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Front Cover

The Electors of Bruce *Versus* The Law Courts of New Zealand.

"A Vigorous and Able Speech."—*Otago Daily Times*.

"A Most Drastic Criticism."—*Bruce Herald*.

De minimis non curat Lex.

THE MAGISTRATE'S JUDGMENT IN VOIDING THE BRUCE LICENSING POLL FREELY CRITICISED; LEARNED
COUNSEL FOR THE PETITIONERS APPROPRIATELY HANDLED; THE STATE OF THE LICENSING LAW IN BRUCE
AND THE COLONY

Opened Up in An Address to the Electors of Bruce

Delivered By P. B. Fraser, M.A.,

With a Valuable Appendix, containing the Bruce Petition to Parliament and the Magistrates' Judgments at
Mataura, Bruce, and Ashburton; together with the full text of the Decision of His Honour Mr. Justice Williams
in *Bastings v. Stratford*.

Respectfully submitted to Members of Parliament and to the Electors of the Colony.

Price 6d.]

decorative features *Published by the Bruce. Prohibition League, Milton. Otago Daily Times Company,*
Dunedin. 1903

Courage!

decorative features

Say not the struggle naught availeth.
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright!

Arthur Hugh Clough.

Address to the Electors of Bruce.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-electors in Bruce,—I appear tonight to address you as an elector in Bruce.

The question I address you on is not now a question of license or no-license; that is settled, and settled according to law. The electors of Bruce, by a majority of 847, have lawfully declared for a proposal that Parliament has placed within their power to decide, and before that proposal—no-license—can be altered a like majority of the electors of Bruce have, at a lawful poll, to decide that new licenses shall be granted. Let the issue at the outset be clearly put before the electors of Bruce and the people and Parliament of this colony, and no power on earth shall defeat the electors of Bruce on this occasion. What is that issue? It is not the issue of license or no-license. It is the question whether we are a free people. It is the question whether the liquor-sellers of Bruce shall govern and dictate to the people of Bruce. Let it be clearly understood that there is no dispute now as to whether the lawful majority of the people have voted no-license. That is settled, and settled three times over. First, it was settled when the returning officer announced the verdict of the people. He had counted the votes, and the majority was for no-license. Then the Liquor party demanded a recount. They were not sure whether at all the booths a correct count had been made. That was a perfectly fair demand. They could reasonably doubt whether the voice of the people had been declared. They could appear as bona fide electors, interested in honest government. The law gave them, as it gave every elector, power and right to see that a correct count had been made. And what was the correct count? It still more increased the majority for no-license. It doubled that majority. That second count should have been final. It showed a majority of 847 in favour of no-license—a majority of 5 to 3 and 31 to spare in favour of no-license. There was the will of the people unmistakably expressed. And, if the vote had been the other way, as to alleged irregularities at the poll, there never would have been a word about them. That is, no bona fide elector, willing to obey the Constitution of his country, the rule of the people lawfully expressed, would have sought, on the ground of legal technicalities, to quash the verdict of the people. Electors of Bruce, such an attempt in a free country is little short of a crime. For, mark you, the plea of irregularity was not made that there might be a fresh appeal to the people on the same conditions, with the irregularities rectified. The attempt to quash the verdict of the people was made that there should be no verdict at all, that the people should be coerced, robbed of their rights, and that the voice of nearly 4000 electors should not be heard at all. Now, what has been the fight of our people all along the ages? It has been the fight of the common people against the men of privilege and of elector of Bruce the true bearing of the present situation, how it has been brought about, and the way out of it. At the same time, I have the wider object of appealing to the electors of the colony and to Parliament.

