds out a welcome hand to every possession of the Crown. It is too early yet to even imagine all the services the Institute may render in the future, but I venture to express the hope that it will continue to be an enduring symbol of the unity of many countries combined into one nation—great and powerful, not only or chiefly because of its wealth, but because of the freedom and happiness of its people. Already the usefulness of the Institute to particular Colonies has been made manifest. The exhibits from New Zealand have attracted considerable attention from a large number of visitors. The Colony will be able from time to time to give fresh evidences of its resources, and of the progress of its development. The Colonists will benefit by the impetus which a knowledge of the Colony's capabilities will give to the influx of suitable population and of capital available for industrial investments. In course of time this splendid building will probably become a pocket edition of the whole Empire. I venture to think that the small cost to the various dominions will be many times paid by the results.

The First Discovery of New Zealand.

New Zealand is essentially a production of the Victorian era. It was during the present reign that its sovereignty was acquired, and that it was constituted into a British Colony. Its existence, however, was long previously known. The first authentic record of its discovery was Tasman's visit to the North Island in 1642, although, from maps and other evidence, it is believed that a Dutchman visited the Islands two years previously, and that Juan Fernandez made their acquaintance in 1576. One hundred and twenty-seven years elapsed before the Islands were again visited in 1769, this time by Captain Cook. He landed at Poverty Bay and remained six months in and around the country, and he again visited it on two subsequent occasions. During the earlier part of the present century the Islands were constantly resorted to by whalers, and from time to time Europeans landed and remained on shore. For many years there were continual and fierce struggles between the white visitors and the natives, the respective blame for which it is not easy to determine.

New Zealand Becomes a British Colony.

In 1839 Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, acting with the New Zealand Company, sent out an expedition to make preliminary arrangements for a settlement. Land was acquired at Port Nicholson, on the shore of Cook's Straits. The pioneer body of immigrants arrived on the 22nd January, 1840. Thus was the first regular settlement formed at Wellington.

Meanwhile, under quite separate auspices, it was determined to proclaim the sovereignty of the Queen over the Islands. Captain Hobson, R.N., was sent out, and arrived at the Bay of Islands just a week after the first immigrants reached Wellington. The celebrated Treaty of Waitangi between the Queen and a number of native chiefs was arranged in February of the same year, 1840. Under a liberal reading of its provisions and as regards the Middle Island, on the ground of discovery, the Queen assumed the sovereignty over the Islands. New Zealand was then declared a dependency of New South Wales, but on the 3rd March, 1841, it was constituted a separate colony, and Captain Hobson became the first Governor.

I have rapidly gone over this earlier history, and with great difficulty have managed to condense it to the limits I have employed. Let me here say that information about the Colonies is so unequally distributed that I am quite unable to determine how many of my audience have no knowledge of New Zealand and how many know a great deal more about it than I do, and are better fitted to take my place. As it is impossible for me to discriminate, I can only ask the kind indulgence of those to whom my statements are twice-told tales. I have this in my favour, that the aggregate amount of information has become so greatly in excess of human receptivity that it mostly passes through the mind as through a sieve. As a rule, I should think it would be quite safe for an editor to republish a newspaper at the end of six months with the comfortable conviction that fully half his readers would consider it the latest special edition.

New Zealand's Extent and Position.

At any rate, I must, before resuming my narrative, utter a few words of description on the subject of my discourse. The Colony of New Zealand possesses an area of about 104,000 square miles, and is therefore a little less in extent than Great Britain and Ireland. The length of the three Islands, including the narrow straits that divide them, is about 1,100 miles, nearly due north and south, the breadth is from 46 to 250 miles, with an average of about 140 miles, but no part is anywhere more than 75 miles from the sea. Attached to New Zealand as dependencies are several groups of islands. They are some hundreds of miles distant, in different directions, but their total extent is insignificant. There is no great area of land north of New Zealand until North Asia or North America, somewhere about Behring's Straits, is reached. No land worth mentioning to the east until

South America is gained, and it is impossible to say how far the Antarctic Continent (if there is one) lies to the south. The nearest continent is Australia to the west about 1,000 miles distant. There is thus no civilised country of any extent so isolated as New Zealand, and the fact of this isolation has had a great influence, and will probably have a much greater one in the future on the character and modes of thought of the Colonists. The obvious effect is to inculcate self-reliance, and a disposition to determine what they consider best for themselves without much deference to the opinions of the peoples whose countries are divided from their neighbours by narrow water-ways or arbitrary lines.

New Zealand's Physical Features.

As a country, New Zealand is wonderfully fertile and rich in resources. Its climate is most serviceable. There is plenty of wind and rain, and also magnificent sunshine. Every day in the year is suitable for human uses. Covering so large an extent north and south, there is naturally a great variation of temperature, but there are no extremes of heat and cold. Its natural features are wonderfully diversified. Its fiords, its lakes, its rivers, its waterfalls, its glaciers, its mountains, its hot springs, its marked variety of volcanic effects of past ages, its graceful woods, its pleasant peaceful fertile plains and valleys, make it, on the whole, the tourists' paradise. They have to go to many countries to see all the varieties of the earth's surface which are gathered together within the narrow limits of these small Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

The Natives.

It would be wrong to regard the Maoris as a naturally ferocious and savage race. They are very brave, and it has often been said they are born soldiers. Trees become fortresses in their hands. If they believe they are right in any conclusions they come to, fighting is their first and flight their last impulse. It is by no means the case, however, that their conclusions are always right. Before the British Sovereignty was declared the probability is that in most cases of disturbance the aborigines were not amenable to more blame than the Europeans with whom they came in contact. Since the Colony was constituted, there certainly has been no desire to deal harshly with them. Many of the most serious difficulties arose from misunderstandings on both sides. Hosts of mistakes were committed by the Imperial Authorities as was necessarily the case as long as they insisted on governing from Downing Street. Much trouble has arisen from direct land dealing by individuals with the natives. It is, I believe, unfortunate that the preemptive right of the Government to acquire land from the natives conceded by the Treaty of Waitangi was subsequently surrendered. When the Public Works Policy on a large scale was brought into force preemption to a limited extent had again to be insisted on to meet the difficulty of the unearned increment, or as it is now hideously termed "betterment," arising from the improved value of property consequent upon the expenditure of money, not by the owner but by other people. For the rest the natives are a fervid, imaginative and singularly intelligent race, endowed with many great qualities. It will be a profound misfortune if a civilised remnant of them do not survive to once more grow into a numerous race.

From the Proclamation of the Colony to the Grant of the Constitution Act.

The Colony was at first virtually under the entire control of the Governor, but in 1853 a new constitution, passed by the Imperial Parliament, was brought into force. The Constitution Act was framed according to a plan devised by Sir George Grey. It gave to the Colonists full representative powers, even to the extent of altering and amending most of the provisions of the Act itself. Reservations were, however, made concerning the control of native affairs. The most remarkable feature of the Constitution, and one which in these days of abortive attempts in the same direction must command universal admiration for the genius of its devisor, Sir George Grey, was the gift to the provinces of separate local governments, endowed with large powers, but subject to the control of the Colonial Government.

The Provinces.

The provinces at the time the Constitution Act was passed were six in number as follows:—

Subsequently four other provinces were constituted, namely:—

I can only devote a few words to the work of the provincial system, though it well might occupy an entire paper. It did a vast amount of good in the way of practically colonising the country. It came to an end in 1875 for reasons which scarcely reflected on its merits or its usefulness. These reasons were chiefly of a financial character. They may be briefly described as—

- —The disparity of means and condition of the provinces, chiefly occasioned by the deadening influence of native difficulties, and the large quantity of land which in consequence was shut out from settlement.
- —The interference with the colonial system of public works to which I shall refer later. The fact was that some of the provinces—eager young giants in the way of progress—were not contented with the efforts of the whole Colony, but desired to supplement them by extensive works of their own, entailing financial rivalry.

The revenues of the Colony in short could not stand the provincial system contemporaneously with the large colonial prosecution of public works. It, however, played a splendid part in New Zealand's advancement. Without it there would have been little colonization; probably everything would have been frittered away under Imperial control in disputes with the natives. I am much mistaken if the last has been heard of the provincial system, it may be resumed some day with modifications which would not require to be of a serious character.

The Colonial Government Period From 1853 to 1870.

The Colonial Government period, between the Constitution coming into force and the year 1870, was one of great trial and endurance, but certainly not because of the faults of those who had charge of affairs. Personally knowing as I did most of the public men of New Zealand, with a good opportunity of judging their work, and remembering how many of them have passed away, I may be permitted to express the opinion that not a few of those who had the charge of affairs during the period I am alluding to, were men of brilliant abilities fitted to take their place as statesmen in any part of the world, aye, even in the United Kingdom itself. But what could they do with a mockery of power and a reality of powerlessness? I need not go far to confirm my words. Allow me to quote a few remarks made by Mr. Gladstone during a recent debate.

"But the right hon. gentlemen, if I may say so, has been a little too sweeping in his condemnation of the policy of committing to Colonists in a foreign land the regulation of their relations with the Aboriginal inhabitants. It is not true that that has always been an unfortunate course of policy. On the contrary, there is the conspicuous instance of New Zealand where, as long as this country insisted on managing the military concerns of the Colony and the relations of the Colony with the Aborigines, there were, I will not say incessant, but very frequent, sometimes disastrous, thoroughly unsatisfactory wars, and they continually reproduced one another. The simple transfer of responsibility to the Colonists of New Zealand entirely changed the whole state of the case, and since that time the relations between the Colonists and the Aborigines have presented no painful feature of a violent nature except, unfortunately, the painful feature so common—that in cases of the kind, there appears to be a silent dwindling of the Aboriginal race, ending in its extinction."

In fairness, I have quoted the last three lines, but it is only right to remark that, of an estimated population in 1820 of 100,000 natives, it was computed that only about 40,000 remained in 1870, when the transfer to which Mr. Gladstone refers took place, and the last estimate of the Maoris living at the end of 1891 was 41,900. Otherwise the Prime Minister's words are open to no exception. I hope the Agent-General lost no time, after the delivery of those remarks, in calling upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and suggesting to him the equity of handing to New Zealand the few millions of money the Colony had admittedly lost by Downing Street interference.

Transfer of Responsibility to the Colonists.

In using the expression "transfer of responsibility," Mr. Gladstone euphemistically describes the sudden imperative withdrawal of the Imperial troops in 1870, at a time when war with the natives was proceeding on both sides of the North Island. There is a modern phrase which more aptly describes what took place. "Scuttled" is the word that would now be used. That the Colonists proved equal to the task they had to undertake was no excuse for the way in which the obligation was flung upon them in the midst of a double warfare existing at the time. I have always felt grateful to the Maoris for the way they behaved at this crisis. Had they been possessed of less generous instincts, they would have taken advantage of the position. The North Island was sparingly peopled, the Colonists of the Middle Island, by far the most wealthy and populous, were profoundly discontented with the onerous call which had been made on their resources, by expenditure which they comprehensively regarded as cast upon them to fulfil Imperial obligations contracted by the Treaty of Waitangi. The actual means of the Colony at the time were not large, and any attempt to raise a war-loan would have been scouted. The North Island was not only scantily populated, but much of the interior was almost impenetrable to Europeans, whilst the Maoris could go from end to end and from side to side of the Island with great ease. It took General Chute, with a considerable force, a long time to penetrate to New Plymouth from the Wellington Province, and his able performance of the task was regarded as a great feat. Had Te Kooti and Titokowaru, who were respectively at war with the Europeans on the east and west coasts, joined their forces, and other great

chiefs combined with them, the issues would have been very grave. This risk the Colonists were left to confront whilst Downing Street exhibited the most stoical disregard of the consequences of its own previous acts, and of the responsibilities it had specially contracted.

The Public Works' Policy.

The Government had but one resource, a policy of the utmost conciliation, until they could place themselves in a position of strength for the future. It was a most anxious period. The 'Maoris were a fiery race, and any little dispute in any part of the Island might have occasioned a fierce and general war.

It has often been said and written that the Public Works' Policy was the outcome of a speculative desire to obtain the expenditure of a large quantity of borrowed money for the gain that expenditure would bestow, leaving to chance subsequent consequences. I will tell you the real facts, and I think I may say there are only two or three men now living who can speak with equal authority. The Public Works' Policy seemed to the Government the sole alternative to a war of extermination with the natives. It comprised the construction of railways and roads, and the introduction of a large number of European immigrants. The Government argued that if they could greatly increase the population of the North Island and open up the means of communication through the Island, and at the same time give employment to the Maoris, and make their lands really valuable, they would render impossible any future war on a large scale. They recognised that in point of humanitarianism there was no comparison between the peaceful and warlike alternatives. They considered also that, financially, it was infinitely preferable to spend large sums on permanent development, to expending equal, or probably larger amounts on issues of warfare. Up to the date of the withdrawal of the troops, the Colony had expended £3,700,000 upon matters relating to native difficulties, without reckoning interest on the large sums which had been obtained by loans. The Imperial expenditure from the Treaty of Waitangi to 1870 was upwards of £6,700,000, so that over ten millions sterling had been expended. You will see, therefore, that there were strong grounds for believing that from the financial, apart from the humanitarian point of view the policy of settlement was most desirable. The intimation at nearly the end of the year 1869 of the positive recall of the troops created a great panic. There was no cable communication at the time, but General Chute took the responsibility of detaining the force until communication could be made with England. Parliament passed resolutions asking for the permanent location of a regiment of soldiers in New Zealand at the cost of the Colony. The late Dr. Featherstone and Sir F. Dillon Bell were appointed Commissioners to negotiate with the Home Government. They were apprised of the determination of the Colonial Cabinet to try the effects of a policy of public works and immigration as the course most desirable to permanently effect the pacification of the North Island, and they were directed to ascertain what assistance the Imperial Government would furnish. Some of my hearers, who do not remember what took place, will suppose that Downing Street at once replied that the British Government would defray the cost of the immigration and of the leading railways in the North Island. But Downing Street did nothing of the kind. You may be sure there was no lack of ability to urge the case of the Colony by the eminent and able Commissioners I have named. Yet all they could procure, and that after a great deal of haggling, was a guarantee by the Imperial Government of a million sterling of 4 per cent. debentures. It is significant that since that date the Colony has obtained a premium on its own unguaranteed securities bearing 4 per cent. interest, and has even borrowed at a slight discount at 3½ per cent. In the halcyon days of the future when statesmen will only be guided by equity and justice we may expect that Chancellors of the Exchequer will, out of any savings they can effect, forward anonymous gifts of conscience money to New Zealand.

The Colonial Government dared not introduce the Public Works' Policy as a measure to subjugate the natives to future peacefulness. To have done so would have involved the risk of exciting them to immediate hostility. The most that could be stated in that direction was contained in the following paragraph in the speech in which a declaration of the policy was made.

"I cannot close this branch of the subject without adverting to the effect which the promotion of railways and immigration must certainly have on the native question. The employment of numbers of well-paid natives on Public Works, to which in their present temper they will resort with avidity, the opening up of the country and its occupation by settlers, which will result from the construction of roads coupled with the balancing of the numbers of the two races by a large European immigration, will do more to put an end to hostilities, and to confirm peaceful relations than an army of ten thousand men."

There was thus the necessity of bringing the measure forward on its merits, only as a colonising scheme. Pray do not think the Government had any doubt on the subject, but it was a bold departure for so small a community, and under ordinary circumstances it would probably have been proposed on a less ambitious and rapid scale. But the circumstances forbade anything of the kind. From what I have previously said it may be gathered that the South Island would not be willing to give its credit to benefit colonisation in the North Island without inducements applied to itself of a large character. Hence to really serve the North Island, it was

necessary to frame the whole scheme on a scale sufficient to offer great advantage to the South Island. Even, as it was, the plan proposed was shorn of two most important features. One, the pledge to carry through the trunk line of railway from Wellington to Auckland, the other the reservation of an estate of some millions of acres of waste lands of the Crown, which, enhancing in value on account of the railways, would have amply covered their cost. Neither of these propositions was accepted. Apart from the success of the policy, with regard to ending expenditure on native difficulties, the results have been highly satisfactory. Not only was the population most usefully increased, but the railways have enabled the lands of the Colony to be made profitably productive to an extent which would otherwise have been impossible.

During the last financial year the net profits on the 1,886 miles of working railways were £449,000, yielding a return of £3. 1s. per cent, on the cost of £14,733,120. Assuming the average rate at which the money was borrowed to be 4 per cent. the return shows an amount of £140,000 less than the cost of interest. There cannot be any question that this deficiency, were it much larger in amount, is well repaid to the Colony by the collateral advantages derived. The railways were not constructed as a commercial speculation for the benefit of shareholders, but as aids to the progress of settlement. It is a moderate estimate that they have raised the average intrinsic value of land within 15 miles of the lines on either side 10s. an acre, and if this be the case the increased value would amount to 18 millions sterling, considerably more than the whole cost of the railways. It is true this has not passed to the whole community but to a number of individuals. Had the reserved railway estate first proposed been sanctioned, a great deal more of the unearned increment would have been gained by the Colonial Treasury. But even so the wealth of the Colony consists of its own possessions added to the property of its people, and the latter if they benefited by Colonial expenditure are amenable to taxation. This calculation does not take into account the increased value of lands and buildings in towns consequent on the business which the railways have brought to them.

There is another and instructive aspect. The value of the exports, the produce of New Zealand in 1870, was four-and-a-half millions sterling. The value for 1892 was over nine millions. A great deal of the increase was due no doubt to natural progress, but a considerable amount is unquestionably owing to the facilities the railways afforded. It is a moderate estimate to consider that the exports would have been 15 per cent. or nearly a million and a-half less if there had been no railways to aid the locomotion.

The Public Debt.

The net Public Debt on the 31st March, 1893, amounted to slightly over 38 millions. At the time of the commencement of the Public Works' Policy the amount was close on nine millions, so that 29 millions have been the increase up to the present date. About half of this has been absorbed by the railways already constructed and in work. The balance is made up of railways in course of construction, immigration (on a large scale between 1870 and 1880), telegraph lines, waterworks on gold fields, roads and bridges (about four millions), native land purchases, light-houses, harbours, defence works, public buildings (including schools), and some other objects of a costly nature. Part of the amount, too, is represented by the premiums paid for converting loans bearing higher rates of interest into securities involving a less annual charge. Undoubtedly large as was the scheme of public works and immigration at its inception, it developed into one yet larger. Immense pressure was brought to bear on the governments of the day to expend more money than was intended on industrial objects. The good sense of the people, as a whole, at length came to the rescue, and the determination was arrived at to "taper down" the use of borrowed money, until now there is little expenditure of the kind. The heroism with which this resolution was carried out speaks volumes for the self-denial and self-reliance of the people of New Zealand. The change meant a simpler and more economical mode of living, a reduction of wages, a closer attention to producing industries, in short, a less reliance on the Government, a greater reliance by the people on themselves. It does not seem to me that the Public Works and Immigration Policy is to be condemned, because the time came for it to be reduced within small limits. If the possibilities of abuse arising from excess were to prevent the prudent use of the good things the world provides, there would be little progress. New Zealand is now ready to become the home of millions of people which it certainly was not in 1870. The policy not only answered its primal purpose of establishing peaceful relations with the natives, but it has opened to the Colony the means of enormous progress in the future.

From 1870 to the Present Date.

Although as far as the Public Works are concerned, I have travelled over a great deal of the interval since 1870, I must devote a few further words to the course of events to make my narrative complete. Between 1870 and 1880 the colonising administration occupied a very large share of attention, but when that time was nearly reached, and the determination was arrived at to "taper down" loan expenditure, social questions began to

occupy the minds of the colonists to the extent their importance demanded. To Sir George Grey, Sir Robert Stout, and the late Mr. Ballance, belongs chiefly the merit of educating the people to the full conception of the many complex questions of a non-commercial character that go towards making a happy community. I shall call separate attention to some of these later on. From 1880 to nearly 1890 the Colonists had much to contend with on account of the low value of produce and the depression arising from the diminished loan expenditure. The process of recuperation had by this time become established, and I believe New Zealand is now in a highly flourishing condition, with good reason to expect continued prosperity.

Industrial Progress.

As I intended to treat the industrial progress of the Colony separately, I have not hitherto dwelt on it. Since 1853 careful statistics have been kept, and I find that from that date to the end of 1892, a period of 40 years, the following is the value of the exports of commodities, the growth and produce of New Zealand, in addition to the amount of the same articles that have been retained for use in the Colony:—

Is it not wonderful to think of this huge value obtained from these small Islands within so short a period? The average export per annum over the 40 years amounted to £4,625,000. The average of yearly population during the same time was 325,653, so that there has been over the 40 years ending 1892 an exportation of articles produced in New Zealand equal to £14 annually per head of population. The United Kingdom prides itself on being a great exporting country. During the 16 years to the end of 1890, the annual value per head of population, of exports, the growth, or produce of the United Kingdom amounted to £6. 7s. 5d., against £14 per head in the case of New Zealand. But even this comparison does not give a full idea of the difference between the two countries. The New Zealand exports were entirely the growth and produce of the country, whilst one-half of the exports from the United Kingdom were merely preparations or manufactures of imports received from other countries.

Cultivation, sheep and cattle-farming, and the collection of Kauri gum were the chief industries of the Colony in its early days, and they have, with slight intervals to the contrary, constantly continued to improve. Wool, as I have already shown, has been by far the largest article of export. The development of the pastoral industry, though gradual, has been steady and reliable. In 1861 a great impetus was given to Otago especially, and to the rest of the Colony in a less degree, by an immense influx of miners and others from Victoria, attracted by the discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully. Steamers brought over many thousands of people to Dunedin, from which place they easily found their way over a great part of the province. When Gabriel's Gully was fully occupied, rich gold yields were procured along the course of the Clutha river and in the lake districts. The people of Dunedin were astounded by this great rush. They were an orderly industrious people, little disposed to change or excitement. The fresh arrivals soon characterised them as the "Old Identities." They retorted, and I think they had the best of the joke, by terming the visitors the "New Iniquities." To give you an idea of the peaceful condition of the first settlers I may mention as well authenticated, that in the early days the Governor of the small gaol in Dunedin made the inmates very comfortable, and he used to say to the prisoners in the morning, "You can go out all day, but mind, if you are not in by seven o'clock, I will lock you out." I am tempted to give you a further anecdote to show that in other parts of the Colony the influx from Australia was equally regarded with distrust. A gentleman who went to Wellington to attend to his duties as a Member of Parliament, took lodgings in that town. He asked for a latch-key, as on previous occasions he had been in the habit of doing. But the landlady said, "I would sooner wait up for you, sir, there are a number of people, I am told, come up from Dunedin and Otago, and it is not safe to leave doors only fastened by a latch." The cream of the joke was that the gentleman was himself the member for Dunedin. The differences between the "Old Identities" and "New Iniquities" did not last long. It is many years since they were entirely forgotten.

The gold industry' subsequently extended to the west coast of the Middle Island, and later on, immensely rich deposits were found at the Thames Gold Field, in the province of Auckland. Gold mining is still proceeding over a large portion of the Colony, and though the results are not as good as formerly, it is quite possible fresh deposits may be found, and the returns become better than ever. The value of the export of gold during the year 1892 amounted to close on a million sterling. There can be no question that enormous quantities of gold are deposited in the beds of the rivers in New Zealand; and it is to be presumed that the time will come when science and capital will be equal to relieving them of their valuable burden. Once the Clutha or Molyneux river, as it is variously called, fell a few feet lower than had been known before. Thousands of miners on its banks for three or four weeks obtained quantities of gold, with the greatest ease, by the use of knives, and other similar appliances. The late Dr. Sir Julius Von Haast, a distinguished scientist, was of opinion that during the glacial period, auriferous mountains, averaging several thousand feet in height, had been ground down, and deposited in the valley of the Clutha river. He estimated that if the stuff contained only one grain of gold to the ton of rock, there must be many thousands of tons of gold in the interstices of the river bed. A large amount of

gold has been obtained by dredging, but, of course, this is an imperfect operation. The greatest quantity would be at the bottom of the river bed, in places at which natural obstacles originally existed, to which it would now be difficult to penetrate. There are many other auriferous rivers in the Colony.

New Zealand is bountifully supplied with coal, and large quantities of this mineral are now annually raised. It will probably enable the Colony to become an important manufacturing centre in time to come. There is already a disposition to manufacture as largely as possible. A number of industries of this kind have grown up during recent times.

The most important departure of the last 12 years is the exportation of frozen meat, chiefly mutton. It is assuming very large proportions. From a value of £118,000 in the year 1883 the export has grown until in the year 1892 the amount was over a million sterling. The number of sheep, notwithstanding these large exports, continues to increase. On the 31st of March of the present year there were considerably over 19 millions of sheep, whilst in 1881 there were only 13 millions. The dairy industry promises to become of large importance. It is being developed with great energy and already considerable exports of butter have been made to this country. It can be placed here in excellent condition. My limits will not permit me to discuss more narrowly the several industries of the Colony from which the Colonists are deriving, and are likely to still further derive, great advantage.

Settlement.

Constant efforts are made to promote settlement on moderate sized areas. The idea prevails generally throughout the Colony that very large estates are not desirable. The wish is to distribute population throughout the country, and though there is no objection to properties of a few thousands of acres properly worked, it is considered that when the area runs into tens of thousands of acres, unhealthy consequences arise. Lately there has been a strong movement in the direction of taking up bush land in the North Island. The bush is felled and after a time burnt. The ashes add to the fertility of the soil. The ground is then surface-sown with grass seed, and a fine pasturage grows up which will carry from three to as many as six sheep to the acre. The estimated profit per annum is about 5s. 6d. a sheep, and as the felling and burning generally cost not more than £2 to £2. 10s. an acre, and land is to be obtained either by purchase from £1 to £2 an acre, or at a small rental on perpetual lease, the results are very satisfactory. Suppose, for example, a man with £5,000 cleared and sowed 1,000 acres of land, and put a few sheep on it, he would be able, after a time, to count on a return of from £1,000 to £1,500 a year. The same in proportion would apply to a smaller area, and part of the money required could be saved if the land were taken on perpetual lease and the lessee worked hard himself. I believe there is a great deal of such land still to be had, besides there are millions of acres of native land, which, I understand, owing to the legislation of last Session, will be made more readily available for settlement than hitherto. The sheep in the North Island are nearly equal now to those in the South Island. The relative proportion of the former is greatly increasing.

The cultivated land in New Zealand, including land sown in English grass, is larger in area than all the cultivated land in the continent of Australia. I cannot give a better idea of the agricultural capabilities of New Zealand than a few official statistics of that Colony, compared with those of New South Wales and Victoria for the year ending 1891.

A similar table of the results of 1889 appeared in the *Times* in August, 1891. I have extended it to the latest available date.

Government Life Insurance and Public Trust Office.

There are two Institutions in New Zealand which are novel so far as concerns their being carried on under Government auspices. Although conducted on business and commercial lines, their primary object is to be of use to the whole community. I allude to the Government Life Insurance Department and the Public Trust Office. The first was established in 1870. It is not confined to insuring small amounts, as is the Post Office system of insurance in Great Britain. It has proved a magnificent success, considering that its business is confined to New Zealand only. At the end of 1892 there were 30 thousand policies in force, insuring a total of £8,000,000, the annual premium income was nearly a quarter of a million sterling, and the accumulated funds in hand amounted to little less than £2,000,000.

The Public Trust Office, under the management of the Public Trustee, undertakes, as its name implies, the duties of trusteeship in cases approved of and accepted by it. It is likely to become a very large and important institution, for a great number of Wills, under which it will be trustee in course of time, are deposited in the office. According to the latest report at the end of 1892, there were 1,912 estates in the office of a total value of £1,200,000.

Education.

The education of the people is at least of equal importance to any social question with which a government has the right to deal. In the earlier days of the Colony the provincial governments gave enthusiastic attention to the subject, and on their abolition, the general government followed in their footsteps with equal zeal and liberality. In a paper by Sir Robert Stout, recently published by the Statistical Society of Great Britain, that gentleman gave the following brief but comprehensive description of the educational system of New Zealand.

"All primary schools are free, and in them a sound English and commercial education can be obtained. Education is secular and compulsory, and the cost to the State for the year ending the 31st of March, 1892, was for public schools., £340,463; for native schools, £14,218; industrial schools, £9,856; deaf mutes, £3149; and the cost of general administration was £2,040. The number of pupils of all ages on the school rolls was, at the end of 1891, 119,523."

At the end of 1892 the number just quoted had risen to 122,620. Included in this number were 1,433 Maori (and half-caste Maori) children who attended the ordinary schools. There were besides 2,133 pupils at schools devoted to the exclusive use of native children.

Technical education is being introduced. There are also 24 secondary schools, most of them under the inspection of the State, but three or four of them are under the management of ecclesiastical bodies. The tests of the work of secondary schools are the matriculation and scholarship examinations of the University. The New Zealand University is an examining institution. Three Teaching Colleges are affiliated to it, all of which have received substantial Government aid.

Regulation of the Sale of Alcoholic Liquors.

During the Session lately over, a drastic Act was passed regulating the sale of alcoholic liquors. Under its provisions the people have to decide by ballot every three years within electoral districts conterminous with parliamentary districts whether the number of public house licenses shall continue as at present, whether the number shall be reduced by not exceeding one-fourth, or whether no licenses shall be granted at all.

Woman's Franchise.

During last Session also a measure was passed which gave to women the franchise on terms precisely similar to those which apply to men. They can, for example, register and possess the right to vote on the simple qualification of a six months' residence. A Bill to grant the Female Franchise was introduced in 1887 and passed its second reading, but further progress was barred. It has taken, therefore, six years to procure this reform. The plea that women are indifferent to the privilege is rebutted by statements which have been made that applications for registration poured in by thousands immediately the Act became law. There is no room to doubt that this measure will have an enormous influence on the future of New Zealand, and I unhesitatingly state my conviction that that influence will be a beneficial one. There is no reason whatever, that I can discern, why women should not have as large a share as men in determining the legislation which equally concerns them. The average woman is quite as intelligent and conscientious as the average man. She may not be equally informed on political questions, but it is most desirable that she should be and she has now the inducement hitherto wanting to acquire the information, which she will have no difficulty in doing. It seems to me that whenever a husband and wife are thinking of emigrating from this country the woman should turn the scale in favour of New Zealand. She will hardly have settled down before, instead of being subjected to the cold treatment of a stranger, she will find herself identified with the community by the sedulous efforts which will be made to teach her the merits of the various opinions which prevail. The full life of a Parliament in New Zealand is only three years, so that one general election is scarcely over before another is under consideration, to say nothing of bye-elections. To men, New Zealand has always offered large and varied attractions, of which freedom and self-government were not the least. The work is now crowned by women being placed on a similar footing. The mother who sees around her, children of exceptional ability may fondly, yet reasonably, hope that one of her sons will in time become Prime Minister of the Colony.

Labour Questions.

It is impossible to give you within the limits permitted me, an account of the opinions which prevail on labour questions, and of the mode in which the different views find a reflex in Parliament. There is at least a large majority who believe that the subject in all its bearings is fully entitled to Parliamentary consideration and decision. They go beyond the opinions prevailing in this country as to the limits which should be set to

legislation on such questions as factory laws, employers' liability for accidents, hours of work, and the right to interfere in labour disputes. But, withal, there is a keen appreciation of the rights of property and of individuals. To persons who are interested in these subjects—and who are not?—many striking object lessons may be gathered from New Zealand.

Federation.

It is doubtful if New Zealand will join in the federation of the Australian Colonies, if this ever takes place. The distance of New Zealand from Australia interposes many objections to its submitting to a central government so far removed from its shores. On the other hand, a Customs' union, with free reciprocal admission of colonial products, possesses signal advantages to a Colony capable of such large production.

As regards the federation of the entire British Dominions New Zealand has on various occasions shown itself favourable to such a proposition. At present, however, it is hardly within the range of practical politics though a great deal of attention has been directed to it during recent years. Sooner or later it must come unless the Empire is to be broken up. In 1876 Sir Hercules Robinson made a very interesting speech at Albury on the subject of Australian Federation. In it he computed that at the end of the century the population of the Australian continent would be over five millions. He took 4 per cent. as the annual rate of increase. The increase per year has, however, been somewhat lower. Mr. Hayter, the accomplished statistician of Victoria, has lately estimated that the population at the beginning of 1900 will be 4,410,000, and with the addition of New Zealand and Tasmania will be close upon 5,300,000. Sir Hercules Robinson could not take into account the falling off of immigration during much of the intervening period. But if the gold discoveries in Western Australia prove as valuable as is expected it is quite likely his estimate will be realised. I will, however, to be safe, take an annual increase of 3½ per cent. and at that rate I find that Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania, will, in 1930, possess a population of 14,706,800. At a similar rate of increase Canada, including Newfoundland, will have at the same date a population of 19,243,950, or Australasia and Canada together, say 34,000,000. Now, I put it to you, is it possible that 34,000,000 of British people thoroughly saturated with the love of representative institutions will consent to be governed by an Imperial Parliament in which they have not adequate representation? And equally strongly I put it to you, will the people of the United Kingdom consent to bear the main cost of the defence of the Empire without much larger contributions than the Colonies will be inclined to grant, if they have not a voice in the expenditure of the money? These are the reasons why I say federation must eventually come or the Empire be disintegrated. For my part, I think that long before there is so large an increase of population as that I have indicated, the feeling on both sides will be in favour of the paramount necessity of Imperial affairs being regulated by a legislature in which all parts of the Empire are represented.

The Future of New Zealand.

I have ill fulfilled my task if I have failed to imbue you with the belief that a great future lies before New Zealand. A country so rich in resources in the hands of an educated people, so self-reliant and energetic, must advance to a foremost position. There are many of my audience in the first spring of youth who have a long period of life before them. Perhaps in the course of events, when their attention by personal observation or by information conveyed, is called to the progress of New Zealand, a faint recollection of the anticipations I have indulged in this evening will occur to their minds and they will say "he was right."

vignette

Reprint of Speech on the "Single-Tax,"

Delivered in Auckland on November 18, 1893.

By *Edward Withy*,

Author of "Ground Rent the true source of Public Revenue: how to secure it for this purpose by means of the Single Tax." Price Sixpence.

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Political Address by Mr. Edward Withy,

At St. George's (Hall, Auckland, November 18, 1893.

The Single-Tax.

(Extracted From "The New Zealand Herald," Tuesday, 20th November, 1893.)

[unclear: THERE] was a very large attendance at St. [unclear: erge's] Hall on Saturday night, when Mr. [unclear: nr] Withy addressed the electors of [unclear: land] City upon his position as regards [unclear: e] single tax. There was a considerable [unclear: ber] of ladies amongst the audience. Mr. [unclear: W.] Tibbs occupied the chair. Mr. Withy [unclear: aved] a patient and attentive hearing [unclear: ing] the hour and three-quarters occupied [unclear: his] speech, and though there were at times [unclear: eiable] indications of dissent, there was [unclear: t] the 8lighest discourtesy shown to the [unclear: eaker.]

Mr. Withy's Address.

Mr, WITHY, who was received with ap-[unclear: ase], commenced by explaining that he did [unclear: t] regard the gathering that evening as one [unclear: e] his ordinary electioneering meetings. He [unclear: d] been told that this single tax was going [kill him from a political point of view, [unclear: e] therefore he thought it was necessary [unclear: t] he should let the electors know exactly [unclear: hat] were his convictions upon this ques

What the Single Tax would do.

[unclear: We] had advertised some of the points which [unclear: the] claimed would result from the adoption of [unclear: e] single tax. These points were as follow: [unclear: The] single tax was the only reform which [unclear: ld] kill land speculation, prevent the [unclear: ation] of a class living upon ground rents, [unclear: ed] an equitable basis for land settlement, [unclear: atly] reduce Government interference, su-[unclear: ede] all existing taxes, and ensure to every-[unclear: e] the full produce of his industry. Before [unclear: ing] into these matters he would express the [unclear: e] that the audience would be as quiet as [unclear: sible], because he had strained his voice at [unclear: e] meeting on the previous evening, and he [unclear: ed] might not be able to get through [unclear: less] he received a tolerably quiet hearing. [unclear: plause].)

Early Settlement of New Zealand.

Now, what was the method by which the colony was originally settled? The principle which guided those who determined how the land should be settled was the principle of selling the land available for this purpose. To his mind that was equivalent to demanding a premium from every man before he could go upon the land to usefully occupy it. This was a hindrance to all settlers, for no man could commence to cultivate without first having a portion of his capital taken away from him, and his power of purchasing stock and the necessary implements would be reduced by the amount of this premium. Whilst this payment would be a hindrance to some it would prove an absolute bar to many others because they would not have sufficient funds to pay to the colony, and they would thus be prevented from settling upon the land at all. These would be compelled to offer their services for wages to some one else, but the hindrances referred to would reduce the power of those who could manage to settle of offering wages to workmen. As the number of men unable to take up land for themselves increased the premium upon settlement would also increase, which would in turn cause a decrease in the employing power of those in possession of the land. By this means the wage-earners would begin to be squeezed between the upper and nether millstones.

Land Monopoly.

This principle of sale, by which the land was settled, opened up a great opportunity for those who came to the country with sufficient money to enable them to buy up land they did not in-tend to use. They would readily do this, because they would know that the next lot of settlers would have to pay them a premium before

settling, or else go further afield. The speculators would buy land with the object of benefitting by the public and private improvements that might be made, knowing that they would be able to sell or let it for a rental equivalent to the increased price. Of course the next settlers would have either to work for wages upon the land taken up by these speculators, or else live upon land for which they would have to pay a premium in proportion to its size and position. The second lot of settlers would have to pay more for their land than the first; for if not the hope of the speculator would be entirely falsified. It was quite clear why the second lot of settlers should be required to pay more than the first. Many would say that it was quite *right* that they should if they came in for a share of the benefits of the public improvements made by the first settlers. He (Mr. Withy) was quite prepared to admit that; but still it did not settle the question. It might be quite right that the additional premium should be paid, but the question was, *who should receive* the extra amount? Whether it should go to the first settlers who made the improvements, or to the speculators who had forestalled the later intending settlers? Ought the speculators to be allowed to pocket the increased premium, simply because the original settlers had made certain public improvements which had made all the land more valuable?

An Initial Wrong.

This was the initial wrong which had been done by that system—a certain number of settlers were by this means able to make profits without rendering any service, because, as he had shown, it was the *community* which rendered the service by making roads, bridging streams, and other public improvements. But it was the men who only helped as individuals amongst the rest of the community who pocketed the whole of the premium thus obtainable. He did not like using hard names, but the name "black-mailing" occurred to him as exactly appropriate to this sort of thing. He would give an illustration. If a party were crossing a desert with a caravan, and shortly before coming to the next watering place, a certain number of men who had the fleetest horses should ride forward and entrench themselves at the next spring, when the rest came up they demanded toll as the condition precedent to taking any of the water. All would agree that that was blackmailing. What was the difference between that and a capitalist who had money going in advance of a second lot of settlers, forestalling them, and demanding an additional premium for the land to be taken up?

Further Results.

Now, with regard to the further results of this evil principle on which land was first settled. Some of the men who were first settled might have sons who were growing up. They might see this process of forestalling was increasing, and say: "In a few years our lads will be able to help a good deal, and we can do with twice as much land as we now have. We had better secure some of this land while we can." So each settler might buy an adjoining section. He might not have enough money to buy the whole of it, but he would give to a speculator a mortgage upon the rest, and so avoid being too circumscribed in his position hereafter. Most of those present knew of men who had done this. Simply to serve the interests of their family hereafter they had burdened themselves with a mortgage, and failing to meet the interest and the calls made, they had been sold up. What did that man do then? He was forced to join the wage-earners, so that there was more competition; for wages than before. He wished to point out that the first owners of the land were better off than the second. The first owners had been getting for some time the benefits of association—the benefits of those public improvements which had been made. The second lot would be equally well off if they could go into it without an extra premium. But they had to buy themselves in by paying a larger premium, and therefore the second settlers were not so well off as the first ones were. Then let this be noticed with regard to the second lot of settlers. Owing to having to pay this larger premium, a *smaller pro-portion* of them were able to settle, and a *larger proportion* therefore went to compete for wages. Yet another thing happened: a larger proportion of the second lot of settlers had not enough money to pay outright for their land, therefore a larger proportion had to mortgage it, with the risk of ultimately falling through. Thus a larger percentage of the second lot were bound ultimately to become wage-earners. Later corners would be still worse than the second lot, and so the thing would go on. If it were traced down through centuries in some older country it would be found that precisely that tendency of things that—evil principle on which things had been started—led in the end to poverty, distress, and want of employment. The percentage of the mortgaged people increased: the percentage of those who could not buy and had to seek wages was increased: then, again, higher house rents were demanded from the wage-earners, the unfortunate ones who were always getting closer and closer between the upper and nether millstones; and thus while that useful class, the bona fide settlers, were being reduced in numbers, the speculators and landlords were being increased. And they got more profit as the population advanced. As the demand for land grew higher, in the place of these *individual* land speculators *land companies* began to be formed. A man had not enough to go into it entirely on his own account, so he joined with others, and the State showed itself willing to

sell land in large blocks, as it were, at wholesale prices, to these land companies, so that they might retail it to the settlers who afterwards came along.

Large Estates.

Coming down to the present moment, it would be observed that this process was being reversed, and the State was now beginning to buy back large estates for the colony. But to go on with his sketch. These wholesale buyers of land were able to bring a great deal of influence to bear upon the Legislature, Some of them were probably legislators, and if not, had someone whom they would back up at the next election who would be [unclear: able] to work the little arrangement quite as well as they could themselves, if not far better, because their hand would not be seen in it. Now, there was another feature which had come in also—plural property votes—because it was said, of course, "a man who had a stake in the country, a man who was a [unclear: bstantial] man, who had landed property, [unclear: must] have more votes. The man at the [unclear: street] corner could not expect to have such [unclear: ting] power as the man with the broad [unclear: res]." The consequence was, that at every [unclear: lection] there was a steady increase of people [unclear: who] were interested in holding the land.

Evil Results Cumulative.

[unclear: He] wanted his audience to observe that these [unclear: results] were cumulative; they were piled one [unclear: an] the top of the other, and all the while this [unclear: nd] of thing was going on, more people [unclear: who] would be settlers were being squeezed [unclear: st] and forced to compete for wages. What [unclear: as] the end of it? Throughout the centuries [unclear: s] had created a lot of monopolists at the one [unclear: ed] and a lot of unemployed at the other.

Quack Nostrums.

There were many indications that people had [unclear: ing] felt that something was wrong in [unclear: conection] with the method adopted in the [unclear: ocution] of the land; but they did not seem to [unclear: e] exactly where the mistake was. A great [unclear: many] quack nostrums had been proposed by different people as remedies, and he had [unclear: himself] been accused of bringing forward one of [unclear: these] quack nostrums. (A voice: "Hear, [unclear: ar].") However that might be, he would [unclear: k] them to give him a fair hearing whilst he [unclear: pre] his defence of the nostrum he was [unclear: ggesting]. He would first refer to some [unclear: of] the nostrums which were being [unclear: ought] forward by others for the [unclear: benefit] of the wage-earning classes. Of [unclear: these] were protection and relief works. Others [unclear: id] that they must have a loan, and the [unclear: money] was borrowed. Other schemes had [unclear: e] their object the placing of the wage-[unclear: ners] upon the land. The last of these [unclear: s] the proposal of the Premier to supply [unclear: eap] money to the small farmers. This [unclear: would] simply result in bringing about a [unclear: ener] competition for the available land, [unclear: d] the price would at once go up. The [unclear: ney] would thus eventually find its way [unclear: so] the pockets of the land-owning [unclear: population]. (Applause.)

The Profits of the Landowners.

[unclear: The] give an idea of the extent to which this [unclear: ed] of thing had grown in New Zealand, he [unclear: ould] refer to a few figures taken from the [unclear: public] records of the colony. Now, some [unclear: 3,000,000] of money had been received by [unclear: the] state in New Zealand in the way of pre-[unclear: ns] given by the people for the right to [unclear: tle] upon the land—£13,000,000 of money. In 1891, the assessment taken for the land tax showed the value of this same freehold land, exclusive of improvements, was close upon £76,000,000. This was nearly six times as much as the amount originally paid. That is to say, that while a short time ago they celebrated the jubilee of the colony, the value of the freehold land had increased by six times. Some two years ago they did not know these figures—of the £76,000,000—and their best thanks were due to Mr. Ballance for making this knowledge possible. He (Mr Withy) would have upon different occasions to criticise the administration of Mr. Ballance rather severely, and therefore he was the more pleased to give him credit where credit was rightfully due to him. For his action in this matter he deserved the thanks of the whole community. The £13,000,090 represented the value of the land, exclusive of all improvements, and that value now stood at £70,000,000. Who owned that value? None but the land owners, for the landless people clearly owned nothing of it. There-fore, it would be seen that the difference between the £13,000,000 and the £76,000,000—that is, £63,000,000—had all been poured into the pockets of

the successive generations of land-owners that had come down to the present time. The landless people got none of this; indeed, it was quite impossible that they should get any.

Who Created the Value.

He ventured to say that all the people of the colony had contributed to make this increased value. He would ask them another thing. What had become of this £13,000,000? They might search the Government Blue Books; no account of investments representing these £13,000,000 would be found. It had not been placed in the Bank of England, nor had it been invested in English consols, stock, or railways. Where then was it? What had been done with it? They would be told that it had been spent in the country in public improvements—"public improvements;" that sounded very nice—but had the public got the benefit of them. (A voice: "Yes;" other voices: "No.") Many seemed to think that the public had received the benefit of this expenditure. The public indeed saw these improvements, but that was not the same thing as having them. The land-owners had really got the whole of these £13,000,000 of improvements; and the landless people had to pay more rent to the landlords because that money had been spent. The public improvements surrounded the lands which had been sold for the £13,000,000. Did the wage-earners get any of it? Yes, he would be told, for labour would be employed in making the improvements; but when the labourer was employed did he not give an equivalent for what he received? If he, Mr. Wither, gave the chairman two shillings and sixpence, and the chairman handed him back half-a-crown, could he be said to have really given the chairman anything. So, when they employed a man and gave him 5s or 10s a day for his work, he gave them back that 5s or 10s in the shape of work done. The land-owner had not returned anything.

The Borrowed Money.

He would now place another fact before them. They all knew that the country had borrowed about £30,000,000—that is apart from the unproductive expenditure of some £8,000,000 upon the unfortunate Maori war. These £30,000,000 had been spent in public improvements, just as the £13,000,000 had been. It all resulted in increased land values, and consequently only the land-owners secured the whole of it. The landless people had to pay more rent to the land-owners, because of the additional value given to the land by the expenditure of these £30,000,000, and to make matters worse, the interest upon the £30,000,000 had to be paid by the whole population. Thus, the whole country had to pay this interest, in order that the landless people might pay more rent to the land-owners. (Applause.) He would be much interested in seeing some of his opponents tackle these figures and show where he was wrong. He might be wrong, for he had no intention of professing infallibility. As he had said before, the present value of the freehold land of the colony was £76,000,000. In addition to the country practically paying back the purchase money in the form of additional value to the land, it had borrowed £30,000,000, and also put that into the pockets of the land-owners. Moreover, this class of men had received by the increasing numbers and enterprise of the colonists, another £33,000,000—of unearned increase—and by this means the whole of the £76,000,000 were to day in the pockets of the land-owners of New Zealand. In his opinion there could be no mistake about this fact. The landlords could not set up the claim that they had brought about this increase, when the presence of the population had added the whole of this amount.

Added a Part and taken all.

It was true that the land-owning class had done their share, for every member of the community helped to add to the ground value. No one could doubt that; but whilst they had only added a *part* to the land value they had taken the *whole*. Now, supposing he, Mr. Wither, had invited by advertisement all those in the body of the hall to bring the proceeds of their day's work for the few on the platform to share with them, what would they have said? If those on the platform also contributed there might be some fairness in a general divide. Yet this was practically what the people had been doing daily under the sanction of the law. All had contributed to the increased value of the land, whilst one small section took the lot. (Applause.) He had said that the original error in the mode of settling land was in selling it. They ought not to have sold it. How could they fairly sell in perpetuity something the future value of which they could never know? Could anyone tell the future value of the vacant site alongside the hall in which he was speaking 20 or 50 years hence?

An Absurdity.

Then what an absurdity to sell now for a certain price something of which the [*unclear*: future] value could not be known. This fact of selling opened the doors for speculation and for landlordism. Once these doors were

opened the result was inevitable. It would open [unclear: m] what he had detailed. Carried out to [unclear: it] ultimate extent, as single-taxers believed, [unclear: th] older the country got and the denser [unclear: its] population became a large portion of people must be left in abject poverty and unable [unclear: to] find employment. (Applause.) Another [unclear: thing] which was unfortunate about this [unclear: state] of affairs was that it had raised up [unclear: two] classes antagonistic to each other. They all knew something of the London guilds. In the old days they were close corporations [unclear: of] people believing themselves to have something of the same interests, and righting [unclear: for] these interests, to keep it a close corporation. People could buy into them and become members and once inside they fought for [unclear: the] same as the others fought for. He (Mr. Withy) thought they might liken land ownership to these guilds; those who [unclear: had] bought into the guild and those who were [unclear: in] it had certain interests, while those [unclear: who] were outside had precisely the reverse interests. Those who were inside were anxious to get the utmost that they could for the property which they had secured; those who were outside were always [unclear: anxious] to get into the guild in as large numbers [unclear: as] possible. But let it be noticed; [unclear: the] moment they stepped over the line into the guild their interests were [unclear: antagonistic] to the rest who were left outside. He (Mr. Withy) thought it a very [unclear: un-] fortunate position that the community should be divided into two antagonistic sections. (Applause.) Let it also be noted how [unclear: these] plural property votes came to the [unclear: assistance] of the people inside the guild. It was [unclear: said,] "The people outside the guild were not [unclear: fit] to have these additional votes, while [unclear: those] inside should have them. How could a [unclear: mas] with a stake in the country and property"—always landed property—" be placed on [unclear: the] same terms as the man who had not five shillings worth?" This had become a [unclear: divid-] ing line between the community, and [unclear: unforta-] nately it was not ended now. Even the [unclear: Upper] House in the colony necessarily became tinged with that sort of thing. If there was to be an Upper House, what sort was it to be—the substantial men, the men with a stake—they were the men to revise the laws passed [unclear: by] the Lower House. They would be able [unclear: to] alter the little things, and so keep the [unclear: interest] of the guild as nearly intact as possible. He (Mr. Withy) thought instead of their being called "people with a stake in the country," they should be called "men of privilege." Hence in the Upper House the people [unclear: who] had received the privilege almost everywhere said no wrong existed.

Something Wrong.

Passing on, Mr. Withy said he would now hurriedly run through a number of indications which proved to him that all saw there was something wrong. There was a law which provided that no man should buy more than [unclear: 640] acres of first-class land, nor more than [unclear: 9000] acres of second-class land. That was [unclear: manifestly] a provision to check the tendency to hold land in very large blocks. There was a system also of buying land on deferred payment. That meant that a man could go to the Government and pay down a small deposit, and in a series of years thereafter he could pay the remainder. That [unclear: provision] was evidently intended to prevent [unclear: people] falling into the hands of mortgagees. There was also a perpetual lease. The perpetual lease had this advantage, that it [unclear: required] no initial payment, no premium as he [unclear: had] called it just previously, and there was a [unclear: provision] for re-valuation of the land at [unclear: certain] periods. The first provision was introduced to benefit the cultivator, as it [unclear: did] not take anything out of his pocket. [unclear: The] other provision was for the pro-[unclear: jection] of the public. If the land [unclear: became] exceedingly valuable in the future it [unclear: should] be revalued so that the people could [unclear: retain] the increased value which their [unclear: progress] had given to it. Now these clauses did [unclear: not] work very well, and readjustments had [unclear: been] attempted. While he (the speaker) [unclear: had] been in the House fair-rent Bills were [unclear: brought] in, it was attempted to reduce [unclear: the] rent in some cases where it proved to be [unclear: too] high, and to reduce the deferred pay-[unclear: ments] of those who had them. In Auckland [unclear: they] had City Council leases and Harbour [unclear: Board] leases; people could buy these [unclear: leases]; they were put up at auction, [unclear: and] they could be bought for the [unclear: remainder] of the term. There was one [unclear: point] to which he wanted to call [unclear: attention] in regard to these. From time to time [unclear: any] men had surrendered their leases; [unclear: others] had got them commuted or exchanged. That indicated that at the time the holders had secured their leases the competition [unclear: had] been keen. There had been a kind [unclear: of] boom on, and the people who took them [unclear: had] agreed to give a higher sum than the [unclear: land] was worth, and the public authorities [unclear: let] them off their bargain. Public [unclear: authorities] were generally very lenient in these [unclear: cases]. But look at the other side, when people got their leases on particularly reasonable terms, did they ever surrender them? Oh no! He would not do it himself if he had [unclear: the] power. And so the public stood to be shot at.

A Significant Point.

[unclear: Both] these schemes had been introduced to [unclear: able] men who had not sufficient capital to [unclear: y] land in the open market to settle, and [unclear: e] work for themselves instead of being com[unclear: petitioners] for wages. Now there was one [unclear: very] significant thing for which they had all [unclear: along] contended in New Zealand. They had [unclear: id] that the natives must have reserves set [unclear: apart] for them: they must never become [unclear: dless]. But why should not the natives [unclear: become] landless as well as the Europeans? [unclear: Why] should the people take care that the [unclear: tives], because they were a little darker in [unclear: the] skin, should have land, and at the same [unclear: time] allow their European brothers to go [unclear: without]?

Betterment Schemes.

He would now refer to the proposals which had been made for the betterment of the people. They all knew what the term "betterment" meant. Years ago when he was in England he remembered reading with much interest about these proposals in the New Zealand papers. He was then considering the advantages of New Zealand as a place for settlement. Even in those days he was a land nationaliser but he was a single-taxer now. There was a difference between the two things. He was interested in a proposal of Mr. Rolleston, that when the North Island Trunk Railway was carried through the then waste lands, a portion of the extra value given to the country through which the line would pass should be taken for the public purse. A similar principle had been embodied by the present Government in some of their legislation. Then they inaugurated what had got to be known as their "eternal lease"; really the "lease in perpetuity" system. By this means men were enabled to take sections of Crown lands, the Government granting leases for 999 years at a rental of four per cent. per annum upon the *present* selling value of the land, with no provision for re-valuation, however valuable the land might become before the period of the lease terminated. He was not going to say more about that now, but only wished to show that people generally did not consider the present state of affairs in reference to the land was altogether satisfactory. The suggestion by the Premier of making cheap loans to small farmers to assist them in cultivating the land came under the same category. A few weeks ago in the Auckland Diocesan Synod a fellow-towns-man, Mr. Upton read a paper, in which he advocated certain alterations in the law of primogeniture and other proposals in order to prevent the lands of the country from falling into the hands of a few.