Now, there are some preliminary explanations and arguments I must address to you if you are to have an intelligent grasp of the situation. The first thought, the first question, in every elector's mind is: How is the one poll void and not the other? It is just as certain that no-license was carried as that Mr James Allen was elected for Bruce. In the licensing poll the sitting member, let us say, is Mr License. At the election he was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Yet still he holds his seat as firmly as ever. How is that? How is it that there is no petition against Mr Allen? How is it mandatory for the magistrate to declare the lawful member (Mr No-License) defeated and unseated, and Mr License elected? Nay, how comes it that if there had been a petition to unseat Mr Allen, though all the irregularities charged against No-License and many more had been committed, it would not have affected his seat one jot? Has the liquor-seller a life tenure, a perpetual life interest in his seat, and do what you will and vote how you will, shall he sit there and rule you forever? Are we in Russia or in the British Empire, in Bruce or Siberia? In Russia they do not pretend to have popular laws and rule for the people by the people. They have the Czar. It is the law here—at least, we pretend it is the law—that the people shall rule. Yet the liquor-seller here is above that law. He is the Czar of New Zealand. And, in the words of Lord Bacon, our laws are like spiders' webs, where the small flies are caught and the great break through.

The first thing we must be clear about is, What are the conditions of the contest? How is the licensing poll conducted, under what law? And the next question is, If a petition to void the election is presented, what court tries it, and what are the rules of that court? The two questions are quite distinct, are easily confused, are much debated, and have been grievously confounded in the present contest. First, then, the poll. How is it conducted? Section 7 (1) of the "Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, 1895," says: "The returning officer of the electoral district shall, upon the day appointed, proceed to take the licensing poll in the manner provided by the Electoral Act for taking the electoral poll;" and then follow clauses stating that the machinery of the "electoral"—that is, the parliamentary poll—is to be duplicated for the licensing poll. Words could not be clearer or more explicit. There is the one principal returning officer—everything else is duplicated. If that is the manner of taking the poll, what is the manner and what the court for trying a petition to void the election? This is a totally distinct question. The first contest before the people at the polls has to do with the merits of the case, license or no-license, Mr Allen or his opponent. The trial of a petition has nothing to do with the merits of the contest whatever. The simple question is, Was the poll conducted according to law? Was the candidate or proposal carried? At the outset, however, an important factor in favour of the validity of the poll should be borne in mind. If it has been shown on a careful recount that the candidate or proposal returned bona fide by the