The London County Council.

If they turned their attention to England they would find that the London County Council had, of late years, undertaken the carrying out of large works in the shape of public improvements. They had run fine open streets through certain slum properties, and all the expense of these alterations had been charged upon the ratepayers. They had at length begun to see that this was not fair. It enormously increased the value of the land in the neighbourhood of the new streets, and therefore when the next alterations were suggested they promoted Bills in the English Parliament having the object of giving them power to charge half the cost upon the ground landlords. However, the Bill had been rejected, and they would have to wait for the development of public opinion. If they went back as far as the year 1882, they would find that the Irish Land Act was passed because of the agitation against the high rents—the rack rents as they were called—charged to tenants in Ireland: and this Act passed the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the latter being solely a territorial house, and had become law. It was equivalent to saying to the Irish landlords that they were not justly entitled to receive all the rent from their tenants which competition and the necessities of their lives would compel them to pay. This was a very remarkable thing, and it showed that they were not perfectly satisfied that the present condition of things was right. The Government of New South Wales had also lately brought in a Betterment Bill in connection with the public works of that colony. The principle involved was that as these public works gave an added value to the land they should be charged to the landowners. (Applause).

Land Distinguished from Labour Products.

He had placed this long list before them simply to show that land was considered quite different from any of the products of man's labour. It stood apart by itself, and could not be treated as other things were. Who had ever heard of any legislation being suggested to limit a man to buying not more than 640 tons of one kind of produce, or 2000 tons of another kind? Why, no one ever dreamed of such a thing. Limitations in commerce or other things were not suggested, but only to commerce in land. This showed that land in the sight of all

people—not of single-taxers only—stood entirely by itself.

Schemes that have Failed.

Why had all these betterment and other schemes failed to give satisfaction? It was quite clear that they had *not* given satisfaction. The reason was that they only dabbled about on the surface, and had not gone to the root of the matter. It was like pruning the branches instead of cutting off the tap-root. (Applause.) The perpetual lease system had almost opened the eyes of the people to see the whole thing, and that was some twenty years ago. It avoided demanding payment from men before they settled on the land, and provided for re-valuations after a certain period of years. He considered that the perpetual lease system was a very liberal one, though it was brought in by Mr. Rolleston, who was looked upon by some people as the head and front of the Tory party in New Zealand. In reality there was no such thing as a Tory party in this country, the only question being as to the various degrees of Liberalism. Twenty years ago Mr. Rolleston was liberal enough as regards the general interests of the people to see that the perpetual lease system was desirable.

Perpetual Leases.

Now, how did the perpetual lease system appear from his (Mr. Withy's) point of view? It fell short in three points upon which he would touch. First of all, there was the question of re-valuations. The intention here was a good one, but the re-valuations were fixed at periods too distant. The first would take place at the end of 30 years, and the next after 21 years more had run. This was not frequent enough; for the market would rise very much too fast to allow the adjust-meats provided for to keep pace with it.

Another Fault.

Another fault in the perpetual lease was that it was confined to country land and why should it be? Why not apply it to town land, to suburban and city land. (Applause.) There was a common opinion amongst the opponents of the single tax that this question of land value [*unclear: was*] simply a *country* question and that it did not affect *town* settlers at all. In his (the speaker's) opinion it was rather the other way round. Certainly, in reality, it affected both town and country. The third thing in which he thought the perpetual lease failed or in which it was wanting, was that it didn't give a perpetual right. In failing to do that it failed to give the tenant absolute security for what he did upon it. Now if the perpetual lease was improved in those three directions he had indicated they had the single tax complete. (Applause) He dared say that [*unclear: might*] astonish some. That which they heard denounced as robbery and spoliation and [*unclear: con-*] fiscation—all this would be completely [*unclear: realised*] if they added those three provisions to the perpetual leases which had been in force for the last twenty years. The eternal lease in his (the speaker's) opinion was bad; it had no revaluation provision in it. That was the great blot But it was bad also in that it dealt only with country land. Why should not the site of that building be let for [*unclear: 999*] years at its present value as well as a [*unclear: piece*] of land in the country? He dared [*unclear: say*] his hearers knew a place called Crewe in England. It had an enormous population Why did that population come there? It just happened that several lines of rail-way chanced to cross at Crewe junction. It was a regular no-man's-land before these railway lines crossed there. [*unclear: Then*] it happened that one of the largest of these railway companies thought it was exactly the place to lay down locomotive shops and carriage works He (Mr. Withy) had been through these shops twice, and saw the marvellous industries and the thousands and thousands of workmen employed there These, with their families, had made an enormous town. Some of these 999 years' [*unclear: leases*] may have a somewhat similar experience. None could tell.

Ground Rent Produced by the People.

He had said just before that the ground rent was produced by all the people. He had said he would explain how that was but he thought it would be insulting the intelligence of his hearers to do it. It was quite evident all had helped to do it. The previous night he had said he was quite satisfied there was no owner in Queen-street who would dare say that he had by his [*unclear: exertions*] in any shape brought up the value of the ground rent to what it stood to-day. No man could be so absurd. If the whole [*unclear: population*] of Auckland should decide next week to emigrate to the banks of the Tamaki, what would the value of Auckland? Therefore it was quite clear that the man who kept a [*unclear: hop*] there had not added all the value to which [*unclear: the*] site had now attained. He had "suggested to them what would come of it if he [*unclear: asked*] all in the room to divide their earn-*[unclear: gs]* with those on the platform. Such [*unclear: a*] thing would be pooh-poohed and termed [*unclear: ridiculous*]. Yet that was what they had [*unclear: been*] doing with the land-owners. They

unclear: had] been trying to obtain harmony while allowing a few people only to take a form [*unclear*: of] wealth which was produced by the whole number. How could that sort of thing [*unclear*: produce] harmony? Therefore all the schemes which he had mentioned, and which did not [*unclear*: touch] the tap-root of the question, were [*unclear*: tterly] powerless. Half-measures were [*unclear*: less] They must abolish the *unfair* [*unclear*: priniple] and adopt a *fair* one. Then they could expect to get something like harmony, ([*unclear*: Applause].) What he asked, to continue the [*unclear*: imile], was the tap-root of this evil? It was [*unclear*: to] continue this private monopoly of ground [*unclear*: rent].

The Tap-Root of this Evil.

Ground rent, he said, existed in different forms. It existed in England in a form which was not found much in New Zealand. In many cases ground rent was paid by the ten-*[unclear: nt]* to the landlord, thus it was passed over *[unclear: in]* cash from the tenant to the landlord. That was a very definite thing. All could *[unclear: see]* it and know it was ground rent. But *[unclear: suppose]* the landlord instead of letting it to the tenant chose to carry on an industry on his own land. Did he not receive a ground *[unclear: rent]*? Certainly he did, though not in the form of cash from somebody else. He obtained in addition to his labour that which a tenant would be willing to pay, and so in effect received ground rent. It paid him better to carry on on his particular piece of land than to go further afield where there were not so many people passing his door and becoming possible customers. There was another form in which ground rent existed. There was a *[unclear: good]* deal of land vacant, and also a good deal of land let far below its value. That *[unclear: land]* must be assessed at the value which might be obtained for it if it was properly used. So it would be seen ground rent existed in three forms: in the form of actual cash payments; in the form of advantages *[unclear: gained]* by the man who worked the ground that he owned; and also in the properly *[unclear: assessed]* value of a piece of land which was *[unclear: not]* used as it ought to be, and which might be made of greater advantage to the community.

There must be an End.

That being the tap-root of the thing, went *[unclear: on]* Mr. Withy, this monopoly must be *ended*. There was nothing else but ending it. He *[unclear: had]* shown how all that had been done had *[unclear: mply]* skimmed the surface, or to alter the *[unclear: simliw]*, had simply trimmed the branches. It had not satisfied the requirements. The only thing was to end the monopoly. In reference to this value which accrued, some portion of it was stationary, but there were others that grew constantly. He had shown how within sixty years this value, measured by figures, had grown from £13,000,000 to £76,000,000. Taking the ground rent at 4 per cent, on the capital value, it had grown from £520,000 a year to £3,040,000 a year. Of this £3,040,000 a year the country simply got back the land tax, £350,000 a year. He asked his hearers to notice in regard to this question of growth, it was the same land, the same *amount* of land, the same climate all the time. It was the same industrious race that had cultivated the land and used it. Whence came the growth? The difference simply lay in the increased *numbers* of the industrious race. Now all these discrepancies as between wealth and poverty, as between the position of those who lived upon money obtained for no services rendered, and the position of those who toiled hard for what they got, was also cumulatively increasing and that was the reason why this thing *must* be ended. Now anything which was forced on by a *cumulative* increase must some day arrive at bursting-pressure. A pressure that did not increase might go on for ages, but a cumulative pressure must eventually end; an explosion must finally take place to relieve it.

What they ought to have done.

It would be it fair question for some of those present to ask him *how* they ought to have begun their land settlement here if they were to have started on right lines. They ought to have begun by granting perpetual absolute titles subject to adjustable ground rent payments. This plan would not have had the disadvantage which was attached to both the leasehold and freehold titles, but would have contained the good points of each. It would not reduce the capital in the man's pocket before he settled on the land. It would give him the absolute security which no lease-hold ever did. It would not give one settler an advantage over the other; because if the rent was adjusted periodically and at sufficiently short periods, each man would pay according to the value proved to exist in his case on the basis of ground rent. Thus, if each one paid exactly the worth of the advantages he enjoyed, no one would have an advantage over another. This arrangement would render land speculation and landlordism impossible. These classes would have no chance of making anything by land purchase. If there was no chance for a person to buy a section of land for £100 with the idea of holding on for a few years until the value had increased to £500, there would be nothing to encourage the speculator. Also the landlord—the man who owned land which he did not cultivate, but let to others at a rental—would eventually

be discouraged, inasmuch as he would have to pay to the State all the ground rent he received from his tenants. A man would thus only take up as much land as he required for actual use.

How to Hark Hack.

The question here arose, admitting the object in view to be a desirable one, how could they *hark hack*? Here was the great difficulty of the whole thing. (A voice: "Hear, hear.") He did not intend to attempt to minimise the difficulty and it was, no doubt, a very serious one. It was a difficult knot to untie; but it *must* be untied or the deluge would come. This cumulative evil could not go on from generation to generation without resulting in a catastrophe. The problem had to be solved, and he would tell them his proposal. In the first place a ground rent assessment should be made throughout New Zealand, in the towns as well as in the country districts, and, secondly, all the local rates should *at once* be charged upon that ground rent value. This would mean the exemption of all improvements from the operations of the local rates, and this was manifestly an equitable proposal. (Applause.) It was even now being demanded by a number of local bodies who were sending round circulars asking others for assistance in giving effect to the suggestion. The next step would be to secure the *gradual* transference of all colonial taxation to the ground rent value of the land; an exchange of the present taxation for a tax upon ground rental values. The land-owners paid at the present time a tax of 1d in the £ upon the selling value of their land. This tax was equivalent to a tax of 2s in the £ upon the ground rental value, so they were now paying a tax of 2s in the £ upon the ground rental value of the whole of New Zealand. This 2s should be gradually increased over a period of years until it was equivalent to 20s in the £. Let them say for the sake of argument that the period indicated should be 18 years. One shilling would be equal to ½d in the £ upon the selling value. Next year let an additional 1s be put on, and the next year again still another, until at the end of eighteen years 18s was added. This, added to the 2s already in force, would take up the whole of the annual ground rental value—20s in the £1. This would be equivalent to increasing the present tax by one halfpenny each year for eighteen years. This proposal would exempt all improvements from taxation. Mr. Vaile had evidently misapprehended him on that point. He thought it was intended to touch improvements. It was not sufficient to say the scheme was wrong, without pointing out in what way.

Why Alter the Assessment Basis.

But someone might ask, Why alter the assessment *basis* at all? He would tell them why. If they started with the 1d in the £1 and gradually increased it, the selling value would become smaller and smaller, and the basis would finally slip away altogether; but the ground rental value could never slip away. It would always remain while people preferred to give more for a position in Queen-street than in any inferior business street; and people would always be prepared to give more for good country land than for poor land, and for land that was conveniently situated than for land that was not. Therefore the ground rent would remain the measure of the preference that people would shew for particular [*unclear*: sites] over the most inferior sites that could be used for their purposes at all. It would always continue to exist.

The Crux of the Matter.

They now came to the crux of the whole matter. Would it be *honest* to give effect to this proposal? (Cries of "No" and "Yes.") He hoped they would not [*unclear*: shirt] this point or *get* of patience with it (Applause.) He was determined not get out of patience, though people said it would not be honest. He believed it was honest, and he hoped the audience would bear with him whilst he gave his reasons. Some would say that if they wanted to take way this wrongful value—not morally wrongful, but inequitable—the only righteous way to do so was by paying for it. But let them consider *who* was going to pay. The land-owners by holding this privilege had enjoyed a great advantage at the expense of the rest of the people and if this privilege is to be bought back, who was to pay for it? Surely not the class that had been *injured* by the granting of *this privilege*. It would be a most extraordinary method of compensation, that the people who had been injured all along should have to pay those who had been gaining at their expense all along. They must not buy back the land, for then the State would become the owner, and that would be land nationalisation. Their object was the single tax. The State must not be the land-owner, for that would be landlordism again, and [*unclear*: they] would have to go cap in hand to some Government officials, and those who had the most influence would be allowed to pick out the choicest spots. They must not dream of this.

A Hard Case.

Say a man has just recently given £500 for a piece of land, it would certainly be a hard case if the selling

value of his land were taken away by a sliding scale over a period of 18 years. But who had done that man the injury? Why was the £500 demanded of him before he could take up the land and use it? The single-taxers were not to blame, for they had not yet had an innings, and according to some it would be a long time before they did, (Applause.) The old system had done the man the injury. Was it not a hard-ship to demand £500 as a premium for the right to become a settler upon the land? He (Mr. Withy) thought it was a great injustice, and if there was anything in what he had said against the original plan of settling the land, a great injury had been caused by selling it. The present system was the cause of the injury. He was in the same position himself, being a very recent buyer of a little I land in New Zealand. Still, he was obliged to speak in this way, even though it was against his own interests. But the man who bought yesterday was not the only man [unclear: injured] by the system. The landless people had been, and were still, being injured by the present system. It made it in-[unclear: reasingly] difficult for every one of these to earn a living. The price charged took away his chance of employing *himself* by settlement. The system had cut off from him, [unclear: unless] he had the requisite capital to pay the premium, his means of supporting himself [unclear: upon] the land, and the conditions hin-[unclear: dered] him in saving his earnings to pay this premium. Surely those *most injured* were the people who had been, and were still, prevented from getting on the laud to work [unclear: upon] their own account. The interests of these people could not be ignored.

Land Booming.

Again, another thing which had in the past ruined hundreds and thousands, was the booming of land values. It was not the [unclear: single] tax that had done this, but the old [unclear: system], the system which permitted the sale of land. It was not the single-taxers, but the land speculators and the landlords who were interested in the booming of the land values. These men secured the land upon the promise of roads and railways, and people run to the neighbourhood like sheep in a lock, and gave fabulous prices; and it was upon that sort of thing that they reckoned for their profits. Thus thousands were rained by these booms, which would be possible as long as the old system existed.

One Great Difficulty.

In respect to this difficulty raised in the Question—viz., with regard to the man who fed just bought land; single-taxers would not touch the man who had just bought if they could get at the other man. But they could not get at those who had participated in the profits of the system in the past, and had sold out. If they could put "a little salt on the tail" of *some* of them they could not get *the lot*, and therefore the thing could not be done with any sort of uniformity.

A Gradual Reform.

He (Mr. Withy) maintained the reform could only be brought about *gradually*. No single-taxer had ever proposed it should be brought about *suddenly*. They were represented by their opponents as wishing to have some sudden change, also that they intended to turn the people off the land and take it away from them. Taking the value of the laud over a series of years was a different thing to taking the land or pushing a man off it. And that was just what single-taxers wanted to stop. They objected to the existing system as not [unclear: only] turning a lot of people off the laud, by [unclear: its] falling into the hands of the banks and [unclear: the] mortgagees, but preventing others from getting on it. They wanted to keep men on the land who under the present system would go to recruit the ranks of those who were competing constantly for employment. The transition period was always a period of difficulty. There was no question about it, that during the 18 years that this scheme would take to be effective, there would be some hardship. It was utterly impossible it could be otherwise. But look at the hardship of continuing as we are. Again, the hardship would be very much less than if the scheme were delayed 50 years. Had it been adopted 20 years ago it would have been very much easier than it would be even now. Let them go to England and propose to carry it out there now, with its enormous vested interests and its 40,000,000 of inhabitants. Why, the work in New Zealand, if it was a *desirable* work, and it depended upon the electors to decide whether it *was* a desirable work, was a mere "flea-bite" to what it would be in the older countries, or to what it would be in 50 years' time in New Zealand. There was a point oil which the opponents of the single tax were very loth to give them credit. In proposing to take the ground rent, single-taxers proposed to remit all other taxation. The ground rent was about £3,000,000 a-year, taxation in New Zealand was about £2,500,000, so that the total burden of the colony was £5,500,000 a-year. The single-taxers proposed to gradually sweep away the whole of the two and a-half millions of taxation, and only leave the one charge of ground rent, and instead of allowing that to go into the pockets of private individuals, to trans-fer it to the uses of the whole community. (Applause.)

Another Twitting.

There was another point on which single-taxers were constantly twitted; that was that they would put the taxation of the country only upon the land-owners. No, they would not. Then, it was asked, "What would single-taxers do, if the whole thing was to be paid by the land-owners; what else could be meant?" Single taxers maintained that every individual in the community does, and would, contribute to the ground rent. They cannot tell whether they do so in exactly equal amounts. But they knew quite well every individual would contribute. He (Mr. Withy) asked his hearers to look at this point. If they went to the Custom-house, they would find the only people who paid Customs duties there were the whole-sale importers. Many of his hearers, for instance, would not go to the (Custom-house pay duty once in five years. The wholesale importer went there and paid the whole of the import duties. But they all knew at the same time, indirectly, all had to pay. The wholesale importer charged the duty to the retailer, who in his turn put it on his customer. It was not possible for any individual citizen to get off his contribution. Neither was it possible for him to get off his contribution to ground rent. Suppose that on Monday morning a vessel came to Auckland with 1000 emigrants. Immediately they landed they would want food, lodging, and conveniences of every kind. They would pace up and down the streets, and go into one shop after another. Tradesmen would begin to say things were bettering. Of course, said Mr. Withy, they would be a lot better if a thousand people came. The result of that improvement would be, that every shop-keeper whose business would be improved would be prepared to give a higher rent rather than leave his premises. Vacant houses would be taken up; the agents would say, "We are doing a lot of business," and they would begin immediately to raise the ground rent. Now, if that was the effect with 1000 people coming in, a thousandth part of that effect must be made up by every man and woman. In one way or another every man and woman, every member of the community, contributed. They did it now, and they would continue to contribute under the single tax regime. It did not matter in the least who actually paid down the cash even as it did not matter who paid at the Custom-house; every member of the community had to pay his share.

The Wage-Earners.

He would now speak of the advantage of this scheme to the wage-earners. He had shown at the beginning of his remarks how the system of selling land had operated against the wage-earners; that it had swollen their ranks by preventing men with very small capital from going and working for themselves on land. Thus it reduced the wages by increasing the competition for employment. On the other hand by forcing them to pay the enhanced rents, which were continually going up, for the land upon which they lived. Thus it would be seen if this relief were afforded the condition of wage-earners would be immensely improved. By removing the difficulty of settlement the next comers into New Zealand would be able to go and decide upon their pieces of land and start upon them without any premium. There would be no selling value to the land and the next comer could go upon the land without taking anything out of his pocket. The consequence would be that fewer of those who came to New Zealand would join in the competition with the wage-earners. The result too would be an immense increase of production, and the wage-earners would be benefitted all round. (Applause.) There would be a benefit also by the entire remission of taxation, and they would not pay any more ground rent than they were paying now. He (Mr. Withy) did not care whose writings on political economy were studied, it would be found thus, that every bit of taxation and every bit of rent in any country was absolutely paid out of the proceeds of industry. (Applause.) Could the land-owner pay taxation unless he got it out of the proceeds of industry? If he had nobody on the ground working it and paying him rent he would have no cash. Thus the only way in which he could pay his taxes, if he did not work himself, would be by cutting off a strip of his land year by year and giving it to the collector. That was the only way in which he could pay his taxes, unless he got it out of the proceeds of industry. It might be [unclear: his] own industry, if he cultivated the [unclear: land] himself, or the industry of his tenant if he let the land for rent.

The Upper and Nether Millstones.

He therefore contended that, to repeat [unclear: a] simile he had previously used, the [unclear: wage] earners were being ground between the upper and nether millstones. It would be a relief to them to have these millstones separated-to have their taxes removed while their [unclear: wage] were increased by the increasing [unclear: competition] amongst employers to obtain their [unclear: service] So that the whole position would be reversed in a double sense. He had also spoken of the alternative of self-employment. The more people were in a position to go on to the land and utilise it, the more demand there would be for the stock, labour and implements they required. More of the net settlers would be removed from competition with wage-earners, and enabled to work [unclear: for] themselves.

A False Issue.

This would open up a new and better era for the wage-earners, and ought to show [unclear: them] that the fight between the capitalist and the wage-earners raised a false issue. The fight was really between the wage-earners and the capitalists who employed them on the one side, and the land monopolists on the other, for if an employer desired to initiate new industry he had first to pay the land-owner for a place on which to build his factory. This lessened his chance of carrying on his business successfully, for he had less money to put into the concern; and a less chance of making a profit upon his own capital [unclear: His] opportunities of employing labour were [unclear: also] restricted in this way. So it would be seen that the capitalist employing labour and the wage-earners were both injured by the other capitalist who was a land speculator. (Applause.) When the landlords and the speculators were removed by the proposed new conditions the capitalists employing labour would be *seen* to have no power to squeeze down the wages. As things now stood the *conditions* named, which surrounded [unclear: both] the employers and the wage-earners, forced down wages. This upper and lower mill-stone—these adverse conditions—could not but lower the rate of wages.

Labour Legislation.

The single-tax scheme was better than all the Acts of Parliament regulating the hours of labour and the conditions of employment in connection with shops and factories. It was also better than all the efforts of trades unions. He would not go fully into this matter. All these attempts by legislative acts and trades unions to improve the conditions of the wage earners, unduly interfered with the course of trade and caused the appointment of Parliamentary [unclear: inspectors]. These inspectors meant addi-[unclear: nal] expense, and the unions required [unclear: n] pay officials to control their affairs and [unclear: ulate] the army of workers for the pur-[unclear: es] of trades unionism. In both cases [unclear: ere] was an interference with liberty, and [unclear: is] both there was considerable expense. The [unclear: des] unions had to pay their officers and also [unclear: he] cost of their conferences and printing; [unclear: d] then when a strike occurred they had to [unclear: ed] contributions to their brethren who [unclear: ere] needing assistance. The legislative [unclear: ets] and the unions, besides their interfer-[unclear: ce] and expense, limited rather than [unclear: increased] production.

The Unemployed.

[unclear: Those] who asked for fewer hours of labour [unclear: d] not expect at the same time to increase [unclear: e] produce of labour, but hoped to bring [unclear: to] employment their friends who were [unclear: nding] idle. They thought, with some [unclear: son], that if they were now working ten [unclear: ars] a day and there were a number of [unclear: eir] fellows out of employment, if they only [unclear: ked] five hours there would be [unclear: employment] for more labourers. They never thought [unclear: of] saying that in five hours they turned out [unclear: e] much as in ten. Then there was the [unclear: question] the limitation of apprentices. Now, [unclear: they] limited the number of those taught [unclear: gular] trades, the others did not die. What [unclear: en] became of them? They remained outside, [unclear: al] when a dispute arose they turned up under the name of free labourers, and were ready [unclear: n] take up the work of those who went out. [unclear: tos] many a strike was broken up, and the [unclear: gular] tradesmen defeated by the free [unclear: ousers]. He was not saying these things [unclear: y] way of reproach to the intentions of [unclear: e] unionists or of Legislative Acts. The [unclear: tory] Acts in England had done much good, and were very necessary; and the [unclear: uployers] Liability Act had made [unclear: employers] more careful of the lives of the men [unclear: der] their care. You can, however, go too [unclear: r] in this direction, and they may have [unclear: er] far enough in New Zealand already: [unclear: haps] they had gone too far in some few [unclear: ints].

A Bright Prospect.

Let them look at the expansion offered by [unclear: e] suggested new departure in the way of [unclear: eased] chances of self-employment, and [unclear: of] the increased production caused by men [unclear: ot] having their pockets emptied before king on the land. Increased wages would [unclear: ow], to the general well-being of the colony. [unclear: ere] would be relatively a smaller number [unclear: f] to man bid for the wages offered. The [unclear: ts] already made, as above alluded to had [unclear: en] rather cramping, crushing, and [unclear: restraining] their effects. There was a great deal of [unclear: efulness] for the wage-earners in this single [unclear: r]. Another thing it would accomplish was [unclear: the] destruction of huge monopolies. They [unclear: all] knew the prevalence of these monopolies, [unclear: ed] a great many people were interested in

them—well-intentioned men in many instances, who were driven into the positions they occupy by the force of circumstances. Almost the only chance of success to these was to get into these commanding positions. There must be something seriously wrong with this system, which encourages a few astute and unscrupulous men to make large fortunes, in many cases out of the necessities of their fellow-creatures, without giving any return for what they receive. (Applause.)

Conclusion.

In conclusion, he would ask them patiently to consider this question. If they heard it denounced, let them not be carried away by that, but hear and read both sides. He would ask them not to assume that he and his friends were right, but to look carefully into the whole question. Of one thing he was certain, and that was, that it was not going to be destroyed by such criticism as it had so far received in Auckland. He wanted all to studiously avoid taking in misrepresentations. They could all think for themselves. There was nothing mysterious in the way he had got to his present views on the subject. He had gone on stage by stage. His convictions had become intensified until he had arrived at the conclusion that the reform was absolutely necessary. In this new country, they were descending stage by stage. That miserable class of beings was making its appearance, who were hardly like those who were well fed and well clothed—and this in a young country that had recently celebrated its jubilee. In Australia, which was somewhat older, the evil was worse. Only recently they had heard of 3000 unemployed in Sydney demanding work. And this condition of things might be seen in a further stage in America. The slums of New York were rapidly becoming like the slums of London. There was great distress there, and numbers of unemployed, and only a few weeks ago they were told that 100,000 people had mustered on the frontier of an Indian reserve, about to be thrown open for settlement, while a few days later the news came of loss of life in the frantic struggle to get hold of the new land opened up. Next cross the Atlantic, and in the old world, in England and on the Continent, they would find this condition of things furthest advanced. If they would avoid following the career of those old countries, they must remove the cause which brought about those conditions, and he sincerely believed that, in spite of the criticisms launched at the head of the single tax, that remedy would finally be adopted. Mr. Henry George stood forth as the modern exponent of this scheme of reconstruction, though he was not the originator of the idea. Still, his clearness of head and skill as a writer had enabled him to give the world a wider understanding of the scheme than any other man in this generation, and by his efforts he had opened a more hopeful future to the rest of the world. (Loud applause.)

Questions.

A large number of questions were then asked. In reply to these he said he did not know when this scheme would be adopted, but he thought it was coming nearer in Europe and America. He was not a prophet, but the cumulative evil was rushing on, and unless it was stopped "the deluge" must come. The landed men during the 18 years of which he had spoken would be gradually getting better employment than living on ground rent drawn from others. Single-taxers contemplated giving everyone the due re-ward for his industry.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Withy was unanimously passed, he, when a vote of confidence was proposed, saying he did not wish it as he did not consider the meeting exactly an election one.

vignette

Wilson and Horton, General Printers, Queen and Wynham Streets, Aucklandi.

Front Cover

The Landlord's Prayer.

LORD, keep us rich, and free from toil,
For we
Are honoured holders of Thy soil,
Which democrats would now despoil
With glee.

O Lord, our fathers got the land
For serving those whom Thy right hand
Had chosen to be great and grand
As kings.

Tho' ta'en by force, we're not to blame.
Thou knowest, O Lord, it is a shame
To say of us—of titled name—
Such things.

Lord, let us live in wealth's content
And peace!
Lord, we are by Thy mercy meant
To rule mankind and make our rent
Increase.

The birds that haunt the moors and hills,
The fish that swim in streams and rills,
The beasts which roam as Nature wills—
We own.

E'en Lord, the minerals that lie
Beneath the earth's periphery
Belong to us!—Thou knowest why—
Alone!

Ground Rent the True Source of Public Revenue: How to Secure it for this Purpose by Means of the Single Tax.

By Edward Withy

(Formerly M.H.R. for Newton).

With an Epilogue (Spoken by "the Crows").

PUBLISHED BY THE AUCKLAND ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY,

With an Appendix Containing their

Fifth Annual Report,

The Manifesto of the English Land Restoration League,

And Leaflets Published by the League, viz.:

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Contents.

Introductory.

It is no exaggeration to say, when approaching the question of Land Tenure, that the English-speaking race is in a chronic condition of unrest and dissatisfaction with all of its existing systems. It is true that in the various

Colonies some of the more manifest evils existing in the mother country have been avoided, and it was probably thought by the earlier of Colonial law-makers that very few of the less obvious ones would be reproduced in the new settlements. It is still evident that the general condition of the people of the various Colonies is better than of those at home, while there are not as yet many instances of abnormally large incomes. Despite these favourable appearances, however, there is very much which needs amendment, and legislators are continually attempting to make some improvements. These attempts have been largely directed to four points—viz.: (1) to preventing holdings from growing too large; (2) to devising plans for enabling men of small means to get cheap access to land; (3) to endowing education and religion with land reserves; and (4) to providing spaces for recreation at the centres of population.

But in spite of all this the unrest is as great as ever. The growing claims for charitable aid, the periodic appearance of the unemployed (with indications of their presence becoming permanent) and the difficulty of finding work for the sons of all classes, are ominous clouds which are now well above the horizon. Thinking men are getting alarmed, and wondering how this can arise in New Zealand, of all places a land specially favoured by Nature, exceptionally free from drought, Hood, and hurricane, and having an abundance of land still untouched. Co-operation, Socialism, Communism, Nihilism, and Anarchy, all find their advocates elsewhere, and some of them here. Factory Acts and the principle of general regulation of employment are looked to by many for the protection of the poorer workers. Our complicated Land Acts, designed to regulate the possession and use of the soil, indicate the general belief that special precautions must be taken in the case of land to restrain the richer holders, to protect the poorer ones, and to give a better chance to those who wish to become holders. Landowners, as well as tenants, are growing weary of all this harass—with the spirit of gambling engendered by a desire to get without working, and with the intemperance induced by misery and poor feeding.

All are ready for some change which should really contain a promise of hope, and especially one which should offer a prospect of less legislation, fewer tax-gatherers, inspectors, and other officials of less patronage, favouritism, and delay. All of these improvements, it is claimed, would follow as incidents in the wake of the great reform proposed by Single Taxers. They loom large amongst the things definitely desired by every civilised nation, and they are procurable under—while dwarfed in comparison with the main benefits to be derived from—the reform which will here be advocated. The explanation of the fact that such a result is possible must be that some sound and important principle is being violated in the present scheme of social arrangements; that our improvements have only been skin-deep; that they have not reached bed-rock, and, therefore, have not resulted in the laying of a stable foundation.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to assert the truth of this proposition, and to endeavour to make the assertion good. It will maintain that an unsound principle underlies our *land* legislation; that the unsoundness consists in allowing a purchaser of land to *receive* and withhold from the community the *ground rent* which arises. This principle undoubtedly exists, and if it can be proved to be unsound it will be admitted that dislocation must result from its widespread application; just as, if the compass is at fault, the ship cannot make her port, and if the drain is not laid with a fall from the swamp it cannot run the water off.

It will be shown that Single Taxers are not clamouring for *more* legislation, but that one result of carrying their proposed reform would be the *repeal* of many laws which now exist. They believe that the bulk of all our laws have been brought into existence in the vain hope of correcting the evils which have been created by an unjust land system. They consider that while this system exists other reforms will effect very little benefit; that it underlies our social arrangements just as the ground supports a large edifice; that each is fundamental in its function, and must be properly selected and tested before either superstructure can be safe and satisfactory for the purposes for which it is designed. They point to the *results* of our land system as affording justification for the statement that the system is unsound. They accuse it of keeping production upon a *reduced* scale, and of causing the reduced produce to be *inequitably distributed*. The overthrow of the system is therefore attempted by a gradual and simple process of undermining, instead of its modification by the passing of a number of elaborate or inquisitorial Acts of Parliament. No attempt will be made to arouse the feelings, but to appeal in the simplest language to the clear head, the calm judgment, and the highest moral sense of the community; quite as much, and as confidently, to those from whom a sacrifice will be asked, as to those who are now suffering, and may hope to gain by the reform.

vignette

Chapter I.

WHAT THE SINGLE TAX METHOD IS.

SINGLE TAX is the name given to the method by which it is proposed to effect the transfer of ground rent from the pockets of the landowners to the public chest. It contemplates—

- That an assessment shall be made of the annual ground rental value of all land, and that a tax, payable by each owner at his post-office, shall be levied on this at a uniform rate, and without exemption.
- That it shall begin with the present amount of tax—which is, however, levied upon a different basis—viz., upon the *capital* value and not on the *annual*—and be gradually and periodically increased.
- That with each addition to the tax upon ground rental values a corresponding remission shall be made of a tax on something else, and that this double operation shall be continued until all revenue shall be derived from ground rental values.
- That all rates raised by local authorities shall be levied upon the same assessment.
- And, finally, that if the colonial and local revenues combined do not require the whole of the annual ground rent, then the balance shall be taken up by additional taxes or rates, and be devoted to further expenditure for the public benefit.

Chapter II.

WHAT IT IS NOT.

- It is *not* an *acreage* tax, but an *annual value fax*.
- It is *not* a tax which would fall upon any *improvements*, whether large or small, but upon the rental value of the *ground* alone.
- It is not a tax merely upon cultivated land, but upon land, wherever situated, which is used for any purpose whatever, and also upon that which is held out of use; in short, as already expressed, upon *all* land.
- It is *not* a proposal to free the townspeople from taxation, and to place it on the shoulders of the country settlers.
- It would not treat the mortgagee (as the existing Land Tax Act does) less favourably than the owner, but would consider him as being, *pro ratâ* with the owner, interested equally in the *land* and in the *improvements* upon it.
- It is *not* a tax which would single out large owners or absentees, in order to levy upon them a graduated tax; nor would it allow any complete exemption to small owners, or any partial exemption to medium ones. It would, as already stated, "be levied at a uniform rate and without exemption."
- It is *not* a proposal to increase the total amount of the present taxation, but to substitute *one* tax for the *many* now in existence, and to alter the *incidence* of it, so that, instead of being, as at present, a deduction from the *industry* of the *whole people*, it would be paid exclusively by the *owners of land* out of the *ground rents* which they had previously received from the people.

Chapter III.

IT SUPPORTS "FREEHOLD" TENURE.

IT will be desirable to state at the outset that Single Taxers are very much misunderstood by those who charge them with aiming a blow at *freehold* title. Some are pleased to describe freehold as the cornerstone or foundation of civilised society, and to state that the one thing upon which we all set our hearts is some day to become possessed of our own *freehold*. Yet these people are generally among the strongest upholders of the present system, which denies it to so many. The desire is certainly strong, and may perhaps not inaptly be described as an *instinctive* one. Everyone who carries on any industry recognises that the possession of a freehold will afford him the best chance of securing to himself the proceeds of his industry. It is true that he has to pay smartly for the freehold, but in doing that he knows the worst of it at once. If he does not acquire it, he is

liable to an increase of rent, or to have his tenancy determined at some time which may be particularly inconvenient to him. Of two evils, like a sensible man, he chooses the least. *Leasehold* and *freehold* are at the antipodes of each other in their leading principle. The former renders *insecure* and the latter *secure*, the produce of the industry of the user of the land. For this reason Single Taxers are strong supporters of freehold title. They wish to *extend* the benefits of freehold tenure to all who carry on any industry which adds to the conveniences and the wealth of the community. Their complaint is that the blessings of freehold, being denied to tenants, are not *sufficiently widespread*. A very fitting toast in the mouth of a Single Taxer would be, "*The extension of freehold amongst the people who produced.*" This statement will come as a surprise to many, who have only gathered the supposed views of Single Taxers from the erroneous statements of their opponents. It is always much wiser to go to the fountain head for information.

The leading principle which Single Taxers hold is that no man is justly entitled to be more favourably located than another; that if he prefers a given site upon which to exercise his industry, he should make to the community an annual payment, which shall be equivalent to the value of the preference allowed to him; that this is the only possible way by which he can return an equivalent for what the community allows him; that he should not be permitted to pay cash down, in advance, for the supposed value, in perpetuity, of the preference; that as this future value is not ascertainable, but only the present value, it is necessary to make periodical re-assessments in order to equitably adjust all interests.

A very important modification would thus be introduced into the meaning of freehold in the future, but it will presently be shown that the resulting changes would make it a word pregnant with much greater security and much brighter hopes, than at present, to the industrious citizens of the nations who should make the change.

Chapter IV.

THE LINE OF CLEAVAGE IS BETWEEN LAND VALUES AND LABOUR VALUES.

THE exemption of improvements from taxation is the dividing line between land monopolists and Single Taxers. The principle upheld by the latter is that no taxation should fall on *labour products*, but that all should rest upon *ground rents*. There is nothing else which can be taxed. We must either tax what Nature *has presented* to us, or else the work which *we perform* upon these gifts. If, to satisfy our instincts, or to give greater efficiency to our labour, we congregate together, it follows that various spots become more useful than others for certain purposes. If the individuals who occupy these render no equivalent service to the public in return for the permission, they enjoy a *privilege*. The rest are then *prejudiced* to a corresponding extent. The only way to cure it is to assess the *annual value* of every *permission to occupy*—to take up the whole by taxation, and to use it for the purposes of the community. This is just a longer reading, in different words, of the title page of the pamphlet: "*Ground Rent the True Source of Public Revenue: How to Secure it for This Purpose by Means of the Single Tax.*" Landowners uphold and Single Taxers denounce the system still in vogue of taxing land, and that which we produce from it, as if they were alike in their nature. Just recently many landowners have joined in the general condemnation of the continued taxation of improvements. Now that only *large* improvements are taxed, they very naturally wish to have them exempted. But the fact remains that, as a class, they have always upheld the system which taxed land and improvements alike, with the very obvious intention of preventing the community from perceiving the essential difference between the natures of the two.

The principle which exempts all *labour products* will exempt *improvements*, whether large or small, because they are all the result of *labour*. It is dangerous to violate a sound principle; it gives the whip-hand to its opponents. It is very short-sighted of those who live by industry to permit the taxation of any of its numerous forms. The list of those who so live is not restricted to "the horny-handed," or to "wage-earners," or to those who receive "salaries," but it includes all who, by the exercise of *any faculty whatever*, perform *any service* which is *useful or agreeable* to their fellows.

The thing which those who live by industry have most to dread is the continuance of the false impression that *labour products* are of the same nature, and should therefore be placed in the same taxing category, *as land*. There is no more land in the world now than at the beginning. All the land transactions that have ever taken place have not added an acre to its area or a pound to its value. It is *labour* which adds to the world's total of wealth—nay, it is labour which has from the first produced it *all*.

The fact that Single Taxers hold this distinction between *land* and *improvements* as the very basis of their

system is the present reason for emphasising their objection to any tax falling upon improvements. It is the more necessary because their opponents frequently confuse the issue, and make appeals to land users based upon an opposite assumption.

One of the latest instances of this occurs in the *New Zealand Herald* of June 7, 1893. The leading article criticises part of "The Liberal Platform," published in its previous issue—a part in which Single Taxers must feel a kindred interest. One paragraph of the article is devoted to Clause 6 of the platform, which reads in full as follows:—

"6. Land Tax pure and simple, so as to ensure to the State the future unearned increment. No taxation of improvements."

The *Heralds* paragraph begins with quoting, between inverted commas, the first sentence of the clause. The second sentence, of four words, is omitted. The writer goes on to explain and to condemn, and then says:

"We commend this principle to the calm consideration of all country settlers, however small their holdings. Their ownership of the land is to be destroyed; they are merely to Cultivate and Improve for 'the State,' as represented by the Liberal Associations of Dunedin and Auckland."

The italics do not appear in the leading article, but the words are here printed in that way to mark the style of criticism employed. Even if the words (omitted in the *Heralds* quotation of Clause 6), "*No taxation of improvements*" had not been inserted by its authors, there would have been no excuse for the writer's action. The term "unearned increment" is not an obscure or ambiguous one, and is never understood to include the result of the *cultivating* and *improving* done by country settlers. When they "*cultivate* and *improve*" the results are usually *crops* and *improvements*.

Apart from the four words omitted in quoting Clause 6, the writer can scarcely be unaware that these are results which are quite separate from "unearned increment," and were not intended to be appropriated by "the State," or to be subjected to the smallest modicum of taxation. But this is the sort of criticism usually meted out to all land taxers, and they have now got used to it. *Town* settlers are overlooked by the *Herald*, but they should equally give it their "calm consideration." It would be well for all to view the matter thoroughly and completely when they are about it, and with that intent they should also study the letter signed "Iconoclast," in the issue of the 8th June. He undertakes to "explain and interpret and put into more simple language" the various clauses. Number 6, thus treated, reads, "The confiscation to the State of all private property. Farmers in future to belong to the soil, and pass with it."

The leading article is solemn and monitory, the letter is a light fusillade of banter, but it is difficult to decide which should be taken the more seriously. The former is addressed to "country settlers," the latter is considerably worded "so that they who run may read."

Further comment is needless: "a word to the wise is sufficient."

Chapter V.

IT IS TO BE BASED UPON VALUATION, AND NOT COMPETITION.

It may be objected by some that no method of fixing the ground rent by means of an *assessment* would be fair, but that it would be necessary, in order to give everyone an equal chance, to submit all land periodically to *public competition*, and to let it to the *highest bidder*. This is a matter of detail, upon which the writer can only express his individual opinion. His opinion is that the competitive plan would *not* result in giving an equal chance to all, seeing that the well-to-do man would have an advantage over the poorer man and the beginner. If this is so, then the very argument for its institution falls to the ground. But there is a very strong reason *against* the competitive plan. It is this: that it would lead to short periods of tenancy, and therefore to uncertainty, which would result in inferior cultivation and backwardness in making improvements. Permanence of ownership and freedom from every uncertainty to which a tenant is liable are among the prominent things which Single Taxers desire to obtain for land users. They seek to make it possible for every user, whether in town or country, to enjoy the fullest certainty in his operations which "freehold" can afford him. They wish to remove from users the competition of speculators and landlords, because this prevents many users from getting it at all, while it increases the price to those who succeed. But, further than this, it will be necessary to remove from them the need of competing amongst themselves. And what possible cause of complaint could any individual, or the whole community, have to make against an owner as long as he paid the required levy upon the community's

own valuation of the ground rent?

Chapter VI.

THE SINGLE TAX CONTRASTED WITH THE BALLANCE LAND TAX.

AT the risk of some little repetition, it may be well to endeavour to make the Single Tax method clearer by comparing its provisions with those of a now familiar standard, the Ballance Land Tax Act of 1891:

Chapter VII.

THE SINGLE TAX CONTRASTED WITH LAND NATIONALISATION.

A GREAT many people show how little they grasp the method of Single Taxers when they speak of them as Land Nationalises. It is quite true that the advocates of the two systems of reform have the same ultimate object in view, viz., the abolition of the private monopoly of ground rent, and its appropriation to the public benefit. But while the *object* aimed at is identical, the *methods* proposed are widely different, and the resulting conditions would present considerable contrast. The Land Nationalises seek to reach it by inducing the State to *acquire* the whole of the landed estate and to assume the functions of supreme *landowner*.

It cannot be too clearly stated that Single Taxers do not propose to *acquire* any land, or to interfere in any way with the titles of the present owners. Their scheme, therefore, does not, as Land Nationalisation would, involve any violent wrench to the systems of ownership transfer, or management now in vogue. It would not result in the retrograde step of denying a freehold to the many existing working proprietors; but would, on the contrary, extend its benefits, in the shape of security and certainty, to nearly all the existing tenants, by inducing landlords to sell to them.

But apart from this advantage, Single Taxers claim that their plan of actual working is much simpler—is, indeed, simplicity itself. They assert that so far from creating further officialism—as Land Nationalisation certainly would—it could be worked with a much smaller number of officers than is required under the present mixed system of taxation. They therefore contend that, being freer from official regulation, it would in actual working avoid most of the delay, uncertainty, partiality, and consequent liability to corruption, which are involved in any scheme of Land Nationalisation. If we compare the two proposals in parallel columns, we shall see that while

Chapter VIII.

"TAX" IS NOT A STRICTLY CORRECT TERM.

THE preceding part of this pamphlet has been devoted to an explanation, positive, negative, and by contrast, of what the Single Tax proposals are, and of what they are not. It is now necessary to show that the *nature* of the demand proposed to be made upon all landowners is not similar to that of an ordinary tax.

As a preliminary to this argument it will be desirable to show the present *position* of the ground-rent fund, which it is proposed to take for the purposes of public revenue. This fund is now in complete existence; part of it is paid by the tenants to the landlords, while the remainder is received in another form by owners who use their own land. In the former case, it may sometimes form part of a payment which includes the use of buildings or other improvements, and it may be paid at different intervals in different cases. But in either case, the fact remains that rent is paid for the use of bare ground by every tenant to his landlord *now*. It is, therefore,

not a new charge so far as tenants are concerned, and the only change proposed is to divert the fund from *private* to *public* hands.

The position as regards the landowners is different. They have inherited or bought the fee-simple of their land, and are not legally subject to any annual payment to anyone as a condition of retaining its use. They are, therefore, entitled either to use it themselves, to let it to tenants, or to sell it. The annual value may rise or fall, but they cannot *be* called upon to refund to anyone if it rises, and they cannot make a demand upon anyone if it falls. The demand proposed to be made upon the landowner—to pass on the annual ground rent to the community—would, therefore, be an entirely new one. The equity, or otherwise, of making such an innovation will be argued later on, and it is only desired at the moment to make clear the position of the fund and the demand upon it.

Having disposed of these facts regarding the *position*, the course is clear for arguing that the ground-rent payment, by whomsoever made, is different in its *nature* from a *tax*.

Look, first, at the popular idea and the popular attitude with regard to the two payments. It will be seen at once that they are viewed quite differently. It is true that everyone would like to pay less of either, just as he would like to pay less for his food and clothing; but for the ground rent which he pays he has a feeling of having received value for his money. He has no sense of having been placed at any disadvantage as compared with his tenant neighbours. If he has paid more than some of them, he is able to feel that he has occupied a piece of ground which he values at that much more than theirs. He is, therefore, in a comparative sense, content with his bargain.

Not so with his taxes, however. The very word indicates the imposition of a burden—the extracting of something. With regard to them a man nearly always feels both that they are too large in amount, and that he pays more than his fair share of them. But it will be necessary to look deeper than popular impressions and attitudes. In doing so it will be apparent that ground rent is a measure of *value*. It is the amount which a man is willing annually to pay for a certain piece of ground rather than take some other piece which is so poor, or so remote, that he can get it for a mere peppercorn rent. He believes that his industry, carried on upon this particular spot, will be worth that much in *excess* to him every year beyond what it would be if exercised upon the less favoured site. He is, therefore, satisfied that in having made such a bargain he has entered into a reasonable business transaction. If he pays more rent it is because his profits are correspondingly more, without any increase of exertion. He feels that he is, for this reason, on a par with his neighbours, and is, therefore, not disposed to complain.

But as he has only agreed to pay the equivalent of the *excess* value attaching to labour carried on at a particular spot, it can scarcely be affirmed that he has consented to part with any of the produce of his labour. Nor can this be affirmed in the case of any of the neighbouring tenants, or of more distant or less favourably situated tenants; for if the investigation is carried far enough afield it will reach the tenants who sit, practically, rent free. Those who pay no rent cannot, as a matter of course, be said to suffer a deduction from the produce of their industry. Their industry is less efficient, but it suffers no actual deduction. Their condition may therefore be taken as the standard one; their industry may be said to be exercised at the zero point; they receive no *excess* value over and above the bare value of their labour. To make assurance doubly sure, retrace these steps, and follow up the rent scale again. It will be noticed that none of the tenants pays away in ground rent any part of the produce of his industry, because, as has been shown, he only parts with the *excess* value which that industry acquires by reason of the advantages of his location having added efficiency to it. This is obviously his view of the case, seeing that if he did suffer such a deduction he would speedily give up his tenancy, and go further afield, where he could retain the whole. The higgling of the market is constantly and everywhere regulating the ratio of *rental value* on the basis of the *supply* of land in relation to the *demand* for it.

Next as to the statement that a tax *does* constitute a deduction from the produce of the payer's industry. This will be shown most simply and directly by first considering the case of the tenant who sits practically rent free. Directly a demand for any tax is made upon a man so situated, it amounts to a demand for a part of the produce of his industry. This is so because he has no *other* source from which to pay it. No equivalent advantage comes to him in connection with the imposition of the tax, such as comes to any of his rent-paying neighbours in return for their ground rent. Taxes are not optional payments, and the payer mostly disapproves of some of the objects for which they are imposed. As for the other objects on which they are spent, some do not benefit the payer at all, while from the remainder the benefit is very doubtful as compared with that which arises from the optional use of land which will be under his own control. This being so with the man who sits rent free, it is the same for rent payers. It has been shown that when they pay ground rent they part with only the *excess* value which has been added to their industry. It follows that when the tax is imposed upon them, it must come out of what is left after their rent is paid, *i.e.*, out of the normal produce of their industry. Thus, a tax forms part of every man's comparatively unprofitable expenditure, and goes in reduction of the balance from which it is possible for him to make savings.

The position is, therefore, made clear to be this—that ground rent is a payment *in exchange*; whilst taxation is *expenditure*, and is mainly an addition to the cost of existence. It must therefore follow that the taking of ground rent for the purpose of public revenue, and the remission of all existing taxes, would have the effect of causing the wheels to run more smoothly. The remission of all taxation would remove the friction now caused by the constant dissatisfaction felt with the various taxes and the mode of levying and collecting them. The two systems are so diverse in their operation, that it may fairly be asserted that the word *tax* does not convey a correct idea of that proposed by Single Taxers.

Chapter IX.

A NEW PRINCIPLE IS EMBODIED IN THE PROPOSAL.

IT having been asserted that the word *tax* is not strictly applicable to the plan of deriving public revenue from ground rent, it will be necessary to explain more fully the principle which underlies it. It has been shown that the payment of ground rent by a man does not involve any deduction from the proceeds of his industry, while the payment of taxation does do so. Such a deduction amounts to a *sacrifice* on his part, and, indeed, the idea of sacrifice is inseparable from our present systems of taxation. Hence we talk of "equality of sacrifice," and in this Colony we have been diligently taught for some years that the taxation should be "put upon those who are best able to bear it." By all means, if a *sacrifice* is to be asked from the people, let each one bear it according to his *ability*. There is an evident sound of fairness about such a doctrine. But even a good watchword will not suffice to neutralise the radical defect of our present system. It is evident that a sacrifice of part of everyone's earnings is now demanded, and this constitutes a *tux* on *industry* and a *discouragement to thrift*.

But it is time that we outgrew such crude methods, and Single Taxers say that we *can* do so, and they emphatically state that *no sacrifice*, need for the future be asked of any citizen in order to carry on public services. They say that no deduction need be made from either the current *industry* or the *savings* of any citizen; they contend that the poorer people of a country are more interested, if possible, than the well-to-do in hastening the only reform which can produce such a change; that they are more interested than any others, if they could but see it, in ensuring the *universal* adoption of this principle, and in seeing that it is carried out in its *purest form, i.e.*, free from all such pauperising and vote-catching devices as *exemptions* and *deductions*. These latter would then become the traditions of a reign of injustice; of an era in which mercy and philanthropy, falsely so called, were grudgingly substituted for that justice which would have kept all things right.

What, then, is the opposite principle which has been hinted at? A fitting phrase to describe it needs coining, but it may be briefly described as "payment in proportion to opportunity enjoyed."

Take an illustration to explain the meaning of this. If a man is allowed by the community to occupy a corner site in a leading thoroughfare for his business—a fertile holding near a railway station or on the banks of a navigable water for his farm—or a salubrious plot commanding a fine view for his residence—the "opportunity enjoyed" by him of producing wealth or enjoying comfort is a *superior* one. Should he not make to the community which allows it a "payment in proportion" to the "opportunity" enjoyed? And would this be asking him to make a sacrifice? Certainly not!

And if, as time wore on, the leading thoroughfare became more busy—if some part of the fertile holding became desirable for building purposes, and, as a consequence, other parts became available for more profitable cultivation in the form of vegetables, fruits, and flowers—or if there were many persons willing to give a higher annual payment for the residential site—should the owner not be called upon for a "payment in proportion" to the *improved* "opportunity enjoyed" by him, provided that he wishes to continue to enjoy it? And would this be asking him to make a *sacrifice*? Most emphatically not!

Or would either of these demands be equivalent to what we now call taxing him? Would it take any part of his earnings or savings? Certainly not! His income would be enhanced before a greater demand would be made. His payment would be analogous to the buying of stamps for postage, or of tickets for a railway journey. They are one and all payments for services rendered to, or for opportunities enjoyed by, him. The change which has come about is the arrival of a larger community to purchase his wares—to make it possible for him to find a market for things which are more profitable to cultivate than his former crops—to bring greater conveniences in the shape of transit facilities, refinement, and recreation, within easy reach of his dwelling. The members of the community have, in effect, come to his gate *to receive* his produce, and thus to save him the time formerly occupied *in carrying it* to them. They have offered to buy a more valuable class of produce if he would turn his

energies in that direction. "The ball is at his foot" by reason of the community having *brought* it there.