returning officer has unmistakably the majority, then in every case of charges of irregularity, where ever there is doubt, the verdict shall be given in favour of the accused—that is, here, in favour of the validity of the poll. Now, I cannot get out of my mind the impression that here was a source of confusion in the magistrate's mind, whether the electors or publicans should have the benefit of the doubt, and five skilful lawyers did their utmost, by able and sophistical reasoning, to obfuscate the mind of the magistrate on this point. Once, however, the question had been settled, that no-license had the majority—and it was settled by the magistrate himself—every doubt, in short every difficulty, in the magistrate's mind, as it would go to an accused person, should have gone in favour of the validity of the poll. What the magistrate has done in the case of Bruce is to give his doubt in favour of the accuser and not of the accused. What, then, are the conditions for trying a petition? What is the court procedure? Sub-section (o) of the Act quoted says: "If the result of any licensing poll is disputed, any fifty electors may require an inquiry to be held in manner provided by section 48 and the subsequent sections of 'The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876,' and the matter in dispute shall be determined in the same manner, mutatis mutandis, as if the said poll were an electoral poll." Now, you might think, in your simplicity, that all this was clear and patent to the intelligent elector. The petition is to be tried; "the matter in dispute is to be determined in the same manner, mutatis mutandis, as if the said poll were an electoral poll." Very well; the case is brought before the stipendiary magistrate in the manner for bringing a petition under section 48 of The Regulation of Local Elections Act, and what do you discover? Is the matter in dispute settled "in the same manner as if the said poll were an electoral poll"? Oh no! It is to be tried as if it were a "Road Board poll!" Now, this is one of the most surprising and cruel things that you have ever heard of. "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," has for many years been in peaceful operation for the regulation of such local elections as County Councils and Road Boards. It provides a directory for two things. First, a directory for the returning officer as to the manner in which he is to conduct the polling; and second, a directory to the stipendiary magistrate as to the manner in which he is to try a petition to void that poll. These two things are wholly distinct, are easily separable; yet they may be confused. And they have been grievously and cruelly confounded in this contest. For what is contended for by the legal minds of our opponents is that "electoral poll" in section 7 (o) of the Alcoholic Liquors Act quoted means not "parliamentary poll," but "Road Board poll.". And, as I say, by one of those surprising and cruel decisions of legal minds that sometimes stupify the layman and enrage the reformer, the petition is tried as if not only the constitution and procedure of the court were the same as for trying a Road Board poll, but as if also the polling itself—that is, the manner of conducting the poll—were for a Road Board election. And, as you may be ready to blame Mr Cruickshank for this, let me say that he is not to blame. It was a judge of the Supreme Court who gave this ruling in *Bastings v. Stratford*, and the magistrate, it is held, was bound by that ruling. For that judge I have the greatest respect; but even Homer has been known to nod and to multi-tudes at least of lay minds, and of parliamentarians, too, it will appear that this able and most respected judge in this instance has not simply nodded, but gone clean asleep. When we were at school and studied Euclid, we used to test the validity of some conclusions by supposing the contrary to be true, and seeing what inferences followed. If you could draw absurd inferences from a conclusion, you deemed the conclusion itself false. Now if the words of the Licensing Act, "that the matter in dispute is to be determined in the same manner as if the said poll were an electoral poll, mean that the directory for the returning officer is the same as for a parliamentary poll, everything is plain sailing, and nothing will void a licensing poll that will not void a parliamentary poll; but if the words imply that "electoral poll" means "Road Board poll, then it follows that the directory for the returning officer is the directory for a Road Board poll. It is this legal ruling that is the chief source of all our present troubles, and, as I have said, Mr Cruickshank is not to blame for this at all events. It is held he was bound by that ruling. And what follows? A mass of inconsistencies, contradictions, legal quibbles, sophistries, and heart-breaks. First, as regards its effect on the returning officer. There are sent to him to conduct the elections the Electoral Act and the Alcoholic Sale Control Acts, and these alone. These Acts contain his directory—the one for the parliamentary poll, and the others for the licensing poll. Now, as already quoted, the Alcoholic Act, section 7. gives his directory for the licensing poll, and says: "The returning officer of the electoral district shall, upon the day appointed, proceed to take the licensing poll in the manner provided by the Electoral Act for taking the electoral poll"; and then follow directions so clearly making the two polls run parallel, as if on opposite rails, that he is directed to do a physically impossible thing, "to give the voting paper and the ballot paper simultaneously to the voter"—a physically impossible thing, when the two officers, one for the parliamentary poll and the other for the licensing poll, are sitting, as they must do, at adjoining tables. The two polls are as nearly parallel as the rails on a railway, and open and close at the same hour, and there is just one principal returning officer to conduct the polls and declare the result. But if his manner of conducting the respective polls is called in question, what happens? If the conduct of the parliamentary poll is called in question, he has to appear before two judges of the Supreme Court, who have all the powers and procedure of the Supreme Court. What more? He takes his directory, the Electoral Act, into court, and he shows that he conducted the election in the manner provided; and if there have been technical irregularities among his