These would all be free gifts to him if he did not pay an equivalent price for them to the community. Such benefits have not come to him spontaneously, but are the products of busy hands and brains. If he gets the advantages for nothing, it must follow that others will fall correspondingly short of receiving the full reward of their industry; they would thus be making a sacrifice for his advantage. His annual payment for these benefits, therefore, cannot be described as a sacrifice; he prefers remaining to enjoy them, and, as a consequence, pays the equivalent of their value. He would pay the sum quite readily if it represented the hire of a labour-saving machine or of an improved means of public transit. Obviously, then, it is an equitable principle, alike to the land user and to the community as a whole, that the occupation of this particular land should only be permitted in exchange for an equivalent annual payment. There is mutuality in it, and any other conditions on either side would be unfair. As long as every *other* user makes a return to the community equivalent to the value of the land which he occupies, the *first man* has no ground of complaint against anyone.

But if there is still a doubt lingering in any mind, then look at it from another point of view by means of an analogy. Suppose that in setting up housekeeping a man buys furniture for three rooms—he does not complain that he has *sacrificed* his money. If he subsequently adds a room to the house, and furnishes it, he does not say that he has made a further sacrifice. Of course, he does not. These transactions are *fair exchanges* and the "payment in proportion to opportunity enjoyed" by each occupier of land is on the same footing. They all give equal satisfaction to both parties to the respective bargains, and they cause no *sacrifice* to either; each party is ready to repeat the same again, upon occasion. They all enjoy, and pay an equivalent for, some of the superior advantages which can be obtained by the members of a community, and which can never be realised by isolated families.

It is probable that everyone would agree to this proposition regarding rent as long as it was understood to apply only to a *tenant*. They would say that if he used *any* land it would be right in the first place that he should pay *rent* for it, and that if it was *public* land it would be right in the second place that he should pay it *to the community*. But the general contention would be that if he rented the land from an *individual* the latter should be entitled to keep the rent for his private use. Similarly, that where an owner used his own land he should not be called upon to pay rent to the community. People generally would say that ownership entitled the owner not only to the free *use* of his land, but to the *ground rent* which he could derive from it if he chose to let it.

This is where Single Taxers diverge from the ordinary belief. They say that every user of land, without exception, whether tenant or owner, should pay the full ground rent annually to the community. They cannot acknowledge the equity of exempting the owner from this obligation to make an annual payment. This must be read in conjunction with the previous statement that Single Taxers *support freehold tenure*, but the argument for its justice will not be dwelt upon here, but will be taken up later on. The only contention here made is that "payment in proportion to opportunity enjoyed" is the correct principle to guide the raising of public revenue; that a man should not be taxed upon his *income* or his *savings*, but upon the *opportunity* which is allowed to him.

The complaint is frequently made against the Single Tax scheme that it would put all the burden of taxation upon one class of the community—viz., the landowners—and that the rest would pay nothing. Enough has probably been written to show that this is an unfounded statement, but it may be well to point out its origin. It has, no doubt, arisen from looking no deeper than the surface. There is a half truth in the statement which appears to give sanction to it. It is quite true that only the landowners would walk into the post-office and lay down the cash. The fallacy lies in the assumption that what they would part with is a portion of the proceeds of their own labour and skill. That which they would lay down is a payment for the use of a piece of ground to which the presence of the community had attached a special value. They would get an equivalent for the payment just as surely as the purchaser of a railway ticket does when he takes the journey, whether it be long or short, for which he has paid the fare.

The whole arrangement, under the proposed system, works out to the reasonable satisfaction of everyone without demanding any sacrifice of earnings. It is very difficult at first to believe that such a reform is possible. We all feel that something is not right now, but a vague sense of hopelessness has almost benumbed us into despair of ever finding a solution to our troubles. Clear-headed men, however, having boundless faith in the efficacy of right principles, have thought out the matter for us. Henry George, without question, stands forth as the leading expounder of this most complete scheme of economic reconstruction. It is one that is worthy of the respectful consideration of every statesman, every politician, and every elector.

Chapter X.

THE CHANGE, AND WHY IT IS DESIRED, STATED BRIEFLY.

THE change desired is the transfer from landowners to the community of the receipt, or enjoyment, of ground rent; a process which may be described as the "nationalisation of ground rent." It is believed that this fund would provide all necessary colonial and local revenue, and that all existing taxes and rates might, as a consequence, be abolished.

The reasons for desiring this change are two in number: 1st. That the use of land, by every owner, should be annually paid for to the community. This is in order to remove land from the category of income-producing investments, so that the owner could derive *no other income* from it than that which arose from his *personal use* of it. 2nd. That the selling value of land should be destroyed. This is for the purpose of protecting intending owners from having to pay any premium before they commence a useful occupation of land. The purchase of an unimproved section would cost them nothing; an improved one would cost them the price for which they could bargain to buy the improvements from the existing owner. It is also intended by this means to free land from the domination of owners who don't use it. This would allow settlement to proceed along natural lines, and would largely prevent the existing frequent obstruction of public improvements which are desired by the community.

Single Taxers believe that the realisation of these objects would settle the whole difficulty usually referred to as "The Land Question."

Chapter XI

ANCIENT LAND GRANTS, FEUDALISM, AND THE MOSAIC SYSTEM.

IT is impossible to justify, on the grounds of equity, the origin of large landed possessions; that is, possessions which are large in relation to the number of persons holding them. In early days the population was very small, but the earth was as large as it is now, and therefore there was plenty for everyone; but even then it could never be justified that a man should claim as his own a vast area which he did not and could not use. How could he claim that a neutral and unused territory should lie between him and his neighbours all round? Or, if it did so lie, how could he lay any stronger claim to it than his neighbours could? Or, again, how could he and they together object to a new-comer settling himself between them upon land which he found unused? That such monopolies *have arisen* is *primâ facie* evidence of force or fraud having been used in originating them.

But it is a matter of history, and it forms a very significant commentary upon *modern* land systems, that when government and administration began to shape themselves in feudal times, there was still no pretence to land *owning*. It was land *holding*, and the tenure depended upon the performance of *service*.

The barons held districts under the king, the head of the State and the embodiment of the people's rights, and in return they owed him service. The people, of different degrees, held sections of these districts under the barons, and owed them service. The defence of each district, and thus of the whole kingdom, was secured, while judicial and other executive services were performed, in return for the use of the land.

Come down to modern times and take a broad survey, a momentary glance, without going into small details. Imagine the resurrection, from these old times, of a man of inquiring mind, and suppose him to interview one of average knowledge and experience to-day.

He asks: "Who represent the barons to-day in England?"

Ans.: "The peers of the realm and the landed proprietors who have purchased land from them."

Q.: "Do they still maintain the defence of the country, administer justice, and perform the executive duties?"

A.: "No."

Q.: "Then, I suppose they have given up to the Crown the revenues of the estates which they hold?"

A.: "Oh, no! they retain these, and the revenues have immensely increased."

Q.: "But how are defence and public services maintained?"

A.: "By taxes upon all the people."

Q.: "Then, if the people are taxed for these purposes, they have surely been freed from service to landholders in return for the lands which they hold?"

A.: "Oh, no! they have not. They pay ground rent now instead of the former personal services to the landowners."

Q.: "Did you say *owners*?"

A.: "Yes; the former *landholders* are now *owners*."

Q.: "Do you mean to say that they have obtained absolute *possession*, while they have got rid of the conditions of service?"

A.: "Yes, that is the case. They have transferred their burdens to the shoulders of the people, and have transformed their *tenure* into *possession*."

Q.: "Who do you mean when you say, '*they* have transferred' '*they* have transformed'?"

A.: "Well, you must know that the landowners were the only legislators until very recently, and that they still hold a preponderating power in the legislature, and maintain this by extra votes in virtue of their ownership of land."

Q.: "Then, am I to understand that the tenants, as they are now called, pay *rent* for the ground they use, and that they also pay *taxes* for public service?"

A.: "Yes, that is so; but that is not the worst of it, for while the tenants *pay both*, the owners *receive the rents* and only *pay taxes*. To sum the matter up—

The landholders turned themselves into owners, while they evaded the services which they used to perform;

The landlords retain to themselves the services of the tenants, while, at the same time, they saddle them with a share of the taxes, which they have imposed to support the evaded services;

And, finally, the landlords still monopolise the legislative power on the plea that they have a greater stake in the country than the landless people. They succeed by this device in preventing effective examination into and reform of the system."

Q.: "But surely the owners pay a very large share of the taxes?"

A.: "Yes: but they don't pay anything like their *fair* share. As far as their lands are concerned, they have permitted no re-valuation of land for national taxes since the year 1798; so that they don't now pay the same levy per £ of value as they considered equitable at that date. The increase in value caused by the great inventions, the growth of population, and the vast strides in production during this century, has therefore contributed practically nothing extra. They have also received exorbitant compensation for railways and other public works, which, instead of injuring them, have vastly increased the value of their land."

Q.: "Then, some of these men must be immensely wealthy, for I see swarms of people and vast evidences of production where only a few scattered homesteads existed in my day. These must all be paying *rent*, as you call it, to the *owner* of the land?"

A.: "Yes, certainly; and they also pay what are called 'royalties' in return for permission to work the coal and metallic ores which exist under the surface, and which were hardly touched or even known in your day."

Q.: "Well, this astonishes me beyond measure. I understood that the country had immensely developed in freedom, in education, and in wealth, but I see numbers living in a very miserable condition and looking as anxious as if they were hunted by unseen enemies. I begin now to understand the reason of all this. Are none of you trying to alter this obvious injustice, and to give something like an equal chance to all?"

A.: "Yes, there is an earnest minority who say that 'ground rent is the true source of public revenue,' and who believe that, if all was used for this purpose, it would do a great deal to improve matters. They are confident, at any rate, that it is a reform which is *fundamental* to all others, and that, being such, it is the most important one that can be attempted. They would restore the old principle in a new form."

Exit the observant and inquiring stranger, with the observation: "Yes, I see it all. The landowners have devised this system, have continued to work it, and are still maintaining it by keeping the political power. They have reaped whatever has been gained by it, while the landless people don't see through the trick that has been played upon them; and if they did the power to alter it is not yet sufficiently in their hands. They have stood to lose all along. I wonder they don't wake up. But perhaps they will before long."

A few paragraphs may not be out of place for the purpose of referring to the origin of some large holdings in England. Many of these were conferred by the Sovereign or Parliament upon soldiers and statesmen, who were considered to have rendered conspicuous services to the country. Single Taxers object, on principle, to the *form* which these rewards have taken. If a man has rendered exceptional services to the community, let it, by all means, reward him, but let it do so out of the produce of its labour, and not out of that which has cost it no exertion. By giving parts of the land of the country to its benefactors the community of those days gave what it did not produce, and has thereby entailed upon its descendants the burden of continuing to reward the successors of the old-time benefactors. These successors have not often emulated the deeds of their ancestors,

and have not therefore earned a title to any reward; but, strange to say, they are generally receiving many times more than the income of their predecessors. This increased income represents an increased burden upon the present generation, paid in the form of ground rent.

Perpetual money pensions are surely monstrous enough, and sufficiently indefensible, but what can be said in favour of the plan of granting the ground rent of a territory for all time as the income of one family? It is certainly a very cheap way in which contemporaries can indulge their desire to pat one another on the back if they can relegate the payment to their successors. It was very simple for the Chancellor of those days to sign a *parchment title* instead of parting with the solid *coin* of the treasury. He probably saw no further than the immediate and obvious convenience, and did not realise the future effects. How should he? To credit him with such foresight is to set his intelligence far above that of the statesmen of the present generation, for only a very small minority of them grasp, even yet, the significance of the position.

While it could never be equitable, yet there would not be so much objection to these grants of land, free from the obligation of making an annual payment to the community, if sufficient convenient land was still left available for the rest of the community on the same terms. If *one* may have land without any annual charge, why not *all*? It is of no avail to plead long custom for the denial, if justice cannot be invoked in its defence. If the practice is not equitable now, when was it equitable? Did it lose its equitableness gradually or suddenly? When and why was the reasonable condition of service removed? An Answer will be welcome from the champions of the present system, if they can set the facts in a different light.

While the feudal system required service as the condition of holding land, a much more ancient one, the Mosaic, to which further allusion will be made, was based on universal family inheritance. Provision was made in the first place to give every family an inheritance, and in the second to prevent any from ever becoming landless by forbidding any present holder to grant a lease beyond the next jubilee year, a maximum period of fifty years. Single Taxers would be satisfied with the re-enactment of either of these *principles*, with such modification of details as would suit our modern methods of life and of industry. They claim that their principle of action conforms to the *intention* underlying both of these systems. While it is based upon these sound principles of former days, it affords all the elasticity necessary to the complicated subdivision of labour in modern times. It would not, on the one hand, exact *personal service*, or, on the other, *divide the land* amongst all the families, which were the methods respectively adopted in the two systems named, but it would devote the ground rental value of all the land to public uses. By this means alone is it possible to assure to every man the full result of his own exertions.

Chapter XII.

THE EXISTING CENTRAL FAULT IS "PRIVATE" MONOPOLISATION OF GROUND RENT.

IN examining the present system it is important, as a preliminary, to take notice of a certain *preference* which is shown by mankind, and of a special *limitation* which is imposed upon them. Both of these appear likely to continue in the future, whatever laws we may make for the purpose of determining our social relations. These facts must be taken into account by us if we would frame our regulations successfully.

The *preference* which is exhibited for the most part by men in all ages is to come together in communities rather than to isolate themselves. The *limitation* is that the area of the earth is a fixed quantity, while our race has been, and appears likely to continue to be, an ever increasing one.

An advantage which has always been observed to result from the clustering of individuals is that it has, by rendering combined action possible, led to a greater increase of mutual conveniences and to a larger accumulation of wealth than were possible without it. A consequence of these two facts is that certain portions of the earth's surface are continually sought after with an increasing eagerness, and this is especially noticeable with regard to certain centres in the territory of the English-speaking nations.

It appears to land reformers generally that this preference and this limitation have been largely overlooked by the people, and either overlooked, or intentionally ignored, by their legislators. The result of overlooking such important facts has been most disastrous. If mankind had not desired to congregate in tribes and nations, and to form villages, towns, and cities, but if, on the contrary, they had reared their flocks and tilled the ground at a distance from each other, land would scarcely for ages yet have acquired any annual value. Near neighbourhood enables each one to exchange his day's produce with whatever he desires of his neighbours'

day's produce, with less loss of time than if they were widely separated. Hence one of the advantages of living in "neighbour-row," and hence the willingness of each to pay more for such a location than for a remote one. The landlord enjoys this advantage as fully as any of his neighbours do, but he contributes nothing to his neighbours in return for it. On the other hand, he and his class, by inheritance or by purchase *amongst themselves*, reap all the payment which their landless neighbours are willing to make for the advantages of neighbourhood. They traffic in the needs and desires of their fellows, and make them no return, but simply take payment to stand aside. It is owing to the advantageous experience acquired by association that labour has come to be so much subdivided into departments. It is pretty certain that the increase of production per head, which has by these means been achieved, has led to the Anglo-Saxon race multiplying as fast as it has done during this century. Finally, it is undoubtedly due to these several facts that ground rent has advanced so rapidly in England and her colonies.

The central fault of the present system must unhesitatingly be affirmed to be the *private* monopolisation of this ground rent. The desires and necessities of mankind have offered a tempting bait to capitalists to move in advance of settlement, and to forestall the chances of their fellows. No system of land tenure, no free sale of land, no peasant proprietorship, no village settlement scheme, no "eternal" leases or State farms, no improvement conditions, or any method of regulation can possibly be effective as long as the owning of land carries with it the ground rent—and its future growth—as the perquisite of the owner. As long as any nation is prepared to allow this unconditioned traffic in its birthright—a traffic possible only to those who have the means at hand—so long will they entail upon themselves and their posterity the disabilities under which we have long suffered, and which grow more acute as population becomes denser.

When considered in the light of the preceding paragraph, the recent action of the New Zealand Parliament in granting leases for 999 years at a rental of 4 per cent. per annum upon the *present* selling value of the land, without any periodical *revaluation*, appears to be most extraordinary. This hands over to the lessee and his heirs, for *ten centuries* to come, the future possible growth of the ground rent of his leasehold. Additional roads may pass some of these holdings, railroads may form junctions near them, a village, a township, or a city may be formed alongside or upon them, and there is not a line *in* the Land Act to prevent these *thirty generations* of holders from reaping this unearned annual increment. A better scheme for granting privilege, a surer way of creating monopolists out of a chance selection from amongst these "eternal" leaseholders, could not well be conceived. They are not even compelled to *buy* the privilege; it is *given* to them. Yet this has been done by the political party which is the one most advanced in its ideas of land reform!

Chapter XIII.

PRODUCTION IS STUNTED, UNJUST DISTRIBUTION AND POVERTY ARE CAUSED, BY THIS CENTRAL FAULT.

IN discussing the evil effects of the monopolisation of ground rent it will be necessary to tabulate the principal features which present themselves when the present land system is examined. Before doing so it may be well to premise that the landlord and tenant phase of the question exhibits the anomalies most strikingly. But Single Taxers do not confine their objections to the absorption of ground rent by landlords only; they object to it, also, though the evils are not so glaring, in the ease of owners who use their lands personally. They contend, also, that it is not merely *individuals* who suffer therefrom, though they certainly bear the brunt of the battle, but that the *community* suffers through them. It is therefore a matter which concerns every man in the country, whether he rents land or not, and it is a matter of great consequence that every intelligent person should inquire into the working of the system. It is often asserted in a taunting way to well-to-do reformers, "Well, you've done very well, in spite of it; *you* have no cause to complain." The answer to this is that a man is a very mean creature, and a very poor patriot, who is content simply to have drawn his own chestnuts out of the fire, but will not look after the interests of his less fortunate neighbours.

But without further preface, the following features may be pointed out as existing in the present system of land ownership:—

- That the land laws acknowledge the right of individuals to own land which they do not personally use, and that they allow them either to hold it out of use or to let or sell it to others who desire to use it.

- That working proprietors have to pay more for land owing to the competition of those who hold it for other purposes than personal use.
- That much land is held entirely out of use by speculators.
- That much land is let for uses which are below its capabilities while the owner is waiting for a rise in value.
- That tenants, however long their leases may be, do not cultivate as thoroughly as owners do.
- That men of small means buy land in the endeavour to escape the disabilities under which tenants labour. That in order to do so, and still to avoid having all their funds locked up in the purchase, they are obliged to borrow upon the security of the land, so as to provide money for working capital.
- That the ground-rent fund is received by landowners only.
- That the owners do no more than the rest of the community towards creating this fund.
- That the ground-rent fund does not remain stationary in progressive countries, but increases in the three following ways:
 - By the constant increase of the area needed by the increasing population.
 - By the increase of competition for the most favoured areas.
 - By the increased demand for land caused by the introduction of improved facilities for the production of wealth.
- That the selling value rises where the ground rent rises.
- That the immensely increased power devoted during the present century to production, while it has added to the total amount of wealth, has not raised all the people above poverty, or the bulk of them above a comparatively meagre standard of living.

The following indictments may be brought against the system which exhibits the foregoing peculiarities.

Take, first, its influence in retarding the *production* of conveniences and wealth:—

- The community is injured by the prevention of any production upon land held by speculators out of use and by the letting of other lands for inferior uses.
- The interests of working proprietors are injured by landlords and speculators—neither of whom personally use the land they secure—competing with them in purchasing land, and so raising the prices and reducing the area of their choice.
- The community is injured in the case of every working proprietor by the extent to which the productions which he could otherwise offer it are reduced through the purchase of his land crippling his powers. The reason of this crippling is that the retention of this capital would have enabled him to effect more improvements, and to cultivate more extensively and economically than he can now do. The community is also injured by the same hindrance preventing many men from ever becoming working proprietors.
- The community is injured in the case of tenants by the extent to which their total production is reduced by the necessity imposed upon them of paying taxes. This cripples their *power* of making such improvements to the Land as would bring it into the most favourable condition for large production.
- The community is injured in the case of tenants by the fact that the limited term for which they can obtain land, coupled with the uncertainty as to what rent may be demanded for a renewal, *indisposes* them to make such improvements as are still within their *power* to make.
- The community is injured in the same way by the fact that the poor chance which a tenant has to realise the value of his unexhausted improvements at the end of the term acts as a *further deterrent*.

These six indictments assert that a *reduction* is caused by the action of the present system in the *production* of conveniences and of wealth. This is not a small charge to bring against it, and it is one that has proved sufficient to condemn many a method of production, and to cause it to give way to a more expeditious plan. Men are continually contriving means for increasing the rate of production and for reducing the amount of waste of material involved. Costly machinery is bought without stint, and the most competent overseers are engaged at high salaries. The desire to *increase* the supply of conveniences, and the storing up of wealth, is so strong and so universal that it may be described as an "instinctive" one. Let not those who speak so energetically about the "instinctive" desire of a "freehold" overlook this *other* desire. Single Taxers do not ignore *either* of them, and herein they claim to be consistent in their demands.

But the charge of *cramping production* is not by any means the only one brought against the present system, nor is it the most *serious*. The most serious charge is that it effects an artificial and unjust *distribution* of all that is produced.

The comparison between the two charges may be made clear by using an illustration. Let it be supposed that mankind had been accustomed to enjoy, on the average, a bowl of milk every day, and that after a time a set of rulers arose who decreed that a change should be made: the change to be that, for the future, a smaller number of cows should be kept, so that each individual should only have on the average three-quarters of a bowlful per day. This would run entirely counter to the general wish to *increase* supplies, and would be justly

regarded as a *retrograde* step. Still, there would be some consolation in the fact that all were to be reduced alike, and that no *invidious distinction* was to be drawn.

But suppose that the next step taken by the rulers was to issue another decree in *favour* of a certain *minority* of their subjects. Suppose that they commanded that the *majority* of their subjects should henceforth allow their three-quarter bowls of milk to stand until the cream had risen to the surface; that they should then skim off the cream and deliver it to the *minority* of their fellows, who were to be *favoured*. This would affect the *distribution* amongst mankind of the reduced quantity of the good things, by allowing some to retain the cream on their own bowls, and to receive that also which rose to the surface of the bowls of the majority. The second decree would be essentially an *invidious* one, and would therefore result in much greater heart-burnings than the former one did. The first would *reduce* the production, while the second would *distribute* the reduced produce unjustly.

It may be fairly claimed by Single Taxers that this illustration is parallel, in every important respect, to the operation of the existing system of landownership, which they condemn. It will shortly be shown that *historically* it is parallel, seeing that the system is a comparatively *modern* one, devised by rulers, and not applicable to a community of *brethren*. It is universally admitted, as has been pointed out, that the tenancy system causes the methods of production to be less efficient than they are where the *user* is the *owner*. It is also self-evident that the landlord does not produce that which he receives from the tenant as rent; that the tenant would produce just as much if the owner had no existence; that it therefore follows that an unjust distribution takes place when the *landlord*, who does not produce it, receives the ground-rent fund instead of the *community*, whose presence creates it.

It will, however, be pointed out by the upholders of the present system that this illustration does not run on all fours with the principle which enables landowners to receive ground rent from their tenants; that the analogy assumes that rulers have *arbitrarily* selected certain favourites to enjoy the free use of the land which they actually occupy, and to receive ground rent from the rest of their countrymen. It will be pointed out that the illustration is at fault, inasmuch as it ignores the fact that the minority have become lawfully possessed of the land. That, this being so, it follows legally, and as a matter of course, that they should enjoy the *free* use of what they *occupy*, and also that they should be allowed to *charge a rent* for what they *lend* to their tenants.

Single Taxers will freely admit that the foregoing illustration *does* assume that rulers have arbitrarily selected a minority of their subjects to hold a special privilege. They are prepared, moreover, to prove that it is a *correct* assumption, and that *arbitrary selection* is the origin of landownership as it now exists. The proof will not be dealt with under this heading, which is devoted to exposing the faults, and not to proving the injustice, of the system.

To leave the illustration, and to explain further some of the faults of the system, it may be admitted that no system could be devised which would, in a community, enable a *penniless* man to start any use of land on his own account. He must necessarily first save enough to enable him to procure certain appliances or materials, such as implements, buildings, seed, etc., in addition to the supplies of food which would keep him alive, and in a condition fit for vigorous work, until his operations would bring in a return. It is therefore necessary that a man who has no means should begin by working for another, and saving part of his wages, until he has got together the necessary capital.

But what is alleged, in the first place, against the present system, is that this initial stage is rendered much *more difficult* of attainment than is at all necessary, by making it impossible for the wage-earner to obtain the full value of his labour.

The next objection is that the man who has mounted this first rung of the ladder is met by another great difficulty. He has to climb a high wall, erected by monopolists round all available land, before he can make a start to securely and efficiently produce or distribute anything on his own account. He is restricted to three alternatives as a preliminary to being able to do this. He must either (1) continue to work for someone else until he has saved enough to buy a piece of land outright; or (2) work on until he has saved enough to buy it with the help of a loan; or (3) he must rent a piece.

To summarise this position as it appears to intending land users, it will be found that the only opportunity open to the man who has not saved anything towards buying land is to rent a piece and to suffer the uncertainties of a tenancy. The next better opportunity is to the man who has saved a little, and is thus able to buy land by paying part and borrowing the remainder. The best chance of all is to buy the land outright, and this is possible only to the man who has sufficient capital for the purpose. All three of these alternatives entail upon a man certain disabilities before he can attain the initial purpose of obtaining permission to work on his own account. At the same time, he suffers, under each condition, from the imposition of existing *taxes*. It would be for the general good that all should be able to get *access to land* without any expenditure of capital. There can be no objection to the payment of ground rent by all, provided that it shall go to form the *public* revenue, and that it shall not be accompanied by any of the uncertainties attaching to *tenancy*. It would also be immensely for the general good that everyone should be relieved from *taxation*. The saving thus effected would be mostly

devoted to improvements, and this would result in the increased efficiency of all productive operations.

Before a student of the Land Question can understand the very detrimental effect which its anomalies produce in the economic conditions of a people, he must grasp the fact that these effects are cumulative in their action. It has been shown that the annual saving to the tenant class produced by the Single Tax *régime* would consist of the taxes which would be remitted to them. In New Zealand this would amount to their proportion of about £2,500,000 annually, which must be a very large sum even for one year. But when it is considered that the first year's saving would be followed annually by a similar amount, and that nearly all of it would probably be devoted by the tenants to improvements, it is more easy to imagine what the steady, solid, and secure addition to the spending and saving power of this section of the people would amount to as time went on. In the first place, note that this large annual sum would be *left with the tenants*, instead of, as now, being taken from them. In the second place, the use which they would make of the bulk of it, in devoting it to improvements, would have the effect of adding to the efficiency and profitableness of their operations. This would result in an annual profit, which would amount to another substantial gain to the tenants, and this item would also increase cumulatively.

That part, also, which they chose to expend in increasing their comforts would be larger than that expended by its present recipients, seeing that the latter are so few in number. What is here meant, is that it may be safely assumed that *ten* men possessing £150 a year each will spend far more in clothing and other manufactured articles, and several times more in food and actual necessaries of life, than *one* man with £1,500 a year. This increase would have the effect of stimulating all these businesses, and therefore of offering more employment.

If the foregoing is at all a correct forecast of the results of the change, it will not require much effort of imagination to trace the general sluggishness of demand, the deficiency of employment, and the lack of purchasing power, also the *periodical* lower dips which occur, and which we call "commercial crises," to the action of the system which now renders such a diversion of funds from the tenants possible.

But, in order to render complete the chain of reasoning which connects the private monopolisation of ground rent with the prevalence of poverty, another point must be explained. In the absence of such an explanation, it may be plausibly stated that if the evil was really as serious as it has been represented, then landowners would be the only wealthy people, and no fortunes could be made in commerce or in manufactures. The existence of large fortunes in these departments might therefore be said to give the lie to such statements.

The two considerations which are overlooked in this reasoning are the following: In the first place, men are very diverse in their capacity, ability, shrewdness, and thriftiness. They are, consequently, capable of producing very different results compared with one another, even in cases where their respective opportunities may be nearly similar. The most capable men may make a great success under conditions where the medium ones can just obtain a fair living, and where the weakest will fail to make ends meet.

In the second place, it will be admitted that the amount of ground rent paid by one and all does not vary according to the *strength* of the payers. The landlord will not let his land for any less rent to the weak man, nor can he succeed in getting any more from the strong man. If all men were weak, it is self-evident that landlords could not get as much as they do now, and if all men were strong they could get more. *Rent*, then, is determined by the *average* power of men to pay. Thus the ground-rental conditions under which all tenants work are very nearly *similar*.

The combined effect of these two considerations—the inequality of strength in tenants and the approximate equality of the ground rent charge to all—is that which would be expected: the *strong* make fortunes, the *medium* make a living, and the *weak* go to the wall.

But it may be pointed out that these two considerations would remain the same under Single Tax conditions. Admitted; but the *two advantages* already alluded to would come into play in *favour* of all tenants, as the *reverse conditions* now act *against* them. They would be entirely relieved from *taxes* and *rates*, and, in addition, would in most cases be freed from the *uncertainties* incident to *tenancy* through becoming owners after the selling value of land was killed. These two conditions now act *cumulatively* against tenants, so that the effect of their removal would be very great.

But *do* the weak really go to the wall? Yes. They cannot maintain the pace which competition sets up as the standard. They fail to pay their rent, and consequently get into debt; each step they take downwards decreases their power of recovery; by-and-by the crisis is reached, and they have to fall out of the rank of tenants. The next thing is to offer their services to someone for wages, and in doing so they begin to compete with the wage-earners.

The investigation must now follow them into this class. It is not difficult to show that the same considerations which determine the struggle of the tenants largely influence that of the wage-earners. The more capable ones get the superior situations. Many men, in certain trades, judging truly that union is strength, combine together and present a united front to competition. This involves a levy from their wages to maintain the organisation, and practically necessitates a uniform wage; but it undoubtedly assists their *average* position.

The old saying, "The de'il tak the hindmost," is very appropriate to the condition of the less capable ones and those who don't combine. The margin above bare subsistence is so small with even the most capable wage-earners, that it is not surprising that those who are weak, those who are unsupported by combination, those who suffer from sickness or other misfortune, or have an extra large family, fall into debt, Income hopeless, possibly take to dissipation, and end in poverty. If this is so with the *men*, what chance is there for *widows and orphans*? Does the chain of connection between poverty and the private monopolisation of ground rent need any more links to complete it? Surely not!

Chapter XIV.

LABOUR VERSUS CAPITAL IS AN INCORRECT DESCRIPTION OF THE ISSUE.

It is important to look at a most singular misapprehension which has taken hold of the public mind, and perhaps especially of wage-earners. It is distinctly traceable to the confusion of thought which is mainly responsible for the continued existence of the present land-system. The confusion alluded to is that which classes land and the products of industry together. Wherever this confusion exists in any man's brain, It is quite natural that he should look at the use of capital applied to the purchase of land in just the same way as its use applied to carrying on any industry. In this way the present land system is responsible for a very mischievous reflex influence upon industrial life, and has led to a great amount of misdirected antagonism between employers and wage-earners of every variety.

The land system has permitted certain capital to forestall industry, to curtail its operations, and to take toll from it; and by these means to bring the use of *all capital*, though applied to widely different purposes, under suspicion and discredit. This result is not to be wondered at, for even political economists have missed or concealed the true issue. There is no wonder, therefore, that wage-earners generally think that it is the capital which conducts the industries in which they are employed which grinds down their pay. But if the producing and employing capitalist could be made, for the time being, invisible, so that they could see past him to the land-owning capitalist in the background, they would see the true author of their troubles. There are two very significant differences between the nature of the operations of these capitalists which lie on the very surface, and which supply a hint of deeper differences. The *land-owning capitalist derives his income* from many men, who are *poorer than himself*. The *employing capitalist supplies an income* to a number of men *poorer than himself*. The *land-owning capitalist* shuts the gate upon Nature's storehouse of materials, and *denies access* until his terms are conceded. The *employing capitalist* first makes his own terms with the *land-owning one*, and afterwards invests and risks a part of his savings in the plant and machinery necessary to his enterprise; thus giving "hostages to fortune." When this is done, he *offers wages* to men in exchange for their labour. Then there is a great difference between the operation of competition upon the two. From the moment the employer starts his business, he is open to the assaults of competition from rivals who may commence. The result of competition upon him will be to reduce his profits. But what will another effect of the starting of a rival employer be? It will create an increased demand for land, and consequently swell the ground-rent fund. As land is a fixed quantity, another factory will increase the value of another site. The increase of enterprise therefore produces two opposite effects—it *reduces the employer's profits*, but *increases the landlord's ground rent*. Wage-earners always rejoice at the starting of a new industry, but no person who earns his living can be pleased to see land bought up by speculators or landlords.

There are several suggestive facts which may be placed in parallel columns to show how completely these different uses of capital contrast with each Other in their effects upon the interests of wage-earners and of the community:

The true inference to draw from these facts is that the issue commonly spoken of as "*Labour versus Capital*" is incorrectly described. The term which would accurately describe it is the following:—" *Labour, and the capital which is used in employing it, versus capital invested in land values.*"

Both the wages of labour and the profit earned by capital applied to employing labour are reduced by the exaction, the uncertainty, and other hindrances caused by capital being invested in land values.

Chapter XV.

THE EXISTENCE OF UNOCCUPIED LAND DOES NOT NEUTRALISE THE FAULT.

THERE are some who are prepared to admit that a good deal of what has been here said about the injustice of the present land system would be true if it were applied only to England and some of the older countries, but they deny that it is at all applicable to New Zealand. They assert that there are so many differences between the respective land systems, and that there are such large areas of Crown and native lands still unoccupied, and so much land which the owners would be only too glad to sell at less than it cost them ten or twenty years ago, that there is no chance of the shoe pinching the people here. The contention is that these vacant lands act as a safety-valve to prevent the monopolisation principle from doing harm.

If looked at superficially this contention appears to be feasible; but as it is incorrect its feasibility makes it the more dangerous, and it must be examined with the greater care. It is another of those statements which contains a half truth, and to this it owes its power for mischief. The true part of it is the obvious fact that much unappropriated land exists and is waiting to be occupied; that parts of it are from time to time taken up, and that it will act as a safety-valve to relieve undue congestion of population within the parts at present occupied. This is not denied by Single Taxers, but they assert that mere room to *exist* and mere permission to *occupy* is not everything, and won't satisfy them. They reject *toleration* with disdain, as men having respect for their manhood are bound to do. They contend for just and equal opportunities. They don't desire or expect equality amongst *men*, but the removal of legal inequality of *opportunity*. They don't ask for *equal division* of property; but, on the contrary, they object to *any division* at all. They complain that there *is* division now, that there is no *need* for it, that it is *unjust*, and should be *abolished*. They object to the *drone* joining in the division with the *workers*.

But if these lands provide "room," and if "permission to occupy" is not refused, in what respect do they fail to act as "safety-valves?" The answer is that they wholly fail to offer any *better conditions of occupation* than those provided by the lands already settled. The reason of this failure is that the new lands are to be settled *on the same unjust condition* as those already settled. That condition is that the owners will secure the *private* enjoyment of the ground-rent fund in perpetuity. This fund will not be devoted to *public* purposes on the new land, any more than it now is on the old. It will go into the owners' private pockets in both alike. Working proprietors, tenants, and wage-earners will be subject to similar disabilities in both areas. Competition will act in both under precisely similar conditions, and will regulate ground rent and selling price to the advantage of the drone and to the disadvantage of the worker. The fact is that the price or rent demanded for the unoccupied land is *relatively* as high as that asked for the occupied. That is to say, that the price of both is so regulated by competition that there is no greater *margin of advantage* left to the user in one locality than in the other. The landless man may as well, in these circumstances, stay where he is as go further afield, to take up land which offers only a *delusive* appearance of cheapness. Low price is not synonymous with cheapness in land or anything else; *suitability* is a factor in determining cheapness.

These being the facts of the case, of what account, in this question, are the Crown and native lands and the private estates which are for sale? So far from mitigating the evils of the system they rather tend to bolster them up. They are, as it were, reserve battalions resting out of action for the present, but similarly armed and trained, and prepared as soon as needed to fight on the same lines, *for* the same power and *against* the same victims, and to perpetuate the imposition of the same injurious yoke, as are the advanced troops. These lands cannot, if this be a true description, act in the way which they are popularly supposed to do—as effective safety-valves to the disabilities suffered by the landless people within the occupied area.

This assertion will not, however, be taken for granted, and it will appear to many to be so extraordinary that it will be necessary to justify it with some care. To make such a statement may, indeed, seem to draw a large draft on even the *patience* of the upholders of the present system.

The argument must therefore be proceeded with. In doing so, it is obvious that the question of land settlement must be considered in its relation to our needs and desires as human beings. It has already been pointed out, and will be at once admitted, that we are creatures who desire to live in communities rather than in isolated positions. Not only so, but it is observable that wherever communities have been formed the efforts of individuals have been more productive of wealth, comfort, and public convenience: more conducive to the study of art, and the successful pursuit of knowledge. The result of this experience is to strengthen the desire to live together. As long, therefore, as this desire operates and there are no signs of its abatement, but the contrary—it is unnecessary for speculators or landlords to extend their operations much beyond an area of land immediately surrounding the principal aggregations of people. Their closest attention, moreover, is devoted to

special localities within this area, where the best natural opportunities exist, or where the people are most active or enterprising. To go much beyond this would be unnecessary, would be prospecting the future too far, and would be working at random and without data. For, be it observed, it is only where population desires, or can be attracted, to settle that there will be an advance in ground rents and consequently in selling values. The skill of the land-operator, therefore, lies in the successful feeling of the pulse of the community, and in the art with which he can attract its members to the localities which he has appropriated. The principal scene of his operations may therefore be appropriately termed "the operator's area."

It is of importance to inquire what, under the foregoing conditions, must be the effect of the offer of unappropriated land to the landless people within the occupied area. The previous statement will be admitted, that these lands are for the present in reserve, and awaiting an addition to the population before they will be required. It will also be admitted that a price—never mind how large or small—is asked as purchase-money for the freehold. Further, that whenever they come to be sold it is intended that they shall come under the same principle of private ownership which obtains in the occupied parts—viz., that the purchase-money shall secure to the owner the ground-rent fund. Now, the last two facts are those which constitute the "bolstering up" which has been alluded to. These two conditions are practically outside buttresses, which help to sustain the selling price and the toll-taking principle inside the "operator's area." First, as to the selling price inside the occupied area. Manifestly the asking of *any* price, however small, for the purchase of the freehold of outside lands must to that extent keep up the price of the inside lands. Access to these outside lands being impossible without *some payment*, the problem which presents itself to an intending settler is this: "Considering that the conveniences are greater, the access to markets readier, and that many more economies are possible inside the area than outside, *how much more* per acre do they make inside land worth to me than the lowest price for which I can obtain land outside?" Note carefully the form of the question—"how much *more*?"—because that indicates the crux of the problem. Observe that there is no escape from the outside price: it is a minimum below which no land is to be got; it is the foundation, the base line, above which competition acts. The "extra-desirability" measure starts upwards from this level. The outside price, therefore, to that extent bolsters up the selling price within the occupied area. But reduce the price for outside land to nothing, *i.e.*, make selection free there, and the price inside will immediately fall to an extent proportioned to the reduction made.

Or, take an illustration. Two lakes, A and B, are joined by a short channel. It is decided to raise the level of the water by one foot in A. A stream of water is diverted into it until its level is raised a foot. The new supply flows first into A and passes through the channel into B, with the result that the water in both lakes assumes the same level. What is the explanation? It is that water obeys the law of gravitation, and falls to the lowest level which it can reach. It cannot heap itself up higher in A than in B when there is an open channel between the two. Lake A may be shallow, and B deep, but soundings taken before and after the operation will show an addition of precisely one foot to each lake—to the lesser depth of A and to the greater depth of B, indifferently. For the same reason, although not necessarily to a precisely equal extent, the fixing of any price to the outside lands adds a certain amount to the price of the inside lands. Abolish all price outside, and a proportionate fall will take place inside, just as surely as a subsequent lowering of the water level in lake A would to an equal extent lower that of B. It must be so, because the same land law regulates the two areas of land, just as the law of gravitation acts equally in both lakes. It must be so, further, because there is a free channel of human desire, acting competitively, always leading men to look from one area to the other, just as that between the two lakes facilitates the flow of water to the lower level until they are equalised.

The fact, then, that *any price at all* is asked for the outside lands, coupled with the fact that the ground rents will be secured to those who purchase, makes it impossible that the presence of these lands in the market shall help to remove the disabilities of the landless people within the zone. The conditions upon which they are offered makes them act essentially as buttresses to the system of private monopolisation of ground rent which exists within the zone.

So much for the influence of Crown lands, which have a price set upon them. It will be unnecessary to repeat these arguments in order to show that the other lands, which the opponents of the Single Tax point to—viz., the private estates, which are offered at low prices, and the native lands—must have the same influence as the Crown lands upon the condition of the landless people within the operators' area. Those who consider that the contention with regard to the former lands has been made good will see the fact at once, and as for the rest, they will never admit it.

The result of the foregoing argument is to confirm the statement that the fact of New Zealand possessing unoccupied lands does not at all tend to mitigate the disabilities under which its landless people suffer.

Chapter XVI.

HOW IT MIGHT BE MADE TO DO SO.

BUT supposing these arguments succeed in convincing their judgment, it would still be competent for those who uphold the existing system to ask, "Well, does the Single Tax method clearer any cure for the evil—one that *would* act as a safety-valve, by which the landless people inside the occupied area could escape from the disabilities under which it is asserted they now labour?"

The answer is, "Certainly it does, and by the following simple method. Let all the outside Crown lands be thrown open to the landless people within the occupied area upon the following conditions:—

- Free selection—*i.e.*, free choice, and freedom from any demand of premium.
- Freehold title.
- No restriction as to area.
- Each section to be held upon the one condition that the owner may be taxed up to 20s. in the £ on the annual ground rent according as this may be assessed from time to time."

Can anyone doubt that, under these circumstances, the outside lands would act as a safety-valve? Can anyone doubt that the landless people within the zone would be attracted by a freehold title for nothing, absolute security for improvements, freedom from taxes on any of their business operations, and therefore from any deduction from any part of their industry? With these benefits, would they fear to incur the liability of an annual payment for public purposes equivalent to the value which their land from year to year possessed above that of the most desirable land which they could get rent free? Why, the tenants now pay an equal sum annually to private owners, who spend it on themselves, while the tenants pay taxes in addition, and also labour under all the difficulties of uncertainty and insecurity. There can be no doubt that they would flock to the new territory. They would there form a community of workers with no drones, of producers without any idle exactors who were mere consumers. They would be subject to no interference or inspection in their operations; they would enjoy secure ownership of all that they produced; they could bequeath, or sell for its market value, all their possessions, together with their freehold title. The title would bring them no premium, and that is the best of reasons in favour of their getting it for nothing at the outset. It would have no selling value, because it would carry with it the obligation to pay annually its full ground-rental value. In the control of the expenditure of this fund, and of the public services which were maintained out of it, they would have an equal voice with everyone else.

It may be asked, What should be done with deferred-payment settlers, special settlers, perpetual leaseholders, eternal leaseholders (as 999 years' tenants have been called), and others who are now holding land in various ways from the State? The answer is very simple—give them a freehold title at once, subject to the Single Tax, and leave off inspecting their operations and demanding any conditions of tenure.

In justification of the proposal to part with the freehold of Crown lands without payment, let it be asked, "Why *should* the State demand a purchasing price? Does it not want settlers? Does it not wish all willing men to work and to add to the national wealth? Certainly it does. Then why does it erect an artificial barrier against them round its remaining lands, with the result (1) of retarding settlement, (2) of reducing the capital which the settler has to lay out in improvements, and (3) of continuing to play into the hands of speculators and land-lords, and of perpetuating the evils which these classes are admitted to cause?"

Although, in repetition of much that has been urged, it may very well be here pointed out that in a district thrown open on the conditions suggested no land would be kept idle, because this would entail an annual loss upon the owner without offering to him the compensating advantage of a possible prospective advance in selling value. This absence of lock-up would bring great advantages to the new community, inasmuch as settlement would extend along lines of natural preference and suitability, Unobstructed by owners holding for a rise. Intending cultivators or users would be able to start as soon as they had saved enough to enable them to do so, and would retain their whole capital to lay out in improvements, which would from the outset aid their production.

For the same reasons, railways, roads, public offices, and every convenience would be placed in the most suitable localities. No owner would be interested in influencing expenditure towards his own land, to the detriment of that of others, because his assessment would be raised, in relation to theirs, in proportion to any advantage which he might thereby gain.

To such a community many would be attracted who did not wish to take up land for farming, for manufacturing, or even for building their homes upon. Many who did not incline to make a business venture would go there in search of employment. Their wages would be subject to no deduction for taxes or rates, and yet they would not on this account be accepting any favour, seeing that their presence and expenditure would maintain and increase the ground-rent fund by keeping up and adding to the volume of trade. They Would thus

as truly contribute to public services as any of their land-owning neighbours did.

In such a community, where no improvements were taxed or rated, and where no producer suffered any deduction whatever from the value of his produce, much more labour would be wanted, and therefore better wages would be offered. Another circumstance which would tend to increase wages, and which would certainly act effectively, would be the facility with which any who had saved a little money, and who desired to set up for themselves rather than continue as wage-earners, could leave the ranks of hired labour to work for themselves, and ultimately to become employers. The calls upon wage-earners would be lessened, while their wages would be increased.

A State so constituted might safely borrow money, and would have a fair chance of wisely and economically laying it out in public works. Its cities and local bodies might do the same. Pressure would not be brought to bear by individuals and electorates, as at present, for the expenditure of borrowed money where no public work was needed. The experience of the whole of Australasia in this line conclusively proves that with existing methods of taxation, and under the system of party government, it is impossible to expend loans or public funds either honestly or economically.

The foregoing paragraphs are intended to elaborate a suggestion by which our Crown lands might be made to lessen the existing evils by acting as safety-valves to landless people within the occupied area. It is not, of course, pretended that any *section* of a country could be treated so differently from the rest. But, if that *were* possible, the new territory would certainly be the most desirable section to live in for all who simply desired to enjoy the fruits of their own industry without deduction, and who did not wish to take toll from that of others. But what could not be established at once by a stroke of the pen over a *section* of the country could be promptly commenced over the *whole* of it.

Such a condition as that described, so far from being Utopian, is one of the most sober and feasible, nay, even prosaic, of possibilities. It is within the reach of any democratic community which will intelligently and patiently think out its underlying principles, and then determine to vote it into existence at the ballot-box. Instead of involving, as so many dread, an advance into Socialism, it offers the freest scope for individuals to direct their own energies and to use their own capital. Instead of requiring more State inspection, regulation, and interference, or necessitating an increase of public officials, it would mean a reduction in every department.

Chapter XVII.

LAND VALUE IS NOT A COLONIAL ASSET.

It is probable that most people consider that *land value* is one of the assets of the Colony and of its people, taken collectively—that in making up a statement of its balance-sheet an estimate of the capital value of all the land within its boundaries should be set down amongst its collective public and private assets. This was, at any rate, the opinion of Sir Julius Vogel, when, as Colonial Treasurer, he made his financial statement in May, 1887. The Colony was then in a declining position; a deficit was announced by the Treasurer, and a proposal made to increase the taxation. Towards the conclusion of his statement he devoted two pages to a consideration of the "Wealth of the Colony," in which he showed (to his own satisfaction) that the assets gave a surplus over the liabilities of an amount equal to £223 for each man, woman, *and* child (exclusive of Maoris) in the Colony. No doubt this was very comforting to his hearers and the Colony generally, but unfortunately it was founded on a misapprehension so serious as to render the assurance valueless. It may seem presumptuous, in the eyes of many for a private individual to challenge an ex-Colonial Treasurer's dictum upon such a vital principle; nevertheless, the writer is obliged to do so, and to state most emphatically that the Treasurer was wrong, inasmuch as he included in his list of collective public and private assets the *capital value of the land* of the Colony. It is quite correct for a *private individual* to include in his balance-sheet the value of the land which he owns. What was *not* correct was for the Treasurer to add together the *land* and other assets of *individuals*, and the estimated value of the Crown lands and of other *public* property, and to say that the total represented the Colony's collective assets. What is here asserted is that land value is merely a *domestic* matter, applying to the financial arrangements *between individuals only*. A few paragraphs will be devoted to establishing this position.

It will be recognised by most persons—and is plainly asserted by landowners when they denounce the Single Tax—that if all ground rent was taken by the State the selling value of the land would disappear. When it disappeared it would fall out of the Treasurers list of assets. If that had taken place no one surely would say that the *Colony* collectively was many millions poorer than it is now, or that its real assets had been reduced. The land would be there still, and it has been shown that it would be more thoroughly used than at present;

therefore the *community*, as such, could not be poorer, but would, on the other hand, be better off. No *individual*, however, would continue to put down land value in his balance-sheet as an asset. This being so, neither could a Colonial Treasurer of the future put it down, even if he followed Sir Julius Vogel's method, because, as already shown, the amount would *not appear* in the private balance-sheets. Neither could he set it down on any other assumption—such as, for instance, that the capital value had been transferred from the owners to the Colony—seeing that the Single Tax would perform no such operation. Nor could it be set down on the plea that the ground rent, which had been transferred to the State, might be capitalised as an additional income received. This would not have constituted an *increase* of the income of the State. Upon the receipt of the ground-rent fund it would have given up the other sources of revenue from taxation. What, then, is the explanation of the fact that the killing of the land value could take place without reducing the collective Colonial assets? Single Taxers say that the reason is that the inclusion of land value amongst these assets having been *always* a purely *fictitious* operation, its falling out could make no difference.

The total land value is merely the capitalised ground-rent fund. This fund is the total sum which all the users of land are prepared to give annually, or to buy, up for a lump sum, for the land which they use. Up to the present time they have paid this as a "tribute" to private individuals. It is not proposed to annihilate the fund, but to *transfer* it to the State. It is apparent that no reduction of the collective Colonial *income* can be effected by making a mere transfer between sections of it; but it is also evident that when the State receives the ground-rent fund no buyer will give more than a nominal sum for the purchase of any piece of land. As long as a private individual receives the ground rent, he holds an *income-producing right* which is saleable; when he passes the rent on to the State he will no longer have a capitalised value to offer for sale; but the land will not, as a consequence, lose any of its value for use, and that is the only value which, according to Single Taxers, it ever ought to have had for *anyone*. As a matter of fact, it never *had* any other value to any community *as a whole*. The reason that it has now a capital value to *certain members* of the community is found above, in the fact that they have obtained the legal power to charge *other members* for permission to use it. That which has been the *gain of the few* has been the *loss of the many*; or, to put it more precisely, the gain to landownership has been a loss to the rest of the community. If the income of a section is contributed by the rest, then the capital value thereof, if credited to the one, must be debited to, and form a liability of, the other section.

To put the problem in a different way: let it be supposed that a privilege is conferred upon certain idle individuals, enabling them to place toll-bars upon all the roads of the country, to take a fee from the passers, and to treat the proceeds as private income. No one would contend that the value of the roads of the country had been increased by the operation, or that an addition had been made to the country's gross income. The collective income would be as great before as after the institution of the toll-bars, because it would be the produce only of the *industrious* inhabitants. The fees paid to the toll-keepers would be taken *from* this income, and could in no wise be mistaken for an addition *to* it. The only value of the roads to the people, as a whole, is their usefulness in aiding production and distribution. They had been made and maintained by taxes upon the whole people, and if, after this had been provided for in the country's expenditure, the toll-bar concession had been granted, it is obvious that all production and distribution would be saddled with it as a private charge. The industrious section of the people would be rendered poorer as a result of the granting of the concession, because they would receive no equivalent. But for all that the toll-bar owners would have a saleable interest and therefore *an asset*, varying according to the amount of income derived, or expected to be derived, from their concession. But this selling value would not constitute an addition to the collective assets of the country, and could not, therefore, be put down by its Treasurer as such. Its disappearance, caused by a subsequent abrogation of the concession, would not reduce the Colonial assets. Yet, upon Sir Julius Vogel's theory, it would be included.

This supposed case is the parallel, in all salient features, of land-ownership. The income received from the travellers on the roads is analogous to the ground rent derived from tenants by landlords: neither of the receivers confers any benefit in return. In the one case the making and maintaining of the roads, and in the other the carrying on of public services, and met by taxation levied upon all the people. The selling value in each case is determined by the same consideration—viz., a concession to levy a private toll. Neither of them represents Colonial, or any true form of, wealth, but only the capitalised value of private charters authorising their owners to make mere impositions upon their fellows for their own personal benefit.

It can hardly be necessary to say more in proof of the contention that land value is not a Colonial asset.

Chapter XVIII.

INCOME FROM GROUND RENT AND FROM DIVIDENDS

CONTRASTED.

THERE is another difficulty which some men cannot get over. It is this—that they can see no difference in principle between the receipt of an *income* which consists of *ground rent* and one which consists of *dividends* on shares in any hank, manufactory, or public company. They say that if the landlord does not produce the ground rent which he receives, neither does the shareholder produce the dividend. A little examination, however, will serve to show that this conclusion is founded upon a superficial view of the two cases, and not upon a careful analysis of them. The first case has been dealt with, and will only need repeating here in the form of a brief summary.

The landlord class have obtained possession of something which they did not make and which *no man* made. They performed no service to any fellow creature in taking possession of it. It had existed, and would have continued to exist, if no landlords had ever appeared. They might have owned it all their lives, but would have received neither income nor produce from it unless a community had existed for the one and tenants for the other. The presence of the community gives it the rental value, which forms the landlords' *incomes*. The work of the user is what makes it *produce* anything, and not the presence of the landlords. They cannot, therefore, *be* entitled to either result. The dealing in land is nothing more than the buying and selling of *charters to make impositions*. The ground rent and the produce are divided between the workers and those who have contributed nothing towards production, but have hindered its operations all through. There is no justice in any such division taking place. Land-owning is not "wealth owning" but privilege owning.

The shareholder has, on the other hand, embarked his savings in an undertaking which would not have existed unless he and others had saved and made efforts. They perform a public service by helping to start an industry. It will cease to exist if all shareholders withdraw from it. While it exists it provides employment for, and pays wages to, men who use the appliances provided by the shareholders. Instead of *forestalling* the chance of these users the shareholders come forward and *supply* it. The resulting produce is divided, in the shape of wages and dividends, between the two parties who have contributed to production.

In briefly summarising the position it will appear, in contrast, thus:—

The landlord class lends something which it has not produced, but simply appropriated; it leaves all risk and organisation to the workers, after receiving from them an annual payment for permission to work.

The shareholder lends appliances which he has made; takes all risks of return; organises employment, and pays wages. He then takes the chance of anything being left for himself.

It is quite evident that the sources of, as well as the manner of providing, the respective incomes are the very antipodes of each other.

There is a point, however, which must be admitted, and that is that the division of the proceeds in the case of the company may not always give satisfaction, but the *reason* for this and its *cure* has been dealt with more fully in Chapters XIV. and XVI. It may be repeated here, however, that if the employees, through the absence of landlords, could get permission to securely use land without buying it, they would be in a position to protect themselves by declining wages which did not satisfy them. It is not shareholders or employers who stand in the way, but land monopolisers.

Chapter XIX.

THE SINGLE TAXER'S DEFINITION OF GROUND RENT.

THE dictionary meaning of ground rent is "rent paid to a landlord for liberty to build on his ground." Observe (1) that it is not the payment for the use of any improvements belonging to the landlord; (2) that the tenant is the one who is to add the improvements to the land; (3) that these will become the landlord's property at the end of the lease; and (4) that the rent paid is not a recompense for the use of anything which the landlord has produced, but is the consideration which induces him to stand out of the way—to withdraw for a time his "forestalling" power over the land.

The dictionary definition, however, while strictly correct, is too limited in its scope to describe the whole fund which Single Taxers wish to nationalise. The former refers to building land only, and requires extending so that it shall include all land which is rented for any purpose whatever. It must also include land privately owned and used by its owner. To understand the necessity for the latter extension it will be desirable to realise

that an owner who *uses* his land absorbs, or enjoys, the financial benefit of its annual ground rent, just *as* surely as if he let his land to a tenant and received the ground rent from him in cash. There can be no doubt of this being the fact. The value of the gross produce of the land will be rather more if the owner uses it instead of a tenant, because the latter always works less securely.

Each would have to deduct his general business charges from the gross proceeds to arrive at his net profit. The main difference between the profit and loss account of the tenant and the working proprietor is that the former has to deduct the ground rent as one of his charges, and is to that extent worse off at the year's end than the latter. The owner's living, therefore, would be better, at least to the extent of the ground rent, than the tenant's would be. This is the demonstration of the previous assertion "that an owner who uses his own land absorbs, or enjoys, the benefit of its annual ground rent." This will not be disputed, but it will be contended that the owner has inherited or paid for *his free right* to use the land. This fact is not lost sight of, but will be dealt with later on. It is desired, at this stage, to point out only the financial result of the fact in the case of the "tenant" and the "owner" respectively.

A further remark upon this question of extension will be necessary. It is well known that some land which is owned for speculative purposes is not held entirely idle, but that much of it is temporarily let for purposes very inferior to its capabilities. Thus, for instance, building land is often let for grazing, for agriculture, or for market gardening. In such cases it would not be fair to the community to assume that the value of such *inferior* uses should determine the ground rent assessment. It would have to be estimated at the full worth of the best use of which the land was *capable*. The same would be done with land held idle.

It will next be necessary to inquire what considerations determine the *amount* of ground rent. These are of two classes. One may be described as "economic" and the other as "speculative."

Take an instance to indicate the nature of the "economic" consideration. A certain piece of land comes to be preferred by the public on account of its quality or locality. They indicate this preference by exhibiting a willingness to pay a certain ground rent for it. The actual *amount* of ground rent which will be paid for the piece is defined by political economists as the annual sum which tenants are willing to pay for it rather than resort to the most favoured land suitable for their purpose, which they can get rent free. As long as this preference is based upon the fact that the piece is *at present* worth the amount to the user, then the consideration is "economic."

Take an instance to indicate the nature of the "speculative" consideration. A certain piece of land is believed by speculators to be likely in the *near future* to be in greater demand than it is at present. They foresee a probability of population spreading in its direction, or they believe that some projected road or railway will bring it within the range of more beneficial use. Thereupon they secure a long lease of it at a higher rent than it is worth for *present* use. Now, in so far as this consideration goes in *advance* of the *present* using value, its action is "speculative."

The observed result of the action of these two considerations is that ground rent ranges from nothing up to an amount fixed by the competition which exists for the lands *already* proved to be most eligible, or which are expected in the *future* to be so.

Again, it will be necessary to call attention to a peculiarity of ground rent which does not attach to the charge for the use of any moveable article. This peculiarity is, that it increases for any piece of ground around which a greater population comes or near which a greater production of wealth takes place. Notice particularly that this occurs in spite of the fact that there is no increase of the *area* of the piece of ground. Consider, also, that it is not any special action of the owner of the piece which causes the increase of its annual value.

The two causes which lead to this increase are: 1st. The growing desire of members of the community, owing to either of the before-mentioned considerations, to obtain it. The 2nd, is the fact that the site cannot be multiplied, and that other land cannot be imported to meet the increased demand. If such multiplication or importation was possible, the price would only rise temporarily, if at all. As they are not possible, the resulting value may be called a scarcity value.

It will at once be recognised, as the contrary of this peculiarity, that the hire of ships, of carriages, of carts, and of machinery, etc., becomes cheaper as the demand increases. The reason is that the supply can be increased in response to the greater demand. Land cannot be made to respond to it; the locality of a section which is specially desired is fixed; it is not an article which can be either produced, extended, or imported.

Lastly, before leaving these remarks upon ground rent, it will be well to call attention to the following fact connected with it: Ground rent, under existing conditions, is the basis of the selling value of land. Not that the present annual value and the capital value bear a *uniform* relation to each other. Purchasers in some cases, as has been pointed out, expect to get a higher rent in the future, and this speculative consideration induces them to give a larger price than the present rent would warrant. The result is that the present rent will not generally pay the current rate of interest upon the selling value, but the future expected increase is considered to compensate for the present sacrifice of income. But the following is *strictly* true, that where there is no ground

rent, and no expectation of it, there will be practically no selling value. This connection between the two prices is pointed out here because it will be seen to be important when the *effect* of the Single Tax comes to be considered.

Chapter XX.

GROUND RENT MUST ALL BE TAKEN FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES.

IT is not always made quite clear in Single Tax controversies that the *whole* ground-rent fund is demanded as public revenue. Henry George, however, is quite decided upon the point. He is not satisfied to make a levy upon ground rent, which shall be sufficient merely to cover existing taxes and rates, because if there was any balance this would still leave to landownership a power of taking it from industry and using it as private income. The demand is therefore made unmistakably for the *whole* ground rent to be delivered up for public-purposes. However *gradually* it may be accomplished, it must be clearly understood that nothing short of its entire *ultimate* surrender can satisfy the demands of justice according to the views of Single Taxers. Nothing short of this would accomplish the two great results aimed at, viz.: (1) the restoration of the ground rent, or using value of land, to the community which causes it to acquire the value; and (2) the killing of the selling value of land, so that the intending user can step into it upon the level, and have no monopolists' wall to climb over before he can reach it. The next heading will show whether this would be attained.

Chapter XXI.

Selling Value Killed by Nationalising Ground Rent.

THE principal effect of the introduction of the Single Tax, and of its increase until it ultimately took up the whole ground rent received or enjoyed by the owner, must be that the selling price would be practically reduced to nothing.

When the levy reached a point at which no present margin existed, and no future margin was expected, between ground rent received and tax paid, it is quite certain that landlordism and speculation would disappear. The former exists upon income from investment, and the latter upon purchases at a low value and sales at a higher. "When the hope of their gains was gone" landlords and speculators would cast about for other investments which offered a prospect of return. The only parties, therefore, in the land market of the Single Tax era would be *users* of land. In buying land they would be purchasing no beneficial margin, which would be equivalent to an income of itself, over and above the net profit which their business operations would yield if they were carried on upon land which could be obtained rent free. The result could not fail to be, under these new circumstances, that when a sale was desired by one party and a purchase by another the exchange of the title deeds to the land would take place in consideration of the payment for improvements only; the land itself fetching only a nominal price.

But this extinction of the selling price of land would not take place if the landlord was able to pass on the tax to the tenant by raising his rent. This is not possible; but, in order to make the fact clear, it will be necessary to call attention to the precise *term* used. Note, then, that the proposal is not one to tax all *land*, but all *land values*, as represented by ground rent. This is not an ingenious quibble, nor is the distinction a fanciful one. If a tax was imposed on *all* the land of a country the problem would be quite a different one. Before such a tax was imposed it would be possible to use land which would just afford to the user a *bare living* when he paid no rent. After it was imposed no land could be used which would not permit of the user *paying the tax in addition* to making a bare living. The *universal* tax would therefore reduce the total amount of available *hind*, while there would be the same number of *people* to be supported off it as before. This would alter the problem in two important particulars. In the first place, competition for land would become keener than before, and this would

result in a slight increase of the rate of ground rent paid over the whole country. Rent would also start from a higher platform—viz., from the upper surface, so to speak, of the Universal tax, just as a building would be raised bodily if another course of stones was added to the foundation on which it was designed to stand. Ground rent is paid for the "extra desirability" which any piece of ground possesses beyond the most desirable piece which can be got rent free, and which will yield a living. It follows, therefore, there being a tax on even the poorest land which will do this, that the "extra desirability" ranks above this tax as its starting point. There could, therefore, be no escape for users from a universal tax, and if the landlords were called upon to pay such an one, they would add it to the rent, and would thus be enabled to retain the full selling value. Such a tax would not accomplish either of the objects sought by Single Taxers.

On the other hand, a tax on land *values* would not be a universal tax, because it would not fall upon land which had not acquired an annual value. Such a tax, seeing that it would not fall upon land which could be got rent free, would not throw any land out of use. The "extra desirability" principle would not in this case start upwards from a *tax level* but from *zero*. For these two reasons competition would be *less keen*, and would also *start* from a *lower level* than in the case of the universal tax. The landlords would be powerless to pass on the *value* tax, and the result would be that the selling value of their land would gradually disappear.

But a little consideration will show that the annual ground-rental value would not disappear. Preferences will always exist, as they do now, for certain localities and for land possessing good natural advantages or fertility. Ground rent will, therefore, always remain as a well understood market value, and could be as readily assessed as at present. The Single Tax must for this reason be levied upon the ground rent, which will maintain its existence, and not upon the selling value of the land, which will vanish.

Chapter XXII.

A LAND "VALUE" TAX IS NOT AN ADDITIONAL BURDEN ON LAND.

A VERY usual answer to the Single Tax proposal is that it would put all the burden of taxation upon the land, and would let off every other form of wealth and of income. It has been shown that the burden (wrongly so called) of *ground rent* is now borne by tenants and landless people. Single Taxers don't propose to add to this, but simply to take it for public purposes from those who are now receiving it—from the landowners, whose unearned perquisite it has been. It is not, however, true to say that this would make landowners only pay all the taxation. It would be equally true to say that the wholesale importers now pay all of the Customs taxation because they are the ones who actually pay the cash to the collector. The landowners *now* receive the amount from their tenants, or enjoy it in extra advantages if they use their own land, and would *then* pay it over to the State. The importers pay down the cash, but recover it from the retailers, and they again from their customers.

The inferences which are drawn from the incorrect supposition, that an additional burden would be imposed, are, that it would, in the first place, be unjust; and, in the second, ruinous to industry and to accumulation by discouraging the use of land.

It will not be necessary to take any notice of the *inferences* if the *premises* can be shown to be without foundation. It may be at once, then, denied that a land-value tax is a burden upon land. The argument under the preceding heading completely disposes of the fallacy of one popular assertion. It is there shown that the landlord has no power to pass on to his tenant the tax on ground rent. The ground rent is the only charge to come against any tenant in the Single Tax era, because all taxes and rates would be abolished. It is, therefore, not a *new* charge. The Single Tax would wholly fall upon the ground rent received or enjoyed by the land-owners: it would be so much *abstracted* from what they received, and could not be made to constitute an *addition* to it. The consequence is that, as far as the tenant would be affected, the so-called *burden*, so far from being increased by adopting the proposed reform would, on the contrary, be *reduced* by the amount of the present taxes.

The next heading will show the effect upon the various classes of landowners. The most important portion of it, in this connection, is that which deals with the cases of owners who have carried on operations upon their land which have added to the produce of the country. It will be shown that improvements and all other effects of their industry will remain intact, and that they will all benefit from the remission of the present taxes. The inference may fairly be drawn from the existence of the latter fact that, where an owner's investment in land is not greater than he is able to make personal use of, the credit from taxes remitted will fully balance the debit

arising from the adoption of the Single Tax. There will, therefore, be no additional burden placed upon the land of working proprietors.

These two classes—the tenants and the working proprietors—are the only ones who exercise their industry upon land, and as *they* will not be *burdened* by the reform, it follows that *no use* of land will be *discouraged*.

Chapter XXIII.

THE EFFECT UPON LANDOWNERS PRODUCED BY THE CHANGE.

HAVING shown that the *principal* effect of the taking up of all ground rent by means of the Single Tax would be the destruction of the selling value of land, it will be necessary to show what its *secondary* effects would be. In considering these effects it will probably make the matter clearer if the cases of landowners and landless people are dealt with separately. The landowners consist of four principal divisions, viz., the speculator, the landlord, the working proprietor, and the owner who has borrowed on mortgage.

Take the speculator first—the man who buys land and keeps it out of use, or lets it for some inferior use, waiting for a tempting rise in value. The early effect of the introduction of the tax would be to make such a man anxious to sell out. His prospect of future profit would have disappeared. If he held on until the tax was fully imposed he would, after having been subject to an ever increasing annual payment, find that his land had no selling value. Of course he would not accept this horn of the dilemma, but would sell out early. Some fixed scheme for gradually increasing the tax over a given number of years would have to be laid down by Parliament. This would enable both buyers and sellers to calculate or estimate the present value of any holding with sufficient accuracy for their respective purposes. Speculators would probably soon cease to obstruct the progress of useful settlement, as they do at present.

Next take the landlord—the man who has inherited or bought land which he does not personally cultivate or use, but which he lets to others for rent. The result to this class of owner would be a gradual and progressive reduction of income, until at last he would pay away to the State all the ground rent which he had received from his tenants. Of course, he could sell out at any time if he elected to do so. It may be noted, also, that the speculator could let his land, and for the future become a landlord, with an ever-decreasing rent-roll.

Let it be remembered that neither of the representative owners just dealt with is one who has added improvements to his land. But there are cases where tenants have taken improving leases, and where the improvements, wholly or in part, fall in to the landlord at the end of the term. These improvements would not form part of the assessed value, and would, therefore, not be taxed. At the end of the lease the landlord could sell these with his freehold, or re-let the whole to the same tenant or to another. He would thus get cash or derive an income from the improvements, without being subject to any deduction. This power of the landlord to "reap where he had not sown and to gather where he had not strawed," has caused great indignation even amongst those who look upon ground rent as a legitimate charge, made by a man who allows another to use his land. With how much more horror Single Taxers—who wholly deny the equity even of ground rent—view such "reaping" and "gathering" had better not be expressed in words here. In London, and most of the large towns of England, many thousands of acres have been covered by tenants with houses and other buildings, with the knowledge that they will wholly revert to, and become the property of, the ground landlord at the end of the lease. Suffice it to say that the Single Tax would effectually stop the growth of this evil system and cause it to gradually die out at the roots. But it cannot be altered in any other way.

There are other landlords who have invested capital in making improvements and erecting buildings on their land. The income arising from these would not be reduced by the new tax, nor do Single Taxers grudge the landlords a penny of it. They have no enmity to any class, however they may be named, and are prepared to recognise the value of improvements by whomsoever made, and whether they are large or small. Land and raw materials are provided by the Creator, hut buildings and other improvements are not—they don't fall from the clouds or spring up of themselves, and therefore no man can expect to get the use of them for nothing.

In the third place, take the *working proprietor*—the man who owns the land which he cultivates, who owns the site and building where he keeps his country store, or his town shop, office, hotel, ware-house, factory, or dwelling house. Such men are all better off under the Ballance Land Tax Act, 1891, than they were under the Property Tax, by reason of the exemption from taxation of improvements up to £3,000. Single Taxers rejoice in this reform as far as it goes; but they would go further in this direction by exempting all improvements,

however large. On the other hand, they would refuse the present exemption of small properties and the deduction from moderate ones. They hold that under any circumstances, and especially where there is no plurality of votes, it is demoralising to make such a proposal. It is equivalent to offering a bribe to a numerous class of voters in these terms: "If you will keep our party in power we will impose taxation which will not touch you."

Let us consider how the Single Tax would affect these working proprietors. In the first place, it is quite clear that the selling value would, as in the other cases, be gradually taxed out of their land. Their balance-sheets would therefore show this item as a steadily decreasing asset. Their improvements would remain intact and absolutely secure to them, because they would continue to hold the title-deeds of the land on which they stood. They could sell or bequeath the whole without interference from anyone. So much for their capital accounts. Next as regards their profit and loss accounts. All taxes upon existing or future improvements would disappear from their "business charges." They would be relieved from all existing taxes of every description, except the penny in the £ on unimproved land value; from Customs duties (and consequently from the annoyance, delay, and labour entailed by the necessary "search"); from stamps on cheques, bills, receipts, and deeds; from stamp duty on land transfers, from excise, from death duties, income tax, graduated tax, tax on improvements, and from miscellaneous duties. These would be their principal credits. On the other hand, they would be called upon to pay to the State a tax of 20s. in the £1 on their annual ground rent assessment. An estimate of the amount of this value for the whole Colony is hazarded at page 58. Everyone will be able to judge for himself of the soundness or otherwise of the forecast, and can apply such a percentage as he thinks fit to his capital value as fixed by the last assessment. This will give him an approximation to the amount of his new annual charge, supposing the change to be completed *at once*, which is not contemplated. It will be evident that the credit under the head of Customs duties will vary in each case. It will be greater to men with large families than to those having small ones, and to bachelors. It would be greater to those who use wines, spirits, and tobacco than to the abstainers from these luxuries. Those who conduct large commercial businesses would benefit more than small traders and farmers from the remission of stamp duties.

It is impossible to give any general estimate of how the Single Tax would affect any particular class of owners, because the circumstances of its different members vary so largely. It is probable, however, that all who cultivated or used the whole of their land would receive credits fully equal to the new tax.

In the fourth place, there is a considerable number amongst all landowners who are only *part owners* of their land. Reference is here made to those who have borrowed a portion of their purchase money upon mortgage. There are probably more such cases amongst working proprietors than in either of the other sections. To a man of small means wishing to get the use of land, the first inducement to purchase in this way, is his desire to be able to make improvements without the fear of losing them. The second is, to make his tenure a permanent one, and by this means to escape the risk of having his rent raised. The third inducement, but a more distant and less certain one, is to ensure that any increase of selling value shall remain with himself. The first reason does not weigh with speculators or landlords at all, and the second not so much; the inducement, therefore, to buy more land than they are able to pay *cash* for, is not so great in their cases.

The effect of the tax upon the working proprietors who are in this position would be materially different from what it would be upon sole owners. It has already been stated that the mortgagee would be treated as part owner, both of the bare land and of the improvements, *pro ratâ* with the real owner. Neither would be taxed upon the improvements, but each would pay upon his respective interest in the ground rental value. This class of owner would therefore pay tax only upon the unencumbered part of his rent, and would thus be called upon to make a less sacrifice than the owner who had found the whole of the purchase money.

But, notwithstanding the foregoing explanations, Single Taxers must not be understood to base their case upon how the reform will work out in detail to the satisfaction of individuals. It is desirable to indicate its effects in the way that has been attempted, so as to make the whole proposal quite clear, but not for the sake of making converts on account of self-interest. They do not seek to make it attractive to any special class, for that would be to lay its foundation in sand. They urge its justice, the soundness of the principle upon which it is based, viz., the complete and permanent removal of all taxes, hindrances, and insecurity from industry of every kind, whether it is of the hand or the brain, and whether on a large or small scale.

Single Taxers, therefore, point out without concealment or hesitation, that it is to the landowners of the present day that they look for whatever sacrifice it may be necessary to make, in the first instance, in bringing about this great fiscal readjustment. They do not believe that these men are any worse than other classes of the community, or a whit less patriotic than their fellows, when they clearly see what is for the public good. Nor would even they be wholly losers by the reform. "In blessing others, they would themselves be blessed." To see some prospect of stopping much of the industrial strife which exists everywhere, and to greatly reduce the terrible distress which prevails amongst the lowest paid classes of all large cities, and at times amongst the unemployed, must be the desire of every humane man. To make some pecuniary sacrifice from an ample

income, where it exists, would be readily assented to by nearly all, if only the prospect of *real and lasting benefit* was assured. Let all well-disposed men, therefore, look earnestly into the suggestions here made, and test them in every way that may suggest itself. They are put forward as possessing a *direct* value in themselves, but if this is an error, they may yet be the means of *suggesting* some better theory. No one who has the ability to read and think, can excuse himself for neglecting to look into economic questions when such astounding facts are everywhere staring him in the face. Let him consider the fact that the *bulk of mankind* in civilised countries is still living in a condition *far below* a desirable standard, in spite of the fact that our productive power is *many times greater* than it was fifty years ago. Let him set alongside of this the abnormal growth of great fortunes, and if it does not strike him that there must be some wrong principle at work, his reasoning powers require the stimulus of collision with other men's thoughts. The facts ought to be enough to induce him to seek this by reading a few books that will show where mens ideas and hopes are tending. The exercise will be sure to do him good.

Chapter XXIV.

THE RESULTING "INCREASE" OF GENERAL INCOMES, EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCTION, AND SAVINGS; THE IMPROVED OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF-EMPLOYMENT.

THE landless class forms by far the most numerous section of the people, and includes all tenants, whether of farms, or shops, or dwellings, all who receive salaries or wages, and all who would like to, but don't receive them. It includes many who feel themselves possessed of powers of body and mind which would enable them to employ *them-selves* rather than ask work and subsistence from *others*, but are yet so hedged round that they are never able to attain their commendable ambition.

To these, the Single Tax would be *wholly* a gain. Not that it would give them anything for which they did not work; for this would be a wrong to someone else. Its early effects would be felt by a gradual reduction of the taxes and rates which they would be called upon to pay. This would *be* equivalent to a gradual increase of their incomes. It would be the first step in the direction of gradually restoring to them their share of the common use of the ground rent which they had helped to create, but from which they had received no benefit. The Single Tax would collect it to be used for the good of all, in providing for the public needs of the whole community.

But it has been shown that a change more important still, to the landless man would follow. The destruction of the selling Value of land would make it equally accessible to all who wished to use it. There being nothing to pay to secure the possession of land for the purpose of using it, the man of small means would be placed on a par with the capitalist, and could elect to employ himself instead of asking for work. Here would be the legitimate opportunity for one who was qualified, or who felt the desire to try, to step out of the ranks of wage-earners, and to employ himself. Now he has to pay down a premium in the shape of purchase money, to induce someone to stand aside.

Single Taxers are confident that this change in the incidence of taxation, and the consequent killing of selling value, would give a most powerful impetus to the improvement of every class of property. It would be equivalent to *servicing a notice* upon all who saved anything, that for the future they must invest it *all* in *improvements* or in *useful enterprises*. Every natural and prudent instinct would, moreover, tend to the observance of this notice, and not as they do with so many of our highly artificial regulations respecting land—to its evasion. This change of investment would, first of all, afford more employment and better wages, and would increase the production, profits, and savings, of every farm or factory which had been so developed. This would correct the lack of purchasing power amongst the many, which now causes sluggishness in production and distribution.

Then, again, the ground rent, which is abstracted from the community through the medium of land users, is expended by the landlords in luxurious living, which involves the withdrawal of men from useful work in order that they may perform personal and often menial services. This has introduced a false and ostentatious style of living, which the more successful men of business are too apt to imitate, and which many, with less means again, follow at a greater distance. Part of that which is saved by landlords is generally invested in purchasing more land, and therefore in extending the evil which exists, by taking up more ground rent, and by retarding

production over a larger area. Part is also invested in creating companies or syndicates, which obtain, by their superior power of competition, practical monopolies in other departments, or else draw industrious people on to the ice by offers of loans. All these forms of the use of capital contain large elements of injury—and even of danger—to the community.

These are not small matters. Financially they are important, but *socially* they would be even more far-reaching in their results. They would, as has been shown, enable the more capable and thrifty of the wage-earners—whether they worked by hand or brain—to step out of the ranks and cease to compete for wages. Nay, not merely to cease to compete for wages, but to swell the ranks of the employers who compete for service. There would thus be opened out a constant possibility of selection between various employments and pursuits as their expansion or contraction—or the tastes of the rising generation—caused them to be desired. The question now anxiously asked, "What shall we do with our boys?" would no longer fail in getting a satisfactory answer.

But these are not the only possibilities to be secured by the reform. The speculator and landlord having disappeared, there would be no class left to be supported in idleness by the workers. All would then live by industry, and none be left to despise it. The true "dignity of labour" would then be acknowledged as a reality. Now it is obscured by the shallow fancy that those who do least are the happiest, and that they are ennobled and raised above their fellows by such abstinence. The chief observable peculiarity in the position of the so-called nobility of the day is that they are people who are supported in idleness by the contributions of a number of their fellows who are, poorer than themselves. The future test of nobility may come to be due to the fact that a man supports himself and devotes part of his leisure to the public good, while scorning to use his position or influence for the furtherance of his own and his friends interests at other people's expense?.

Under the new system trades unionists would not *need* to bind themselves together in hostility to free labourers, nor to stipulate for the exclusion from their respective trades of numbers of their own sons and those of their mates. The burning question of the hours of labour, as well as that of the sanitary condition of workshops, would solve themselves by the increased chances afforded to the workers of self-employment.

It will be desirable to say a little more as to the comparative advantages of self-employment and of working for wages in the Single Tax era. It may be thought by some, owing to the frequency with which these have been contrasted, that Single Taxers believe that everyone would decline to work for another, and would enjoy a much more desirable status in self-employment. But this is not the correct inference. It would be rather this: that Single Taxers see that those who *now* work for others lie under considerable disabilities, and they expect that the reform will remove some of these, and render the two conditions for the future equally desirable. If this proved to be so, then the choice would simply be one of individual preference, just as a man now prefers a certain trade or profession to all others. "Freedom of contract" is one of the sophisms much paraded in these days, but it is one of the conditions which cannot now exist as far as the wage-earners are concerned. The fact is that there is no alternative open to most of them but to take what wages are offered in their line of business or to go without. Now, to go without would mean, in most cases, to starve, and that can hardly be considered an alternative, bringing with it the blessing of "freedom of contract." A valuable and welcome alternative would be that which is predicted as a result of the Single Tax, viz., a chance of employing themselves. That does not exist *now*, and it never *will* so long as land for use is unobtainable, except upon payment of a premium in advance, or upon the annual payment of rent, besides rates and taxes. It is only a man with capital who can do either, and very few wage-earners can ever save enough to attain to such an alternative. What is *unattainable*, by the seekers has practically *no existence* as far as they are concerned, except in so far as it exists merely to tantalise them.

The wage-earner of the present suffers under three disabilities:—

- He pays his share of taxes and rates.
- He helps to create the ground-rent fund; and
- From the fact that this fund goes into private hands, instead of being treated as public revenue, arises the "selling value" of land, which forms the barrier which cuts off his alternative chance of employing himself.

The wage-earner of the new era would be in the following position:—

- Neither he nor anyone else would pay taxes or rates.
- He would continue to help, along with every other member of the community, to make particular sites more valuable than others. If he did not elect to use land he would not evade any duty to the public, nor would he receive any favour from those who did take it and who paid the equivalent rent. Such persons would make no sacrifice on his behalf, for they would get full value for their money.
- He would have the "alternative chance" fully open to him. If he preferred, he could work for wages, or if he chose to use land he could do so by paying annually the assessed value of the piece which he selected. He would neither benefit nor lose by choosing either alternative in preference to the other.

But it is not only tenants and wage-earners who would find their incomes increased. The working proprietor is likely to come to see the desirability of introducing the system of assessing *hind* value only, and of excluding *improvement* value. This will probably be seen in reference to local *rates* before it will appear desirable in Colonial *taxes*. The greater concentration of improvements upon smaller areas in towns and cities will probably cause the dwellers therein to see it earlier than country settlers. It is for this reason very probable that the reform movement will mature first in the towns, then spread to the country districts, and then begin to reform Colonial finance.

A strong colouring is given to this conjecture by the action of the London County Council, which might reasonably have been expected to prove a Conservative body. So far from that, however, it has recognised that the great improvements carried out by the old Metropolitan Board of Works, with funds raised from the *ratepayers*, have greatly added to the values of the *ground landlord*. The Council has consequently promoted Bills in Parliament asking for power to charge *half* the cost of such improvements upon the landlord. These have been thrown out, and the Council has accordingly brought matters to a deadlock until public opinion on the point shall develop. If the resistance of Parliament is continued long enough, it is very probable that the eyes of the public will be sufficiently opened to enable it to grasp the fact that the *whole cost* should be paid by those who will ultimately reap the *whole benefit*. In their London Correspondent's letter, published by the *New Zealand Herald* on June 2, 1893, will be found this very significant sentence: "The London County Council has decided to postpone all improvements of the city not absolutely necessary until such change can be made in the incidence of municipal taxation as shall cause the ground landlord to bear his fair share of the burdens."

Since the above paragraph was written a cablegram has arrived, dated London, June 27, which reads as follows:—"In the House of Commons the Betterment Clause, in the London Improvements Bill, was carried by a majority of ninety-eight." There seems no reason to doubt the connection between the two allusions; and if this supposition is correct, it indicates a very marked advance in England in the method of dealing with the ground rent question.

It will surely not take long for all ratepayers to have their eyes opened to the injustice and the impolicy of assessing *improvements* for rating purposes. The rates are devoted to the maintenance of roads, to drainage, to lighting, and to other public services. These are amongst the advantages which enhance the value of *bare land*; that is, of land apart from improvements, or, as it is technically known in the Ballance Land Tax Act, "unimproved value of land." These public conveniences do not increase the value of a ratepayer's *improvements* at all, but only of his *land*. They add just as much to the value of the *unused* land alongside of him. The improving ratepayer is there-fore being levied upon for the benefit of speculators and landlords who don't make improvements. A very little consideration would convince most ratepayers of the soundness of this reasoning, and would therefore show them that it is just and wise for them to insist that *rates* shall *no longer fall* upon *improvements*. Thanks to the 1891 assessment, made under the Act referred to, the figures are already in existence giving the separate values of *land* and of *improvements* throughout the Colony. The late difficulty, caused by the two values being lumped together in one sum, is therefore now removed, and it only requires that ratepayers should be resolved. "*No rating of improvements!*" should be the watchword of every man who exercises any form of industry.

Chapter XXV.

THE OLD "STOCK OBJECTIONS" DON'T APPLY.

THE explanations which have thus far been given, and which are in strict harmony with the principles and methods laid down by Henry George, will surely be sufficient to show that such objections as those which follow do not apply to the system proposed by Single Taxers. These objections are a fair sample of those which have been current in public controversy and in general conversation, and they exhibit the impatient intolerance shown by its opponents, and their very imperfect mastery of the question.

Among these objections are the following:—

- That it would involve handing everything over to officials.
- Turning people off their land.
- Taking the land away from the struggling settler.
- Making him a mere tenant of the State.
- Rack-renting him.
- Putting all the taxation upon him to the relief of the town trader and mechanic.

- Making him afraid to improve his land.
- Rendering it likely that the land would go out of cultivation.

The following misapprehensions have appeared in letters written in public controversy with the present writer. The letters indicate the opinion of their authors that the results named below would follow the introduction of the Single Tax—a term which they frequently use as if it was synonymous with Land Nationalisation:—

DR. WALLIS, in *New Zealand Herald*, of March 3 and 21, and April 5, 1890, says:

That it would "abolish the decalogue, and deny the primary obligations of public and private honour."

That it would place upon the land "a tax exactly equal to the rent which the land *reclaimed and cultivated by us* would yield, if we wished to let it or lease it to a cultivator."

That it means that "the hardest working class in the community should be selected and fixed upon as the sole class to be taxed, while all the other classes are to be exempt from taxation, and even to have dowries for their daughters, and different kinds of amusements provided, at the cost of the agriculturist."

That "they who own and till the land would be reduced to serfs, and slaves, and taxpayers, for the classes who follow all other kinds of business, or no business, in civilised lands."

That "Mr. Withy and his co-believers are entirely misleading the public when they say that it is only the unimproved value of the land that Mr. George's land grabbing scheme contemplates."

That "Mr. George is continually proclaiming in words that every man is most righteously entitled to the fruits of his industry, and at the same time he is doing all he can in order to seize upon, and confiscate to the use of the State, the fruits or results of the industry of all who hold property in land, whether the land be urban, or suburban, or rural."

That "the non-agricultural classes—the mechanics, tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers, professionals, capitalists, and idlers and rogues, etc. (forming from one-half to four-fifths of the population in most countries), are to be exempt from all taxation."

MR. F. G. EWINGTON, in *New Zealand Herald* of March 31, April 28, May 9, 17, and 26, 1892, says:

"Mr. George has demanded the immediate depriving of owners of their land values without compensation."

"Mr. George and his disciples are trying to force that 'hateful thing'—rack-renting—'upon us.'"

"If the tenants were compelled to compete openly against each other, as they would have to do under Mr. George's system, 'rack-renting' would be the rule and not the exception, and each tenant would have so little attachment to, and interest in, the soil, beyond his term of lease, that it would be unduly exhausted, and its products consequently diminished."

"The simple device of making landowners pay all the taxes."

Possibly both these gentlemen might somewhat modify the expressions used if they were writing at the present date, although the writer has no knowledge that they would do so. He has, however, no wish to place them at a disadvantage by quoting their past remarks. But they stand in print, and his desire is to impress everyone concerned with the inaccuracy, the total inadequacy, of such criticisms as applied to a serious controversy upon a matter of the most profound importance. There is every room for differences of opinion as to the causes of, and the most desirable cure for, the disease, but none as to the fact of its existence in our social system. These writers condemn unsparingly the solution of the difficulty proposed by Henry George. They would, no doubt, be listened to respectfully and gladly if they would advocate some other remedy. In the meantime, the present writer claims to have shown that their quoted objections are not applicable.

Chapter XXVI.

WHY THE NEW METHOD WOULD BE THE REVERSE OF Oppressive.

It is often stated that the *land* could not bear the whole taxation of a country, and at first sight the assertion appears to be an eminently reasonable one. But this arises from the mistake of overlooking the fact that the *land* already bears a *much heavier* burden. Those who have carefully read the preceding pages will not have missed the contention that the land now bears the whole of the annual ground rent charge. In all probability this amount in New Zealand considerably exceeds the whole of the taxation. "Then the taxation also comes out of the land, because all wealth arises from the application of labour to land; this term including all "natural opportunities." The two levies just mentioned, viz., the ground rent and the taxation, *both* come out of the annual produce of the people's industry. Single Taxers propose that for the future only the ground rent shall be taken up, and that all the taxes shall be repealed. This, then, amounts to a great *lightening* of the present burdens, and cannot, therefore, be called *oppressive*.

But take some figures which apply to New Zealand. A reference to paper "B 20, 1892," in the appendix to the "Journals House of Representatives," and entitled "Land and Income Tax Department,—Report by the Commissioner," we shall find on page 4 that the unimproved value, as at 1st November, 1891, of all the land owned in the Colony was £75,787,895. This may be taken as the selling value of the land as an income-producing investment. The income which land produces is ground rent. It will yield this to the investor or working proprietor, over and above the living which can be made by using it. If this was not so, the tenant could not exist and pay rent as well. If it was not so, the working proprietor who had as large a loan as possible on his land could not pay the interest. If it was not so, the working proprietor whose land was unencumbered would not make interest on the capital which he had embarked in its purchase.

It does not follow that all the land in the return *is*—and it is not necessary to the following contention that it *should be*—let on ground rent to cultivators. But the selling value would not be there if a possible ground rent did not exist as its basis. Now, an owner may either let his land, and take what cash income it will bring, or he can work it himself, and thereby, as has been shown already, make the ground rent in addition to the living which a tenant could make. For the present purpose, therefore, it amounts to the same thing, viz., that the whole seventy-six millions is, as stated above, an income-producing investment.

The question to be considered next is, "What is the probable ground rent which it may be expected to yield?" This is a question of percentage. Scarcely any capital has been lent on mortgage at less than 6 per cent. A mere loan carries with it no prospect of gain to the mortgagee through a possible increase of selling value. The *owner* would benefit by such a rise, and therefore purchases are, on the whole, made at a price which contemplates this prospect, and are, to that extent, based upon a higher ground rent than is at present obtainable. For this reason the rate of interest must be estimated at less than 6 per cent. If it is taken at 4 per cent., it will probably be about the mark. Now, 4 per cent. on £76,000,000 comes to more than £3,000,000, and it may be very fairly assumed that this sum represents approximately one of the burdens which the *land* of the Colony bears, and actually yields in money or in kind, to the owners.

In addition to this tribute to private individuals, the State is raising about £2,500,000 annually by taxation (apart from railway, and post and telegraph revenue, which cannot be classed as *taxation*). The total burden, therefore, which is now imposed on the Colony under these two heads is £5,500,000. Single Taxers contend that the whole of this is really a burden upon the *land*. It certainly comes from the annual industry of the people, and there is nothing for them to obtain their living and their savings from except the *land* (including, as the term does, all natural opportunities).

Do Single Taxers propose to *increase* this burden? No; on the contrary, they propose to *reduce* it by £2,500,000, the amount of the present taxation. They propose to gradually divert the £3,000,000 of ground rent from the pockets of a section of the community to the respective coffers of the Colonial Treasurer and the local bodies. It is, therefore, apparent that, whatever charge can be brought against them, it cannot be shown that their proposals would *increase* the total *burdens* of the *people*. It will also be impossible, for those who deny that taxation comes out of the land, to show that the burdens upon *land* would be increased.

Chapter XXVII.

It is the Fitting Sequel to the Abolition of the Corn Laws in England.

THE duties on corn brought into England from abroad had two principal results. They increased the price of corn to the consumer, and they enabled the landlord to get a higher ground rent. The favourite cry which was

raised against the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League was that it would ruin the farmer. But it was asserted by the reformers, and the result proved them to have stated the truth, that rents would fall with the reduced power of the farmers to pay it. This fact is now a well-established one—that whatever advantage comes to the tenant increases the competition for land, and causes rent to rise. The gain, therefore, as fast as existing bargains will allow of a readjustment taking place, goes to the land-owning class.

The abolition of the corn laws was the first great step towards checking the monopoly which the possession of a preponderating legislative power gave to landowners in England. But it only paralysed one of the strong *limbs* of the land system, and did not touch the *root*. It affected a *detail*, and did not alter the evil *principle*.

Half a century of cheap bread, and of a vast growth of manufacturing industry, have led to an enormous addition to the national wealth and to the average of comfort. But the old evil has co-existed with these improvements, and the result has been that those who have owned the land have reaped the largest part of the increased benefit. Those who have left the old country have brought with them the knowledge that the owners of land there were the best off, and they have consequently taken care in the new countries that *they* would be landowners. Very few of them saw through the economic bearings of the question, and only a minority do so even, now, but the *knowledge* is *spreading*.

The agitation of the Single Taxers is directed to the completion of the work commenced by the abolition of the corn laws. Their efforts are not, however, aimed at lopping off branches, or at mitigating the evil, or at making a compromise with it. They go direct to the root of the matter, and show that the private monopolisation of ground rent is inequitable, and must, therefore, be brought to an end.

Chapter XXVIII.

THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO THE REFORM.

THE principal obstacle in the way of the adoption of the Single Tax, is the fact that many individuals have secured the exclusive possession, in perpetuity, of large portions of the earth's surface—some by inheritance and others by purchase—without any reservation which renders them liable to make any annual payment to the community; that this possession gives to them the enjoyment of the ground-rent fund; that they have acquired this possession with the consent of the majority of that portion of the community which, for the time being, had a voice in making the laws; and that the individuals who enjoy such possession, together with those who were parties to allowing them to obtain it, are mostly of opinion that it would be unfair to introduce modifications into the bargain, except upon payment of due compensation. To this claim for compensation Single Taxers cannot agree. The claim, and its refusal, therefore, form a very real obstacle to the public acceptance of the proposed reform. There are many who admit the soundness of the theory, its equitableness, and the prospect which it offers of doing great good, provided it could be instituted at the commencement of some new colony, but they can't see how to make the change equitably. Single Taxers, on the contrary, are unable to admit that the present system can be equitably maintained.

Chapter XXIX.

FOUR OBJECTIONS TO GIVING COMPENSATION.

THERE are several reasons which Single Taxers consider sufficient to warrant their refusal to give compensation. The first is that the laws which have enabled individuals to secure the perpetual ownership of land, in such a way as to monopolise the ground-rent fund, were made by legislators in their own interest. The principles of New Zealand law are derived from the mother country, and it has therefore been necessary to refer to her laws.

This was done under a former heading, dealing with feudalism, and need not be repeated. Many political and social improvements have been made since feudal times, and Single Taxers do not believe very much in "the good old days," of wish to return to them. But it is of great importance to point to a sound principle which was acknowledged and acted upon then, but which has gradually fallen into disuse in modern days. This principle was that land could only be held on the condition of the holder rendering service to the State. It

formed the sound core at the heart of things then, and it must be revived and put into practice again. It has been shown that this has been reversed in England. The landowner receives the ground rent (the modern form of payment, which answers to the ancient personal service), but he only pays a small share of the taxes in common with his tenants.

It is superfluous to inquire who made these changes. It is sufficient to say that the landless people did not make them, and it is safe to assert that they never consented to them, seeing that their opinion was never asked. In the most advanced countries, politically, the landless people are only just acquiring equality of voting power, and are still groping after correct economic principles, preparatory to using the newly-found power beneficially.

The anomaly of omitting "service" as a condition has formed the basis of New Zealand laws. Land has been bought without the condition being attached that perpetual service should be rendered for it to the community. The freehold title carries with it the legal right for the owner to absorb all the future value of ground rent. Coin has been paid to the State as the consideration. This has already been admitted, but is repeated here for the purpose of asking if New Zealand legislator, as well as English ones, have or have not made land laws in their own interest, and without consulting the landless part of the community? The answer must be in the affirmative. In doing so, they have acted either ignorantly or wilfully. If *ignorantly*, they cannot make out a very *good* claim, and if *wilfully*, they surely dare not make any, that respect should be shown to such laws by the sufferers from them, after they have awakened to the position. The landowners have vigorously contended for the retention of their multiple votes based upon a landed-property qualification, and their success in keeping them is still in evidence to a certain extent. Land-owners even here have still the power of throwing their voting strength into either district in which their property lies; while landless people can vote only in the district in which they reside. Such a provision cannot escape the suggestion of being prompted by a self-interested motive.

The claim that an owner of land should have more voting and influencing power than a landless man has always been a most unreasonable one. It may be resolved into this: that a man who has by some means obtained a great and special legal privilege, for which he renders no public service, ought to have another granted to him in order that he may have a preponderating influence in opposing reforms. Further than this, it assumes that he who is maintained out of the ground-rent fund—created by his fellow-countrymen—should have a more effective voice than they in controlling the imposition of taxes and their subsequent expenditure. This privilege enabled such men in this Colony to impose and maintain the iniquitous Property Tax, the leading principle of which was the confusion of *laborer products* with *land values*.

The working of all such laws has been unmistakably in the interest of landowners, and it has been shown to be against that of the whole community, and especially of the landless section. Laws made in their own interest by any class holding the power can only depend upon might, and not upon right, for their sanction and maintenance.

Another principle may be laid down in reference to all laws, and that is: that where they affect anything which, like land, is essential to human life, one generation can have no right to bind the next. There is ancient and weighty precedent for this contention. The Mosaic law, in dealing with property, made a special exception as regards land (see Leviticus xxv.). It limited all dealings in it to a maximum period of fifty years, and stipulated that, whenever the term *began*, it must *end* at the national Jubilee year, so that it made it impossible for a man, whatever might be his needs, to alienate the land for ever from his descendants. It was not the *land*, but the *use* of the land, which was dealt with: "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine" (v. 23). "According unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee" (v. 15). Leasing, and not selling, was therefore the only kind of dealing which was permitted. Moreover, the lease could be *redeemed at any time* by refunding a part of the payment proportioned to the number of years which had still to run (v. 25-27). Land itself would, under such restrictions, *never* obtain a selling value; it could only carry a rental value. These were manifestly fair and necessary provisions, because otherwise a man, prompted by either necessity, extravagance, or greed, could secure an advantage by pledging the chance of his descendants. The Jubilee was to be ushered in with great rejoicings, and, notably, by a proclamation of "liberty" to all the inhabitants of the land (v. 10). Moses classed the continued secure possession of land by every family with the idea of "liberty." Universal family inheritance, proportioned in area to the number of males in each, was the basis prescribed for the original division of Canaan—"To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance" (Numbers xxvi. 51-56). Further than this, and in order to prevent any chance of original favouritism in regard to quality and situation, it was ordered the location of the several tribes should be decided by lot. The Jubilee was the plan devised for making this system secure to future generations. As an additional precaution, apparently to reduce the chance of the divisions becoming disproportioned to the number of the future people, they were forbidden to make tribal inter-marriages. Every provision was evidently made with the idea of preventing any class from absorbing, and any other class from losing, the right to use the land. A very instructive confirmation of these principles is given fully 1000 years later by Nehemiah, who made the nobles

restore lands, vineyards, olive-yards, and houses, to their countrymen (Nehemiah v.).

The land laws of New Zealand, the same as those of England, allow land once alienated to individuals by one generation to pass to other individuals by inheritance and sale to all future generations. The landless people of later generations receive no consideration for being deprived of this land. It is only the monied men amongst them who can get secure possession of any of it. The mass of people in each generation, therefore, becomes less and less able to obtain the chance of employing itself. It follows, as a consequence, that it becomes less and less able to obtain real "freedom of contract" in selling its services for wages. Landowning legislators have thus laid a foundation of ice, upon which many an industrious man has slipped into poverty. A more genial sun than they have allowed to shine will arise to melt the foundation clean away. A new one must then be substituted, which shall be solidly built and truly laid, with the sanction of the whole community, so that every industrious man may build upon it with the assurance that the whole produce will remain his own.

Single Taxers maintain that secure individual possession of land is a necessary condition precedent to its most advantageous use. This is the great point which *freehold secures*, and which *leasehold prevents*. They therefore object to any man forestalling the chances of users by buying land as an investment for the purpose of leasing it. They also object to *users* being allowed to buy land in perpetuity for a lump sum, because (1) their payment does not benefit future generations, from whom the land is withheld; and (2) the necessary sum for buying an indefinite future value can never be calculated. They also object to the system because it *prevents* users from getting secure possession *without buying*.

Henry George rouses the ire of his opponents by the statement that he "would take the kernel and leave the landlords the shell." The statement, and the anger which arises, both assume that the land-lords now possess the kernel which exists in land possession, and that landless people have it not. It is, doubtless, the recognition of this, as the salient fact of their position, which causes landowners to become irate when it is proposed that the kernel should be taken from their exclusive possession, and made common property.

But what prior claim have landowners established to the kernel? None whatever! It has been pointed out that they were for centuries practically the only legislators, and that there is not yet an English-speaking community in which they do not possess a "voting" advantage over landless men. They have made laws which have enabled them to hold the land as a privileged preserve; which have provided that inheritance and purchase should bar the chance of landless people to employ themselves on land, without first reckoning with them—the owners; and which have increased the difficulty of obtaining it by heaping stamp duties and legal impediments upon its transfer.

In all these arrangements, they have assumed that there was no one else entitled to be consulted. The ignorant many, the landless many, the politically powerless many! Consult them! Assume that *they have* any interest in the question! Absurd on the face of it! This has been the theory acted upon in the past. Nay, it is so *still*. The supporters of the system even *now* deny that the landless people have any interest in the question. They are not entitled to the kernel; that is for the landowners. And the kernel may be inherited from generation to generation; as a strict preserve, kept away from landless people. This belief is apparently shared in by the New Zealand sup-porters of the "eternal" lease, with its non-revisable rent, based upon to-day's selling value. Those who take up these leases, and their descendants after them, are declared to have the sole right to the increase of the ground-rent fund—regardless of the real or supposed interests of their fellow-countrymen—for *ten centuries* to come.

Single Taxers declare that there are people beside landowners, and even beside "eternal" leaseholders, who ought to be consulted in land transactions; that the results of the present system prove it to be injurious to landless people, to tenants, injurious even to working proprietors, and therefore to the people collectively; that this injury is of itself a sufficient reason to condemn the system: and that, apart from results, the original titles were bad, because no power ever possessed the right to confer them. Neither inheritance nor purchase can mend them in this respect, and therefore no title to-day is valid as barring the claim of landless people. Purchasers only acquire what the sellers have to dispose of. As between the two the transactions are doubtless complete, but there may be a third party outside the door who is interested, but who is not privy to the transaction, is not consulted, and receives none of the purchase money. As between the three parties—provided there is a third—the transaction is not complete, and is, therefore, not binding.

To make the meaning of the argument quite unmistakable, take an illustration from the system of slavery. Don't be horrified! It is not a very *remote* comparison; neither is it a *disrespectful* one. It is well within living memory that Englishmen, statesmen, and ministers of religion, upheld its principle most strenuously. A few philanthropists—far fewer than the present band of Single Taxers—denounced it root and branch, and would throw it down utterly. They condemned the principle, and would not hear of men being so placed that they should be *thankful* that their masters acted *kindly* when the law allowed them *to flog*. So Single Taxers condemn the principle, and refuse to recognise as proper the *thankfulness* of a tenant who receives *20 per cent remission* of rent from a landlord whom the State allows to *rack-rent* him. In both cases mercy and leniency are

insults; it is *just conditions* which alone can, or ought to, satisfy.

But to the illustration. If A owns a slave, and B buys him, the transaction is complete as between the two. A's ownership is extinguished by his acceptance of B's money. It would be robbery if A came and took the slave back. It would be robbery if the State took him from B and returned him to A. But what about the slave's part in the transaction? He hasn't been consulted; no price was originally paid *to him* in consideration of surrendering *his liberty*; this further transaction doesn't benefit him, but it presupposes his continuing to surrender his liberty.

At this day it will be admitted that the slave ought to have been consulted; that he had an equal right with A and B to his own liberty; that he was not bound by the transaction into which A and B entered; that he was entitled to seek his liberty without any reference to the fact that B had paid money to A on the strength of his continuing to surrender it.

So it has come to pass that landless people have begun to question their position and that of the landowners. The questioning will be continued by them, and many already see through it. The landless people have not been consulted, neither have they been bought out of their rights, for they have not received the purchase money. No purchase price *could* ever pay them and their descendants. The only price which could ever equitably discharge the indebtedness of those who own or use land, would be an *annual payment* to the whole community for its use equivalent to its value from year to year. The *harbours* of the Colony might as well have been sold as the *land*. Syndicates would buy them *yet*, if they were offered, and would make a good thing out of charging ships for admission. And *why* not sell them? Every reason against doing so weighs equally against selling *ground rent concessions!*

The day is likely to arrive soon when Englishmen, statesmen, and ministers of religion, who now denounce the proposal, will as clearly approve of it as they now do of the abolition of our slave-owning system.

The compensation argument will run its course, and the £20,000,000 awarded to the slave-owners in Jamaica will be trotted out as a precedent. But it won't do! There was a big *third* party with a breeches-pocket who paid *that* money to free the oppressed. There is no hope of such an one appearing in this case. If the oppressor is to receive compensation in this one, it must come from the oppressed. There is *no third party*.

But apart from this, Single Taxers object to the *principle* of compensation in both cases. They say that the State would have been quite right in taking the slave from A or B without compensation, and presenting him to himself. For the same reason—*viz.*, that all the parties interested have not been consulted—they contend that the State is justified in taking the monopoly of ground rent from landowners and presenting it to those who have created the fund, *i.e.*, the whole community.

The second reason for declining to sanction compensation is that the economic and social *remits* of the monopolisation of ground rent have proved detrimental to the welfare of the community. These results were not so marked in former years as they have become since the introduction of steam transit, the discovery of electricity, and the great introduction of machinery into production of every kind. In the former times alluded to, the great contrast now existing between the values of certain central localities and those of merely country lands had not arisen. It has, therefore, come to pass that these legalised bargains in land, originally unsound in their nature, have become increasingly productive of evil; that they have brought to many land-owners wealth which was the produce of other men's labour. That this wrong *distribution* of the wealth produced has led to the great contrast, now more than ever apparent, between the rich and the poor; that it has created a class of landed proprietors who "toil not, neither do they spin;" that it has tended to the absorption of many small estates of working proprietors by their larger neighbours; has, in its further developments, led to the crushing of small manufacturers by larger ones; to the creation of great distributing agencies and the corresponding reduction of the number of small retailers; and to the superseding of independent hotelkeepers by mere servants of brewers and wine and spirit merchants. That the inevitable result of such changes has been to compel large numbers who once worked on their own account to seek situations and to become mere wage-earners, with no alternative pursuit open to them; that a further result of this tendency has been to make wage-earners compete with each other in order to obtain a mere existence, and so to squeeze the less capable of the race onward and downward into conditions of pitiable poverty. If these results can be connected with the system which permits the monopolisation of ground rents, it may well be suggested that *restitution* would be more fitting than *compensation*.

A third reason may be found by carefully considering the actual position of landowners in New Zealand. In several respects their position here differs from that of English owners. Let it be admitted that many owners have paid cash to the State for land which they now own, and that very little time has elapsed since cash was thus paid for most of the land. But these facts are often stated as if they formed a conclusive argument against all land reform here, or at least against any reform which was not accompanied by compensation. But let us look at the matter all round. There can be very little doubt that purchases made from the State are more in the interest of the buyers than those which are made from private individuals. In the latter case, the proceeds would

have become the exclusive possession of the sellers. Not so in that of the State. It does not *capitalise* the money and use the *interest* in *reduction of future taxation*. If this were done the case of the landowners would be very different. But the State promptly expends it all upon public improvements, which result in more good to landowners than to any other class of the community. It is often asserted, as if in contradiction of this statement, that it supplied employment and wages for the working classes. Agreed, at once; but that is no contradiction. Such employment is only the necessary *channel*, and not the *goal*. The money necessarily went through men's hands, as through a machine, in which it was transmuted into public improvements. It was not thereby lost, because *value was returned* for the wages which were paid. The resulting improvements were worth the cash expended or invested in wages. The money so expended in public improvements found its *goal* in the increase of land values within the sphere of its influence. It was not *Spent*, but *invested*, to the permanent benefit of land values. Or, again, the effect was collectively the same as if the money had been returned to the owners on the condition that they expended it *outside* of their own lands on *public improvements*. The owners could only effect these by hiring labour and paying wages. In return for these the owners would get an equivalent in the shape of enhanced value. The process in each case would be the same, and the result identical. The fitting expression from the owners in either case would be, "My money is restored; and lo, it is even in my sack!" It seems almost superfluous to repeat that no such benefit or return would have resulted from a purchase from private individuals. No private person would expend the proceeds of his sale around the land which he had sold. He would be much more likely to buy some more land, which was not as yet in great demand, and thus continue the "forestalling" process.

But there is another fact which is *very* generally ignored by those who look upon only one side of this question. It is a very large and important fact, and deserves more prominence than can be given to it here. This fact is, that the Colony has borrowed upwards of £30,000,000 (apart from the unproductive debt incurred for war expenditure), and has laid it out in public improvements. This burden rests upon the shoulders of the *whole community*, and the annual interest is provided by *all*, and absorbs about *two-thirds* of the entire taxes. Who has got the main benefit of this expenditure? The *landowners* of the Colony; yet the *whole people* pay the interest upon it. The case is analogous to that of the aforesaid practical return to them of their purchase money, in the form of increase to the value of their land.

This statement will strike many as being very extreme and unwarrantable, and, indeed, it *must* so appear to all who have not studied the causes of the increase of ground rent and of selling value. But it is sober and demonstrable truth, nevertheless. We have not borrowed 30,000,000 sovereigns, but railways, roads, bridges, school buildings, Government premises, telegraph plant, etc. Sovereigns are far better left out of our reasoning on economic questions. They only serve to add another term to the problem, and therefore to complicate it. The "interchangeability of wealth" is the central key to a clear and simple understanding of all questions of production and distribution. The proximity of all these borrowed conveniences to private lands, has attracted population, increased the profitableness of existing industries, and brought additional ones into being. Each step has added to the ground-rental values of the lands affected. This has increased the selling value of all private lands, and whetted the desire of speculators and income-seeking investors to purchase the Crown lands which are still available. Landowners look to these changes as to their "star of hope." They make no concealment of this in their conversation. Land agents boldly advertise them as inducements to purchasers to come forward. Buyers look to them as unquestionable plums intended to reward what they consider to be *their enterprise*. They have no doubt whatever that they are properly their perquisites, and they often get very angry when anyone disputes their equitable right to them. Every increase in population, every improvement in the means of production and transit, every increase of expenditure on public improvements, adds to the ground-rent fund—though the owners may sleep in the meantime. This fund, with its constant increase, goes, under our present system, to no one but landowners. But what equity is there in such an absorption by individuals of these benefits, without payment or even acknowledgment to the community which has brought them to their doors? There is no equity in it; it is confiscation, and must be stopped. It is, in other things, considered that payment should be received from those who reap a benefit, but our land laws are founded upon a principle which opposes a silent, but effectual, denial to such commonsense fairness. That fatal principle is the delusion that land may be treated in the same way as the products of man's labour.

Scarcely any statement of land reformers goes without challenge, and there are some even who have the hardihood to state that land value does not constantly rise. Return waves certainly occur, and striking instances of depreciation can be readily found. The system itself leads to "booming," and, of course, collapse of values must follow. All along the line many lose, and many more fail to make a profit, by land dealing. But turn to total figures. The 1891 assessment for the land tax gives £75,787,895 as the value of freehold land exclusive of improvements. What was the original selling value of this? A reference to paper "C. 1—Report on Crown Lands," for any recent year shows that the total cash received by the Colony for the lands which it has alienated, is about £13,500,000. The unearned increase to owners has therefore been more than £62,000,000,

apart from their own exertions as individuals, because it is exclusive of their own improvements. Of course, this unearned increment is due to *their* presence as members of the community, just as much as to that of any other equal number of inhabitants. Their presence has created *part* of the fund, but they have received it *all*. They receive it in very *unequal* shares, and some, as has been admitted, have lost instead of getting any share. But their *class* alone gets it; no one will pretend that any *landless* man gets any of it, or that he ever stood any *chance* of a share. It would be interesting to see this increase of value explained from the landowner's point of view.

The conclusion forced upon land reformers by all this, is that New Zealand landowners, as a whole, have had a magnificent fund to work in. The landless man may well be described as Issachar was by his father Jacob (Genesis xlix.14-15): "Issachar is a strong ass, *crouching dozen between two burdens*: and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute." The *one* burden is the obstruction and uncertainty placed in the way of the industrious, by the imposition of landlordism upon the community. The *other* burden is the taxation, two-thirds of which consists of interest paid for the improvements, which have been borrowed from England, and placed around the owner's lands, with the result of increasing their value.

But there is a fourth reason, which has been already alluded to, for disputing the compensation claim. The question at once arises, "If the owners are to receive compensation, who is to provide the money?" On this particular issue, the community is composed of only two sections: those who *receive* or enjoy ground rent, and those who do *not*. There is no third section. No one receives it unless he owns land. The line of cleavage, therefore, is that which separates land-owners from landless people. Now, it will have been observed that the whole indictment of the present system is that the landowners profit by it, while the landless suffer. If this indictment has not been sustained, then the claim for the reform has not been made good, and the compensation counter-claim will, therefore, not arise. But if the indictment should happen to be made good, and if Parliament should thereupon decide to institute the reform, and to award compensation, it will be found that the landless people would be the only ones who could be called upon to pay it. This would create a curious anomaly. The section which had *suffered* would be the one to *pay* compensation; the section which had *profited* would be the one to *receive* it. The claim is too absurd. We need not get up any indignation about it; it would be dismissed from any court.

If the *present* owners—the last of a long series—have to make a sacrifice, they cannot blame those who did *not* receive their purchase money. Whether they bought willingly or unwillingly, they can only appeal to their predecessors in ownership, and to that section of the community which maintained an unsound system. The willing buyers must also take to themselves their own share of blame in upholding it. The system in which they have hoped to participate was made and sustained by a political system, in which a preponderating voting power was given to landowners, as compared with landless men. The complaint of the present owners must, therefore, lie at the door of the past generation. They can only get out of their bargains by "unloading" on to future victims, and can only succeed in this by persuading the community in the meantime to go on suffering serious disabilities for their sakes. But this cannot be allowed. If the landowners want compensation, they must present their bill to their own class, which made the laws; to their own class, which has continued to bolster them up by plural property votes; to their own class, which has been the only one to benefit, and not to the landless people who have suffered by the system.

The *gradual* restoration of ground rent to its producers, and therefore to its equitable owners, is what is proposed. It is equivalent to a *time-extension* of the existing privilege of landowners, at a steadily decreasing rate. This is a great concession, and is all that landowners need expect to get.

Chapter XXX.

WHY THE REFORM WOULD NOT BE UNJUST.

HOWEVER general the agreement might be upon the feasibility of the scheme when once brought into operation, there would still be many who would cry out against such a change on the ground that it would inflict injustice upon the existing owners of the land. "What!" they would say, "tax the selling-value out of land which a man has paid hard cash for under the sanction of law? That would be confiscation." The plea deserves the consideration previously given to it, and it must be at once conceded that if the proposal can be shown to be unjust it has received its death-blow. Not that every old injustice is dead and gone, but that it is less easy in these days to inflict new ones. The old ones, moreover, cannot last for ever, if the Creator is ultimately to rule

and to evolve harmony and permanence out of the conditions of unrest and transition in which we now exist. More than that, no reformer should knowingly advocate that which he cannot recommend on the score of its justice. It is a hopeful sign of the times that appeals are now made to "justice;" it was not always so. Single Taxers put forward their proposal distinctly and avowedly as a means of *removing* a great and far-reaching injustice which is now in existence, and which they believe produces the greatest economic and social troubles of our time.

The onus of proof lies with the reformers, who must make good their assertion that the system which they seek to overthrow is an unjust one. They must, moreover, show that the remedy is not worse, in this respect, than the disease; that, indeed, it is not so bad. Nay, it is not too much for the public to ask them to show that their remedy is the best that can be found, and that it would entail the *minimum* of hardship upon those who are called upon to make a sacrifice. It is simply absurd, however, to ask that any injustice shall be removed without *some sacrifice*, being made by those who have benefitted by its existence.

First of all, then, as to whether the present system can be shown to be an unjust one. The alleged injustice consists in the monopolisation of ground rent by a section of the community by means of the legalised system of private ownership of land.

Single Taxers contend that this fund is not created merely by the section which receives it, but, in a more or less equal degree, by every member of the community. It is difficult to imagine any condition of life, in which a man could exist in a community, so low that his presence produced no perceptible increase in the demand for land, and therefore in the ground-rent fund. He must wear no clothes, sleep out of doors on public land, wash without soap in a public stream, never get his hair cut, eat nothing but what grew of itself or was thrown out as waste, he must never drink except at a public tap, and must not use any implement made by his fellows, or even by himself if the materials were produced or gathered by others. Such a person could not be found even now amongst the poorest of the poor, and under the proposed conditions none would even distantly approximate to such a condition. A man who used or consumed anything could not fail to bring some custom to the clothier, the builder, the soap-boiler, the barber, the provision dealer, the maker of tools or utensils, or the merchant who collected the materials necessary for their production. Every such increase of custom has a favourable influence upon some man's trade; it makes him willing to give more to stay where he can secure the increased custom, and it makes others anxious to procure the same stand in the favourable market. These are the causes, described in very homely words, which first *create* ground rent, and then *increase* its amount. It is clear that every individual does something towards it.

Under the present system, those who are fortunate enough to get possession of sites which come to be in demand on account of the superior facility which they afford to users for supplying the wants of the growing community, become entitled to the resulting increase of the ground rent and the selling value. Single Taxers consider that the possession of this contingent advantage by landowners is subversive of the only true, and therefore "natural," right of property, viz., "that a man should own that which his labour has produced." This is denied by some, who say that "natural rights" have no existence in a community, and who assert that no member has any "rights" but such as are conferred upon him *by the community*. Such persons point out that the community has, in its wisdom, and in the exercise of its right, seen fit to allow individuals to acquire freeholds, and to receive all the advantages, or the reverse, which may happen to come to them. Many consider that this is a complete answer to land reformers and their various "fads"—that there is no appeal from the decision of the community.

There can be no harm in meeting these people on their own ground. The community can get itself into an illogical position as easily as an individual can, if it does not act on sound principles. It will probably be admitted that the various decisions of a community should be consistent with each other; that they should not be based upon one principle when dealing with one man, and upon a different principle when dealing with another. If the necessity of mere consistency is admitted, then Single Taxers will be quite as willing to abide by the decisions of the community, as to fall hack upon the theory of "rights." They are appealing to the community to alter one of the customs which it has long sanctioned. If it has power to *give* or *withhold* rights, it must have power to *vary* those which it has conferred. If it can be shown that altered circumstances warrant a change, then the community is in duty and consistency bound to vary them.

The point which Single Taxers now submit to the community is as follows: The system of private ownership of land is based upon two principles, which act in direct opposition to each other in the cases of landowners and landless people. Take an illustration to show what is meant by the existence of two principles. Suppose a number of men are busy for some months in preparing a field, in sowing the crop, in weeding the ground, and then, in process of time, in reaping, gathering, and removing to market that which they have grown. Just as they are driving their wagons out of the gate, a man walks up to them and says that he claims part of their produce. At first they take no notice of him, and think it is only a joke on his part. But he insists, and shows that he is in earnest. Then they stop, and ask him for his title to share with them. He replies that the

land upon which they have grown the crop belongs to him. To confirm his claim, he summonses a "grave and reverend seignior," with several strong attendants. He appeals to the former as the law-maker, and claims the help of his attendants to secure his lawful share. The cultivators plead their case, and say that it is quite true that they have seen the man before, but that he only walked past the field occasionally and sat on the fence watching them at work, and that he never offered to help them, never gave them any advice, nor, indeed, ever spoke to them at all. They say that they can't see that, as he failed to help them, any part of their produce can be due to him. But the law-maker confirms the landlord's claim, and says that the community has settled it in that way, irrespective of any assistance being given by the owner. It is in vain that they urge that they were not consulted in making the laws, and that they don't think this is a fair one. The strung attendants lead away one of the wagons, and place it at the disposal of the landlord, and then take a part of another load to help to maintain themselves and their master, the law-maker.

After all is done, the men meet together to discuss the matter. The conclusion at which they arrive is that the community, in two respects, applies one principle to the landlord and an opposite one to them.

The first respect is, that the landlord is allowed to claim a share of that which he has spent no labour in producing, whilst *they* are not permitted to make a similar claim to a part of his, or of anyone else's, productions. They readily see that such a permission would save them, as it does him, a lot of exertion, but they can't make out that it would be fair to those upon whom they call to make the necessary sacrifice. It is apparent that if they might act in this way, there could be no good reason why the other workers should not come next year and return the compliment.

The second respect is, that the landlord is allowed to hold possession of land which he does not use, while they are denied the same privilege. This is making "fish of one and flesh of the other," and applying directly opposite principles to the two cases.

In answer to the contention that the owner has inherited or bought the land, and that he has allowed them the use of it in consideration of payment, they say that they entirely fail to see how any set of rulers can ever have obtained the right to allow a man to acquire possession of more land than he needed for the support of his family. It is obvious to them that this is the present legal position, but they cannot understand its equity; neither can they see how it was possible for any bargain to have been made *many years ago* which should *equitably* dispose of the *perpetual* interest in any piece of land. No services rendered to the community of *that day*, and no price paid down, could justly have purchased such a right *in perpetuity*. No past generation of men could have any right to barter away that which the present generation needs for its existence. At any rate, they would be bound to keep intact the money or other consideration which they received for the "concession," and to hand it down to those who were to come after. The present generation has received *no consideration* in return for being deprived of the use of land. There was no means of knowing at any past date how much a concession of that sort might come to be worth in the future. They are not, therefore, inclined to view such titles as constituting a valid bar to their equal claims to work securely in order that they may live. They see that land is continually *varying* in annual value, and that only an *equivalent annual payment* made to the *existing* community can possibly discharge the debt due for the permission to *continue to occupy*.

It is apparent to them that there is plenty of land in the world for all; that it was provided by the Creator, and not made or brought there by the owners; and that it has not even been increased or rendered more useful by them. They see that the origin of *land* is, therefore, entirely different from that of *produce*, for the latter requires the constant attention and exertion of the workers, both to grow and to store it up.

At this stage, in order to assist themselves to grasp the problem thoroughly, they assume a case—viz., that all the people who exercised any industry were removed from the country. It is evident, in such an event, that the landlords and speculators would soon become extinct unless they set to work to produce things. Buying and selling the land *amongst themselves* would not supply their wants. They could not live as they now do, unless the industrious part of the community remained. It seems, therefore, to be a sound inference that the industrious people exist as a precedent necessity to the success of the operations, and even to the continued existence, of the landlord and speculator. The men wonder how long the industrious will thus continue to act the part of the "lion's provider." If the reverse of this operation were performed, and the landlords and speculators were removed from the country, they see that everything would go on better. The industrious part could work and live much better without them. All the producers being left in the country, the produce would be at least as great as ever. Not only so, but all the restrictions upon tenants being removed, the whole of their produce being left with them, and the lock-up being withheld from land now kept out of use, the total production would be *much more* than before. But to crown all, the whole of the former production, together with this large addition, would be shared amongst the workers only, so that each one would get very much more. After a few years the result of such a change for the better would be as marked in its character as is now the result, for evil and distress, of the operation of opposite conditions.

These men finally determine that they do not desire to be admitted to the same unjust privilege with the

landlord, viz., to be allowed to hold land which they do not use. The claim which they decide to urge is that, on the other hand, the landlord's privilege should be revoked, and that all should have the same chance afforded to them. It appears to them, also, that it would only be just to alter the system, so that they who are prepared to work should have secure possession of as much land as they can use—always subject to payment for its annual worth from time to time.

Single Taxers entirely agree with these workers in the conclusions at which they have arrived, after a temperate discussion of conditions which were calculated to arouse very different feelings. The fact that the landlord has inherited or bought this anomalous privilege may be dismissed, as affording no justification for its retention. The system stands condemned as inconsistent with itself, as utterly unjust, and as highly injurious to the moral and material welfare of the community which permits it to continue. It strikes at the root of the moral sense by confusing and rendering contradictory every just and even common-sense idea of what property is, or of what may properly be included in the term. It sanctions such an outrageous plan of distributing the produce of industry that some have barely enough left to serve for, or until, next season's sowing; while at the same time many others have no need to trouble about providing for this indispensable operation, but have merely to "watch the gate," and demand a share of what the industrious have produced.

Chapter XXXI.

THE HOPEFULNESS OF THE REFORM TO WAGE-EARNERS COMPARED WITH THE EXPECTATIONS FROM TRADES UNIONISM.

THE advantages which have been shown to be likely to follow the introduction of the Single Tax reform must appear to wage-earners generally as offering much more solid ground for improvement in their condition than any of the more popular aims of the past and present. Some of these latter have the effect of *reducing* the production of wealth, whereas the more hopeful plan must surely be to *increase* it. If there is more for *all*, there must be more on the average *per head*, and therefore a greater likelihood of more falling to the share of the wage-earner. On the other hand, a reduction of the total must reverse this probability. Other aims, again, seek by official regulation to inspect and control many operations. This method involves the multiplication of public officers and the limitation of the freedom of both employers and employed. Let not the employee think that in practice it will all work in his favour, because in the nature of things this is impassible. He must therefore elect which he would prefer; either to be looked after by an ever-increasing official system, or else to have certain vicious laws and all taxes repealed, and government simplified, so that he can look after *himself* by obtaining a *real* chance of *self-employment*. The proposed reform, by affording him this alternative, would make "freedom of contract" an actual possibility.

Look at trades unions. In the first place, they entail a considerable cost for organisation, for strike funds, and for assistance to other associations, and this has to be met by a levy upon each member. Then the discipline which must be maintained places some restriction upon the individual freedom of members. In the event of a strike being entered upon, wages cease, and the funds are drawn upon to afford a bare maintenance; the production of wealth is stopped for the time being, and the trade is seriously disorganised—in some extreme cases it has been driven from a district or a country. Sometimes, as an alternative, the output in a trade has been artificially reduced, in the hope that scarcity would increase prices and wages. Such attempts are always doubtful of success, and are made at the expense of an evident present sacrifice. A reduction in the hours of labour, desirable as it is on many grounds, entails, under existing conditions, a sacrifice of production, and therefore of earnings. There is a point, undoubtedly, beyond which an extension of hours will not lead to an increased *manual* output, but this does not apply to the products of *machinery*. The limitation of the number of apprentices cannot be a permanent remedy for the evil at which it is aimed. It logically points to putting a certain number of our youth out of existence altogether. When brought to this point, it cannot obtain the assent of any organisation. The device is therefore stamped as a temporising expedient, and not as a genuine attempt to grapple in a far-seeing way with a present difficulty. The Opposition to free labour must stand in the same category. The fact of the existence of free labourers shows that there are a great many men outside of the organisations who consider themselves worse off than those who are inside, and they are consequently ready, whenever a strike occurs, to bid for the employment which has been vacated. While such free labourers exist,

and while trades unions are increasing the number of them by restricting boy labour in union trades, it is pretty evident either that the difficulty is insuperable, or that the efforts to cure it are misdirected.

Look, again, at the proposals of the Single Taxers, as explained in the chapter headed, "The Resulting Increase," etc. They propose, in the first place, that all taxes and local rates should be abolished. No one needs assuring that it would be a gain to him to cease to pay such imposts as he now pays *direct* in cash: but this cannot yet be said of *indirect* taxes which are collected through the Customs, and especially of such of their number as are imposed in order to encourage home industries. The latter point must be left to the consideration of each, according to his lights, but free trade must be understood by all to be involved in the Single Tax programme. But it is certain that the saving of taxes and rates would increase the purchasing power of everyone, and thus lead to more employment.

The next point is one upon which there is very little room for doubt. It is universally admitted that a tenant, by reason of his tenure being short, and because he is subject to various uncertainties, does not produce as much as he would if he was the owner of the land. It has been shown that landlordism would soon become extinct when ground rent was nationalised, and that a system of working proprietorship would succeed to it and take the place of tenancy. The result would be that production would become greater, owing to the improved conditions. Over-production need not be feared when general purchasing power is increased. But further than this, it is almost certain that a large proportion of the taxes saved by every one who used land would in the future be devoted to improvements. These in addition to requiring labour to bring them into existence, would enable the owner to add another instalment of annual increase to his productions and profits. How different is this *expansiveness* to the contracting influence of trades unionism, and how much brighter the prospect which it offers! A reduction of self-seeking antagonism, a relaxation of discipline, an enlargement of opportunity, and a certainty of better economic results, must follow. Unless the whole basis of the Single Tax can be upset, there appears to be no room for two opinions as to its being the better course open to wage-earners.

Recapitulation.

It will not be necessary to deal again with the first seven chapters, which contain a general description of the Single Tax proposals, positively, negatively, and by contrast. A great deal of controversy in the past has been caused by misconceptions of what is intended, and "country settlers" have been erroneously warned that they alone are intended to bear taxation. It may reasonably be hoped that some of these misapprehensions will be removed by the direct and plain statements made in the above-named chapters. It is proposed to tax no *improvements*, to allow no *exemptions*, and to impose no *graduated* or *absentee* tax. It would not *disturb freehold* titles.

With Chapter VIII. the argumentative portion of the pamphlet begins, and with Chapter XII. the "Existing Central Fault" of the present land system is reached and dealt with. This fault is stated to be the "*Private Monopolisation of Ground Rent.*" This is the point round which the battle must ultimately be waged after the opponents of the Single Tax have become convinced that misrepresentation and denunciation have had their day, and must be replaced by serious and deliberate criticism. The advocates *pro* and *eon.* must ultimately aim at convincing the public mind, on the one hand, that the "ground-rent fund" is properly a thing to be retained by inheritance or purchase by one section of the people; or, on the other hand, that it should *not be* so dealt with. Single Taxers make the latter assertion, and say that ground rent should always have formed the *public revenue*, and should never have been seized by a section of the people as *personal income*. This is the great issue in the question. This "recapitulation" will be purposely brief, in order that it may emphasize this point, and not draw the attention of readers upon any details, as if they were of any special importance.

It will only be necessary, therefore, to briefly run over the points of the argument against this "*private monopolisation of ground rent.*" The first is, that its existence accounts for that of the "landlord and tenant" system. Under this the tenant labours under the disadvantages of (1) a limited term; of (2) a rent which is often higher than present value, owing to the land having a prospect of becoming more valuable; of (3) uncertainty as to how much rent may be demanded for a renewal of the term: and, finally, a difficulty in realising the value of such improvements as he may add to the land or premises. This leads to imperfect cultivation or inefficient use on the part of all tenants. It is therefore injurious to them, and to the general interests of the community, by cramping and stunting the best use of land in the production of wealth and conveniences.

A second objection to "private monopolisation" is that it gives to land a selling value. This makes it impossible for some, and very difficult for many more, to become landowners, *i.e.*, to acquire the permanent use of land, subject to no man's caprice or dictation.

A third objection is that it makes it necessary to maintain public-services by levying taxes and local rates upon the whole people. If the ground-rent fund had not been seized by a section of the people and used as

private income, it would have been the most fitting and convenient source from which to derive all public revenue. It is created by the presence of the whole community, and not specially by that section which receives it. It grows as the community grows, and therefore keeps pace with its increasing requirements.

A fourth objection is that it presents this curious anomaly: that while a large portion of the people properly pay for the use of land, a small portion do *not* pay for it;—further than this, and stranger still, the *large* portion pays *to* the *smaller* portion. If *all* who use land paid for it annually to the *State*, and if the State used the money to defray the cost of *public services*, the plan would be intelligible and reasonable, and must commend itself to the intelligence and sense of justice of an impartial visitor—say, from another planet. But to tell such a person that the world belonged to any *section* of its inhabitants, and that the other section gave to it a portion of all its produce in return for permission to work, would strike him as monstrous. Chapter XL shows very briefly that it *was not always so* in England, and never so in Palestine under the Israelites.

A fifth objection is that the results of the system condemn it as inequitable, and therefore inexpedient. Its operation leads, not only to *reduced production*, but to such an *inequitable distribution* of the proceeds that the weaker and less provident people fall into poverty. It prevents the bulk of wage-earners from obtaining the alternative opportunity of employing themselves. Again, the use of *some* capital in buying up land and thus securing a share of the ground-rent fund has, moreover, led large numbers of people to believe that the use of *all* capital was antagonistic to labour. This has led to serious disputes between employers and employed, and has withdrawn attention from the real issue, which is between *landless people* and *landownership*. It should not be a *personal* antagonism, but a fight against a wrong *system*.

This "private monopolisation of ground rent," then, is the great issue. Single Taxers say that no elaborate system of purchase, of tenancy, or of regulation, can be effective so long as it conveys to the owner for ever, or to the tenant for his term of occupation, the increase of the ground-rent fund; or, on the other hand, fixes upon either of them the disadvantage of its possible future decrease. On the contrary, Single Taxers care not what detailed regulations are made about land tenure so long as the *one reservation* is made that all ground rent shall for the future be devoted to public revenue for the purpose of maintaining public services. When that is secured, nearly all of the present artificial restrictions, stipulations, and interferences will have become superfluous. No monopolisation of more than a man can use will then be attempted by him, no land will be left unused if there are enough people to require it, and no cultivation or use will be stunted by the imposition of conditions of uncertainty. They contend that no lump sum, and no annual payment fixed for a lengthened period, can equitably secure the possession or use of something which has such a very fluctuating value as land, and especially of something which is required by each succeeding generation. Especially would they denounce the latest development, which, only last year, made it possible for men, without even the need of purchasing it, to acquire the use of land for *ten centuries* ahead in consideration of paying an *unalterable* annual rent, fixed at a very *low* rate of interest upon *to-day's* value. This is the so-called "eternal" lease of the Ballance Land Act.

Various arguments used by the upholders of the present system, and some of their misapprehensions as to the effect of the proposed reform, have been dealt with. Amongst the latter, attention may with advantage be specially directed to the denial (1) in Chapter IX., that the taking of ground rent for public revenue would have the effect of entirely exempting a large section of the people from contributing: and (2) in Chapter XXVI., that the Single Tax would bring any *additional burden* upon land and thus lead to its disuse. It is argued, in addition, that ground rent is not a *burden* at all, but a payment for superior opportunity. The payment would be continued by tenants as at present, and would in future be imposed upon owners also.

Single Taxers charge the present system with hindering settlement in various ways, and they claim that their reform would greatly encourage and help it, and at the same time render all its operations more profitable, because more thorough. This claim must seem utterly paradoxical to people who have swallowed the assurance that the Single Tax would put the whole taxation upon land and landowners, and who believe that it would impose *additional* burdens on land. If *either* of these statements was correct, the result must be a hindrance to settlement; happily, they are *both erroneous*.

Finally, it may be pointed out that very little has been said herein to prove that there is a great difference between land and the products of man's industry. This is still frequently denied, and the consequent assertion made that both may with equal propriety be held as unrestricted private property. It is unnecessary to spend time over this point. The difference between the two things is emphatically pronounced by all our Land Acts. They restrict the amount of land which a man may buy or lease. In the case of leases, except the "eternal" ones, a provision for re-valuation is made, while residence conditions and stipulations for certain improvements are made in all. In many other ways we are told, as plainly as legal phraseology can put it, that land cannot be treated like the products of industry. Then, again, our Native Land Acts and our practice coincide in determining that on no account must natives be allowed to become landless. Reserves are set apart for them, which must remain inalienable as long as the Maoris exist. But if it is bad for natives to become landless, why not for men of our own race? The fact is, that it is bad for *both* races that any section of *either* should be so far

divorced from the soil as to be obliged to make terms with another section in return for permission to work on their own account. By common consent no such laws are made to regulate the sale and purchase of *commodities*. The absence of such laws is proof positive that *land* and *commodities* do *not*, in the public estimation, stand in the same position. A fear is implied in all our Land Acts that men will try to get hold of land for other purposes than a *personal use* of it. What induces them to do so? We all *know* what it is, and may as well frankly *avow* it. It is the desire to turn it to a profit as an article of merchandise—as a future lottery prize—or to make an investment of it which shall bring in ground rent to us without any necessity for working. We know quite well that this is *not* in the *public interest*, and therefore we make laws against it; and we have to confess that they have not been effective for the purpose desired. It is high time that we should act honestly in the direction of our convictions, and state plainly that we will for the future remove the *cause* which prompts to such evasion. The way to do this is to take the coveted fund for public purposes.

It may be fitting to wind up by repeating some of the benefits which, it is claimed, would be secured by the adoption of the proposed reform:

- It would secure to the user of land, and to every other worker, the full produce of his industry.
- It would prevent land being held for the sake of receiving the ground rent.
- It would prevent land being dealt with as a commodity, and as a
- lottery prize of the future. It would prevent land being held out of use. It would make life to depend upon work.
- It would afford to all the option of employing themselves or of seeking employment.
- It would make it easier for existing settlers to place their sons on land.
- It would increase the beneficial use of land.
- It would vastly add to improvements.
- It would lead to increased production of conveniences and wealth.
- It would prevent unjust distribution of these benefits.
- It would remove all existing public burdens.
- It would raise all future public revenue without imposing any burions.
- It would simplify and purify government, and greatly reduce the number of public servants.

Epilogue

(Spoken by "the Crows").

THE "Cause" OF ALL THE TROUBLE.

ONCE upon a time there was a man who owned a piece of land in the centre of a large town. This land was not built upon nor put to any use; for, said the man to himself, "the town is growing bigger every day, and the land is getting worth more and more each day, and though I can't use it myself I won't sell it to anyone else yet; I'll wait a bit." But people wanted to put the land to use, and kept asking him to sell it or lease it, and the man began to be bothered with their asking him. One day, when sitting in his country house, he saw a crow flying along, and enjoying the freedom from care the bird seemed to possess, he said, "How I wish I were a crow." To his surprise he found himself taken at his word, and that he really had been changed into a crow. He was, of course, very much puzzled, but could not change matters, and so he thought he would just make the best of it. Finding the sun was very warm, and seeing a wood a little way off, he flew towards it to shelter on the branch of a tree. But when he got near the tree another crow flew out and told him to go away; he must not come there, for that tree belonged to him. "How's that," said our friend, "the tree, was not made for you only; how can you say it belongs to you?" The other crow laughed. "Ask me something harder than that," he said; "why, I bought it, of course." "But how could anyone have the right to sell you, for your own use, a tree that was created for the use of everyone?" "Oh," said the second crow, "you don't understand, the crow I bought it from belonged to a *very* old family; his ancestors came over with Jim Crow, and the tree has been in possession of the family ever since that time." Tree after tree was tried by our friend, but all in vain: each tree was the private property of someone or other, and though there were enough to give shelter to all the crows in creation, he could not get as much as a branch to rest on.

Tired out with hunting for lodgings, he began to feel hungry. Close at hand there was a field in which men

had been reaping, and so he flew down to pick up a few grains of corn; but here again he was stopped: a few crows *owned* the field, and though food was lying around in plenty, these other crows would not let him pick up a grain of wheat, or even a worm, to keep himself from starving. Away he flew wearily over field after field, seeing food all around him, but yet not allowed to help himself. At last he came to a tree where a lot of miserable looking crows were, and he asked them what they were doing there. They told him they were "out on strike." When he said he did not know what that meant, they said that they had been working for some crows, but the wages they got were so small that they could hardly live, and so they were on strike for a rise. "Will you get it?" he said. "Well, they didn't know, for they had only a little food left, just enough to last them a few days, and then they would have to give in or starve." "But," said he, "there's enough and more than enough for all of you in these fields here, why don't you gather it?" "Oh, that land," said they, "does not belong to us, it belongs to So-and-so." "Did he make it," said our friend, "or did the crows he got it from make it?" "No," said the others, "of course not." "Then what right has he to it?"—but here a lot of other crows, some with their feathers painted blue, and others painted red, came flying down, and if our friend had not flown off, he would have been put in prison, or perhaps been killed, as "an agitator," "a socialistic crow," etc.

After a bit, when he was nearly fainting with hunger and fatigue, he came to some more crows, and asked them what he was to do in order to get food. "Why," they said, "you must find some crow who will give you work to do and pay you wages for it." After a lot of trouble he got work, and his work was gathering worms for another crow from early morning till late at night, and his wages were three small worms a day, and a bit of a tree to rest in. How many thousands are there in this country of ours who toil all day long making wealth for other people, and who get as their share three poor meals a day, and a miserable room to shelter them. It is the "private monopolisation of ground rent" that is the cause of all the trouble, and the programme of the ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY will go a long way to put these matters right.

Appendix.

Fifth Annual Report of the Auckland Anti-Poverty Society.

"Manifesto" of the English Land Restoration League.

"The Landlord's Claims on Society."

"The People's Jubilee."

"A Story about Wind-Lords."

NOTE.—We reprint the "Manifesto" and three of the Leaflets published by the ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE, to help our readers to realise the fact that this is no mere "Colonial" or "Country Settler's" question, but that it goes to the very root of the world-wide "social problem," and that the defeat of Landlordism in these Colonies will be but the prelude to its overthrow in Europe. Surely the thought of the emancipation of the wage-slaves of the Old World from their cruel and undeserved poverty should nerve us in our efforts to "lead the van" in this last and greatest struggle for "*the right*."

For the ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY,

F. G. Platt, HON. SEC.

Auckland

Anti-Poverty Society.

Fifth Annual Report.

IN presenting our Fifth Annual Report, we regret the necessity of adopting a somewhat apologetic tone. The question of Land Reform is no longer a novelty, and, several of our most active members having left Auckland, we have had to discontinue our regular public meetings for the present, and confine ourselves to the distribution of the literature of the Land Question and an occasional letter to the papers.

We might, indeed, be somewhat despondent if the principle for which we contend were one of "parish politics," or of merely local application; but, as the most radical and far-reaching of modern ideas, it is universal in its scope, and we must extend our survey beyond our own shores to gain any adequate idea of the flow of the tide of public opinion.

It is apparent to all who read and think that the "labour" question is the vital question of the day, and that "land" and "labour" are (figuratively speaking) the two sides of the social shield. The "labour side," being constantly turned towards us, attracts universal notice, and thus it is not surprising to find that most of those who deal with the question approach it on the "labour" side.

Convinced that the root of modern economic misery is to be found in the misappropriation of "*the land*," we contend that the true remedy is to be found only in restoring it to its proper function in the national economy.

It is self-evident that the proper function of the land is to furnish to all its inhabitants the natural opportunities necessary to enable them to produce wealth for themselves; and therefore it is one of the first duties of the State to take care that none shall use it as a means of taxing the wealth produced by others.

To do this it is not necessary to interfere with any man's property; it is only necessary to take annually for public purposes the annual value created by the public. The Single Tax alone will ensure to every man the full possession of his own liberty and property, by gradually appropriating public rent to public purposes, and thus cancelling the unjust and spurious value of the private taxing power hitherto held by the landlord.

It is to mighty London that we must look for the most vivid illustration of the iniquity of the landlord's taxing power, and we rejoice to find that it is London, also, that has shown most clearly during the past year the dawn of the idea of social justice on the land question.

In 1870 the gross rental of London was 22 millions sterling; this rental rises steadily year by year. In 1880 it was over 30 millions; it is now over 40 millions. Careful calculations prove that three-fifths of the gross rental is a full allowance for the yearly value of town and city improvements; the remaining two-fifths represent "*ground rent*." The honest rental of London, for which service is rendered in the shape of houses and improvements, is therefore 24 millions; the immoral tribute paid to the landlords, and for which no human service is rendered, is 16 millions annually! Every city and town in the kingdom pays tribute in similar proportion; the total tribute levied on the nation by the landlords in the form of "*ground rent*" being 150 millions per annum.

As it is in London that this frightful iniquity reaches its hugest development, it is fitting that London should lead the way to its abolition. This duty has been undertaken by the London County Council, in their "Owners' Rate Bill," which is now made a condition of proceeding with public improvements. This grand object-lesson on the principle of the Single Tax has been followed by Mr. Dalziel's bill for the taxation of ground values, with separate valuation of land, and power to levy rates thereon, and authorising tenants to deduct such rates from rent. The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes has recommended that the increased value of land arising out of building operations should be rated at 4 per cent, on its capital value.

These are cheering signs of the rising tide, which is destined to sweep the landlord's taxing power into the limbo of the past.

The power of wealth production has reached a point hitherto inconceivable; what is lacking is merely the power of distribution. The Socialists, in despair at the apparent complexity of the problem, would adopt arbitrary measures.

We say, Let "*labour value*" alone stand in exchange between man and man, and then distribution will be natural and just. We rest our whole case on the axiom that "*the ownership of land does not entitle any man to share in the produce, of labour*." This is the real issue, and it involves a mightier question than ever Luther raised. It is not one of forms of creed or modes of faith—no; it goes far deeper than any of these, for the social iniquity caused by Landlordism is forcing men to ask themselves whether there can indeed be "*a soul of justice at the heart of things?*" and on the answer to that question must depend the hope of all religion, or else a blanker atheism than man has yet dreamed of.

Landlordism stands condemned, not only on ethical grounds, or intellectual considerations—it stands condemned by its own fruits. It brings the abomination of desolation into town and country alike; the slums of English cities are living nightmares; the village life of England is perishing in pauperism and degradation. The London *Daily Chronicle* has lately employed a "Special Commissioner" to investigate and report on the conditions of rural life in England, and the result, as recorded in a little book just published ("*Life in Our Villages*"), constitutes the most crushing indictment of Landlordism conceivable.

We would urge the clergy to ponder this question, for it touches them closely. We hear of Christian Single Taxers who express themselves thus: "If it be indeed true that modern Christianity is in consonance with modern Landlordism, it will be necessary for us to reconsider our connection with such Christianity." We would point out that our cause has its adherents among all sections of Protestantism as well as in the ranks of the freethinkers. The Roman Church also counts them among her priests: it was a Roman priest (Father McGlynn) who, in 1887, founded the first Anti-Poverty Society in New York. It is true that he was afterwards excommunicated, and! hat the Pope issued an Encyclical Letter, which some of our local advocates of land monopoly (who would not take the Pope's word for a brass farthing on any other subject) were not ashamed to quote in defence of Landlordism!

The Papal Encyclical was fully answered by Henry George in his letter to the Pope "On the Condition of Labour," in which he recites the following declaration, made by Dr. Nulty, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, who thus sets forth the fundamental principle of the Single Tax: "God was perfectly free in the act by

which He created us: but, having created us, *He bound Himself by that act to provide us with the means necessary for our subsistence.* The land is the only source of this kind now known to us; the land, therefore, of every country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them; *terrain autem dedit filiis hominum* (the earth hath He given to the children of men). Now, as every individual in that country is a creature and child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of a country that would exclude the humblest man in that country from his share in the common inheritance would be *not only an injustice and a wrong to that man, but, moreover, would be an impious resistance to the, benevolent intention of hit Creator."*

It is satisfactory to know that the Pope has lately sent a special legate to New York to reinstate Dr. McGlynn in his priestly office, without his having recanted one word of his teaching on the land question.

We have thus every reason to be hopeful for the progress of our ideal in the old world, although the Socialists, who point only to the monstrous results of social iniquity, gain the popular ear more readily than we, who merely point out the simple (though hidden) cause of that iniquity, and its equally simple remedy.

In this Colony we rejoice that the tide has risen high enough to carry a Land Tax on to the Statute Book. It is indeed of a most imperfect and rudimentary character, but it shows that the idea is working; and it must be our endeavour to secure representatives who will insist on a measure which shall be not merely a half-hearted and tentative recognition of the Single Tax principle, but shall be fully and frankly based on that, principle.

In the meantime our greatest obstacles are apathy and misrepresentation, and we are happy to express our obligation to Mr. Edward Withy for the assistance he has rendered by his letters to the Press, which we had the pleasure of publishing in pamphlet form in September last, and also for a clear and concise exposition of the *rationale* of the Single Tax, which we hope to publish shortly.

For the Anti-Poverty Society,

ADAM KELLY, Vice-President.

F. G. PLATT, Hon. Sec.

vignette

Manifesto.

WHEREAS the English people have been gradually deprived of their rights in the soil of their native land:

And whereas the appropriation to the few of the land on which and from which the people of England must live is an efficient cause of dulness of trade, lowness of wages, the idleness of men who should be at work, the forcing of women and children to unnatural toil, the depopulation of agricultural districts, the crowding of city slums, the sapping of national strength by forced emigration, the physical and mental deterioration due to unwholesome employment and lodgings, and of the vice and crime that spring from poverty:

It is therefore the duty of all Englishmen to secure the restoration of England to its true owners, the people of England.

With this aim we ask the co-operation of all who agree to the following statement of principle and purpose:—

Land being the dwelling place, storehouse, and workshop of men—the natural element necessary to labour and life—it cannot be treated as the private property of individuals without enabling the idle to live upon the industrious, and giving to individuals undue control of the industry, happiness, and lives of their fellows.

The equal right of every citizen to life involves an equal right to the use and enjoyment of the land of his country. This right begins with birth, and terminates with death, attaching to each human being while he lives, and no longer: so that no number of individuals can justly grant away the equal right of other individuals to land, and no generation can grant away the rights of future generations.

While the land of every country, by indefeasible title, thus belongs in common to the living people of that country, unfettered by any grants, bargains, or sales made by preceding generations, it is equally manifest that the produce of labour rightfully belongs, by similar indefeasible title, to those whose industry and skill produce it. To secure this right of property in the produce of labour—a right which is necessary to the improvement and use of land—the user or improver of land must be guaranteed its secure possession, subject to the acknowledgment of the proprietary right of the whole people to the land itself, and to payment to the community of a fair equivalent for those advantages which attach to its use by reason of the growth and progress of the community. Therefore, the value of land as distinguished from the value of the improvements made upon it by the user—a value created not by the particular user or improver, but by the growth of the whole community—belongs rightfully to the community, and should be taken for public uses, leaving the producer the full recompense of his industry.

To secure the equal rights of all to their native land, while at the same time securing the full right of private property, it is therefore necessary to reassert the ancient English principle that land is not, and cannot become, the property of individuals, but belongs inalienably to the whole people, of whom all holders of land are tenants. In accordance with this principle, all rent for the use of land is due to the people, constituting a common fund, to the benefits of which all are equally entitled, and which may be used for the defrayal of common expenses, or for such purposes as the people, by such governments as they choose to create, may deem best.

As the easiest and best method of reasserting these ancient English principles, and restoring England to the ownership of the English people, we propose to reverse the process by which the landowning and law-making class have gradually escaped from the payment to the State of the rents and dues originally annexed to grants of land, and have thrown upon industry the burden of taxation.

We propose to abolish all the taxation which now bears upon labour, improvement and thrift, which increases the cost of commodities and enjoyments, and titles men for adding to the common wealth.

We propose to increase taxation on land until the whole annual value is taken for the public benefit; and, finally, to make the English people themselves the landlords of England.

As a first step to this end, we shall demand of our representatives in Parliament a re-imposition of the tax of four shillings in the pound on the current value of land, irrespective of whether it is rented, used, or kept idle by the holder. And we shall also demand, at the same time, a measure giving all local governments the power to collect rates from an assessment upon the value of land, exclusive of buildings or improvements, and irrespective of use.

We propose to achieve our end—the complete restoration of English land to the English people—as rapidly as may be. Yet such is the strength of the opposition to be overcome, that our progress must be gradual, during which ample warning will be given, and all interests be afforded opportunity to adjust themselves to the new order of things. The question of compensation is therefore a purely theoretical one. But since it has been raised, we prefer to meet it by declaring that we cannot tolerate the idea that the people of England shall be compelled to buy back the land which is theirs by natural right, or to compensate those who now appropriate their earnings for the loss of power to appropriate those earnings in the future. Whatever plan the classes who have profited by, and are responsible for, the existing injustice may choose to adopt to equalise among themselves any losses they may suffer in the restoration of the soil of England to the English people, we insist that those who have suffered, and are now suffering, from this injustice shall not be called upon to bear part in it.

The English Land Restoration League asks the co-operation of all who accept the principle thus set forth.

The Landlord's Claims on Society.

English Land Restoration League. (Leaflet No. 3.)

MANY years ago a company of tradesmen united themselves into a guild, and each one had to relate what he could contribute to its support.

First the blacksmith came forward and said:

"Gentlemen, I wish to become a member of your organisation."

"Well, what can you do?"

"Oh, I can make springs and axles for your carriages, shoe your horses, and make all kinds of implements."

"Very well, come in, Mr. Blacksmith."

The mason applied for admission into the society.

"What can you do, sir?"

"I can build your barns, bridges, houses, and stables."

"Very well, come in; we cannot do without you."

Along comes the shoemaker and says:

"I wish to become a member of your society."

"Well, what can you do?"

"I can make boots and shoes for you."

"Come in, Mr. Shoemaker; we must have you."

In turn all the trades and professions applied, till at last an individual came who wanted to become a member.

"And what are you?"

"I am a landlord."

"A landlord? And what can you do?"

"I can hunt and fish and win prizes at pigeon matches."

"But what do you do for a livelihood?"

"Oh, I take toll of all of you. The labourer pays me for the right to dig, the miner to burrow in the earth, and the bricklayer to build a house."

"But what can you do?"

"I can make your laws, and when I have made them I can administer them. If a man snares a hare I give him six months; if he shoots a snipe I give him three. I can drive men to desperation, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. I can prevent the erection of cottages, or the building of a Methodist chapel. I can look on, and take the larger share of the prosperity of the farmer, the shopkeeper, and the manufacturer; I can keep up an army of paupers."

"And what else can you do?"

"I can bring the grey hairs of the aged to the grave with sorrow; I can break the heart of the wife, and blast the prospects of men of talent and enterprise, and till the land with more than the plagues of Egypt."

"Is that all you can do?"

"Good heavens! is not that enough?"

The People's Jubilee.

The Bible and the Land Question.

English Land Restoration League. (Leaflet No. 9.)

A FEW years ago we were all talking of the "Jubilee."

What is a "Jubilee"? The Hebrew books which we call the Old Testament will tell us. The Bible Jubilee was not a "Queen's Jubilee," for the Hebrews were warned by their great religious and political teachers against the evils of monarchy (I. Sam. viii. 10). It was not celebrated by the erection of an "Imperial Institute," or of a "Church House," or by the passing of a Coercion Act. But it was the "People's Jubilee"; and it was kept by a great Act of Land Restoration.

The teaching of the Bible about the Land condemns Landlordism. There is only one land-lord—the God who created the land—and for any one of God's creatures to call himself a landlord is an act of blasphemy against God and of robbery against man. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." "The earth is the Lord's"—and not "the landlords'." "The earth hath He given to the children of men"—not to a few individuals, or a few thousand privileged families, but to the whole human race. "The land shall not be sold for ever (*i.e.*, 'in perpetuity 'or' in freehold ') for the land is Mine," saith the LORD, "for ye are strangers and sojourners with Me" (Levit. xxv. 23).

Such were the principles upon which the Mosaic Land Laws were based. The land itself cannot be the absolute property of any individual: it belongs to God alone. The use of the land belongs in equal right to all God's children—to the whole human race, and to every generation of it. "So that no number of individuals can justly grant away the equal rights of other individuals to land, and no generation can grant away the rights of future generations."

The Hebrews in Canaan carried out these principles in their own national life. As they all had equal rights to the land, they made an equal division of the common heritage (Numb. xxvi. 52). In fact they nationalised the land: that is, they gave effect in their law to the principle that the land was the common possession of the whole body of the people. And as they were a nation of farmers and shepherds, all wanting to work directly on the land, the best way of nationalising the land was to divide it equally among the people; though this would be by no means the best way, or a good way at all, in a commercial and manufacturing country like ours. They classed the man who tried to rob another of his equal right to the land among the vilest of criminals (Deut. xxvii. 14—26). "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen."

Thus, when the Hebrews began their national life in Canaan, they all "started fair." Every man had direct and free access to the soil upon which and from which all must live, and no landlord could compel him to pay rent for the right to live and work, for different would life be in England, which calls itself Christian, if every one of us had a "fair chance" of getting an honest living by his own industry.

But this same "fair chance" was equally the right of each new generation. And so every fifty years came the Year of Jubilee, to preserve and restore this just system of land nationalisation. If a man had lost his share in the national heritage—by carelessness, or drunkenness, or idleness, or misfortune—the law did not allow that his children should be condemned to live all their lives as outcasts and paupers. At the next Year of Jubilee they were restored to their rights, "all contracts of sale to the contrary notwithstanding." (See Levit. xxv.)

When a man lost his hold upon the land, he sank into the condition of a wage-slave; that is, he was obliged to go and work as a "hired servant" upon land belonging to someone else (Levit. xxv. 39-41). But the Year of Jubilee set the wage-slave free, by restoring to him his equal right to the use of the land. So, too, if we wish to set free the wage-slaves of our great cities from their grinding toil, we must work for the Restoration of the land to the People.

This is why the Year of Jubilee was called a year of liberty. "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a Jubilee unto you." True liberty does not exist where the land is the monopoly of the few; the man who owns the land practically owns the men who live upon the land. The wage-slaves in our English towns are often worse fed, worse clothed, worse housed, and harder worked than were the chattel slaves in the cotton fields of the Southern States. Landlordism is disguised slavery, and is the more dangerous because of its disguise. Perhaps this is why Moses, the Hebrew legislator, permitted slavery under certain severe restrictions, but would not permit landlordism under any conditions whatever.

Let those, therefore, who wish to bring about a real Jubilee—a Jubilee of the people—join the English Land Restoration League, which is working for the abolition of landlordism.

Let us say through our Members in Parliament what the Hebrew statesman Nehemiah said to the landlords of his day:—

"Restore, I pray you, to them, Even this Day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them."

Will English landlords answer as honestly as did the Hebrew landlords before them?

"Then said they, we will Restore them, and Will Require nothing of them; so will we do as thou sayest" (Neh. v. 11-12). F. V.

A Story about Wind-Lords.

English Land Restoration League. (Leaflet So. 18.)

"It is related that a certain Eastern potentate fell into the impecunious condition common to many of his predecessors, and set his wits to work to devise a remedy. A farmer of impost, who had often aided him in this dilemma, came to his rescue. He offered him sixty thousand tomans for all the winds that should ever blow over Cashmere. The monarch at first affected to be staggered at the proposition. He was unable to find anything in precedents to warrant it, but although a believer in the doctrine that whatever is right, he was forced to admit that a monarch may introduce useful innovations. Of course it was assumed that he was the supreme owner and disposer of all things in his dominions, not only for his own brief, erratic span of life, but for all time, and so he came to the conclusion that as everything in the world had been sold which could be sold, there was no good reason why the winds, unstable though they might be, should be exempted if a purchaser could be found. After a proper amount of preliminary haggling, a sale was made, and the transaction legalised by all that signatures, seals, and parchment could do for it.

"Before the public had fairly got over laughing at the absurdity of this novel bargain, the owner of the wind issued a proclamation forbidding all persons in Cashmere from using his wind to turn their windmills, winnow their corn, propel their vessels, or employ it in any other manner, until they had first entered into agreements with him, and obtained leases for the various localities, covenanting to pay certain amounts for the privilege. Then the laughing turned to lamentation. The monarch met the torrent of petitions and complaints by affecting to deplore the circumstance. He could not foresee, of course, all that had occurred, but his sacred word was involved. Rulers of that type are usually very particular about their sacred word. Driven to desperation, the inhabitants contributed the amount that had been paid for the wind, and tendered it to the sovereign, so that this unheard-of transaction could be cancelled.

"The matter was not to be so easily arranged. The owner of the winds of Cashmere would not think of such a thing. He had acquired a vested right in them. Since it had become purchasable the wind had greatly risen—in price at least. Wind stocks were on the upward market. The owner insisted that his title was good. He did not claim it merely by his right of discovery of the commercial value of the wind, or that he had been the first to pre-empt this privilege, but he had fairly bought it from the representative of government, and declared that his title was begirt, and founded on all that was sacred in law on the theory of eminent domain and supreme authority. It would be altogether unfair to ask him to surrender this valuable privilege for anything less than what it might bring him in case he should be allowed to *keep* it. The proposition of the people was merely a bald scheme of robbery. It was subversive of all property rights; was socialistic, agrarian, and revolutionary: and to force him to accept of a price so inadequate would strike a fatal blow at the best interests of society, and undermine the whole fabric on which the rights of property rested.

"This reasoning was, of course, entirely conclusive to the monarch, who was undoubtedly the confederate of the fanner of imposts: but, as human endurance can only be stretched to certain limits, it was agreed between them that a fair price for the winds, at that date, would be ten times what was originally paid for it. This amount was finally raised by a long-suffering people, who merely exacted a promise from the commercial monarch that he would never sell the wind again, but permit it in God's providence to blow over them free and unrestricted as of yore."

How absurd this tale appears! But, when we have done laughing at these foolish people of Cashmere, let us remember that Laud is at least as necessary to life and labour, and is quite as much the free gift of Nature, as are the Winds of Heaven. Yet we have foolishly allowed nearly all the land (and a good deal of the water) of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, to become the private 'property' of individuals; and some of these are now demanding 'Compensation' before they will allow the people to use their own.

[For the little story quoted above we are indebted to Mr. W. A. Phillips' "Labour, band, and Law: A Search for the Missing Wealth of the Working Poor." (New York: Scribner). The idea of making a charge for the use of the wind is not so extravagantly absurd as may at first sight appear. Many people now living can recall the time when the very light of Heaven was taxed to pay for war. The people were deprived of ventilation as well as of light by the Window Tax, for it was forbidden to knock a hole in the wall of a room in case light should enter as well as "wind."]

All who are willing to aid in circulating leaflets on the Land Question are earnestly requested to communicate with Fredk. Verinder, Secretary of the English Land Restoration League, 8, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W,C, from whom specimens and all information may be obtained.

vignette

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Front Cover

Notes on the Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary,
Of MR. E. Tregear, F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., M.A.I.G.B., M.PH.S., &C., &C.
BY A. S. Atkinson.

Being a Paper Head before the Nelson Philosophical Society, April 11th, May 16th, and Dec. 12th, 1892.
Nelson Bond, Finney, and Co., Printers, 'Colonist Office,' Waimea-Street,. 1893.

Notes on "the Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary."

THE MAORI POLYNESIAN COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY. By Edward Tregear, F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., &c.
Wellington—Lyon & Blair.

It has been said of some books, that difficult as they may have been to write they were as difficult to review. But this is a dangerous plea for the amateur reviewer with which to cover his own shortcomings, since it might well be replied, *a priori*, that a master of his subject may write even easily, what an outsider with a reasonable suspicion of his own ignorance, would find great difficulty, and without such a suspicion great peril, in criticising. And there is moreover, in the case of Mr Tregear's Dictionary, the practical answer, that several critics, all presumably more or less learned, did in fact review it, and were able to ascertain and declare its merits within a very short time of its publication. Even more than this—sufficient as we must suppose their investigation to have been, most of them did not apparently find, in a book of some 700 pages, any defect to which it was worth calling the serious attention of those they were addressing.

Nevertheless, cost what it may, I must confess that I have felt great difficulty, indeed many difficulties, in dealing with this book, although, instead of an adequate review for which I am not qualified, I have undertaken only to comment upon certain parts and aspects of it. That I have left other parts and aspects unnoticed, or but little noticed, is according to the conditions on which I undertook this paper.

Mr. Tregear presents his work to us as two-fold.

See circular advertisement issued with the book,

It is intended to serve as a Maori dictionary in the ordinary sense, but with many additional words, and with certain new features—notably the inclusion of mythological persons and places, a manifest improvement: and it is also as he puts it somewhat generally, "philological"; but this is explained to mean that "for the first time the student of Maori will be enabled to ascertain the original value of a native word by comparing it with its sister words in the other dialects of the Polynesian language; a reader may now readily ascertain whether the New Zealander has kept the primitive sense of a word, or whether it has received a local warp." That is a good deal, the more especially as the author's help to the reader is merely the collocation of so many contemporary words.

But more than that—with only the same help—"the European student will by means of this lexicon be in a position to compare the Oceanic tongues with the languages of the great continents, as the grouping together of vital words permits the most uncorrupted form to be discriminated and adopted."

The book, then, if it fulfils the high aims of its author, may be called two works in one, a Maori dictionary and a comparative dictionary of Maori and other Oceanic languages. To do either of these as it should be done, might well occupy several competent men for several years. If Mr. Tregear, single-handed and as a bye-work, in the leisure of a few years, has done both and done them well, it will be agreed that he has made not only a big book, but under the circumstances, a great one. The crucial question is as to its quality; and to this I will shortly return.

Of the difficulties he met with in the Maori part of his dictionary Mr. Tregear does not say much, but his clerical labours alone must have been severe if he had as a beginning to copy out "the 7000 words, with their meanings, which have hitherto been included in the authentic lists": the last curious phrase being, I presume, a delicate euphemism for Archdeacon William's Dictionary, though including no doubt the two or three hundred valuable words given in Dr. Shortland's works. Hardships of this kind seldom, luckily, fall to the lot of even the most hapless author. Yet this was a small part of the merely mechanical labour involved, to say nothing of the higher kinds. In a paper (Trans. N.Z.I, xxiii. 532) published apparently about the time of the completion of the work, Mr. Tregear has occasion to mention his own "untiring industry," and the candid reader will justify the compliment.

As to the difficulty of the 'comparative' part of his task, Mr. Tregear speaks with entire frankness of its stupendous character. "Several attempts," he says (p. ix.) "have been made to produce a Comparative Polynesian Dictionary, but so gigantic was the labour, so enormous the mass of material, that the compilers have shrunk back appalled in the initiatory stages of the work, and all that remains of their efforts has "been a few imperfect and unreliable pages of vocabulary "scattered here and there through books treating of the Malayan "and Pacific Islands."

It may be appropriate here to interject that if the foregoing is a fair account of the quality of the work of Mr. Tregear's predecessors, our regret at the smallness of its quantity will be itself as small. But one is tempted to ask, who were these early compilers, as pusillanimous as they were rash, who on the very threshold of a great work shrank back appalled into their native obscurity, terrified, as it seems, into silence at the mere sight of what they had undertaken? Mr. Tregear is not of their kind, but, from a feeling of delicacy no doubt, does not name them; and I only refer to them from fear lest they should be identified with others of a very different kind whose works indeed are the only ones I happen to possess containing some short comparative vocabularies of Oceanic languages, travellers I mean, and missionaries, such as Capt. Cook (and his assistants), J. Craufurd, the Rev. G. Turner, A. E. Wallace, and last but not least, Dr. Codrington; men who, though having other objects in view, have in fact acted as pioneers of learning, going where alone particular forms of knowledge were to be had at firsthand, and bringing back, amongst much else of value, what they could of this kind; thus supplying to the comparative philologist, a more or less substantial part of his material.

But, passing that by, and willingly admitting what is indeed too obvious for discussion—the great labour involved in a work of this kind—I will return to the preliminary question I proposed, a question all important to the New Zealand student, and to the foreign scholar, who would use Mr. Tregear's Dictionary as a work of reference: can it be taken as trustworthy, and authoritative? Does it, as far as it goes, present to us genuine well-arranged knowledge, and nothing else? and does it fairly represent the work and views of the highest Maori, Polynesian, and Oceanic scholarship?

This evidently implies and suggests the further question:—Is Mr. Tregear duly qualified for the high work he has undertaken?

The question may seem unnecessary—I hope not invidious—to those who are acquainted with Mr. Tregear, especially to those who, like the members of our Metropolitan Scientific Society, may be said to have already answered it in the affirmative, and—may I say?—with acclamation, bestowing upon him their highest honour about the time of the publication of his Dictionary, and at the end of his year of office putting on record a special commendation of his book. But though myself only a student of Maori, not a Maori scholar, still less a Polynesian scholar, I claim a strong interest in the progress of Maori and Polynesian scholarship, and in that interest, I think, the question should be asked and fully considered.

Now, whatever other qualifications besides industry Mr. Tregear may have or may want, he is certainly an enthusiast. If he has not hitherto been known in connection with questions of exact scholarship in Maori or other Oceanic languages, he has long been known as keenly interested in certain Polynesian questions which he has prosecuted—in his own way no doubt, and with varying success—but always with enthusiasm. And this enthusiastic temper of mind by its very nature induces him to take a large and generous view of the importance of the work he is upon, and, incidentally, of his own share in it. Remembering this, the reader will perhaps be able to see clearly, and to justify, certain points in the book which might otherwise seem obscure, or even open

to animadversion.

Indeed, the note of enthusiasm, as I may call it, is struck in the very first word in the book if we may take it as beginning with the title-page. It is common, I believe, among lexicographers to use the indefinite article in the title of their dictionaries; to take a New Zealand instance, Bishop and Archdeacon Williams call theirs "A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language"; treating it as one of a class, although at the time of its publication, the rest of the class may have had only a potential existence. But this practice, derived merely perhaps from a blind literary instinct, does not hinder Mr. Tregear from taking an independent view of his own work, as one by itself, requiring therefore the definite article: it is called accordingly "*The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*," and when fully examined, I believe, it will be found to have characteristics entitling it to be called unique.

And in the same way as Mr. Tregear's work is not *a* dictionary, but *the* dictionary; so Mr. Tregear is not *an* author of it—one of three or more—one who has built on the foundation, or enlarged the building of others, but *the* author, who alone in any true sense can claim, and therefore whose name alone receives, a place on the title-page.

It must not, however, be inferred from this that Mr. Tregear is under no obligation to others, or that he makes no acknowledgment of his obligations. In his Preface (p. xii.) he says:—"I have to thank certain authors for the advantages I have received from their works, and without which I should have been unable to present my dictionary in so complete a form. First of these valuable books is Williams' *New Zealand Dictionary*. Although I have made considerable additions to the stock of Maori words, the work of Bishop and Archdeacon Williams (father and son) has been the basis of my structure, as it has been for many years the authority and reference for all Maori and English translators. Its fidelity and usefulness "is so widely recognised that no word of praise from me would "raise it in public estimation."

He then names a large number of other authors and friends to whom thanks are due, and concludes with a merited compliment to his publisher, Mr. J. R. Blair. "To his enterprise," he says, "I owe the fact that I am able to present a technical book bristling with typographical difficulties in a manner the accuracy of which is a credit to the publishing "firm and to this young colony." The modest list of *corrigenda* issued with the book supports this view, since it shows only ten words wrong in 699 closely printed pages; and though that list will, as I believe, have to be multiplied many times in the Maori part alone, the compliment is well deserved; the errors which are fairly numerous throughout the book, seem to be rarely those of its printer.

I will pause here a moment to say that, if I understand-him rightly, it is easy to confirm the truth of Mr. Tregear's statement just quoted, that without the advantages derived from the works of the authors whom he thanks he would have been "unable to to present his Dictionary in so complete a form." Seeing that without these he would have wanted" practically all his Maori words, by far the greater part of all his other Polynesian and his Melanesian words, practically all his Polynesian and Melanesian mythology, not to mention other things, say perhaps 95 per cent. of his book, it is evident, unless I have seriously mistaken the position, that in saying without all this his dictionary would not have been so complete, he was well within the truth.

The acknowledgment, however, of obligation to other authors mentioned above, is subject to a most material qualification, which puzzled me greatly, but which, no doubt, is referrible to the same enthusiastic view of the whole matter of which I have spoken. In an earlier part of the Preface than that quoted Mr. Tregear, in a few forcible words defines the nature if not the extent of his indebtedness to others. He says (p. x.; the italics are mine):—"Farther on I have thanked those authors and those friends from whom I have received assistance. *This refers to the raw material only*. In collecting the vocabularies, in searching for comparisons, in making quotations for examples, in the compilation, *in the whole of the philological and literary work I have been unassisted*."

Evidently then, those who have contributed only the raw material, whatever the mere quantity of this may have been, could not reasonably expect to rank with the one man who has done all the skilled work in the book, all the philological and literary work it contains; whose skill and learning, that is, have converted the crude mass into the artistic article we have in the Dictionary; nor, therefore, can they or any of them complain that their names do not appear with his on the title-page. This view has, it seems, been tacitly countenanced if not consciously acquiesced in by those learned writers and speakers who in the Press and before scientific societies have given most laudatory notices of Mr. Tregear's book without so much as a reference to that of Bishop and Archdeacon Williams. Otherwise they could hardly have avoided mention of a work which has supplied, and commonly by the simplest of all literary processes, the great bulk of all the Maori words and meanings Mr. Tregear has given us in the corresponding part of his work. Or is it possible that these learned critics, or some of them, had not yet gone so far in their study of the Maori language as to know of the existence of the only Maori dictionary?

So far I have seen only two notices of Mr. Tregear's work in which Williams' Dictionary was mentioned, and one of these, so far as it went, was not laudatory. [Since this was written I have seen a review of the book in

"The Australasian" (Feb., 1892), which is not only laudatory, but contains the sincerest flattery, since one half consists of echoes of Mr. Tregear's Preface and Introduction. It points out that he acknowledges his great obligations to Williams' Dictionary, &c., and adds, "But such acknowledgments relate to the 'raw material only,'" confirming thus the view I had previously arrived at on that noteworthy point.]

One word more upon the title-page. When I found as it seemed to me, partly from Mr. Tregear's admission, partly from comparison of the two books in many places, that he had in his enthusiasm borrowed and reprinted the whole of Archdeacon Williams' Dictionary, which, as I suppose, seemed suitable, all the words, very nearly all the meanings, and some of the examples, I confess I was surprised; the more especially as I had heard it reported, some two or three years before, that Archdeacon Williams was himself preparing a new edition. However, the thought occurred, that Mr. Tregear was perhaps inaugurating a new era in the literature of learning, anticipating somewhat that general social millennium which is no doubt coming, though not yet here, when a man's rights will be measured by his needs, and his duties by the needs of others, when he who has will give, and he who wants will take; and that as he had freely borrowed, so he would as freely lend; that his work, in short, would be at the service of any subsequent lexicographer who, desiring to make his own dictionary a little more complete, should have the wish and the industry to copy out Mr. Tregear's as a beginning. But then, looking at the foot of the title page, I was saddened to find the ominous formula guarding the copyright, and warning the hasty that the *literary* millennium at all events had not yet arrived, and, in New Zealand at least, and so far as concerned Mr. Tregear's work, was not, for the present, to be anticipated. I trust, however, this may not prevent Archdeacon Williams from re-borrowing his own, if, as I hope, he is in fact preparing another edition.

To return now to the last question proposed. Industry and enthusiasm Mr. Tregear certainly has: but these are of very general value and application; has he the special qualifications—not easily found—which are needed in the writer of a Maori dictionary which is also comparative? First, or among the first, of these is evidently a thorough knowledge of at least that one of the compared languages which is treated as the standard of comparison—in this case Maori. And this knowledge should, I presume, include both the practical knowledge of it, such as an educated Maori, one who knows the lore of his own people, has of it; and such a scientific knowledge of it, as a student of the science of language would gain who studied it in its relation to other languages of the same family, and if possible in the light derived from the habit of similar studies. By study of this kind I do not mean the looking through two, or more vocabularies for words spelt more or less alike, putting them down beside each other, and there stopping. This simple form of comparative philology in the case of languages, or dialects of one language, as closely akin as all the members of the Eastern Polynesian group are to each other, is, I can easily believe, a useful if not a necessary first step in the matter, but a first step only, analogous to the carter's or hodman's share in a building. What I mean by study here includes not only the first step towards a comparison but the effective comparison itself; it includes in particular an investigation of the structure of the language, an analysis of it so as to ascertain what may be called its fundamental facts, and a classification of these facts showing them, at least provisionally, to be subject to law, that is within the domain of science. Evidently also, one who would assume the place of a foremost authority and teacher of the language, is bound to know, as included in the foregoing, the best that has been written about it by those who have known it best, both practically and theoretically.

Has Mr. Tregear such a knowledge as this of the Maori language?

In the case of some authors—Archdeacon Maunsell for instance, or Dr. Shortland—their record would be a sufficient answer to such a question. If either of these venerable Maori scholars had published a Maori dictionary, no one, I am sure, would doubt that it would be invaluable. But I do not think I shall be contradicted when I say that, previously to the publication of his dictionary, Mr. Tregear had no such record. Not that he was by any means unknown as a writer on Maori and Polynesian subjects, and his writings showed an extensive use of vocabularies and much speculative philology, of which the predominant features were simplicity and boldness. But so far as I could judge, the discussion or exposition, on its linguistic side, was conducted hardly, if at all, upon the plane of scholarship—the test being, as it seemed to me, that learning, though it might give greater facility, was not essential for carrying on the comparative philological process or for judging of its results; the appeal was not to the learning of the reader, but to his eye, and his uninstructed imagination.

In 1885, some five or six years before the completion of his dictionary, Mr. Tregear published his two earliest works on these subjects: *The Aryan Maori* and *The Maori in Asia*. They at once made him famous among those who concurred in his views of the aims and methods of philology. Nevertheless I should not have referred to them, I should have thought it hardly humane to do so, but for the fact that the first and principal one is cited in this dictionary as an authority, and has a special "abbreviation" of its own for readier reference—an honor not conceded to such works as Archdeacon Maunsell's *Grammar* or Dr. Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*. No one I believe would be able to infer from these earliest writings or those which followed, that Mr. Tregear's knowledge of Maori was then either extensive or exact; grammatical questions were not dealt

with, and—subtract Williams' Dictionary from them—there would be practically no vocabulary left. It may indeed be queried from the evidence those writings afford whether of what he had then learnt he had not a good deal to unlearn. If any Maori scholar or student doubts this I will ask him to look at them for himself. I shall here only indicate the nature of the proof by two facts;—First (Ar. M. p. 9.) Mr Tregear tells those "wholly unacquainted with the Maori language," that "the vowels are to be pronounced as in French, thus: *mere* like the English *Mary*: *Kati* as if written *Kah-tee*; and the *u* like *oo*, as *patua*, like *pa-too-ah*; * * * *haere* (the *ae* like English *eye*)," &c. On this I would say in passing that I understand some of the French vowels vary much according to accent and other circumstances, and it seems hardly fair to a poor person wholly unacquainted with Maori, even if knowing a little French, to turn him loose among; the several sounds to choose for himself without a hint to guide him. Long ago Archdeacon Maunsell compared the Maori *e* to to a French *e*, but that was the *e* of *café*. As to *mere* being like "Mary," I should say that the two *e*'s of the former are exactly alike barring a slight stress on the first, while in "Mary" the *a* is certainly not like the *y*, nor is either like the short Maori *e* of *mere*. Again, if Maori *u* is the same as French *u* and English *oo* (of *too*), the French referred to must surely be of "the school of Stratford atte Bow," Lastly, if in Maori you know the sound of each vowel, you know the sound (apart of course from length and stress) of every possible combination of them; but supposing a pupil of Mr. Tregear's of the pre-dictionary days were to give a Maori recitation in which the vowels and their combinations were given (in some sort) their French sounds, would a Maori listener know he was hearing his own language? Secondly, among the proverbs of which he gives amended translations to make them support the Aryan theory of the book, is this one:—*Me he toroa ngungunu*, which Mr. Colenso, from whom it was taken, translates "Like an albatros folding its wings up neatly," Mr. Tregear's amended version (*At: M. 77*) is:—"Lest the bull bite you." Now, ignoring the unusual mode of attack suggested on the part of the bull, and allowing the author's subjective views of the form and meaning of Maori words 4000 or 5000 years ago, to stand for the objective facts he thought they might be, allowing also for the grave perturbation necessarily caused by the presence in an enthusiastic mind of a theory then about to revolutionize philology, I am still unable to conceive how Mr. Tregear's meaning could be got from these four Maori words. Possibly others may have more success. If not, the difficulty probably arises from the author's relying upon pre-Vedic Maori syntax as much as on pre-Vedic vocabulary: he gives us some glimpses of the latter; upon the former he is wholly silent.

Whether at the time of the publication of these earliest works he was acquainted with more than a few words of the other Polynesian languages does not appear; his later papers shew a more extended acquaintance, but of the same kind. His method also remained in substance unchanged.

The conclusion then seems to me clear that the proof of Mr. Tregear's qualifications for the great work he has undertaken—whether as to his knowledge of the languages, or of the elementary scientific principles involved in their investigation and comparison—is not to be found in his previous writings, but must be sought for in the dictionary itself. It will add greatly to the wonder of this last, if it appears, that, starting with the modest equipment disclosed in his earliest writings, he has in the leisure of five or six years, and while actually writing his dictionary, acquired such a mastery of the Maori language, and such a sufficient knowledge of the other languages and of the technicalities of his work, as were absolutely needed to enable him to do that work competently.

I propose now, in the first place, to offer some general criticisms upon the book, looking at it more especially as a Maori dictionary, and then to examine parts of it in some detail.

But first I will say a few words on a part of it not hitherto included in a Maori dictionary, but very rightly added by Mr. Tregear—the mythological. This seems to me the best part of book; in it the author has made a very useful beginning of what is essential to understanding not Maori history only but the ways of thought of the people and a large part of their language. But its value I think is seriously lessened by the fact that Mr. Tregear does not sufficiently sift his authorities and the materials they supply. The rule seems to be: A legend is a legend, and entitled to rank as genuine if it is printed in the works from which the author draws his information. This may be generally true, but it is inevitable that these stories should be of very varying degrees of value as evidence of the real and complete tradition and belief of the Maori people on the matters related, according to the persons from whom they came, and the times at which and the persons by whom they were written down: at least some effort should have been made to classify and sift them, and if this could not be done the reader should have been sufficiently warned. The class of most-learned among the Maoris was, I suppose, always a small one, and is now probably all but extinct; while even the half-learned are being rapidly displaced by the all-but-ignorant. Moreover, it is impossible that an intelligent and imaginative people like the Maoris should live for many years in what I may call the neighbourhood of the Bible (which they have long had in their own language), and beside, and in part amongst, an English community, without acquiring and assimilating a large number of new facts and notions, even new ways of thought, which would in part at least, soon seem old; and without learning and mixing with their old vanishing legends, events, and characters from histories, foreign

of course in incident, but still more so in purpose and conception. Sir George Grey in his invaluable collection of Maori poems (p. 13) has preserved one in which the Saviour and Tumatauenga, the Maori god of war, hold the same position in successive verses. In 1862, at the raising of the King's flag at Mataitawa,

At which, I believe, Mr. Parris, Native Commissioner, and I, on his invitation, were the only Europeans present.

the attendant ceremonies comprised some of their old *karakia* and part of the Church Service. The Pai Marire religion afterwards called Hauhau, first promulgated by Te Ua in the same year, had in the beginning its Trinity: "Atua Matua Pai Marire; Atua Tamaiti Pai Marire; Atua Wairua Tapu, Pai Marire; rire, rire, hau" Its prayers were an absurd jumble of Maori and English

I had a copy of one given me by a believer beginning: "Porini Hoia Tewhera Teihana!" These are the English words (a little disguised), Fall-in Soldiers, Devils, attention I The quotation in the text is also from a Maori *MS.* of the time in my possession.

; but were meant and taken with the utmost seriousness: I lost sight personally of its late developments. The history of any of the Maori "prophets," Te Ua, Te Kooti, Te Whiti, and others, would give abundant illustrations both of the conscious and the unconscious adoption of the foreign element. Some noteworthy examples are to be found even in that great storehouse of Maori tradition, White's *Ancient History of the Maori*.

The Maoris, I believe, have genuine traditions of probably several Moods. But in *A.H.M.*, I. Chap. xii. there is another flood-story, besides other stories of wholesale and purposeless destruction, and a number of two or three-line biographies of pious or wicked Maoris, all evidently by the same hand, and all evidently composed or completely recast in the light—if light it may be called—of half understood and dimly remembered Bible teaching and phrases; the names are Maori, the scenes and point of view sometimes Maori, sometimes pseudo-Christian, often a confusion of the two. In this Maori version of the Noachian flood when the human race is about to be destroyed, a few virtuous persons make themselves a great raft of *totara* and other trees tied together with supplejacks and creepers, and having on it a wooden house stored with fern-root, kumara and dogs for food—then they pray for rain upon their neighbours, and it is sent in such quantities that all men but themselves are drowned; they drift about on the waters for seven months when the flood begins to subside; during the eighth they land, offer sacrifices to all the gods, and lastly, see the rainbow in the sky, which concludes the matter. And what are the reasons for the flood? Such surely as no sane Maori could have conceived a century ago:—Men were wicked; they were in the habit of fighting; and they would not listen to the preachers of the doctrines of Tane! The "doctrines of Tane," as I understand, being the well-known story that he had lifted up the sky from off the earth on which it was lying, either with his shoulders, or by standing on his head and kicking it up with his feet! Whereas these sinful sceptics openly declared that the sky and earth were as they always had been; that Tane had actually done nothing; and the preachers might eat their own sermons for food—worse still, the very worst of all according to the historian, they might even eat the heads of their sermons—a great curse it seems, for though to an Englishman the heads of a sermon, however numerous, would seem a less serious matter than the sermon itself, to a Maori any hostile or contemptuous reference to a head in which he was interested, might be highly dangerous.

Mr. Tregear (p. 558) says of this story: "The most consecutive and valuable account of a deluge relates that evil being everywhere triumphant in the world, Parawhenuamea and Tupunuiata preached to wicked mortals in vain, and that the holy doctrines of Tane and the teaching as to the separation of Rangi (Heaven) and Papa (the earth) were derided." On this I will say that Mr. Tregear must have been in his most enthusiastic mood when, improving on his original he wrote of the *holy* doctrines of Tane, whether these are to be taken as meaning narrative or incantations. According to the Maori view Tane is as much concerned with holiness, as dirt is like sunshine.

But Mr. Tregear's scepticism—I am afraid even his critical judgment—is not easily aroused. Fornander, his great predecessor in the Aryan-Maori theory, and to whom in the matter of Polynesian mythology and otherwise, he is more indebted perhaps than the reader can easily gather from his pages, boldly takes fidelity to the Chaldean or Hebrew original as one test of merit in, among others, a certain Marquesan flood-story—Mr. Tregear apparently takes the same view though he does not obtrude it. He speaks of this same story as "by far the best preserved evidence of the possession of an antique belief in a great flood." Here again, as in Tane's case, it will, I think, be found that his enthusiasm has improved on the original, and Fornander's translation of it, by entitling the Lord Ocean (i.e., the sea whose overflow caused the flood) the "Divine Being."

Now, I will ask you to contrast with the sketch just given of what may be called Noah's flood in New Zealand, and especially with the reasons for it, a short sketch of what I believe in its main outlines to be a genuinely Maori flood-story, known as the Tide or Flood of Ruatapu. It is from the *Ancient History*, Vol. III. This Ruatapu was a mythical hero or demi-god, younger son of the more widely known Uenuku, but his mother was a captive and so had lost her rank. He had seriously offended Uenuku by using the latter's sacred comb on his own inferior head, and Uenuku had abused him for it in a most degrading way, calling him a man of no

birth, a nobody, and so on. Of course according to Maori notions of honour and morality, such an insult justified if it did not demand some signal vengeance. But there was not the least need that this should fall directly upon the offender. It was certainly not necessary, and would not, I think, have been strictly proper, for Ruatapu to kill his father with his own hand; it was quite enough, and quite right, if he could punish him indirectly, at whatever cost to others who had not offended. He therefore built a large canoe, invited the principal young chiefs (to the number of 140) to go with him on its first voyage, and having got them far out to sea, he contrived to drown or spear all of them but one, who swam ashore, and whom he charged to caution the people there that he should be with them (to drown them too) in a certain month; and accordingly in that month he appeared as a great wave, which drowned all then on the land except those who, acting on his message, had ascended a certain mountain he had named. It need not surprise us that among those saved was Uenuku, the occasion of all the destruction.

Comparing the last story with the first it will be seen, that, different as they are in incident, there is a much deeper difference still. The motive, the formative idea of the one, comes from a moral world radically distinct from that of the other—and it is to a difference of this kind that I should attach most weight in deciding a question of common or diverse origin.

But though, as I think, Mr. Tregear is too ready to accept as genuine Maori tradition what on the present evidence I must hold to be mainly reminiscences of the Bible narrative of Noah's flood, it is only fair to say that he is not willing to accept Noah himself as an ancestor of the Maori people, though the name of the patriarch in fact appears in one of the Maori genealogies which he prints at the end of his Dictionary! The author's note on this is no doubt just. He says (p. 667.): "The introduction of the name of Noa (Noah) instead of Kaitangata as the father of Hema is only a foolish perversion of missionary teaching, confounding Hema with Shem!" This as I said is just. The fact shows that the "foolish" Maori had been arguing with himself (just as if he had been a young New Zealand philologist) that, as the name Hema was so like the name Shem, they must be the same name and stand for the same man; and (changing to the Maori line of argument) as the whitemen knew more than the Maoris about Shem, and they said Shem's father was Noah, his father must have been Noah, and not Kaitangata as the Maoris used to say when they knew no better. It shows also how much Mr. Tregear's readers may gain when he allows his critical faculty free play. And lastly, the fact that Noah's name actually appears in so solemn a thing as a Maori genealogy (than which to the Maori mind nothing required greater accuracy) proves the reality of the danger I spoke of—that of the intermixture of Maori and foreign lore.

One criticism which applies, to the book generally, is that the author has given us a very great deal of the work of others with far too little specific acknowledgment. I am looking at it now as a practical matter. The general acknowledgement he has made with its curious qualification, may or may not satisfy the canons of literary taste, his readers must judge when they have ascertained the extent of his obligations, and with these compared the acknowledgement. But the student's difficulty is practical; he is concerned to know as to each word and meaning, or generally as to each material statement, whose authority he has to rely on. He is told that Williams' Dictionary has been the basis of the work, yet I believe he will not find a dozen specific references to it; so far I have found five only. If he has not the earlier work he will have no means of discriminating. If he has both, and compares them at all carefully, he will find that though commonly the transfer from one book to the other has been in the simplest form, or with only trifling alterations, many other alterations have been made, and of these he may think a considerable proportion are not improvements. In any case if he has a substantial knowledge of Maori and Maori matters he may estimate at quite different values the authority of Bishop or Archdeacon Williams and that of Mr. Tregear. The former he will know as Maori scholars; the latter, in this respect and for the present, he may well have a difficulty in classing.

It will be noticed that Mr. Tregear in his Introduction does not discuss, nor, I think, even mention the structure of the Maori language, or of the other languages he is comparing with it: and for this the student has good ground of complaint. He does not even say to which of the recognised families, or other great divisions of human speech these Oceanic languages in his view belong or are related; or whether, as seems the better opinion, they, for the present at least, must be put in a group by themselves; he even makes it very doubtful whether about one half of the languages he deals with are in fact related to the other half. He tells us the Maori speech is a dialect of the great Polynesian language, but what the characteristics and affinities of this language are he does not say. Yet if he has so studied the Maori language as to have gained some considerable insight into its structure, why does he not give his readers the very great help it would be to them, at least to all of them of the student class?—especially those who come to his book wholly ignorant of the languages it treats of. If on the other hand he has not gained this insight into the Maori language, how can he reasonably compare it with other languages, or even its component parts with each other? As it seems to me, he would not know the units of comparison; he would be measuring without a rule. But is he here quite candid with his readers?

Not many years ago if he had not gained much insight into the structure of Maori he had arrived at a very decided opinion as to its affinities. In the *Aryan Maori* published as I have said in 1885, treating as one the two

distinct questions of race and language, he left no doubt whatever as to how both the Maori and his language were to be classed. In the Introduction to the work he says:—" I now proceed to assert, positively, 1. That the Maori is an Aryan. * * * 3. That his language has preserved, in an almost inconceivable purity, the speech of "his Aryan forefathers, and compared with which the Greek and Latin tongues are mere corruptions." * * * These expressions though strong could not be called hasty or ill considered, except in a sense applicable to the conception and execution of the whole book; they fairly represent its purpose and spirit; he adds:—" To prove these bold assertions is my task in the following chapters." The opinion thus forcibly expressed was as tenaciously held. At the end of the work he says:—"This book contains doubtless some slight errors of detail, yet, I feel proud to have written it. Not yet have I seen one shadow of disproof as I went on; every step has confirmed and strengthened the one proceeding, until I feel so assured of the truth of my view of the origin of the Maori race, that if not one man in New Zealand agreed with me, I could wait with calm confidence for the verdict of the European "scholars." And he adds with the same frankness and force:—"I have been the first to apply the scientific method to the "Maori language, and to prove the fellow-ship of the Polynesian to the races of Europe." But there must evidently have been something wanting. My own guess was, that his scientific method—(the method of vocabularies, the method, as it seemed to me, of looking into two given languages without regard to structure or grammar for words as much alike in form and as little different in meaning as possible, and treating these words as therefore related)—seemed to the European scholars too much like the royal road to knowledge. It was at least philology without grammar or historical research, if not rather philology without learning. At all events the verdict, though long as well as confidently waited for, never apparently came. Indeed, such slight expressions of opinion as I saw from known European scholars were, to put it kindly, not sympathetic. Perhaps it was looking on them as more than human to expect them to welcome a proposal which in reality involved a fundamental revision, not to say reversal, of the results attained by the labours for nearly a century of hosts of illustrious scholars. And why were they to do this? Because a gentleman in New Zealand, not then known to fame, had discovered the Maori dictionary, and how to use it.

Nevertheless, for three years or so after the publication of the *Aryan Maori*, up to at least October, 1888, Mr. Tregear maintained, with considerable insistence and in the face of some adverse criticism, the Aryan character of the Maori in race and language. Whether that belief was subsequently modified, and if so when and how far, I cannot say.

See an obscure passage in the Dict. p. ix.; and *Aust. A.A.S.*, Vol, III, p. 851.

Now during those three years a great part of his dictionary must have been written; it was finished some two years later. But must not an energetic belief of this kind even when less intense than at first, bias, if not determine his judgment on many vital questions in dealing with these languages? If so, the student should have been warned; in any case, knowing Mr. Tregear's former belief and its intensity, he should not have been left in doubt.

I will give an illustration; and in so doing will not speak of the structure of the Maori language, but, taking it as representing the Polynesian languages, will ask what are some of its leading characteristics or fundamental facts, as we know it? Here, in my opinion, are two of them, and I hardly know which to put first. One is, the very great, I would say, superior value of the vowels; as shewn (1) in their much greater frequency of occurrence compared with the consonants; (2) in the extreme nicety required in their perception and pronunciation; (3) in their great stability, especially the unaccented; and (4) in the essential character of the open syllable, every syllable being either a single vowel, or a single vowel preceded by a consonant. The other is, the prevailingly disyllabic character of the language: the monosyllables are necessarily trifling in number; and if we follow the far-reaching if obvious suggestion of Archdeacon Williams, that the long vowel is the equivalent of two short ones, the greater part of all other words, not themselves disyllables, can be most satisfactorily resolved into disyllabic elements. It will be understood I am here only summarizing. Now assuming these propositions to have as yet only so much evidence in their favour as to give them a claim to be discussed, can Mr. Tregear discuss or weigh them fairly, if he has already decided that the language is of the Aryan family and therefore that he must look *inter alia* for monosyllabic, not disyllabic roots, and these by no means necessarily or even commonly open syllables, but often effectually closed, many genuine Aryan roots it seems showing two, or three, consonants to one vowel.

See the list of Aryan roots given in Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*; and compare the list of Sanscrit roots discussed in Max Müller's *Science of Thought*. But see Sayce *Principles of Com, Phil* 104, &c. It is not to be assumed that the disyllabic Polynesian radicals may not ultimately be reducible to monosyllabic roots; but I say it would not be reasonable to begin the investigation by ignoring the one fact which is perhaps the most obvious, and the most frequently recurring of all that have to be dealt with in Eastern Polynesian languages.

And are we not driven to assume some such powerful disturbing cause as this, to account for the singular fact that the author of a comparative dictionary has passed over in silence, such obvious, such necessary, and I will add, such tempting questions?

A kindred and not less important matter, that of grammar, on which so many things might and so much ought, to have been said, is treated worse, I think, than by merely being passed over in silence. The student, looking at the Introduction, and noticing the attractive heading "Grammar," will at first sight be disappointed at the trifling space devoted to so great a subject; on a close inspection his disappointment will be still greater at the way that little space is filled. Mr. Tregear begins by protesting strongly, though to me I confess unintelligibly, against 'forcing rules of grammar upon these languages, and—excepting a singular remedy he has tried and some noticeable words upon accent and pronunciation, of which I will speak separately,—with that protest he ends. "I have," he says, "carefully avoided the use of letters to mark the native words as substantive, adjective, verb, &c. It is an unwise if not a mischievous, effort to make if wo endeavour to force the rules of grammar which fit (more or less) the modern stage of the English tongue upon a language belonging to the utterly unequal grammar-period in which the Polynesian speech is now found. I use these expressions with consideration, because I believe that there is a constant progress or decay in all languages, affecting their character and rendering their forms unsuitable." He adds that this is certainly so with regard to English, but probably less so with Polynesian, and concludes with a passage I will cite a little farther on. Now so far as I understand this it means that it is unwise, if not mischievous, to force unsuitable rules of grammar upon the Maori language, and that one principal way of doing this is to mark its words, *with letters*, as being what in English are called the several parts of speech; and the practical remedy he applies is the simple one, surely unique, of carefully leaving these obnoxious letters, and the words they represent, altogether out of his dictionary. Whether the mischief would be as acute, or on the other hand would be lessened, or removed if the marking were done by words at *length* instead of by single letters he gives us no hint; judging from his practice, however, I should infer that the danger would be somewhat less if words at length were used, perhaps a little less still with a periphrasis; hence we find in this dictionary "*i*, an interjection," "*ma*, the conjunction," and "*te*, singular definite article," "*nga*, the plural article," and a few others; but more frequently the safer periphrastic formula, "a word used as a verb," &c., *e.g.*, "*he*, a, an: a word used as an indefinite article," "*kai*, a prefix to words used as transitive verbs," &c., But putting these all together their number is inconsiderable, and therefore I conclude, not without hesitation, that though marking by letters is most to be avoided, the protest against any overt attempt to distinguish in a Maori dictionary between the different parts of speech is intended to be general.

The great offenders in the matter of marking native words in this way are of course our grammarians and dictionary-makers, and especially Bishop and Archdeacon Williams, who have taken the trouble to mark every word in their dictionary as noun, verb, &c., and in the most objectionable way, by *letters*, as *a.* for adjective, *n.* for noun, often even giving one word, two or three such marks where it has commonly two or three grammatical functions; worse still, perhaps, Archdeacon Williams has gone farther and has not only marked the verbs as verbs, but refining still more has actually distinguished the transitive from the intransitive, using again the objectionable symbols *v.t.* and *v.i.*

I will not stop to discuss this matter, beyond saying a word upon a compensatory loss the student may often suffer for being relieved from the undefined if not undefinable danger which Mr. Tregear so much fears. It is upon the last named distinction between neuter and active verbs. Now it seems to me that the writer of a dictionary who is relieved of the obligation to mark such distinctions, must be very apt, especially if working against time, to relieve himself of the obligation to notice that any such distinctions exist. This two-fold relief would make it much easier, I suppose, to write a dictionary, but very much harder to use it with advantage. Take one of the commonest words in the language, *korero*. Arch. Williams gives this as verb transitive, to tell, say, address; and intransitive, to speak, to talk. Mr. Tregear having this as his 'raw material,' but having as matter of conscience relieved himself of the need to mark the distinction between the two sets of meanings, goes one step farther and ignores the distinction itself, and so omits the very common intransitive meaning, *speak, talk*, altogether; yet his next word, *kororerero*, the frequentative form of this one, shows only the intransitive meaning given it by Arch. Williams, and in his words, but omitting of course the dangerous *v.i.* It reappears also in his edition of Arch. Williams' English-Maori part, but there it is "too obvious to be overlooked. This is not at all an isolated case.

Now, I could quite understand a scholar in his very early years longing, if not publicly advocating, that many troublesome grammatical distinctions should be wiped out of his grammars and dictionaries; but he would soon find the reform if carried out, practically useless, if he could not carry it one step farther and abolish the distinctions themselves; or at least convince his masters that they did not exist. In Mr. Tregear's case comparing his words with his practice, it seems impossible to give a statement of his views not self-contradictory; I cannot say whether he does or does not deny the existence in the Polynesian languages of the grammatical categories of noun, verb, adjective and so on—or rather whether he does not both affirm and deny.

So as to syntax; his position seems to be that it may be learnt but cannot be taught; that no useful rules can

be enunciated, but nevertheless may be acquired. "The effort," he says (p. xiii), "to adapt Maori words to rules of English grammar is evaded by the complex simplicity (if I may use such an expression) of the native language, where one word may serve either as verb, noun, or adjective, according to its context, and wherein particles whose use only practice can render familiar, are able to link words into sentences capable of rendering very subtle and sensitive expression. If we attempt to retain these particles in the net of English grammar, we shall be in the unpleasant situation of having to lay down "rules with more exceptions than examples." We may all of us, though not Maori scholars, agree that practice alone can make one familiar with the use of the Maori particles, if only as a particular case of the universal rule embodied in our excellent copy-book apophthegm, "practice makes perfect." But, as I understand the passage, its main argument is that Maori, being an analytic language, is particularly unsuitable for the application of English rules of grammar. Probably, however, so far as the "argument is relevant, the contrary would be nearer the truth, since English in its present state is said to be one of the most analytic languages known.

But who wants to force English grammar upon the Maori language? Mr. Tregear compels us to ask:—Is a Maori grammar possible? And what does such a question mean? Surely it is equivalent to asking, whether Maori is really a human language, or merely a confused babel of sounds? Have the Maoris settled names for things, actions, qualities and relations? Can they frame and qualify propositions so as to convey to one mind the thought or feeling that is in another? Are the facts of the language capable or not of statement and classification? and do the recurrent facts of the language—of the language in action—recur not at random but according to law? If yes, then the classified statement of these facts and laws is, I presume, Maori grammar.

No one would say that our existing grammars are beyond improvement—that the last word, for instance, has been said upon the Maori verb—and it was open to Mr. Tregear if not incumbent on one in the position he has assumed, to give us fresh light, whether in the form of new facts or new views, on this or any other grammatical point he found wrongly, incompletely or obscurely stated; and such facts or views would have been most welcome. But it is surely idle or worse to represent Maori grammar as practically impossible, because one word may at different times discharge different grammatical functions, or because grammatical relations are mainly expressed by shifting particles and prepositions and by the order of the words—that is, because the language is not inflectional and is analytic.

It is in curious contrast to his opinion expressed and implied on Maori grammar as it exists, or rather I suppose I ought to say on Maori grammars as they exist, to note a point in his practice. In a few places, when he gets into what may be called a grammatical corner, he gets out of it in a way which seems to me as naïve as it is effectual. In his article on *ai*, the relative particle, he begins:—"A particle having no "English equivalent, and only to be understood by reference to, a Maori grammar"; that on *ano* begins still more directly "*ano* [See Maori grammar]; "while in that on *ko* the same formula comes in later. It will be observed, first, that these are three of those very "particles" to which Mr. Tregear's protest particularly referred; secondly, that he shows no preference for one grammar over another; as the condemnation was general, so too, to this extent, is the rehabilitation.

Would it not here be pertinent to ask: What light does Mr. Tregear's Comparative Dictionary throw on the peculiarities of the Maori language? How many of its idioms has he elucidated? I certainly will not say, not one; but" I could not name one.

There is perhaps nothing more unsatisfactory in the author's Introduction than his treatment of the sounds of the Maori language, a matter of course of the very first importance. I mentioned that formerly he said the vowels were to be pronounced as in French. In his Dictionary (p. xiv) he gives another view: "The pronunciation of the vowels as printed in Maori and in all Polynesian writings is nearly that used by the Italians." But, in the first place, if we are to assume that he knows accurately both sets of sounds, the Maori and the Italian, why not tell us in what respects they differ, especially in reference to his uncancelled direction to pronounce the Maori vowels as in French? Again, he says, "*a* short, almost like the English *u* in *smut*"; but the more valuable information would be, what it is quite like. No doubt to an English ear of average dulness a very short Maori *a* in some situations sounds like a 'neutral vowel,' but careful examination will, I believe, convince others as it did me, that every Maori (and Polynesian?) *a* is of the quality of *a* in English *father*, though as to length they would have to be divided into three classes at least. There is, I believe, no neutral vowel known to the Maori language, except through the medium of English speakers of it, who have learnt it late in life, or at least not in childhood; and excepting, of course, those who though they may use words and phrases with more or less fluency, cannot, in any proper sense, be said so have learnt it at all. The short form of what may be called the fundamental and universal *a* seems to be peculiarly distasteful to modern literary English, but it is the dominant sound in Maori, and no doubt in all other Polynesian languages.

The same rule may, I believe, be stated generally of all the Maori vowels, that each has one sound only, though of different lengths.—(Williams, *First Lessons*, 3.)

See now also the similar view of;another high authority, Mr. T. H. Smith, for a long time the permanent

chief of the Native Office, and afterwards Judge of the Native Land Court: *On Maori Nomenclature*, a valuable paper lately read at Auckland.

We have seen that formerly Mr Tregear likened the short *e* to both *a* and *y* in "Mary"; he now likens it to *e* in *bent*, and gives long *e* as "resembling the *a* of Mary." It is difficult to fix a limit to 'resemblance,' but certainly, to my ear, neither short nor long Maori *e* has the same sound as the *a* in that well-known name as usually pronounced. Another serious mistake of Mr Tregear's, as I hold it, is as to the short *o* of Maori which he equates to the *o* of English *lock*. This is precisely the error against which Archdeacon Maunsell warned his readers 50 years ago, saying that the sound did not exist in Maori. It has, indeed, been said to be an almost peculiarly English sound, and is only heard in Maori, I believe, from the English speakers of it mentioned above. Tried by the rule just proposed, it will be found that it is not Maori # macron because when prolonged it does not make or come near Maori #, which is the same as the first vowel sound in the English *no* or *go*; that is, the pure *o*, without the glide of *u* commonly following it in English.

Of the Maori consonants, he says that "they have nearly the same power as in English." Here, again, if he knows that they, or some of them differ, why will he not tell us which of them, and how? An approximation is much better than nothing, but from one who has assumed the position, and with it the duties of a master, the student is entitled to know the sounds exactly, or to know why they cannot be given. Mr. Tregear mentions only three or four of the consonants. *Ng*, he says, is like *ng* in *flinging*, but he leaves unnoticed the beginners only difficulty over it—the main difficulty of which he is conscious in Maori pronunciation—where *ng* is initial. Of *r* and *p* the author says. "It is probable that formerly in some localities the *r* varied into *l* and *d*, the *p* into *b* etc., but the efforts to educate the Maori children in their own language have resulted in the production of a classic form in which the *r* and *p* are distinctly *r* and *p*." This is a conjecture, turned by tacit assumption into a fact, and the present non-existence of this assumed fact accounted for by an inadequate assertion. It is, I think, common knowledge among those who lived in the North Island 80 or 40 years ago, that many English speakers of Maori, especially the less educated, often used *g*, *d*, *b*, for *k*, *t*, *p*, when the Maoris, whom they thought they were imitating, used the latter only. Compare what Mr Tregear tells us about the Maori pronunciation of *r*, consisting solely of his conjecture how it was pronounced in some places not named, and at some time not named, with what Archdeacon Maunsell wrote about it in 1842. It has, the latter says (Gr. p. 8), two sounds, one *rough*; the other "is more soft, and is formed by a gentle jar of the tongue against the palate; so gentle, indeed, is the vibration that most foreigners pronounce it like *d* or *l*." Have we not here an anticipation and answer to this particular conjecture of our author's half a century before it was made? There were then, as there are now, two distinct *r*'s—and of the one which seemed to vary, the variation, it seems, was rather in the ear of the foreign listener, than on the tongue of the native speaker.

There are two Maori consonants, *h* and *t*, which, though not noticed by Mr. Tregear, do differ, the one in some places or in some words, the other always, from the same letters in English. By far the most common sound of Maori *h* is that of English *h*. But early visitors to the North of New Zealand often represented Maori *h* in some words by *sh*. Archdeacon Maunsell while protesting against this, speaks of the sound as a gentle sibilation preceding the *h*. Mr. S. Percy Smith again, suggests (*Trans.* xxii. 10) that the sound is better represented by something between *s* and *y*, which would, perhaps, be difficult to define. It has long seemed to me that the nearest representation of this peculiar sound is a very short *i* or *y* following the *h*. The common cry of welcome for instance, "tiara mai, Hara mai, Hara mai!" I have often thought sounded as if it should be spelt *hiara mai*, the *i* being only just perceptible, and not preventing the accent from falling on the first *a*. It might, perhaps, be called an aspirated *y*. The sound is much commoner in the North of New Zealand, but is not, I believe, entirely confined to it. The other point to be noted about *h* is that the Taranaki people commonly drop it, substituting a *catch*, which is here effected, I think, by a momentary cessation of the breath, thus, I suppose, giving the *soft* breathing for the *rough*,

The Maori *t* is, I believe, distinctly and always different from English *t*, the point of the tongue in pronouncing it being brought more forward, so that the sound while still *t* is on the way towards *th*. (See M. gr. 9, and William's *First Lessons*, 2,)

The inference I draw from Mr. Tregear's treatment of the sounds of this language, is that he has neither listened with careful attention to the pronunciation of the Maoris themselves, nor read the best that has been written upon it.

The laws of accentuation in Maori are not yet anywhere fully stated, nor has there been, I believe, any considerable discussion of the principles upon which the statement of these laws should be made. One thing, however, seems obvious, they ought to have direct reference to the disyllabic character of the language. From the author of a comparative dictionary, who has surveyed so many languages capable of throwing light on each other, we are entitled to expect something of value on all unsettled vital points, if merely a summary of how things stand; but Mr Tregear contributes nothing to this discussion, even as to Maori alone, to say nothing of all the others. I do not think he has yet realised either the importance or the complexity of the problem. What he

has to say is comprised in five lines (p. xiv), to the effect that in his dictionary he has used a certain accent to "denote a lengthened stress upon the vowel so marked" (e. g. *màra*): that through inadvertence in a few cases this accent has been turned the wrong way, (not a serious matter, seeing that it has no other meaning, and that no accent whatever is used in ordinary Maori printing and writing), and he concludes: "Some writers of Maori prefer a double letter as *maara*, &c., but this is misleading, as the sound is not that of two distinct "vowels. *In all cases where accents are not used*, the first syllable is more strongly marked than the others, although not with the lengthened vowel sound."

That is all. It tells us curiously little on such a subject, and it assumes two things: First, that the author in his dictionary has marked all the long vowels that occur and no others; and secondly, that, at least in all unmarked words, there is only one accent which concerns the reader. Unfortunately, neither is true. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Mr. Tregear depends entirely upon Archdeacon Williams' edition of the dictionary for the length of the vowels. Yet in the first 50 pages of his own dictionary he has, according to my counting, left, in principal words, more than 80 long vowels unmarked which are marked long by Archdeacon Williams, and has, moreover, in the same space, introduced a considerable number of new words, of which hardly any are marked, though certainly some—I think a good many—should be. I have not attempted to count the total number in the whole book of errors of this class—omissions to mark the long vowels (as promised), or marking short ones as long—but there are certainly some hundreds. Yet to alter the length of a Maori vowel so as to make a long one short, or a short one long, is to alter seriously the character, and often the meaning of the word; it is equivalent to the serious mis-spelling of a word in English.

Take one case out of the multitude. Archdeacon Williams gives *tirat#* as "mast of a canoe," and the vowel lengths indicate at least an obvious etymology: *tira*, stick or pole, *t#*, upstanding. Mr. Tregear's version makes the first vowel long instead of short, and the last one short instead of long, thus also shifting the principal accent from the end to the beginning of the word. Then, undeterred by the change he has made, he proposes the above etymology, which, quite consistent with Archdeacon Williams' marking of the word, is as obviously inconsistent with his own. Then next he suggests a comparison with *t#rau*, which would, so far as form goes, be quite reasonable if he is prepared to stand by his own form of *tiratu* and abandon his proposed etymology, but, unfortunately, under *tirau* he abandons instead his own form of *tiratu*, and adopts that of Archdeacon Williams. The reader must decide how much of this, here and elsewhere, is due to misadventure, how much to carelessness or want of time to be careful, and how much to want of belief that care as to vowel length is essential. I venture to say that if not interested enough to investigate the general question, he should for the sake of his readers have investigated the origin and value of the long vowel, a subject as interesting theoretically as it is practically important. He would have found some useful information in Archdeacon Williams' *Introduction*.

With regard to there being, apart from the long vowels, only one accent of importance in a Maori word and that on the first syllable, it would, I think, be nearer the truth to say that in every Maori polysyllable there is at least one accent to every two syllables. But the closer and more reasonable approximation, I submit, would be to begin with the disyllable, and to say that as a general rule in Maori every normal disyllable (of two short syllables) has an accent on the first, and keeps it there however much the disyllable itself may enter into composition, whether in the form of partial or complete reduplication, or with other radicals; that is, each element of the compound keeps its own accent. I say nothing now of the exceptions to the rule—some of much interest—nor of its other qualifications.

But only to ascertain the real facts of accentuation, and all the other facts of pronunciation, we want a combination of Maori scholars, each with a keen ear for small differences, working in different districts, but on a concerted plan. Their work would be of the greatest value.

Ought we not, however, as soon as ever it is possible to take the broad practical hint which Edison has given to all interested in languages or language throughout the world, and employ the phonograph in recording living specimens of all these languages? We should then have a really scientific basis to start from.

Is this not worth the attention of our newly formed Polynesian Society?—a society which has a future before it of much promise, if only it be supported from without and from within as it ought to be.

One word more on accent. The European student was promised that by means of this dictionary he would be "in a position to compare the Oceanic tongues with the languages of the great continents." But supposing him to remember the part which, we are told, *accent* has played in the history of some of those continental languages, would his curiosity as to the laws of accent in all the Oceanic tongues dealt with in this book be satisfied by knowing that in one of them, Maori, Mr. Tregear has marked the long vowels—or a good many of them—and that in unmarked words the first syllable is paid to be more strongly accented than the others? Or would he want to know more on this point, as on some others, before he enters on this new and extensive field of comparison?

Mr Tregear gives a good many examples to illustrate the meanings of the Maori words in the dictionary, and this has involved great labour on his part; but then there are a great many words to be illustrated; and that

many have suitable examples does not compensate us for the many left without, especially those new ones which, from being imperfectly defined or otherwise ambiguous, or of doubtful form or authenticity, have most need of them. Moreover, of the examples which are given, a large proportion are comparatively valueless from not being translated; more especially where as frequently happens they are attached to the wrong word. The author gives a good many proverbs as examples, most of them apparently from a paper in *Trans*, vol. xii by Mr. Colenso, who there translates and comments on them all; and where these are both apt and intelligible, nothing could be better. The Maoris, as is well known, are great makers and users of proverbs and proverbial sayings; but from this very fact and the isolation of their old life, many of these are local, and are unintelligible, or liable to be taken in a wrong sense, without local or special knowledge, or unless at least some note of explanation is added. I do not say that every example needs translation, or ought to have it. Some are too simple, some may be better left without it or put into Latin (indeed, some now to be found ought, in my opinion, to be expunged),

The "realism" of genuine science is as suitable for publication as anything else scientific. In a dictionary it must often be exceedingly difficult to draw the line, and all allowance must be made for difference of judgment. But I think a minimum test is, does a passage otherwise objectionable advance the matter in hand, our knowledge of the language or the people?

but in a large majority of cases if they are properly chosen, good idiomatic bits, the translations, or necessary helps for translation, would form a valuable addition to the book merely as a dictionary. Whether or not the sentence be the real unit of speech it is certainly true that many words are best explained, if not defined as parts of a sentence. Moreover, the practice of never translating an example is not only a negative, but a positive evil; and in this particular case, I believe, an evil of magnitude. It allows and fosters any tendency there may be in an author to crude and hasty work, since it indefinitely lessens the conscious need for precision of thought and expression; and takes away the readiest means of finding himself out in an initial error.

I would ask what does this book do towards promoting the comparison and study of the Maori dialects? In 1842, only two years after the foundation of the Colony, and when learning of all kinds in it might be thought to be in its infancy, the Rev. R. Maunsell (now Archdeacon of Waitemata) published at Auckland his *Grammar of the New Zealand Language*, which though open I dare say to criticism on some points, is still as a whole unrivalled and invaluable. In his *Introduction* he enumerates seven leading dialects spoken in the Northern Island "independently of minute and numerous sub-divisions"; and he notes, with true scientific insight, the importance of preserving a full record of the dialectic differences; because, being even then clearly of opinion that this island had not been colonized by a single Maori migration, he thought that by means of the dialects, the sources of the several migrations might perhaps be traced; instancing the dropping of the *h* in Taranaki and Rarotonga, and the substitution in the Bay of Plenty of *n* for the ordinary *ng*: he does not mention the Hawaiians, but their vocabulary shows the same substitution,

There is another fact, as I think it, which goes to support the same line of research. Some words in Maori, no doubt a good many, seem better explicable by direct reference to the language of some other Polynesian island than by anything in Maori itself. I will only give two illustrations. Compare *taha-tai* and *ta-tahi* both meaning "sea-side." In the first, both elements *taha* "side," and *tai* "sea" (qualifying the other) keep their ordinary Maori meaning: in the second while *ta* (= *taa* the vowel being long) may be reasonably taken as = *taha* of which both vowels are short, *tahi* is not used for sea in Maori, but is the Tongan form of Maori *tai*, "sea." Again take *tae-kai*, "an abandoned cultivation."

Mr. Tregear gives a substantially similar meaning, "worn out soil. He does not name his authority, but it is probably Mr. G. H. Davies, of the Native Office, from whom I received this meaning of the word, and to whose kindness I am greatly indebted for many others, as well as for the loan of valuable Mss.

In Maori *tae* is not used in any sense which would explain this word, but in Tongan it appears as a privative particle or negative prefix= English *un* before a word, or *-less* after it, so that *tae-kai* our "abandoned cultivation," or "worn out soil," may with the help of Tongan be translated "no-food," "food-less," which may be held good till a better appears. No doubt the common Maori negative *te* (the vowel being long=tee)=(in origin) the Tongan *tae*, though its use is not quite the same, and it is in Maori conventionally treated as a separate word. Now, Tongan, I suppose, is not so nearly related to Maori as some others are, Tahitian, for instance, not to mention Rarotongan; I only took these two words as first occurring to me. But if we could sift out a considerable number of such words, and could as it were localise them among the Maori tribes, we should be getting another clue which might be of value in two or three ways,

Another considerable advantage of having the peculiarities of each dialect fully recorded is that they might then be brought into one field of view, and so compared *inter se*. The result would be of considerable interest phonetically and otherwise.

What then has been done to record these dialectic peculiarities? Bishop Williams made a good beginning; in his dictionary (2nd ed., 1852), he marked a large number of words, distinguishing six dialects. Archdeacon Williams' edition (1871), omits a great part of these distinctions in the first part of his dictionary, though still

marking there some of the most peculiar, those of the Rarawa dialect, and giving many others in the second part. Mr Tregear's contribution to the work has been merely negative; he has, as to the dialects of the North Island (*i.e.* nearly all the Maori dialects), wiped out even those distinctions which Archdeacon Williams had preserved. He does not say he is doing this, nor indeed does he say a word about it, that I have found, except in the last two lines of his five or six line essay on the pronunciation of the Maori consonants, which perhaps indicate his reasons. He there says (*Introduction* p. xiv), "The pronunciation varies slightly with locality, thus *tangata* is in some places *tanata*, but these irregularities of the sub-dialects are very fluctuating and unfixd." This, for the information it contains, is about as close an approximation to nothing as is possible, while if offered as all that need be said on these dialects ("sub-dialects," as he not unreasonably calls them), it leaves the (ignorant) reader much worse off than if he had merely nothing: he is, I venture to say, gravely misled. If Mr. Tregear has studied all these dialects so well and so long as to be qualified to say what he has said, how could he find it in his philologic conscience to say so little?

This treatment of the Maori dialects would be paralleled on a larger scale if we were given a general Polynesian dictionary which did not show from which islands the several words came. But there is one dialect which he does in part distinguish, and which he calls the South Island dialect. It is that of the Ngaitahu or Kaitahu tribe, forming the majority of the Natives in this South Island. Its great peculiarity is in using *k* for both *ng* and *k* of the North. Though included in the sweeping two-line condemnation I have quoted as to the dialectic "irregularities" being "fluctuating and unfixd," he gives many words from it, and often marks them. Yet some, and these the most peculiar, represent, I venture to say, only a misapprehension of the facts. According to those who know them well, the Kaitahu in *speaking* the pure dialect always, as I have said, use *k* for the northern *k* and *ng*. But since all printed books and all North Island correspondence, including the official, use both letters, the Kaitahu in *writing* also use both, but not having their ear to guide them, use the *ng* at random. Hence occur such monstrosities as *tingaka* for *tikanga*, and hundreds of others. Some of these Mr. Tregear takes seriously, giving them a place in his dictionary; while the great majority are, without a word of explanation, capriciously as it seems, ignored. Mr. J. White in his *Ancient History*, thought it his duty to print his Kaitahu manuscripts as he found them, and not as he thought they should have been—a course having great advantages, but necessitating some form of commentary. I spoke with him about it, and pointed out the obvious danger there was of persons ignorant of the facts being seriously misled. He did not deny it, and would, I believe, if he had lived to complete the supplementary volume he intended, have added a cautionary note.

I have, later on, pointed out another source from which, as it seems to me, Mr. Tregear has drawn some of his new words—not a great number perhaps, but still too many, and some of his most notable. To distinguish it from the *Kai-tahu* I have ventured to call it the *Kai-ta* or *Printers* dialect, since all words of this class owe their origin, or at least their perfected form, to the Press, and the highly original views it often takes of the Maori language. It will, I think, be found that some of the most surprising of Mr Tregear's new words, involving new departures in the language, are to be credited to that source.

I shall not say much on the comparative part of the work, though the subject is of first class importance, and though much might be said as to the author's treatment of it—what he has done, and still more, perhaps, what he has not done. Indeed, I think the most general criticism to which it is open is that it has been published before it was ready—at least one stage too soon.

"Whether to arrive at the older meanings of individual words, or to get a scientific insight into a language itself, the incalculable value, not to say the imperative need of comparison with related languages, is too obvious, if not too well known, to need another slenderly qualified advocate. But it was not always so in New Zealand. Five or six years ago, at a time when Mr. Tregear thought that his claim to rank the Maori language as an elder sister of the Aryan family could be established upon an examination of Maori alone of the Polynesian group, such a comparison with closely related languages, and between its own dialects, was suggested to him, *Trans*, N.Z.1., vol. xix. pp. 554-6.

as a necessary preliminary to the very much wider comparison he was attempting. It was suggested also that the laws of phonetic interchange between the compared languages must first be ascertained; and that a systematic examination of the structure of Maori words was needed to distinguish their radical and non-radical parts. But these suggestions were only from the outside. If they came to Mr. Tregear's attention, their doubtful source may well have obscured any little merit they had in being true. He kept on his own course. Later, however, it seems, though still "some years" before 1890 (see *Trans*, xxiii, 531), when, "wishing to compare certain Maori words" with those of languages "used on the Continent of Asia," he was assured by "one of the masters of modern philology that the Maori tongue was not in a position for comparison." Apparently, what may be called the family comparison had first to be made. Moreover, "the European scholar"—accustomed to very different things—"needed a long and special preparation before he could grasp the mode or comprehend the genius of apparently simple tongues." It remained therefore for some Polynesian scholar to arrange and put into a form easy to manipulate, and to be comprehended at ft glance, the various related words used in the

different island groups." This was authoritative. It pointed out clearly the work to be done, and, presumably, though not quite so clearly, the hand to do it. One thing only must have been omitted—but that was a great omission—*how* it was to be done. The Polynesian scholar was to arrange the related words, but how was he to know which were related? This question was among the suggestions made to Mr. Tregear in 1886 (*Trans.* xix, 554), but he put it aside then as, no doubt, to him too obvious for discussion, and it has not, so far as his practice shows, troubled him since. He might, then at least, fairly say that the eye which, without light from historical or grammatical research, could see the relationship of a Maori word to a Greek or a Gothic word, might certainly be trusted to see whether or not two Polynesian words were related. Hence, although I should have thought this question, in some form, a principal question, necessarily and fully to be discussed in the introduction to a comparative Polynesian dictionary, Mr. Tregear does not think it even needs mention.

Hence, also, I think two things follow: On the one hand, although the author has been working with great industry in a perfectly legitimate and useful field, his results are not of one half the value they ought to be; on the other hand, as I have said, his work has been published at least one stage too soon. He has brought together a great mass of materials for comparison of all degrees of value, but these have surely been sent to the printer before being submitted to the comparative philologist; the comparison itself has yet to be made. He puts words side by side without remark, and says "compare them"; and in 99 cases out of 100 that is all; but that by itself, I apprehend, is no more "comparison," than it would be if a comparative anatomist were, without comment, or direction, or reference to previous instructions, to tell his pupils to compare two distinct animal forms which he put before them, and of which the degree and particulars, or even the fact, of relationship had yet to be determined. The author's contribution to the comparison is the bringing together of so many words; but on what principle are these words selected? He does not tell us. Each reader, therefore, must guess for himself. Is it any other principle than that I supposed: to find words as much alike in appearance as possible, and not too different in meaning, and to treat them as therefore related? Even this, in languages as closely akin as some of these are, will often bring related words together. Classification, no doubt, is founded on likeness, but it is likeness in essentials; and beginners at all events must bear in mind the truism that only things comparable must be compared. Suppose, as is constantly happening, the student has to compare simple with compound words, or compound words with each other; how is he to analyze these compounds, or even to know that they are compounds? He must know in every case, or he will be but blindly guessing; and that means he must first study the structure of the language—how the words are built up. What has guided Mr. Tregear in all the work of this kind he has done? He does not tell us; as in his first work, so in this, anyone interested to know must, if he can, infer from the author's practice the principles on which he works. In practice he quite commonly—inevitably, as I should say—though never, I believe, expressly, recognises the disyllabic structure of the Polynesian languages: in making his "comparisons" he quite commonly ignores it. At one and the same time, in a sentence of a dozen words he will recognise and ignore the composite character of a word. And at the same time he will ignore the wholesome rule that the etymologist has to dispose satisfactorily of the whole of the word he is dealing with. To take one instance out of many. He compares *t#iri* with *iri* and *m#iri*, on the unavowed, but in my opinion true, theory that *iri* is the disyllabic radical, *ta* and *mo* being prefixes, in these words obsolescent as to meaning, if not yet obsolete. That is a distinct, if unconscious, recognition of the radical of two syllables, and of the principle of analysing Maori words on that basis. Then in the remainder of the same short sentence he ignores this principle which he has just recognised, treats *tairi* as one homogeneous word, forgets *m#iri*, forgets that the "of *tairi* is long, and that, moreover, the word is of three syllables, and so compares it with *tare*, which, having only two short syllables, has probably as good a right to the character of radical as any other word in the language; so that, therefore, if it was to be compared at all, it should surely have been with *iri*, its fellow-radical, and not with the composite *ta-iri*. But then *iri* and *taw* are not much alike; while if you did not spell *ta-iri*, *taairi* (as you must to give a Maori its true sound independently of his previous knowledge of the word), and stand far enough off, not to be inconvenienced by the superfluous middle *i*, then, applying the dangerous, it convenient, maxim, so often, I believe, exemplified in this book (though not yet recognised in our standard philological works), *de minimis non curat philologus*, "the philologist does not concern himself with trifles," it will be seen that *tairi* and *tare* are quite presentably alike. A little later *tare* is compared with *tarewa*; yet of this, *rewa* is treated, though by no means named, as the radical, and *ta*, with a long vowel (=taa) is again the prefix; so that, according to my view, and what I may call the greater part of Mr. Tregear's practice, the comparison, instead of being between the composite *t#iri*, *t#-rewa*, and the simple *tare*, should have been (if at all) between the three radicals *iri*, *tare*, and *rewa*.

But though, in his comparative work, the author relies, almost always, on the simple juxtaposition of words, or this introduced by the symbol "*cf*"—which, liberally enough, he translates "compare (*confero*)"; thus, as it seems giving his readers a choice as to mood and person—in a few rare cases Mr. Tregear goes beyond it, and gives the student something bolder. Thus, under *Itani*, water, is this:—"Note: Unlikely, as at first sight appears, the Maori word *hani*, water, is a compound of *ringi*, to pour out; *r* changes with *n* often in Polynesian dialects,

as Tongan *nima*, five, with Maori *rima* five. Thus the Hawaiian *nini*, to pour out—the Maori *ringi*, to pour out; and *hanini*= *haringi*. The Maori word *ngongi*, water (*ngo-ngi*) may also be a compound of *ringi* to pour out." Assuming *hani* to be a Maori word for water, as I am prepared to believe on any sufficient authority, the argument seems to be this: because Hawaiian *nini*=Maori *ringi*, pour out (as no doubt it does), therefore [Hawaiian] *hanini* (which exists) = [Maori] *hariagi* (which does not exist); and therefore Maori *hani*=a compound of Maori *ringi*. I confess that I am unable to follow this; though I, by no means, refuse a cheerful, if qualified, assent to the maxim on which it seems to be ultimately founded—(I mean the American version of an older form)—"things which are equal to the same are equal to everything else."

Mr. Tregear's treatment of this word is a fair example of his method whenever, leaving the simplicity and safety of "compare (*confero*)," he takes a bolder course. His "philology," as of old, seems to be always *pro hâc vice*. He certainly does not, as I should have thought any one certainly would who had any sympathy for methodical inquiry in a new field, view and review his facts until he could educe some apparent laws of general application under which he could range them, then state these laws clearly—not dogmatically as being true, but for the purpose of testing their truth—so that he and all interested could test them by all relevant facts, and, until he could so state them, keeping silence. Instead of this, in practice, he does as he did in the beginning, deals with each case singly; he follows on another line the ancient law-givers, who sat in the gate and made the law they administered for each case as it arose. How else could he avoid discussing the necessary preliminary question as to the form and nature of Polynesian radicals? or ignore the *primâ facie* disyllabic character of *haul*, the word in question, and of Hawaiian *nini*, with its reduplicate forms *ni-nini* and *nini-nini*, and its compounds *ha-nini* and *ma-nini*, and of the Maori *ringi* with its reduplicates, and its compounds *ma-ringi*, *ringi-hanga*, &c.? And on what general principle, or special facts does he assume that the Hawaiian *nini*, with its two consonants the same, is more primitive than the stronger Maori *ringi*, supported, as it is, by most, if not all, the other Polynesian dialects? Or that the Maoris borrowed from the Hawaiians—not the word *hand*, meaning water (for Mr. Tregear does not even conjecture that the Hawaiians used it in that sense),—but two-thirds of a compound word meaning "pour out," in order to use it for water? Lastly, on what principle does he decide, either that *hani*, *ringi*, and *ngongi* have no other relatives in Polynesia, or if they have that none of the latter need be taken into the account before making an unqualified dogmatic statement as to the structure and some of the affinities of one of the former?

If this mode of treating the language be passed as lawful, are we not less likely to reach any orderly account of the facts of the language, than a state of chaos worse than that from which perhaps the language itself first arose?

I will give another instance in which Mr. Tregear follows in part the same, in part another mode, not, however, it seems to me, with complete success. He says (Introd. xxiii.):—"As an example how deceptively the letter changes may cloak a real affinity, I will present the Malagasy *vorondolo*, an owl, as equivalent to Maori *runt*, an owl. *Volo* is used as an equivalent for "feathers," the Polynesian *huruhuru*: the *v* (* * *)=*h* and *o*=*u*. The Malagasy, however, use *vorona* as a general name for birds (probably *i.e.* "the feathered creatures"), as *vorombola* a "peacock," &c. "The *nd* of *ndolo* may be considered as equivalent to the Fijian, in which every *d* is *nd*; and as *d* is merely a form of *r* and *l* (*dikyiky*=*likyiky*; *roa*= Malay, *dua*, &c.) and *o*=*u*, therefore *dolo* is a form of *ruru*. Thus *vorondolo* means "bird-*ruru*"; and unlikely, as at first sight appears the relationship, it is probable."

On this I will ask, in passing, is not an unconditioned universal proposition, "that *d* is merely a form of *r* and *l* (in reference to languages some of which have only one of these letters, some all three), a dangerous instrument in the hands of a young and ardent philologist?—one with which he is more likely to cut his own fingers than to do any useful work?

Now, if *voron-dolo* is spelt as, I presume, it is pronounced, *vurun-dulu* (the Malagasy using the symbol *o* for the sound *u*), it is easy to believe that the first element, from its likeness to Maori *huru*, feathers, &c., may mean *bird*, and that the second, from its likeness to *rum*, may mean *owl*. But the author's method of analysing the word ought to be closely observed, the more especially as this is almost the only occasion, in the whole book, where he offers the student an etymological model. He tells us that *roro*=feathers, and *vorona*=feathered creatures=birds. But then, straightway, he lets this particular *vorona*, bird fly right away, or otherwise escape, leaving only *voron*, feathers, behind; and, thereafter, it is to this *voron* he confines our attention as the first element of *voron-dolo*, the final *a* being completely gone, and the *n* having, in some way, become part of the second element, *ndolo*. To account for this *nd*, he does not resort to the phonetic laws of the Malagasy language, though they seem to explain it well, but goes—as philologists, I presume, often must, and as amateur philologists, I dare say, often do when they need not—a long way off, in this case right across the Indian and into the Pacific Ocean, to Fiji, where, as he says truly, every *d*=*nd*; the argument apparently being, that if the Fijians always make *d*=*nd*, the Malagasy may well be supposed to do so sometimes. He does not explain why the *n* of *vorona* becomes *m* in *vorombola*, nor why the Malagasy form of Maori *ruru* should (transliterating the

vowels) be *dulu* or *ndulu*, instead of *lulu*, as might seem more likely; nor why he first tells us that *vara* means feathers, and *vorona* birds; and at last, without notice, makes *roro* alone mean bird.

Now, taking his materials, is it possible to make a less dangerous or more economical use of them, trying first the resources of the Malagasy language itself before going to Fiji? I speak with great diffidence, because I can hardly claim to be even a student of the Malagasy language; but I can claim to have done what apparently Mr. Tregear has not yet found time to do—read a short Malagasy Grammar.

Parker's, in Trübner's *Collection of Simplified Grammars*. E

There, at the beginning, I find what should make a student very cautious in undertaking Malagasy etymologies—hence you will kindly take the little I have to say as mere suggestion. There is in that language a complicated set of phonetic laws, especially as to letter-changes involved in the making of compound words. One of these is that, unlike Polynesian, a syllable may be closed by either of two consonants *n* or *m*; hence, *roron-dolo* would not be an impossible division of our word. Another is that *n* is admissible immediately before *d*, but not before *b* or *p*; while *m* is admissible before *l* or *P*, but not before *d*, and a final *n* before an initial *b* of the second word becomes *m*. This is illustrated by *voron-dolo* on the one hand, and *vorom-bola* on the other. Another is, that the final syllable *na*, as in *vorona* (one of Mr. Van der Tuuk's three "dumb syllables"), is not only itself liable to change, or disappear wholly or partially, but is also, even if it disappears, the cause of change in the first consonant of the second word in the compound. Thus, *liana* and *vady* combined make *tian-bady*; and *fonosina* and *lo* make *fonosin-do*. If, therefore, we suppose the two elements of our word to be *vorona* and *lolo* (= *lulu*), they would, it seems, combine to make that word in the exact form given, *voron-dolo*, which is yet consistent with *voronm-bola*. Conversely, we can argue back (though with less assurance) that *dolo* of the compound may represent as its separate form *lolo*; that is, that the Malagasy form of the Maori *ruru*, owl, is not *dulu*, but like the Samoan, *lulu*.

Now, it is quite reasonable to suggest, and may be as easy to prove that I, as a novice in the language, have misunderstood or misapplied these phonetic rules; but two things are indisputable—that important and complicated phonetic rules exist; and that if any one would treat of Malagasy etymology, or of how many words in that language are, or are not, related to words in other Oceanic languages, it is his first duty to make himself acquainted with the existence of these rules, and then to master and apply their details.

Scholars who have studied the structure and Grammar of the Oceanic languages, class the Malagasy as certainly one of them, that is, as related to Polynesian, Melanesian, Malay, and others. But Mr. Tregear, who, in the comparison of languages, looks mainly, if not only, to their vocabularies, has, to say the least, serious doubts. "I have not," he says, "been able hitherto to trace even a possible affinity between Malagasy and Maori in more than one hundred words out of ten thousand "[?]" in each language." Yet it is perhaps more sad than surprising that the "method of vocabularies" which had enabled Mr Tregear to discover such numberless Maori affinities in so many of the Aryan languages of Europe and Asia,

We have his own authority (*Trans.* xviii. p. 14) for saying that one Maori word (*Ariki*) he had traced in every Aryan tongue; a great feat, as was remarked at the time.

should have failed its master so signally here. But its failure does not suggest to him any doubt of its sufficiency. If, what other people think the facts, and his view of them, do not agree, why should he assume that the fault is his?

The above statement that our author had only hitherto been able to trace a possible affinity in 100 words out of 10,000 in each language, would be misleading if not taken to imply an intercomparison of some sort between, substantially, all the 10,000 words on one side, with, substantially, all the 10,000 on the other, and in that case the number of individual comparisons would manifestly have been very great indeed; and I would say that the mere mechanism of comparison when done on this scale would be of much interest, if Mr. Tregear would but disclose it. But here again, like the mathematicians of a bygone age, he is prodigal of results, but chary over his methods, and it is easier to see how some of his results could not have been arrived at, than how they could. To compare each of 10,000 words with each of 10,000 other words, though it might not overtax Mr. Tregear's industry, would have made a heavy demand upon his time. Apparently, if he had managed to devote twelve hours a day for 365 days in the year, and allowed only 10 seconds for each comparison—and I suppose even an intuitional philologist could not do much of a philologic act in less than 10 seconds—he would have spent over 60 years on this one very small branch of his subject alone. But as presumably the whole dictionary did not occupy him a tenth part of that time, he must obviously have had a very much more expeditious way of dealing with the 20,000 words in question. And, perhaps, even, it may be found that Mr. Tregear's investigation has been as little exhaustive in character as in extent.

It cannot be said that the author has passed over without notice the fundamental question of letter interchange in and between these languages, since more than three-fourths of his introduction is occupied with long lists of alleged interchanges. They are, unfortunately, only of a few of the most nearly related languages, those of the Eastern Polynesian group, some eight or nine out of the 40 or 50 dealt with, more or less, in the

book. But, even with these, he has made no attempt to carry his investigation beyond the preliminary stage, where, if left, his results are, I am afraid, as likely to be misleading as to be useful.

In the whole of these lists, we have, so far as appears, only the author's conjectures put into the dogmatic form. He assumes throughout what he has to prove, and he gives the reader no hint that he is doing so. How does he know that *a* and *c* interchange in Maori? Because he finds among others such forms as *tutai* and *tutei*, where the only difference is in those two vowels. But, to make them evidence, the two words must be taken as two forms of the same word; that is, the assumption must be made that *a* and *e* take each other's places in the two words, the point to be proved. The argument, in any single case, is circular, and is admissible only if the assumed truth is admitted to be assumed, and valid to the extent to which other facts support the assumption. But here, as before, Mr. Tregear is prodigal of results, and gives no hint how they were obtained. Yet the question is fundamental:—How many instances has he in support of each statement of these letter-changes? Some are as rare as others are common.

In the case of *tutai* and *tutei*, I have no doubt he is right, because I know that similar cases are very numerous; that in an indefinitely large number of words, "and *e* seem very easily to interchange, especially when accented and before *i*, even although a consonant intervene. But when he puts the interchange of *e* with *i*, or *o* with *u*, on the same level, I entirely disagree, because really satisfactory instances of these changes are hard to find; while, to confound *e* with *i*, or *o* with *u*, especially when unaccented, seems to come naturally to the English ear and tongue, and is, I believe, only too common among those English speakers of Maori who did not learn the language in their early years. I believe a good many of the new words in this dictionary (and I suspect in some other Polynesian dictionaries) owe their existence to this confusion. In this matter, I can claim to speak as, in a somewhat sinister sense, an expert. I have for more than 30 years been, as chance offered, a collector of Maori words, and I must own to having recorded a good many such novelties myself, especially in the earlier part of the time. But I have not published them.

Speaking of the Maori, he says, "the vowels sometimes interchange with each other," and he then gives examples showing that every vowel interchanges with every other. He does not say under what conditions these changes occur; nor whether there are any conditions under which any of them must, or cannot occur; nor whether any one is more or less frequent than any other. Thus, by an affirmative rule—universal, as including all classes of change as possible, indefinite as to the number of individual cases included in each class—he sets the whole matter at large—anything may be anything else—and there leaves it.

He does the same with the consonants, though to a less extent. There is nothing, indeed, to show that every Maori consonant may not interchange with every other, but it is not so stated. Still Mr. Tregear shows that of the ten consonants three interchange with each of seven others; three others interchange each with five others; and so on in a descending proportion—and, as with the vowels, all these interchanges are unconditioned.

This is surely very like adopting in practice as a serious and exact truth the well-known epigram of Voltaire, who, according to Max Müller (*Lect. II*, 238), "defined etymology as a science in which vowels signify nothing at all, and consonants very little." The Maori etymologist, if he would connect any word with any other, may sometimes have to go beyond Mr. Tregear's phonetic rules, but need not break them, since they are all affirmative—all enabling, none restrictive. Indeed, a main feature, as from the first it has seemed to me, of our author's philology, is his persistent refusal—not in words, but in practice—to submit himself to any recognised restraints in his dealing with language. For illustrations see his dictionary *passim*.

I will not dwell further upon this beyond citing a saying of Bacon's I lately met with. Speaking of the memory, he urges, as one condition of successful recollection, the need of an *abscissio infiniti*, a cutting oil of the infinite, the need of having some limits within which to search. It is easier to hunt deer in a park than in a forest. He is dealing with the knowledge we, in a sense, already have, but which, hidden away in the mind, is not easily recalled. But the rule applies as well to the search for fresh knowledge. It is practically hopeless in finite time to search in an infinite field; and we know, as implied in the very nature of language, that it must have its limits in this sense, its limiting laws; just as every other subject must which is capable of scientific investigation. These laws when known, while they restrain us in the sense of keeping us within due limits, are, at the same time, our surest guides. Until the inquirer knows that such laws exist he is hardly on the way to learn; until he knows something about them, he is surely not qualified to teach.

Anyone desiring to find the laws of letter-interchange in Maori would need, I presume, among other things, to ascertain, in some sort, the relative and actual frequency of the several changes. According to my own investigation of the vowels, it will be found that, dividing them into two groups (1) *a*, *e*, *o*, and (2) *i*, *u*, the interchanges within each group are relatively and actually very frequent (as well in Maori as between Maori and other Polynesian languages); while those between the groups are comparatively so infrequent as to justify their being treated, provisionally, as abnormal.

The disappearance of letters from Maori words, of which Mr. Tregear gives some examples, is properly to be considered together with letter-interchanges, though it is an important fact, not noticed by him, that,

excepting the Taranaki *h*, a Maori consonant dropping out of a word, leaves no trace of its former presence.

If the view before proposed of the Taranaki *h* is correct, it is not an exception to the above rule, but another case of consonant interchange—the soft breathing for the rough. As to the consonantal character of the former of these see Lepsius, *Standard Alphabet*, p. 68, and Brugmann *Corny. Grammar* (English Ed.) p. 21. But I believe it a mistake to say that this ever happens in case of the vowels; and the distinction helps materially, I would suggest, to mark the relative value of consonant and vowel in the structure of the language. An apparent exception is in partial reduplication. But there the omission is of the whole second syllable, however composed, and is *ex hypothesi* done with a purpose.

Mr. Tregear says that *a* is lost in *ngoki*, as compared with *ngaoki*; and, no doubt, to a hasty view that seems on the face of it clearly so. But here he is trusting too much to the eye; as in so many words in his dictionary he ignores difference in length of the vowels, no doubt from not having carried his general investigation far enough to recognise its essential character. The *a* and *o* of *ngaoki* are both short; the *o* of *ngoki* is long; that is, =00, and is sometimes, and more properly so written by the Maoris. Therefore, the true equation is *ngaoki*=*ngooki*, and the case is not one of a lost *a*, but of an interchange of *a* and *o*.

Again he says *u* is lost in *haware*, *hokeke*, and *tokeke*, as compared with *hauware*, *houkeke*, and *toukeke*. But here, also, the *u* is disappearing to the eye, leaves its effect for the ear, and so is in some sense transformed rather than lost, since in each case the remaining vowel of the disyllable is doubled in length. Whether this is to be called an interchange or a 'compensatory lengthening' must be settled on a balance of considerations—the fact remains that *hau*,=(in the sense of having become) *haa* (not *ha*), *hou*=*hoo*, and *tou*=*too*. Compare, also, the first elements in *kou-tou* and *ko-rua* (= *koo-rua*), and the last word with its Samoan equivalent, '*ou-lua*, and Maori *ta-tou* (*taa-tou*) with Tongan *tau-tolu*, and so on. If, as seems also to happen, the unaccented *i* (*i.e.*, when the second vowel in a disyllable) is similarly liable to be transformed, we may probably identify *paa-hau* and *pai-hau*, *maa-hee* and *mai-hea*, and a good many others; and the same considerations may help to establish a community of origin between such pairs as *ra* (= *raa*) and *rangi*, and *po* (= *poo*), and *pongi*.

Among the subjects which, I suppose, must necessarily be considered in any real intercomparison of these languages, and which should, therefore, receive at least some notice in the introduction to a comparative dictionary, but have none in this, are the following:—*Re-duplication*—partial and complete—of the radicals; and *quaere* whether 'analogy' has not, in a few cases, introduced a spurious or abnormal reduplication, so as to include in it what is probably a prefix. *Metathesis*—the interchange of places of the two consonants, or of the two syllables of a radical; and probably connected with this, according to Professor A. H. Koane, is the interesting question of *Infixes*—and with the last are obviously connected *Prefixes* and *Suffixes*, two branches of the subject of wide interest and importance. *Assimilation* and *Dissimilation* also need notice; but they do not seem at present to play much part in Eastern Polynesia, though they do, I understand, in some other Oceanic languages; and there is an interesting practice of vowel dissimilation shown in the Tongan vocabulary, in the reduplication of certain classes of radicals. And, lastly, I would ask, is there, in any of these languages—Maori for instance, as that is most accessible to us—any evidence of a tendency to organic change?

I will now pass on to a more detailed examination of the work. In this I have compared a good many articles in it with the work which is acknowledged to have been its basis—Arch. Williams' Dictionary; and where, as often happened, Mr. Tregear's examples seemed to me wrong or inappropriate, and there were references, I looked these up, and noted the result; in these cases the corrections are in the imperative; in other cases the emendations usually, at least, take the form of query or suggestion. Some of these corrections may seem small; but it should be remembered:—In the first place, that in Maori a very small difference to look at is often a very large one in fact; secondly, that where the errata, even if small, are numerous—and I have not set down nearly all I found, and my search, of course, made no attempt to be exhaustive—they are some index of the quality of the work, at least in its last stage, possibly in all its stages; and thirdly, even the really small corrections may be of practical use to beginners, or even those a little more advanced, who have not the necessary works for reference.

To save space I have taken the liberty of referring to Mr. Tregear as T., and to Archdeacon Williams as W.; but these letters will sometimes stand for their respective dictionaries. Archdeacon Maunsell's Grammar is indicated as previously by "M. Gr." or Gr. Ex. will often stand for "example"; in other cases I have used Mr. Tregear's abbreviations.

The marginal numbers refer to the pages of the dictionary; the following Maori word shows the article commented on.

1.—A.—T. gives as the meaning of this word, "God, the Deity (one auth.)." Farther on he gives as the first meaning of *Atua*, "God"; and of *Io* "(myth.) God, the Supreme Being." No hint is given, as in other cases, that these meanings are modern; presumably, therefore, this is not intended. Are we then to understand that *A*, *Io*, and *Atua* meant to the Maori people, or some of them, before their intercourse with the Europeans, what the words God, the Deity, the Supreme Being, mean in English?.

If any one will reflect on what these English words denote and connote, on the Being they designate and his attributes, and then on what is known of the Maoris and their conception of their so-called "religion," its scope, and methods, before they had heard of Christianity, he will recognise the tremendous call T. is making on his credulity, and the painful insufficiency of the supporting evidence; and he will be still less inclined to concede what is asked, when he notes the evident unconsciousness of the author that what is asked is in the least out of the common.

1.—A.—"A prefix to proper names, pronouns," &c. This is the whole of T.'s account of this important word, the personal prefix. W. defines it as a prefix to proper names and personal pronouns (except *ahau*), and occasionally to common nouns; and he gives three classes, and three sub-classes of cases in which it occurs, with six appropriate examples. This being the "raw material" supplied by W. alone, besides much else by other eminent writers, not to mention what is heard whenever the language is spoken, T. applies his appropriate method (philologic or literary—the latter, I think), with the result that all of this information, which is supposed to concern his reader, is compressed into the six words above quoted, "a prefix to proper names, pronouns, &c." W.'s significant statement that it is not used before *ahau* [though it is before *au*] drops out with the rest, and therefore needs no troublesome notice.

Yet it is also most interesting. There seems little doubt that Dr. Shortland is right when he says (*How to Learn Maori*, p. 13) that the first *a* of *ahau* is the personal prefix.

But T. applies also the comparative method, and adduces "comparatives" from two other languages, both Polynesian, but from none other. Yet Dr. Codrington (whose book stands near the beginning of T.'s very respectable list of "Works Consulted," whatever that somewhat ambiguous phrase may mean) points out that "the use of a 'personal article,' a remarkable feature in a language, is found certainly to prevail in Melanesia, in Polynesia, in Madagascar, and almost certainly in the Malay Archipelago. The meaning and use is identical" (Mel. Lang, 110). One of the forms of the Melanesian personal article is *a*, as in Maori; the others are *e* and *i*, and I do not feel sure that one, or possibly both of those may not in some way be found in Maori also. But are not these, and the like, exactly the points on which the student might look to a comparative dictionary for help?

1.—A. (prep.)—W. says of this characteristic word, "*a*, prep. 1, *of, belonging to*; used in speaking of actions of any kind, food, children, slaves, &c., but not in speaking of the parts of a whole, names, qualities, houses, lands, water for drinking, clothes, &c."—for which latter, as appears later, *o* is used. The one has long been called "the active *a*," and the other "the passive *o*" and this, whether they are used alone or in combination to make certain pronominal or possessive forms, as *aku, aku; malm, moku; mau, mou*, and so on, thirty or forty in all, without counting the double compound forms, *a ratou, na ratou*, &c., conventionally written as two words, yet no doubt showing the composition of the others, each of which is conventionally written as one word.

Of the use and importance of this distinction between the active *a* and the passive *o*, Archdeacon Maunsell and Bishop Williams give some forcible illustrations:—*He potto maku*, a striking for me (to suffer); *he patu maku*, an instrument for me to strike with. *Naku Una whare*, I built that house; *noku tena whare*, I dwell in it (it is mine). *He hangī mau*, an oven with which you may cook food; *he hangī mau*, an oven in which you are to be cooked—a most offensive curse (M. Gr., 188). *Te patunga tenei a Ngatiporou*, this is the place where Ngatiporou killed certain persons; *te patunga tenei o Ngatiporou*, this is the place where Ngatiporou were killed. Archdeacon Maunsell's Grammar has been before the New Zealand public for fifty years, and in that time it has reached T.'s book-shelves, and been "consulted," but I fear we must conclude that he has not yet found time to read it. Yet the vital distinction between *a* and *o* it points out is forced upon the attention of the mere tyro in Maori. His sense of its importance grows with his knowledge, and his observance of it is one good test of his progress. How then does T. treat it? His definition of *a* in this sense consists of the first three words of W.'s article, "Of, belonging to;" turning to *o* we find the very same words repeated: "*o*, of, belonging to," and no indication of the difference; in each case the essential facts given by W. and others, and ready at hand, are conspicuously absent, and T. gives the student nothing in their place. Of the thirty or forty forms I mentioned in which *a* or *o* appear, I have found two only, *ma* and *na*, in which T., copying from W., notices the active use of *a* forms. Even then he does not contrast their passive correlatives *mo* and *no*. Thus, though giving an isolated scrap of borrowed information, still missing or ignoring its main significance.

But he adds something of his own on another line, the comparative, showing that *a* means "of, belonging to" in six or seven other Polynesian languages. His comparative method, however, as I have said, does not include, unless accidentally, any critical examination of the words compared, their relations *inter se*, or with others. He brings two or more words together, and the reader must do the rest. In this case, indeed, it was hardly to be expected that he would notice, in these other languages, a distinction, useful, elegant, and characteristic as it is, which he himself had either not perceived in Maori, or had looked on as too trifling to mention. Yet this same distinction is well known and treated as important, in at least several parts of Polynesia, if not universally. See as to Samoan and Hawaiian, the Rev. S. Whitmee's edition of Pratt's Samoan Dictionary, 1878, pp. 5-6. See also his practice in the dictionary itself in noting as to many nouns, whether they take the *a* or *o* form of the

possessive. The distinction is well recognised also in Tahiti, and from the existence of similar double forms in other Polynesian islands and settlements, as in Tonga and Uvea, I should suppose the recognition general.

2.—*Aha*.—For *he aha ana* read *e aha ana*. How did the Cockney *h* get there?

5.—*At*.—A relative particle, a word of great interest and constant use, principally as supplying to a large extent the want of relative pronouns in Maori; familiarity, therefore, with its chief functions is essential for even an elementary knowledge of the language. W., being a Maori grammarian, that is to say, having an intimate and idiomatic knowledge of the Maori language, treats it at considerable length, setting out seven or more cases in which it is used, with numerous illustrative examples all translated, forming together a valuable compendium. T. with this, amongst other, as his material, works it up to this effect:—"Ai, a particle having no English equivalent, and only to be understood by reference to a Maori grammar." He adds, however, a four-line summary of its various uses with three untranslated examples; and concludes with some "comparatives." The student, I think, will infer that so far as a knowledge of Maori is concerned, T. has reached his result by the application this time of what may be called the negative philologic method, since he cancels in the finished product most of the "philologic" facts of which the raw material was full.

10.—*Ana*.—T.'s account of this verbal particle, one of the most frequently used words in the language, is taken imperfectly from W., whose article might well be added to but not shortened. T. confines its use to action, ignoring state, condition, quality, &c., apart from action. He ignores, also, the obvious fact that *e-ana* takes its time from the rest of the sentence when any time is indicated, and will often, therefore, mean a past, future, or conditional, instead of a present and actual state, or action. And even if his "rapid action" expresses the truth conveyed by W.'s "rapid succession of actions," T. might have ascertained by reference to Maunsell's Grammar that *ana* is often used without *e* to give emphasis to the verb in animated sentences, and to express *continuance* of action, whether rapid or not. T.'s last statement about its denoting "finality of action" (of which, as often where it is most wanted, he gives no example), I confess I could make nothing of until by referring to W., and the example he gives, I saw how, historically, and by the application, as I suppose, of the literary method, it had been arrived at.

W., I may add, gives five examples, T. one.

12.—*Ano*.—T., as before stated, begins his short article on this useful, but not particularly difficult adverb, with the naïve direction to the reader: "See Maori Grammar." But surely it is barely civil while taking from another man's dictionary substantially, if not quite word for word, all the meanings you intend to publish in your own, and still leaving valuable material behind, to leave him unnamed, and refer the reader for the rest to "Maori Grammar" in general. The student, also, if he is to be sent elsewhere, and into such dangerous company, might well ask a more specific reference.

Compare W.'s fourteen examples with T.'s five. In the first of the latter, for *kouto* read *koutou*, and in the last for *am e wai* read *ano he wai*.

14.—*Ao*.—T. gives as a 6th meaning "mankind (met)," but this meaning is not to be found in his ex., "*ko tenei tangata no roto i te whenua, e hara i tenei ao (i e., he was not a man but a supernatural being),*" The explanation misses the real antithesis which is between this upper world (*tenei ao*), where men, among other beings, live, and the underground world from which Tumutumuhenua came. In the very next sentence of the original we are told that his wife, Te Repo, was a *tahurangi* or fairy [and therefore not human], but *was* of this world (*te ao nei*) living on the lofty mountains, although not visible to ordinary men.

15.—"*Aokai*, the Pleiades (see *Matariki*)"—But *Aokai* is not there mentioned. T. again unfortunately gives either ex. nor reference. Is it an epithet expressing an attribute of *Matariki*, and possibly meant for *#-kai*, as in the saying *Ko Matariki a-kai ki-uta?* 'Matariki driving food a-shore,' *i.e.*, driving fish shoreward, where it may be caught.

27.—*Ata*.—In "*kei rongomat aku hoa i pata au nei*," insert the omitted *i* before *au*; it was the speaker himself who had been beaten.

27.—*Atakite*.—T. says, "to behold dimly; obscure;" citing *Te atakitea atu te whetu o te rangi*. On this I should propose for *dimly* to read *clearly*, and to strike out *obscure*, which, as a meaning of *atakite*, does not seem to have even a misunderstanding to support it. Dr. Shortland, from whom the passage is taken, translates, "the stars of the heavens are obscurely seen," the three last words translating *te ata kitea*; lit, not clearly seen=obscurely seen. Could T.'s note have been written before he had become acquainted with *te* as a common negative? There is, of course, no more reason for printing *atakite* as one word than any other pair made up of verb and adverb. This very same *ata kitea* is printed separately in Sir George Grey's version of the same poem (G.P., 240).

29.—*Ati*.—W. gives this as used only in the names of tribes: Te ati-awa, &c., meaning off-spring, descendants; and suggests (as Dr. Shortland did, S D., 307) that *Ng#ti* is a contraction of *Nga ati*, as in *Ngatimaru*, &c. T. re-words this, but has not apparently allowed himself time to notice that W. marks the *a* of *Ngati* long; nor to notice what ought to be as obvious that if *Ngati* is really *Nga ati* the *a* must be long; he

therefore leaves it short. On the other hand, he tacitly overrules W. (who confines the meaning of *ati* as "descendant" to the tribal prefix), and gives this as an independent meaning. Unfortunately, the two examples he cites in support of his view are of another *ati* altogether, not a noun, but an adversative conjunction, "but, then" (*c.f.*, *oti*), as will be seen in the full text of the passages cited.

30.—*Atu*.—A long and instructive article might, and ought to have been written on this characteristic and most frequently used directive adverb, the principal meaning of which, as pointed out by Dr. Shortland, *How, &c.*, 48.

is 'forward from the front of the speaker,' as its equally indispensable correlative *mai* means principally 'towards him as he is facing, or supposed to be facing.' The reader should compare T.'s meagre article giving three meanings only, and one of these not very exactly, and his three examples, with Mr. Colenso's 30 meanings and 80 or 90 examples (G.—2, 1882). If T. had mastered the meaning of all these examples he might have classed them under less than 30 headings, but he certainly would not have got them under three. Some of the notions and distinctions involved are rather subtle, but it is just as to these that we want a mind capable of real dictionary work, and with sufficient time at command, to help us; a good palpable difference most of us can detect unaided.

36—*E*.—T.'s treatment of this important verbal particle shews the same negative sympathy as is shown for all the others—indeed, for every word having many grammatical functions. He says, imperfectly following W., whose own account is too brief:—*E*, a particle generally preceding a word used as a verb to express the future tense. When *e* is followed by *ana* it denotes present time, as it does when preceding numerals." Now, no doubt, *e* is often used for the future, though not so often nor so unrestrictedly as *ha* (M. Gr 148), and it should have been stated that it is often also used for the present, especially with *nei*, &c., *te tangata e haere mai nei*, the man who is coming here (close by); more often to denote a contingency or condition, *e riri ia* if he be angry, *e hau* if there be a wind (M. Gr. 140); and very often for the imperative, *e waha* get on (my) back; *e ara*, arise; *e noho*, sit down, stay, and so (from one going) farewell; and (in a compound sentence) it is often used of the past. *Te mea i kore ai e nehua*, the reason (they) were not buried. Again, it is true that in a simple sentence *e-ana* may commonly be translated by an English present indicative, but as is shown by Dr. Maunsell, and indeed is obvious, it may, in a compound sentence, represent past, present, future, or conditional. Hence the view that it asserts nothing of time is probably the best; the time must be inferred from its surroundings.

41.—*Haeatanga*, an opening, &c.—Taken by T. from W., but with a syllable left out. Read *Haeatatanga*; so also in "Key."

49.—*Hapuka*.—Is this name for the familiar fish *hapuku*, known to the Maoris otherwise than through English fish-buyers, and this dictionary?

49.—*Hara*.—For *ka rarue*, which is meaningless, read *ha rarua*. A passive ending in *e* would be a novelty.

50.—*Haramai*.—W. says:—" *v.i* (contraction of *haere mai*) come towards the speaker, often used as an expression of welcome. Pass. *haramaitia*, be come for, Te korero i haramaitia e ia; *the report on account of which he came*.

T. varies this, assuming to correct W., but only by putting the specialized before the general meaning, the cart before the horse. He says, "*Haramai*, an expression of welcome, meaning to come towards the speaker; a contraction of *haere mai*; passive *haramaitia*, to be come for." He gives no example, and adds nothing of his own but the disarrangement of the order of the meanings. The word was certainly used widely in the general sense "come hither," for which see G.P. *passim*. With regard to the statement that *hara* is a contraction of *haere*, I would ask, how is this known or even made probable? The cases, I think, must be very few, if any exist, where two Maori vowels are contracted into one short vowel. Moreover, to those who believe in the importance, not to say the essential character of the disyllable in these languages, forms like Maori *hara* and Hawaiian *hele*, will, *prim# facie*, appear more primitive than trisyllables such as *haere* and *haels*.

54.—*Haumaruru*.—For *ka ko te tapapa* read *ko to te*, &c.

59.—*He*.—W. says, "3. In difficulty or trouble, *ka he toku manawa*, I am out of breath," or "I am out of heart." T. says, "2. A difficulty, trouble; to be in trouble. 8. To be acquainted with. 4. Suffocated (*I he te wanawa*)." Here T., by implication, assumes to correct W. for associating troubles of the mind with troubles of the lungs, under the phrase, which expresses them both, and so separates them by another meaning sufficiently foreign, such as it is; and, further, corrects him by substituting "suffocated" for "out of breath," that is, the extreme case only, for all the lesser degrees. As to the third meaning, I should propose to reverse it, for "acquainted" to read "unacquainted." We have at least Dr. Maunsell's authority for the latter (Gr., 54—64), not to mention the general character of the word *he*.

59.—*Whakahe*—In *me whakatika ata nga whakahe*, for *ata* read *atu*. In his ex. *whakahe* has not the meaning it is cited to support, mistake, error—but means accusation. See J. White's translation and *post, whakatika*.

60.—*Hei*—An extraordinary omission should here be noted:—*Hei*, the preposition future and verbal

particle, a very useful and interesting word—is not given by T.

68.—*Hikutoto*.—For *ko tauatia ki te taua hikutoto*, which is unintelligible, read as in *orig*, *kia tauatia*, &c.

76.—*Ho* (to give).—W. says, "used only in the compound forms, *hoake*, *homai*, *hoatu*," This, I thought, was agreed, but T. amends it. He says, "*Ho*, a word expressive of the action of giving, presenting, &c. It is very rarely used except in composition, as *homai*, give (hither), *hoatu*, give (away from the speaker); *mehemea ka kaiponu koe i ho kai*, *kaore i hoatu e koe*, Mss." This example, I presume, is intended to show not only the common use of *ho* with *atu*, as in the second clause, but also one of the "very rare" uses of it without *ake*. *atu*, or *mai*, as in the first clause. T.'s all but unbroken rule is never to translate a Maori example, and he follows it here; and if the observance of the rule often, as here, leaves the student in difficulties, he must find his compensation in the thought that it must often relieve T. of difficulties not less great. Of the present example I will only say that if the first *ho* is to be taken as *ho*, to give, or in any way seriously, *h* and all, the clause in which it occurs is simply unintelligible. If T. has any other support for the doubt he raises as to W.'s statement, why does he not produce it?

77.—*Hoehoe*.—For *nana i hoehoea te moana* read *nana i hoehoe*, &c. Was it copyist or printer who put the verb into the passive, and who read the proofs?

77.—*Hoatu*.—In *ka hoatu he ia te wai*, for *he ia* read *e ia*, Here, again, how did the *h* get in?

79.—*Hoki*.—W. gives as one use of this very useful adverb, "To give emphasis to an assent or affirmation, &c."—adding appropriate examples. T. alters this, and in so doing lets its meaning escape. He says, "to give emphasis, to assent." Thus, by inserting the comma, and omitting the article, he makes a new verb of an old adverb; and, by giving no example, he deprives his reader of the means of testing the reality and use of the transformation.

81.—*Hongi*.—For *ki hongi hi nga wahine* read *ka hongi*, &c.

89.—*Whaka-hua*.—For *i ratou ingoa* read *i o ratou ingoa*.

90.—*Huanui*.—For the unintelligible *me moe mana* read *me moe maua*; and in ref. for 12 read 2.

92.—*Hurarere*.—For this read *Hukarere*, and in ex. for *kia* read *kei*, reversing the meaning.

93.—*Hume*:—T. says, "2. A coward"; but for this read "drawn in, tucked in." His example shows that it is *he whiore hume*, a tail tucked in (between the legs), which represents the soward as with us.

96.—*Huripoki*.—W. says, "*Huripoki*, v.t., *turn upside down*. *Huripokia te kohue*. *turn over* the soil with a spade." T. puts it in this way, "*Huripoki*, to turn upside down; c.f., *hurt*, to turn, *poki*, to place with the concave side downwards. *Huripokia te kohue*, to turn over the ground with a spade." T., to the real loss of his readers, seldom takes an ex. of W.'s; seldomer still does he favour them with a translation of any Maori example at all. The present case will perhaps make the younger of them wish he had done so oftener.

It will be observed in W.'s article (1) that *huripokia te kohue* is an example of the first meaning, turn (something) upside down, the thing selected being a *kohue* (*kohua*) or cooking-pot; the verb being in the imperative passive; (2) that his last sentence gives a second meaning, or rather an amplification of the first. Unfortunately, T. takes the second meaning as translating the example of the first, with the curious result that the three words which mean, "Let the cooking-pot be turned upside down," are rendered, "To turn over the soil with a spade." It is an instance of the unusually successful application, as it seems to me, of the negative philologic method.

99.—*I*, prep.—A casual consulter of this dictionary might well be struck at first sight by the number and variety of the meanings T. gives to this important word (the smallest, I suppose, of all possible words, but in Maori one of the most useful). Even a comparison with W. would show that while the latter's last meaning is numbered 15, T.'s last is 28. A closer comparison, however, will show that the larger number has been arrived at by a re-division of W.'s material, not by adding to it. T.'s is a remarkably near approach to a word for word copy of W.'s in everything but the numbering and the examples. Of the latter, the student will find to his loss that while W. gives 84 or 35, T. gives only 20.

99.—*Ia*.—W. says, "pron., 3rd person, singular, *he*, *she*, *it*"; and he gives a view theoretically interesting, and information practically valuable of the substitution in certain cases of other pronominal forms for *ia*: adding an important observation, that *ia* is not ordinarily used in speaking of inanimate things.

T.'s article is at least concise: "*Ia*, he, she, or it"; and, having given one example, he goes on, without another word, to his comparatives. Yet his comparatives themselves should have shown him, what we must suppose he himself had not learnt in learning the Maori language, the importance of W.'s observation. And if he had been enough interested in the Melanesian languages to look at their grammars as well as their vocabularies, he would have seen some cases of their dislike to use the third personal pronoun for inanimate things (principally the plural, but also the singular; *Mel. Lang.*, 120, 266); and if, further, he had acted on the advice he sometimes wisely, if a little inconsistently, gives his readers, and consulted a Maori Grammar (e.g., Dr. Maunsell's, p. 34) he would have found it stated "that there is no word in Maori to denote the word *it* with its dual and plural. Their place is generally supplied by some artifice of the construction."

101.—*Ihu*.—For *tukua* read *kukua* T. gives two common meanings to *ihu*; 1. The nose; 2. The bow of a canoe; and adds another not to be found in W., 3. The foresail. Here, unless I am mistaken, by again applying the negative method, he is able to find three new words or meanings in one short passage of ten words only. He quotes as from P.M., 72, *Maranga to te ihu, te waenga, me te kei*. The student will probably think there is something wrong about this. Reference to the original will show that *me te kei* should read *me to te kei*, a great improvement, but he will still find *te waenga*. If, as is probable, he should, nevertheless, suspect that this *te* is a misprint for *to*, and should look to the same story in G.P., lix., he will find his suspicions justified, as there printed it is *to waenga*. The passage describes the starting of the *Arawa* canoe from Hawaiki for New Zealand. The arch-thief Tamatekapua is by stratagem kidnapping the celebrated priest, Ngatoro and his wife, to perform the ceremonies necessary for a prosperous voyage, and is in a great hurry to get away. The moment they are on board he orders the anchor to be hauled up, and the sails set. Accordingly, "*Maranga to te ihu, to waenga, me to te kei*."—" (Then) are raised the [sail] of the bow, that of midships, and that of the stern," and away goes the vessel. T. had a slightly corrupt text to deal with, and he, or his printer, further corrupted it, but even as it is in his dictionary, the *to* of *to te ihu* ought to have put and kept him on the right road, as no doubt it would if he had not ignored it.

108.—*Ikanuiatahua*. "*Muri ihote karakia to te Ikanuiotahua*."—Insert *ko* after *iho*, and for *to* read *ho*,

104.—*Tnaina*.—In *te ra i whiti nei* read, as might be expected, *e whiti nei*.

106.—*Io*.—T. says, "*To* (myth). God, the Supreme Being." [See A, *ante*, but here, I will ask, is it not at best a grave solecism on the author's part, while declaring this *To* to be mythological, to give as its English equivalents the names he has chosen, and that without qualification?]

T.'s ex. may be translated "*To* is the chief god; he made the earth and the heaven." Compare this obvious Maori reflection of Bible teaching with the words of a real authority on genuine Maori belief, the famous Te Heuheu. The Rev. R. Taylor says (*Ika*, 108) "Speaking to Te Heuheu, the powerful chief of Taupo, of God as being the creator of all things, he ridiculed the idea and said: 'Is there one maker of all things amongst you Europeans? Is not one a carpenter, another a blacksmith, another a shipbuilder, and another a housebuilder? And so it was in the beginning; one made this, another that: *Tone* made trees, *Ru* mountains, *Tanqaroa* fish, and so forth. Your religion is of to-day, ours from remote antiquity. Do not think then to destroy our ancient faith with your fresh-born religion.'" This, I believe, is consonant with all genuine Maori tradition.

110.—*Ka*.—T.'s whole account of this most useful verbal particle is taken imperfectly from W., whose account was if I may say so, itself too brief. T. says, "*Ka*, an inceptive particle. It is used to denote one action changing to another, or the commencement of another occurrence: [ex.]. At the beginning of a sentence. When, as soon as: [ex.]." It will be observed that this takes account of actions and occurrences only, ignoring state, condition and quality. No doubt in one sense *ka* is inceptive; in another, it might be called "completive," as with the numerals, *ka toru* this is the third, this makes up the number three (M. Gr., 140). Its use, also, in the imperative should have been mentioned: *tana ka hoki*, let us return; *a, ka kore ia v whakao mat, ka moimoi*; if he shall not answer, you must (call) *moimoi*. The first *ka* in the last example shows another of its common uses, that in contingent statements. The student's attention should also have been called to Dr. Shortland's statement (*Bow, &c.*, p. 38), "*Ka* is independent of time, and may be used with past, present, or future. It merely gives to the word to which it is prefixed the force of a verb." And a good deal more of value might have been added on this as on all the other verbal particles.

111.—*Kaha*.—For *whaka-hangia* (which, I suppose, might mean "baked,") read *whaka-kahangia*, "strengthened."

112.—*Kahawai*.—For *ngak* read *ngako*.

116.—*Kaia*.—*Ko te tangata nana i te timata te kaia*, omit the unintelligible *te* before *timata*,

116.—*Kaiahika*, wounded.—It is repeated in the "Key," but is it a Maori word? *Kaiakiko*, for wounded, was common in the wartime 80 years ago.

117.—*Kaihau*. "The priest (tohunga) who eats the *hau* or portion set apart for the *atua*, or deity (see *whangaihau*)."—This is too general. I understand that the *hau* in the *whangaihau* was often a lock of hair of the slain, a scalplock; and after a battle these might be numerous. The Maori was a hardy eater, but the priest would hardly be expected to eat these.

117.—*Kaioraora*. "*Ki te nui e te kaioraora a nga tuakana nona*." Here copyist or 'reader,' or both, must have been thinking of other tilings. For *e* read *o*, and for *nona* read *mona*,

117.—*Kaiponu*.—For *ngaro* read *ngare*,

122.—*Kani*.—In "*a tangohia ratou etahi wahine, &c.*," the verbal particle is omitted, and by the further omission of the preposition *e*, it is left an open question who takes whom, whether the women carry off the men, or the men the women. It should read *a tangohia ana e ratou, &c.* The ref., also, is wrong-to Ecclesiastes instead of Judges.

126.—*Kapu*.—In *na wai a mehua nga wai* (which ought to have arrested somebody's attention), for *a* read

; and why does T. admit into his examples hybrid words (as *mehua*, Eng. "measure"), which he 'rigidly' excludes from interpretation? (*Introd.* p. xxiv,) I have met with several others.

130.—*Karewarewa*, *karearea*, and *kaeaea*.—These three names (or as I should say three forms of one name), are, as Sir W. Buller says, applied to both his species of the smaller hawk, that is, (1) the quail-hawk (*Harpa*, N.Z.), and (2) the sparrow hawk or bush-hawk (*H. ferox*); certainly, I should say, all three names are used of the latter. T., however, assumes without describing a distinction, on the one hand, between a *karearea* and a *karewarewa* and on the other, between a bush-hawk and a sparrow-hawk. He does not, however, propose a third species, nor give his reasons or authorities. We were assured (*Circ. advt.*) that the 'scientific nomenclature of native birds, plants, fishes, &c., had received careful attention, and might be relied on as accurate in description, and almost complete in detail.' I do not know what exactly the latter part of this means, but the reader must not, as a rule, expect any description whatever of the birds, plants, and fishes themselves, however accurately described their nomenclature may be, and however nearly complete in detail. It is, however, to be noted that Mr. Tregear (*Dict.*, p. x.) modestly admits that this branch of his subject is not "absolutely perfect," and this ought to modify, if it does not quite disarm, criticism.

141.—*keke*.—For *ko te whaia* read *ko to whaea*, &c.

142.—*Kei*.—As to T.'s converting the stern of a canoe into a rnzzen sail, on the strength of a misprint and a little misunderstanding, see *ihu*, ante. But note that here in re-quoting the same ex, he corrects the misprint previously added to it, yet repeats the same curious view of its meaning.

145.—*Whaka-kiki*.—W. gives this as to 'instigate,' with an appropriate ex. T. unaccountably makes it into 'investigate,' citing a part of the same ex.; the part showing the force of the word, the object of the instigation being cut off.

152.—*Ko*.—A word of equal use and interest. W. says, "a particle used before proper nouns and personal pronouns, and also before common nouns when they are preceded by *te* or any of its compounds, *to*, *toku*, *ta matou*, &c., which elsewhere he calls *definitives* (*First Lessons*, pp. 15, 16): 1. To give emphasis, and hence frequently to denote the predicate. 2. To direct attention to the subject about which something is about to be said. 8. To specify particularly what has been already alluded to in a more general way; and so also to indicate or enumerate the individuals signified by a dual or plural pronoun."

These rules, if not complete, are with their seven examples of very great help to the student.

T., having this before him (not to mention what other authorities have written, and what every competent Maori speaker knows), gives us the following: "*Ko*, a particle used when the predicate is either a proper name, a personal pronoun, a local noun, or the interrogatives *wai* or *hea*; also before a common noun with any of the definitives except *he* (see Maori Grammar)." "Whether the student is to use it on every such occasion, or if not, when? and its purpose and effect if he does use it, he is naively told to discover for himself. "When he gets among the grammarians, he may ask, might he not profitably exchange T.'s whole article for six words from Dr. Maunsell? who (*Gr.*, 124 and 152) describes *ko* as "the article of specification and emphasis."

153.—*Koa*.—"W. says "ad. intensive: 1. *indeed*; 2. *in entreaty*." T. says, "an intensive: 1. *indeed*; 2. *in entirety*." His conversion of 'in entreaty' into 'in entirety' (as, a little before, *instigate* into *investigate*), if it amuses some readers, may puzzle others who have not W. If T. had given an ex. and translated it, and then looked again at his definition, he would no doubt have recalled the novelty which the latter contains.

155.—*Kohatu*.—For *Hihi ona*, &c., read *Hihi ana*, &c., the verbal particle for the possessive.

155.—*Kohikohi*, " (myth), the name of the aborigines of New Zealand when discovered by the Polynesians (Maori)."—This is too positive, and too general. Why does not T. give his authority? How many other names are there for supposed N.Z. aborigines (*i.e.*, people said to have been found here on the arrival of some of the well-known canoes), and how many Maori tribes agree in any one name? And how is it known or guessed that they were not Polynesians? T. himself gives several other names (see *Kahuitoka*, *Toi*, *Upokotoea*, and *Hiti*, and there are several others). Under *Hiti* it will be seen to be a debateable question whether there were any inhabitants here before the Maoris. The evidence of tradition is both weak and conflicting.

156.—*Kohore*, "no, not."—This, to say the least, unusual form of *kahore* is given by T. as from the 'South Island' dialect. But do we not want more evidence before accepting it? I would suggest that, as with some other of T.'s most distinctively new words, it comes not from the 'South Island' but the printer's dialect. The paper containing it (Wohler's, *Trans*, vii.), valuable as it is, is greatly disfigured by misprints; yet in nine other places in the same short story the usual *kahore* appears.

160.—*Kororohimako*, an obvious misprint for *kokorohimako*.

164.—*Kopere-tane*.—T. says, "an exclamatory phrase uttered by the leader of a party (usually a war party) as the signal for immediate action." A phrase of similar meaning, and to a careless eye of similar form (though essentially different grammatically), *kopere taua* (or *kopere tatou*), "advance," or "let us go," is well known. (*Te Rou*, 196, 840; A. H. M. iv., 135.) Is *Kopere-tane* a miscopy of this, or really another genuine form? It surely deserved a word of explanation.

172.—*Koromatua*.—For *kotahi i toetoe* read *kotahl i toe*, How came the copyist to reduplicate this verb with the subject in the singular?

172.—*Oromiko-taranga*.—To this prefix *K*; as also before *owhaitau* and *owhakararo* on page 178—evident mishaps.

179.—*Kua*.—*W.* says, "a verbal particle denoting that the action is completed at the time indicated." *T.* re-words without having apparently quite understood this useful and concise definition, and without having drawn on his own practical knowledge of the language; and so he further shortens what was already too short, by leaving out a vital part of it—the last four words. He says, "a verbal particle denoting the completion of past action." But *kua* commonly marks the perfect whether past, present, or future; the completion of the action *at the time indicated*, whatever that time may be. *Kua karanga ia*, he had, has, or will have called (*W.*, p. xiv.) the time of the sentence shewing which is meant. So Arch. Maunsell "*Akuanei ko Hone kua tae*, presently it will be John, who (emphatically) has got there, *i.e.*, John will have got there first (*Gr.*, 152). *Kua mate ahau, e ora ana ano nga rakau nei*, "these trees will live longer than I"; lit. "I died, these trees are still alive" (*Gr.* 168). Moreover, *kua* is not concerned with action only, but also with state, condition, quality, &c. *Kua po*, it is night; *kua koroheke*, (he) has become an old man; *kua kore*, (it) has disappeared, (more lit.)—has become *not*.

201.—*Mamae*.—*W.* by accident, no doubt, omits what is, I suppose, the commonest use of this word (*i.e.*, as a noun meaning 'pain,' whether of body or mind), and so begins with the adjectival or verbal use of it. By a coincidence *T.* must have met with exactly the same accident, since he also omits this commoner use and begins with the other; and a further coincidence is also to be noted, that in the second part of each book, *W.*'s English-Maori part and *T.*'s "Key," which is founded on it, *mamae* appears as the equivalent of the English noun "pain."

W. gives two meanings to the causative form *whaka-mamae*, one transitive, the other intransitive, which *T.* copies faithfully enough; but as he, on principle, omits this too-refined distinction in verbs, it is not surprising that his one example should stray from the intransitive division, where it belongs, to the transitive, where it is quite out of place: *Rangiuru*, the subject of the passage quoted, was not causing pain to any one, but was for a long time in pain.

203.—*Mamutu*.—A new word of *T.*'s, meaning, he says, "1. clean; 2. power, authority (as *mana*)" If the first meaning is right, should not the word be written as two, taking *ma* as the common word for clean, and *mutu* as an intensive? As to the second which is found in the printed version of a letter of *Potatau*'s, may it not there be a misprint for *ua-mutu*, the nape of the neck (perhaps strictly the uppermost cervical *vertebra*)? I do not know the combination, but both *ua* and *mutu* have the former sense, and *mutu*, at least, has both (compare also *mo-ua*, *tuta*, and *tutanga*). *T.*'s ex. could then be translated, "It is not right that one man should come without excuse to put his foot upon the neck of another"; and *mana*, as a secondary meaning, would come naturally, in certain senses.

203.—*Manahuna*.—*T.* says, "eels which wriggle into dark holes." Is this new name intended to denote a new species of the common eel discovered by *T.*? If so, does the habit described sufficiently distinguish this eel from its fellows? Presumably any eel would wriggle anywhere, and always by preference into a dark hole, when any human being was near enough to take an observation. Valuable, therefore, as habits may be in classification—and it must be remembered that they are often more enduring than form—it is evident that a habit common to the whole genus is not enough on which to found even a young naturalist's variety. Could *T.* tell us of any structural difference marking the *manahma*? A Maori friend suggests that the name is not that of the eel, but of the dark hole or place in which it lives

204.—*Manako*.—*T.* says, "the constellation of Magellan's Cloud (one auth.)." Who is the one authority, and under what circumstances does he make this curious statement, or the statement on which this curious statement is founded? What is the constellation of Magellan's Cloud? And which of them is meant? Astronomers agree with the many in recognising two Magellanic Clouds, but do not, commonly, class either of them singly, or both together, among the constellations. The Maoris also recognise two, and have at least two names for each; while the short description I have heard of both, in answer to the question what they were—" *he purehu ra* "—would fairly translate their astronomical name, *nubecula*, Mr. J. White, A. H. M., 1, 52 (trans.) speaks of *Manako-tea* (white Magellan Cloud), and *Manako-uri* (black Magellan Cloud), and *Te-ika-o-te-raki* (which he also calls *Mango-roa*), the Big Magellan Cloud. But he is in part interpreting a doubtful diagram, and the passage seems to want revision. Is he not including as clouds of Magellan both the Coalsack and the Milky Way?

207.—*M#nu*.—Besides the known intransitive meaning of this word, *to float*, *T.* gives a transitive one, "to launch, to cause to float." But this, I venture to say, is not supported by the only examples he quotes: "*Ka manu ia te waka*" [*ka haere a Whakatau*, &c.] [Now the canoe floats, and Whakatau goes on his voyage.] *T.*'s mistake, I presume, arose from taking *ia* for the personal pronoun instead of the conjunction. But in that case the sentence would not construe (there is no transitive particle, and Whakatau should have appeared in the first

clause); while, in the other case, giving *ia* a common meaning (which, by the way, I believe, it has in eight or nine other places in the same one-page story) and giving *m#nu* its common meaning, there is not the least difficulty.

211.—*Maori*.—This word, the most widely-known, I suppose, in the language, has received singularly little attention. T., for instance, has practically nothing to tell us of its meaning beyond what Bishop Williams wrote 40 or 50 years ago, and that was only one word. The latter gave then as its meaning "native." T. says now, "native, indigenous." Yet, I believe, anyone who takes the only course now open, and collects as many cases as possible of its use in the genuine language—the older of course the better—cannot fail of getting some additional insight. If I may judge from a small collection I have myself made, he will find: First, that it is not used as a race name, nor as a noun, but as a qualifying word, an adjective or an adverb. A Maori, as he is now called, was not *he Maori*, but *he tangata maori*. Secondly: That its most general or fundamental meaning seems to be 'common, ordinary,' sometimes with an implication of praise, sometimes of disparagement. A thing may be common, mere, unimproved, as contrasted with what is uncommon or superior—hence Irawaru's bird-spear was called *maori*, because it was plain, and would not hold the birds while Maui's was barbed, and would: Bo of a face not ornamented with the tattoo. Mr. J. White in this connection translates *maori*, untattooed, *i.e.*, plain, common. So, also, the lesser stars are called *whetu maori*, Maori or common stars in contrast to Rehua, and the other great ones; so (in a Maori letter in 18G8) a steamer is called a steamer (*tima*), while an (English) sailing vessel is called a *Kaipuke maori*, or Maori ship, though it was *maori* only in being an ordinary ship, when contrasted with the steamer. On the other hand, a thing may be common in a good sense, normal, real, genuine, as opposed to the uncommon; abnormal, fictitious, having the appearance but not the reality; *wai maori* is fresh water, common, genuine water, in contrast to *wai-tai* or sea-water; so a man was a *tangata maori*, a common or real man, as opposed to other beings (sometimes even called *tangata*, men), *patupaearehe* (fairies), *tupua* (goblins, or monsters), or *atua* (gods)—human in appearance but not in reality, and particularly in later times as opposed to Europeans, who at first universally, I believe, throughout Oceania were looked on as gods, or monsters or ghosts, and not real men. Of the Melanesians, Dr. Codrington says, "When white men first appear to Melanesians they are taken for ghosts, dead men come back; when white men ask the natives what *they* are, they proclaim themselves to be men, and not ghosts" (Mel. Lang, 82 and 467). This is the same antithesis, which in Polynesia was expressed by the word *maori*, and possibly in Melanesia may be found traces of the word, as well as the notion, and when I see among T.'s 'comparatives' the Mangarewan *maori*, said to mean Polynesian and Oceanic, I should like to hear more before accepting them as representing the ancient usage of the language.

215.—*Marenganui*.—Should not this be *maringanui*? I have long known the latter with the meaning "It is well" (and see G. P., 2G7 and 888).

216.—*Marewa*.—For *ka marama ki runga* read *ka marewa*, &c.

220.—*Maruaroa*.—W. says "the name of the third month." T. copies this, but adds, "a season answering to our June (early winter)," which, as an addition to the other, and not in substitution for it, is to me confusing. The authorities, I think, are agreed that the first Maori month corresponded roughly to our June. And, accordingly (in A. H. M. III. 80, and *trans.* 51) these two are taken as equivalent to each other, and also to Maruaroa. The Maori year, I understand, began with the new moon following the first appearance in the morning of Matariki (the Pleiades), or, according to some, of Puanga (Rigel); but the two rise here about the same time, the difference in Right Ascension being approximately compensated by that in Declination. Last year, 1891, the first Maori month, according to Hoani Nahi's Almanac, began on June sixth.

224.—*Whaka-matuku*.—For this read *Whaka-mataku*, obviously a misprint. But it helps to show the imperative need in Maori printing that copyist and proof-reader should have a keen eye, and a strong sense of the value of small differences. They, at all events, must not put into practice on their own account T.'s unqualified rule of the occasional interchange of every Maori vowel with every other. In the present case, the error—putting an *u* for an *a*—is not so serious as in many others; yet it might produce confusion, since, instead of "to terrify," which was aimed at, it substitutes "to turn into a little blue heron."

226.—*Matariki*.—T. says "the Pleiades, a constellation, the sign of the first month." This is true, but how is it a sign of the first month? T. does not say. But in the 'comparatives' the Tahitian *Matarii* the Pleiades is said to be "(b.) a year or season reckoned by the appearance of the Pleiades." But how reckoned? Here again T. does not say. The reader is left uninformed, and would be apt to suppose the Maori year and the Tahitian year began together. Yet, on the contrary, the two appear to have begun some six months apart, if we take the only Tahitian year mentioned by Mr. Ellis as regulated by the Pleiades. That celebrated constellation, indeed, by its appearance above the horizon, marked the beginning of both, but here when that happened in the morning, there when it happened in the evening. The Tahitians, according to Mr. Ellis (*Pol. Res.*, 1, 87), besides other divisions of the year, divided it into two parts: the first, "Matarii above," when that constellation could be seen in the evening; the second, "Matarii below," when it could not be so seen. Something corresponding to this

Tahitian practice seems to have been observed at Hawaii, on the other side of the Equator.

In the first ex., for *te whitu o te tau*, I should read *te whetu*, &c.; it is printed *whitu* in *orig.* (G. P., 254), but see the longer version at p. 308, and see also what is meant.

231.—*Matou*.—In the ex. "*kohore ia matou, ko tona hakoro ia*," as to *kohore* see *ante* under that word; and before *matou* insert the necessary *i*. For *matua* read *matau*.

232.—*Mau*, "9. to know, to recognise." This meaning, not in W. and new to me, T., I presume, found in the passage of which he quotes the first few words. I have added the rest that the reader may see, not the word only, but the sense in which it is used. *Katahi ka mauria te taane e te wahine ra [ki roto ki te whare whatu kakahu ra tahutahu ai]*. "Thereupon the husband was carried (*mauria*) by the wife into that weaving-house, that she might there tend him." T.'s mistake, no doubt, arose from an incautious reading of Mr. White's English, which is translation *plus* explanation.

239.—*Me*, with.—For *pai rawa nga takitaki*, &c., read *pae*, &c. Here, by the substitution of *i* for *e*, *pai* for *pae*, the meaning is reversed; a good instance of the need for accuracy in dealing with Maori vowels. It is the destruction of the fences, not their well-being, that is predicated.

239.—*Mea*.—T. gives as one meaning "a thing of no consequence; it does not matter," &c. But surely that is not *mea* "thing," but *me a?*=*me aha?* lit. 'What must be done? What does it matter? It does not matter.' Compare the common *he a?* What? for *he aha?*

246.—*Moe*.—For *moenamo* read *moenanu*.

250.—*Mokotokupu*.—For this (twice) read *mokotukupu*

268.—*Niu*.—T. says "a means of divination by throwing small sticks; the sticks so thrown." But also, though not mentioned, the upright stick or sticks thrown at. See for an account of the ceremony by one who had seen it, *Te Rou*, 54—5. In the Paimarire or Hauhau 'religion' the worshippers-post round which the believers trotted in a circle, was called *niu*, from the upright stick in the old *niu* ceremony. The first set up of these modern *niu* was the lower flagstaff at Kaitake, Taranaki,

In the Taranaki war, I saw some of these Hauhaus at Te Pekatu trotting round their *niu* with guns in their hands, while the soldiers were advancing to attack them, and within range. The belief existed among them for a time that the real believers were invulnerable.

The Polynesian *niu* is the cocoa-nut tree, as well as its fruit.

271.—*Nukarau*.—For *kei nukurautia koe* read *kei nukurautia tatou*.

273.—*Ngaeo*.—For *te kukume-toka* read *te kuku-moe-toka*.

280.—*Ngatiuhatua*.—T. says, "a name of the patupaearehe (fairies)." But this should be struck out, unless he has in reserve some evidence beyond what I would venture to call the misunderstanding he adduces in its support. It is arrived at by taking "that tribe" (the fairies) in one sentence to mean the same as "this tribe the Ngatiwhatua" in the next.

281.—*Ngawari*.—For *mauna atu* read *mauria atu*, and for vii. 5 read vii. 51.

284.—*Ngoikore*.—For *he puta nga uri* read *ka puta*, &c.

293.—*Ori*.—For *ka oria i te hau* read *ka oria e te hau*.

295.—*Owha*.—T. says, "to warn; warning, alarming," and supports this unexpected meaning by an example in which I am afraid it is not to be found. It is a passage from a farewell address to Sir G. Grey in 1853: *ko a matou kupu owha enei ki a koe*, which C. O. Davis translates, "these are our words of love to you" (where 'words of love' = *kupu owha*); and they go on to quote the fifth commandment as to the obligation to love their parents, &c. As there is nothing of warning or alarm here, it will be safer for the student to accept T.'s meaning in a somewhat contrary sense, and translate *owha* farewell, the expression or feeling of love and respect, especially at parting.

296.—*Pa*.—For *i kaika ana* read *e kaika ana*, and in *i runga ake te ate* insert *i* after *ake*.

302.—*Pai*.—In *he tino nui pai toku pai atu ki a koe*, for the first *pai* read *pu*; and under *whakapai*, for *rawatai* read *rawatia*.

305.—*Pakawha*.—For *to pakawha* read *te pakawha*; insert "?" at the end, and in ref. for Rew. read Hopa.

306.—*Pakete*.—T. gives two words of this form: 1. "to be forced out; to shove out, to expel"; [both active and passive?] and 2. "a bow of the archer." The latter he speaks of as "a doubtful word: Murihiku dialect," I would suggest for further enquiry that they may both represent the English word *bucket*, introduced possibly in the South by the old whalers. As to the first, Dr. Shortland (*Southern Districts of N.Z.* p. 811) gives *pakete-tia* as "shoved out, done up, &c.," with which compare the meanings of 'bucket' in the *New English Dictionary*, e.g., 'to give the bucket'='to give the sack'; so 'bucketed'='sacked' in the workman's sense? Again, 'bucketed' 'as a horse by hard riding; 'pumped,' done up. As to the second, compare 'bucket,' the bent piece of wood on which a dead pig was hung, and which is suggested as the origin of the slang phrase "to kick the bucket." The provincial saying "as *wrong*, or as *bent* as a bucket" would apply to the archer's bow.

313.—*Paoho*.—Under this T. says "to bark at a pig is *paoho*, to bark at a man is *tau*." Is not this a

considerable misunderstanding? Probably *tau*, to bark, is imitative, and regards mainly the sound; while *paoho*, I believe, regards rather the purpose or effect of the barking, to give the alarm, call attention, &c., by barking. Compare *whaka-oho*, to arouse, startle. Indeed, I would suggest that in *p#-oho*, the prefix *p#* is a causative=*whaka* in force, if not in origin, as in some other Maori words; and compare *t#* both in Maori and Tahitian.

314.—*Papa*.—For *nana e takatakahi*, &c., read *nana i*, &c.

323.—*Pareramaumu*—unable to swim.—This is taken by T. from W., but is it not in the latter a misprint for *parera maunu*? I know it in the latter form, and also with the elements transposed *maunu-parera*, as one who cannot swim. See also T.'s *mounu* with the same meaning.

327.—*Patu*.—T. quotes "*e haere ana ahau ki te wahi e patua ma nga weru*, and it is so in *Trans.* vii., 51; but as it stands is not *e patua ma nga weru* obviously printer's Maori for *e patua ai nga weru*? See it so printed in A. H. M. II., 131.

329.—*Pawera*.—For *i mauri ai* read *i mariri ai*,

332.—*Peke*.—T.'s first three meanings of this word, leap over, jump up, and leap down, may be conveniently and properly reduced to one, *i.e.*, to jump, the rest of the sentence determining the direction. His sixth meaning, "to conceal," is new to me, but is not borne out by his example: *ka peke a Pungarehu raua ko tana hoa ki runga ki te matao [noho ai]*. "Pungarehu and his friend jumped up to the window, and there sat." J. White translates "sat at" the window. There was no concealment; quite the contrary. They were planning to kill the *poua-kai*, or man-eating bird, of this island, and were the bait in their own trap. The great bird made for them from a distance, and, when near enough, struck at one of them, and thus, having come within reach of their stone axes, it was killed.

332.—*Pekepeke*.—W. says, "quick"; T. says, "quick, swift, speedy," Is it superior knowledge, or the literary faculty which gives as three meanings for one, but instead of one example, none?

332.—*Pena*.—W. says, "like that which is near, or has some reference to the person spoken *to*." T. quite unaccountably alters this into "like something near or referring to the person spoken *of*." Thus, by the change of preposition, depriving the word of the whole peculiarity of its meaning.

340.—*Pipiri*.—For *fro raua ko Papa* read *ko Rangi raua ho Papa*.

340.—*Piringi*, a shelter.—This, I would venture to call one of T.'s most distinctly new words. He supports it by a quotation from the Maori Bible (of 1868?), where it certainly occurs (Psalms lxi., 3): *Hei piringi hoki koe moku*, &c., "For thou has been a shelter for me." Nevertheless, and in spite of T.'s adoption of it, I venture to think it is not a Maori word. T., himself, connects it with *piri*, but how? The connection would be of the greatest interest, but it remains his secret. I would add that *piringa*, the word one would expect, is the regular verbal noun of *piri*, *piripiri*, to stick to, keep close to, hide, shelter behind, and so that which shelters, cover in a military sense. Moreover, this *piringa*, and not *piringi*, is actually found in three older editions of the Psalms which I have examined, and also in this 1868 edition, in the very next verse to the one quoted. But T. is well enough satisfied with it to repeat it in his "Key," though there, indeed, under "sheltered," not "shelter," thus introducing another difficulty. Yet though *piringi*, as a verbal noun ending in *i* instead of *a*, would, I suppose, be unique in the language, T. does not think it worth while calling the reader's attention to it.

342.—*Po*.—T. says, "4. *Eternity: kua mate ki te po*; passed into eternity." These two phrases are equivalent so far as each means that some one has died, and no farther; take away *mate* from the one and eternity will go with it. The Maori *mate* is ambiguous; it may mean *til* or it may mean *dead*. If a Maori wants to make it clear he means *dead* he adds an intensive word or phrase, as *mate rawa*, or *mate atu ki te*. *Po*, or *ki te Reinga*, or to be very emphatic *mate rawa atu ki te Po*, and so on. And evidently several other words have as good a claim to the translated eternity, *e.g.*, *Te Reinga*, *Pae-rau*, *Waro*. But supposing T. had to put into Maori a proposition which, upon reflection, he will, no doubt, admit to be true, that anyone who is now in time, is as much in eternity as he ever can be—would he make his meaning clear if for eternity he used the word he gives as its equivalent?

350.—*Popokonuihaura (Clematis)*.—I have heard this as *Popokonui-a-Hura*, which, I would suggest, as on the face of it a more probable form, since *popoko=upoko*.

352.—*Pongi*.—For *whaono ana* read *whaona ana*; *whaono* would involve a new departure in the Maori passive.

365.—*Puanga*.—For *Tautoro* read *Tautoru*.

369.—*Pukana*.—For *he putanga* read *hei putanga*, and for *ka pu* read *ka pukana*.

371.—*Pukupuku*.—In the ex. for *he* read *hei*, and in ref. for 9 read 29.

372.—*Pukuka*, a glutton.—For this read the ordinary *puku-kai*. The latter is given as a comparative under *puku*, but *pukuka* re-appears in the "Key."

386.—*Raho*.—For *kohera* read *kohera*, and for *ko po* read *ka po*.

395.—*Rangona*, "(a passive form of Rongo), to hear," &c.—The parenthesis should be removed, as it gives to the passive the meaning of the active. But this change of passive to active will not surprise the student so

much as the statement that *ranqona* is a passive of *rongo*, coupled with the subsequent statement (p. 423), "*Bongo* (passive *rongo*)," as if the latter not only existed in this sense, but were the ordinary form. If so, there has been 'a conspiracy of silence' about it, or worse, among our grammarians for half a century. *Rango* is, I believe, unique in the language in changing, as it seems, the first vowel of its radical in forming its passive; and one of perhaps two only which show apparent change in either vowel, the other, or one other, being *mea*.

403.—*Raukataura*.—For this read *Raukatauri*. The latter name is also given to the long tapering leathery case of a well-known moth (*Liothula omnivora*?) This case is said to be the flute on which the goddess played; perhaps strictly *te pu a Raukataura*.

414.—*Ririki*.—For *kotoa* read *katoa*.

414.—*Rikiriki*.—T. copies from W., "In small portions or sections; in fragments"; but prefixes of his own, "in particles." His only example, however, is of the common general meaning, "small" (which he has put into a separate article, and to which it should be transferred). It is "*Upoko rikiriki e!*" This, as might be expected, J. White translates "Little heads." If T. translates it according to the meaning he cites it to support, "heads in particles, sections, or fragments," he encounters the difficulty that it is an address to living men, and misses the obviously intended antithesis of *mata-nui*, "big face," in the next clause.

423.—*Rona*.—Near foot of first column, for *wairoa* read *waiora*. Although Browning has given a mode of immortality to the river Wairoa,

See *The Guardian Angel*, last line but one. The "Alfred, dear friend" of that poem was the late Alfred Domett, for many years a Nelson resident, himself no mean poet, and one of the most original of the minds which helped to found this Colony. For Browning's view of what he might have become, see "*Waring*."

it must not be allowed to usurp the place of the *Wai-ora-a-Tane*, "the living water of Tane," which ought to be still more celebrated, and will be whenever it finds its sacred poet, since it was itself capable of conferring immortality (of a kind) on those who bathed in it.

423.—*Rongo*, (passive *Rongona*), to hear.—As to passive, see *Rangona*, ante. T. gives (from W.J. as one meaning, "tidings, report fame"; also, but not from W., "sound, noise." He supports the latter with an example of the former, *na, ka toe te rongo ki ona teina [taina, in orig.]*, which Sir G. Grey translates, as the words and the facts require, "At last the news," &c.

428.—*Rou*.—In *ka tako kei raro*, for *tako* read *taka*.

440.—*Taepa*, "a goblin, a spectre."—I have heard of a creature with a name sounding a good deal like this, for nearly 40 years, but always from Englishmen who did not talk Maori, or from Maoris who thought they were talking English. Is it genuine? The nearest approach to it I have hitherto seen in print is in the *Maori Messenger* for July, 1868 (No. 6, p. 10), where the English article, evidently the original, has "instigated by some typo," &c., but the Maori translation evades it by a circumlocution. Presumably the English writer thought he was introducing an evil spirit well-known to the natives, whose name would give point to the translation, but the translator did not see it.

441.—*Tahanga*.—In *katahi ka marama ake*, for *marama* read *maranga*.

443.—*Tahi*.—In "*korua pea ko te Arahore i haere tahi mai?*" For *Arahore* read *Arahori*. The proverb is against those telling 'travellers tales,' &c. Mr. Colenso (*Trans.* xii., 124) translates "Perhaps thou and False-road came here together?" so that the change of *i* to *e*—of *hori*, false, to *hori*, not—would just take away the point.

446.—*Tai*.—T., copying W., says, "an exclamation of address to a married woman. *E tai!*" Add, however, "or to a man," since it is used to both sexes. This, also, T. might have learnt from Maunsell's Grammar, or one acquainted with Waikato usage—not to mention Maori letters and newspapers.

447.—*Taina*.—T.'s distinctions between the two dialectic variants *taina* and *teina* have the advantages and disadvantages of novelty: I should advise the beginner to investigate the matter for himself before accepting them. So far as I have been able to test them since seeing this book, I do not find them founded in reality.

450.—*Takahanga* (for *takahihanga*).—So T. puts it. Yet he does not give us *takahihanga* (presumably in his view the right form) in its proper place. Is this because he has not found it actually existing, and only mentions it as the ideally perfect form? Yet the contrary view (which I hold) that *takahanga* is not only the actual, but the normal form of the verbal noun from *takahi*, is, whether right or wrong, at least suggestive, because it challenges the radical character of the last syllable of *takahi*.

453.—*Takeke*.—Bishop Williams (ed. 1852) says "Takeke, to be acquired; *Takeke noa nga tini kupu Maori i a koutou*; all the native words have been acquired by you." In the last edition (1871) Archdeacon Williams changes this a little, "Takeke, a. altogether acquired," giving the same example, but, to the peril of the incautious, untranslated. T., omitting this example, and giving none of his own, now says, "*Takeke*, altogether acquired; not an original possession." Of this, the first half is borrowed; how was the second half arrived at? It seems to me, not by the 'philologic,' but by the 'literary' method; not by a re-interpretation of the Maori, for that it would not fit, but by a misinterpretation of the two English words constituting the first half.

458.—*Tamaka*.—For "fine strands" read "five strands."

460.—*Whakatana*—T. cites "*ko Whakatau, potiki ahau, e whakatane ia ia.*" Here the omission of a letter confuses the whole sentence; for *ahau*, I, read *ahaku*, my. The same error occurs on p. 330, under *peha*.

472.—*Tapoko*,—W. says. "v.i., 2. *Sink* in mire"; meaning, I presume, by the difference in type that *sink* was the general meaning of which "in mire" was a particular case. T. copies the words but in one type "2. to sink in the mire "; thus wholly and erroneously specializing the meaning. And his example is peculiarly unfortunate, for, though at first sight it seems to fit, this has only been arrived at by cutting off the end of it which specifies the material sunk into, that being not *mire* but *stone*. "*A, e ta poko ua [for ua read na] ano te taunga o nqa waewae o Hotumauea.*" [The feet of Hotumauea in alighting sank in.] If the quotation had been carried three words farther, so as to include *i te kowhatu* (as it is, curiously enough, on p. 484), it would have appeared that *Hotumauea* (who was something of a giant) had taken so prodigious a leap that his feet sank into the very rock itself, and the story goes on to tell that the marks are to be seen to this day. But T., unkindly, I submit, to all concerned, takes away the rock, and the wonder, and leaves the hero sticking in the mud.

475.—*Tarahanga*.—For *i ringa* read *i runga*.

477.—*Taraheke*.—For *ka rangi* road *ka ranga*.

480.—*Tarie*.—T. gives this as equivalent to *taria*, passive of *tatari*, to wait. Hitherto, as I understand, the authorities were agreed that every suffix forming a passive was or ended in *a*. T. now gives us one ending in *e*. If I am right he is thus taking an entirely new departure in the Maori language. He does it without a word of comment; and on what authority? That of the type-setter of vol. vii. of the New Zealand *Transactions*! and that particular part of the text is worse than most of it. See the same incident much better printed in A. H. M., II., 70, where *taria* appears, not *taria*.

481.—*Taringa-here*, "(myth) a fairy or elf with a face resembling a cat."—T. tells us this, but does not tell us how, in the long interval between their last sight of a cat before coming to New Zealand and their first sight of one here, the Maoris kept alive the memory of the cat-like face of the *Taringa-here*? I am assuming that it was not a *parvenu* of this present century, but a respectable aboriginal fairy of immemorial antiquity. Otherwise, I submit, T. is exciting our curiosity, and our wonder upon false pretences.

483.—*Tatei*—This, I presume, is meant for *t#tea* (of which the first *a* is long, *taa=tae*). It is spelt *tatea* three times in A. H. M. III., and at p. 84 has the secondary meaning, not given by T., of 'off-spring.'

483.—*Tatou*.—In "*matou*, we, including person or persons addressed," for *including* read *excluding*.

490.—*'launaha*.—In *katahi ka ratou ka taunahanaha, &c.*, omit the unintelligible *ka* before *ratou*,

491.—*Taupuhipuhi*.—T., says "to lean one on another," and this is right as far as it goes. His example is "*Taupuhipuhi atu ra korua nei ki te hoa* "; but the original has as the sense requires—"korua nei ko te hoa." *Tau* here is the prefix of mutuality or reciprocal action: "go you and your companion mutually embracing." The words were addressed to Sir George Grey in 1853, and referred to his leaving New Zealand in company with Bishop Selwyn. The image is that of two lovers going off arm in arm, or with arms about each other. Substituting, as in T.'s text, *ki* for *ko* would, I suppose, introduce a third person for the two others to support—quite another thing.

494.—*Tauroru*, "the constellation of Orion." Is this a true identification? If so, it implies a great deal; if not, it is correspondingly dangerous. I will not ask how far the notions of any two ordinary Englishmen out of a hundred would agree as to the boundaries, or even the form of Orion if put on paper, but do the Maoris figure *Tauroru* as a huntsman or warrior, or at least as a human being? and if so, is he, when on the meridian, and most conspicuous, standing on his head or his heels? As I understand the word *Tauroru*, it means "the Belt of Orion," or rather for even that is ambiguous the three bright stars in the belt. But even if we assign, as I should propose to do, a personal meaning to *tau*, the *font* makes a plural of it.

It is deplorable how little of Maori star-lore is on record, and of that little how much is doubtful, or worse. (Take, for instance, the Rev. R. Taylor's impossible account of what he calls the chief Maori constellation 'the canoe of Tamareti,' of which the stern is the Belt of Orion (on the equator), the sail the Hyades, and the bow the Pleiades, conveniently, if curiously, placed on the far side of the South Pole, near the Southern Cross, which serves for an anchor. T. appears to take this seriously, at least as to the remarkable length of the canoe.) But a good deal might even yet be done if our Maori scholars in different parts of the country, where any learned, or half-learned Maoris are yet left, would cross-examine them in sight of the stars, and with a star atlas for reference.

498.—*Tawharu*, to bend &c. For *wharau* read *wharua*.

498.—*Tawharu*.—T. says "(South Island Dialect) Eight; the eighth: *Hei tawhиту hei tawharu ka haere mat ia.*" I think T. here again attributes to the dialect of the South Island what really belongs to the Printer's dialect. I should say, therefore, for *hei tawhиту* read *hei te whиту*, and for *hei tawharu* read *hei te waru*. T. ought, I submit, to have seen, in spite of printer or scribe, that *hei* here required the definite article after it, and before the numeral, that therefore, *ta* having no other conceivable function where it is, was, in some way what was otherwise missing; and he should either have given it us as a new form of the article, or if he thought the

evidence too slight for such a novelty, he should have treated it as *te* in disguise. He might also have arrived at the same result in another way, if he had looked at the same story, told in the same dialect, in a volume he has quoted from, more perhaps than any other—the first volume of White's *Ancient History*, where at pp. G2 and 66 exactly the same expressions occur, only spelt as usual *hei te whitu* and *hei te want*.

500.—*Tawhitu*, "Seven, seventh."—This as shown above should be omitted. A further point not there mentioned is that while T. treats the *ta* of *tawhitu* and *tawharu* as negligible when these words have a cardinal value, he allows it the full function of the article when they are regarded as ordinals.

503.—*Tekau* ten.—One Maori word T. compares with this is *kau*. "to swim"; he does not say why, and I certainly cannot guess. The main idea which he seeks to establish by his other comparatives, that *kau* represents an original Polynesian word meaning 'collection, assemblage' has a good deal of evidence in its favour, and the suggestion is quite reasonable that this is its meaning in *tekau*. But the discussion must include many more facts, and take generally a much wider range, and will involve a much more critical inquiry, before this can be deemed even provisionally settled. Probably *kau* was once of very general meaning, and has assumed, or rather is one of, several varying forms. And there is, I think, a strong case for the suggestion that the *kau* of *tekau* may be the same as that in *rakau*—as to the composition of which latter word see Dr. Codrington's instructive observations (*Mel. Lan.*, p. 95.); also, on the general question, his chapter on *Melanesian Numeration*. In the latter the Maori word *rau* meaning '100,' but also meaning 'leaf,' may find explanation since some Melanesians use a *cycas* frond having many leaflets with which they count in several cases, by turning down a leaflet as a tally for every 10, so that in the examples he gives the whole *leaf*= 100 (p. 249). Speaking of *tally* suggests the observation that while it is our duty to go abroad for every relevant fact we can find, it does not become us to ignore important facts at home. If T.'s unaccountable aversion to Maori grammar had not kept him from making himself familiar with Archdeacon Maunsell's admirable work, and the very useful grammar prefixed to Bishop Williams's Dictionary of 1852, he would have seen that these two of our oldest and best authorities concurred in saying that with some of the Natives *ngahuru* meant ten and *tekau* eleven; Bishop Williams saying that they counted by elevens, the eleventh being a tally, and he compares our "baker's dozen." There is a proof also that the record of some of the most important of their counting was kept by a "tally," in, I suppose, the etymological sense of the word, a *notched* (stick), that is, their *rakau whakapapa*, or stick on which the successive generations were marked by notches.

509.—*Whaka-tika*.—T. says, "3. to correct, to put right." His ex., however, appears to be of a nearly opposite meaning, "to admit an accusation"; *me whaka-tika atu nga whakahe* [*mai a to matua teina a Te-tauri*], which J. White translates, "And we will own the truth, and now admit the error which Te-tauri charged us with," T. takes from W. his first and second meanings of *whakatika*, strighten, straighten oneself, stand upright; but without apparent reason omits the last "rise up; start on a journey"; when he ought rather to have added "and so go or come, as *atu* or *mai* is used."

520.—*To*, to drag.—For *na wai e to?* a combination which ought to have excited somebody's curiosity, read *ma wai e to?*

521.—*To*, "up to, as high as."—T. takes this from W., but omits his example, and gives no other. Yet we specially want as many cases as possible in which this word occurs, for it seems an open question whether it is a whole word or half a word. Is it ever found without *nga* after it? If not, is this *nga* really the plural article or an integral part of the same word, thus making it *tonga*? (see M. Gr. 84). There are difficulties on either view, and the first step is to bring together all possible examples.

524.—*Tohunga*.—T. says, "3. The soul or intelligent spirit of a human being." The example in support, however, is insufficient, being *ka hutia te ki runga ki a Rona* (to which the reference is only "C. O D.," but should be M. M, 167). It is not, I venture to say, really founded on this passage, but on a mistaken view of C. O. Davis' free translation of it, "the spirit of the chieftain is taking its flight to Rona." The poetical license of translating *tohunga*, 'chieftain' instead of priest,' and in representing that his spirit, and not his body, went up to Bona (the man in the moon) was not very great, but it was enough apparently, to mislead T. Compare J. White's more literal translation of the same line A. H. M. II., 20, "The high priest is lifted up to Rona."

525.—*Toi*.—T. copies W. in saying, "to trot, to move briskly"; but seems again very unfortunate in his example:—*Kei te toi poto, a, i te ata kei te toi roa*. This, taking it as illustrating the only meaning given of *toi*, must, I presume, be translated: "at the short trot, and in the morning at the long trot," which is not lucid, whether the fault is T.'s or mine. The facts are these:—The great priest *Ngatoro* had gone back to Hawaiki to destroy the 'multitude of Manaia.' He asks his sister, who is married to Manaia, as to their habits. The quotation above is her answer to the question, where are they in the evening? "At the short trot, and in the morning at the long trot." Evidently something different or something more is wanted in the meaning to be given to *toi*. The proverb *waiho i te toipoto*, if it means "keep together, be united," suggests the secondary meaning T. was wanting.

541.—*Tua*.—W. says, "a form of address used by the Ngatiwhatua tribe"; of which name it will be

observed it forms the last part—the Maoris often familiarly using the first or last part of a name as an address instead of the whole—but, of course, it is only appropriate where the full name is appropriate. T. defines it as "a word of address to a man"; thus improperly suggesting its generality, and concealing its origin.

543.—*Tuapae*.—T. has copied his example faithfully—too faithfully, I think. In *te tuapae o utu*, is not *utu* an obvious misprint for *utu*?

546.—*Tui*.—For *tuia tu tatou waka* read *to tatou*, &c.

554.—*Tungou*. "To nod, to beckon." 2. "To nod the head as a sign of dissent."—If T. has authority for this second statement he ought to have given it, since he is reversing the ordinary meaning of the word. A Maori nod is a motion of the head upwards or backwards, and means, on meeting a slight salutation, and in conversation, assent; raising the eyebrows has the same name and the same double meaning. Dr. Shortland (S.R., 84) quoting a saying of Thenga's *Te rakau e takoto nei, tungou, tungou*, "O tree lying there raise your head, raise your head," says, *tungou* = *Greek text*, a sign of dissent with the Greeks, but the common sign of assent with the Maori."

559.—In the first column near the bottom, for *Tuhirangi* read *Tahurangi*, and for *Tahurangi* read *Kawhia*. Two statements also here require correction when compared with the authority cited to support them (G. 8.—16.) T. says: "Neither of them" [Tumutumuhenua and his wife Repo] "were of the people of this world; they were of the *Tuhirangi*" [read *Tahurangi*] "fairy people." Each clause is incorrect. *Tumutumu* was not of the people of this world, nor was he therefore a *Tahurangi*, since they were of this world. Repo, on the other hand, was a *Tahurangi*, and was therefore of the people of this world, though not of the human race.

564.—*Turu*.—In this case T. takes word, meaning, example, and translation from W. His own contribution is to take the passive *turua*, separate it from its active (or rather its simple form) as if a new word, omit to state it is the passive or a passive at all, and omit W.'s ex. without giving another.

568.—*Tuwaha*, to distribute.—This is from W., but another form *tuachawha* is coupled with it. The latter is not supported by authority or example, nor I would say by analogy. Both vowels of *tuwaha* (of which another common form is *tuha*) are short, and in that case it is, to say the least, very rare, and presumably abnormal, to find the second syllable reduplicated; and a real instance of it would deserve comment.

In the second ex, for *paka* read *papa*, and for XIV. read XII.

579.—*Whaka-uru*.—T. says "2. To fasten together." If that is so, it is not supported by the example he cites for the purpose: "*Ka whakaurua ma ratou i ami taura*," &c. In this, for *ma ratou* read *ma roto*. When the famous canoe *Tainui* arrived in New Zealand, her people found a stranded whale, round which, unfortunately, those before them had tied flax ropes as a sign of ownership. But the *Tamui* people were not to be beaten. They also made flax ropes, and dried them at the fire, thus making them appear older. These ropes were then tied *under* (*ma raro i*) all the others, they were *inserted within* (*whaka-uru a ma roto i*) those other ropes, thus making further evidence of having been tied on first. And they got their whale, though not by 'fastening their ropes together.'

581.—*Uraroa*.—In *kei mate Tarakihi*, though so printed in *Trans.* XII. p. 139, I should propose to insert *a* before *Tarakihi*; and for *kia matenga ururoa* though so printed in W. I should propose to read *kia mate a ururoa*, treating *matenga* as an obvious misprint in W. and making the Maori agree with W.'s translation which T. had before him, as well as the common form of the proverb from Mr. Colenso's paper.

584.—*Waenga*. "4. The mainsail of a canoe.—For the reasons for striking this out see, *ihu*, ante.

585.—*Waea*.—W. says, *v.i.*, 'be weary,' and gives an example. T. says, 'to be tired; weary'; and also gives an example: "*Ka waea te kanohi, kei te tirohanga atu*; G. P., 62." But the original has *waiia*, as it evidently requires, T.'s ex., therefore, should be corrected, and put under *waiia* on p. 589.

585.—*Waero*, "4. enemies, inimical, hostile."—Is this, in this sense, a genuine Maori word? In the Taranaki war the hostile natives were often, though I think in a half jocular sense, called *waero*, but was not the extended name *waero-mene*, otherwise *wild-men*?

589.—*Wai*.—T. says, "*mi*, who?" adding a remark not to be found in W., that "*wai* is generally preceded by *ko*." He had better have said that it is generally preceded by some particle: by *ko* when that is appropriate; oftener, probably by *a*, since that occurs with most of the oblique uses of *wai*, and often when it is in the nominative. But it is also, of course, often preceded by *na*, *ma*, *ta*, *to*, *o*, *no* or *mo*, according to the sense to be expressed. Should not a dictionary-writer refrain from remarks which, while they cannot benefit those who have an elementary knowledge of the language, may easily confuse the mere beginner?

591.—*Wairo* (for *waero*), a tail, &c.—Has T. any authority for this beyond some unfortunate misprint? He says, see *waero*, but there it is not even mentioned; while analogy and all his comparatives are against it.

594.—*W#nanga*.—For '*Laura* read *Tauira*.

598.—*Wee*, water.—A startling novelty given without example, authority, or remark.

607.—*Whakariki*, a "war cry."—And we are gravely told to compare "*whakaariki* a war-party of the enemy," as if they were two words instead of two ways of writing one word which, in each case, has the same

pronunciation. The difference, I apprehend, is not so great as if in English "enemy" was called a war-cry," and "en-e-my" a hostile war-party. As I understand it, the cry *ko te whakaariki!* (lit. the enemy!) is not, in the common acceptation, a war-cry, but was a cry of alarm when the enemy was suddenly discovered close at hand.

623.—*Whiowhio*.—*Whiowhio. ventris* read *eructatio ventris*; a previous and worse case of eccentricity in the Latin language, I preferred to let alone.

In addition to the foregoing I have noted a good many other misprints, mis-copyings, and other *eorrigenda*. That is without counting the very numerous errors in relation to marking the length of the vowels; errors, which, as I have said, are equivalent to the serious mis-spelling of English words, a grave fault in a dictionary where they are professedly marked.

Mr. Tregear gives a second part to his dictionary, calling it "Key to the Maori Words." It consists chiefly, though not avowedly, of the second or English-Maori part of Archdeacon "Williams' Dictionary, with some additions, some trifling alterations, and a new name. I do not propose to discuss it.

It will have been seen that my own answer to the question I proposed as to the author's fitness for the arduous work he undertook, and as to the trustworthiness of the book he has given us, is, on some important points, distinctly in the negative. I think he began the book long before he was ready, began his building before he had nearly laid his foundation, and, having begun it, allowed himself far too little time in which to do it, even as he himself might have done it, if he had not felt it a matter of such urgency to get it published. It shows, as I think, throughout that part which I have particularly examined, constantly recurring evidence of insufficient knowledge and hasty work. And if that is so as to Maori, it is not to be presumed he has escaped error in dealing with the many other languages with which he is, to say the least, less familiar.

In spite, therefore, of the author's manifest enthusiasm, and the large amount of useful material which his industry has brought together, I fear that he has done almost as much to hinder as to promote the cause he would serve; that until his work has undergone a complete revision, and been to a large extent recast, it can only with very large and indefinite reservations be accepted as trustworthy; and that to those who consult it, instead of being a uniformly safe guide, it will often prove a source of serious danger, and in direct proportion to their need for its help.

One other word in conclusion. The great English Dictionary now being published at Oxford is, we are told, founded mainly on materials collected during more than 25 years by the *Philological Society*. Up to 1884, when the first part appeared, 1300 persons had lent their help in collecting three and a half millions of illustrative quotations—and, according to present appearances the preparation of the collected materials for the press seems likely to occupy another 20 years or so. Now, if it is permitted to compare small things with great, I would say that in this great example, all who are interested in such a Maori dictionary as we might have, may find a twofold lesson—not to delay the beginning of the book, and not to hurry the end.

Will not then the Polynesian Society organise the collection of material for a really comprehensive Maori dictionary, which shall be illustrated throughout from the other Oceanic languages after an adequate discussion of the principles determining the relationship of words, and other necessary points in structure and idiom; collection and discussion going on together to their mutual profit?

One other lesson we must draw from the same example: the imperative need for co-öperation in such a work. This is especially true of a language a large part of which has still to be sought from the widely-scattered speakers of it themselves, who, moreover, as has often been said, and still more often regretted' are rapidly losing their old knowledge of it—that is, I suppose! not less than half of it in quantity, and how much more in value?

But there is no need to urge the importance of the work to be done, nor the need of co-öperation in doing it, on a Society whose existence itself is the clearest recognition of both.

There are, no doubt, a good many in New Zealand, and outside, who would willingly respond to the Society's appeal for help. And such a dictionary would evidently not be merely of local value, but would be of inestimable advantage to all students of the Oceanic languages. It would go a long way towards giving an insight into a large number, if not all, of these languages, and towards solving some of the most interesting problems concerning the several races which speak them.