subordinates, he claims the indemnities provided in section 167 of the Electoral Act—namely: "An election shall not be declared invalid by reason of any irregularity in any of the proceedings preliminary to the polling, or by reason of a failure to hold a poll at any place appointed for holding a poll, or by reason of a non-compliance with the directions contained in this Act as to the taking of the poll or the counting of the votes, or by reason of any mistake in the use of the forms contained in the first schedule hereto, if it appears to the court having cognisance of the question that the election was conducted in accordance with the principles laid down in this Act, and that such failure, non-compliance, or mistake did not affect the result of the election." That is how an electoral or parliamentary petition is dealt with, with the result that scarcely ever is one presented, and more rarely still does one succeed. Hence you have in your parliamentary elections a free poll for a free people. But if the licensing poll is called in question, and the question is, Has Mr License or Mr No-License been returned? then, in the first instance, a recount of the votes may be ordered by the stipendiary magistrate, and this recount is conducted by the magistrate himself. Now, this was done in Bruce; the magistrate recounted the votes, and doubled the required majority, and declared Mr No-License to be duly elected by a majority of 5 to 3 and 30 to spare. So Mr No-License was unmistakably elected. But if, further, the question is raised that the result does not represent the true mind of the people, because people were prevented from voting, or persons not entitled to vote have voted, then, in that case, the returning officer has to appear in the Magistrate's Court to answer his accusers. He appears, and he understands that the authority of the magistrate is limited to the jurisdiction of his court. He understands that the directory or procedure for the magistrate in hearing the petition is the directory for hearing a petition in a Road Board election; but he is equally sure that his own directory for conducting his poll is that for the "electoral" or parliamentary election. The two things are wholly distinct—the directory for the manner of hearing the petition, and the directory for the manner of conducting the election. They are distinct, and can be kept distinct. When, however, the unfortunate returning officer appears in court—now, after the recount, like a chairman of a meeting, representing the people—he is met with the astounding legal conundrum, that follows on the decision in *Bastings v. Stratford*, that since he is to be tried in the same court as would try a "Road Board" returning officer, he is no longer to regard himself as an "electoral" or parliamentary officer, but only a returning officer for a Road Board. This, I say, is surprising and astounding. He says, first, that the directory for the manner of conducting the licensing poll is given in the same Act by which he is called into court, and that Act expressly says: "The returning officer for the electoral district shall, upon the day appointed, proceed to take the licensing poll in the manner provided by the Electoral Act for taking the electoral poll." And, he says, secondly, the same Act that brings him before the magistrate declares: "The matter in dispute shall be determined in the same manner, mutatis mutandis, as if the said poll were an electoral poll." "It does not matter," the magistrate tells him. "By the legal decision in *Bastings v. Stratford*, I will try you as if you were a Road Board returning officer, and if you or your subordinates have wilfully or negligently done anything or omitted to do anything that the directory in the Local Elections Act requires, I will void your election, and fine you not more than fifty pounds." I say, the returning officer wonders where he has got to, equally with the electors for whom he now stands. He wonders if he has dropped into a court of justice in Turkey, and whether the magistrate is not a pasha. No, says the stolid magistrate; but "I am somewhat like an automaton, and it is mandatory for me to be 'strict,' so that if you err but in the extent of a hairsbreadth, I will void your election, and fine you not more than £50." And so the farce of trying the returning officer and the electors of Bruce proceeds. Seriously, I ask. Can this be the law, and if it is the "law," is it the mind, was it ever the mind, of the Legislature? By express enactment, the licensing polls were taken from the category of "local" questions. Such a category was deemed too parochial for a national question, and accordingly the small licensing areas were abolished, and the areas made coterminous with the parliamentary electorate. Then the polling was made on the same day, and the election on the licensing question was run on the same line, on parallel rails, so to speak, with the parliamentary election. The same officer is appointed to conduct the two polls, and give the papers "simultaneously." Moreover, he has sent for his guidance, and he sends to all the booths, the Electoral Act and the Alcoholic Acts, and these alone. He does not receive, nor does he send, the Local Elections Act, under which he is now tried. A copy of the Local Elections Act could not have been found in a single booth in the Colony on the day in question. He does not receive, neither he nor his officers, the Local Elections Act, yet he is now tried, and the electors are tried, on an Act not sent to them, and on a directory for polling, dated 1876, for Road Board elections! How is it possible, I ask, to conduct two polls "simultaneously" on different directories? How is it possible for either officers or people, even if they were fully warned, to carry on "simultaneously two different and important elections on a "common or parliamentary law" and on a "much stricter" "road board law," and not land themselves in interminable confusion and perpetual defeat? Did the Legislature intend this thing? Is it possible the Legislature intended thus to give a free poll to a free people, and so to arrange this election that the people of the Colony should be perpetually governed by a public an oligarchy, and be immersed in constant, vexatious, oppressive, and expensive litigation? Such a supposition is impossible to believe. I decline to believe

that the Parliament of New Zealand are a band of conspirators, with ideals and purposes that would disgrace a Boer oligarchy. Such, then, is the preliminary cause of our present troubles—the ingenuity of legal minds and the power of the liquor oligarchy employing splendid counsel, to wrest judgments from the courts on legal technicalities against the people. And, accordingly, we have the confession wrung from Mr Cruickshank in his Matura judgment: "By the common law, minor irregularities will not disturb any election, unless they can be shown to affect the result; but I am bound here by the 'local election' statute, and I have to decide the question in the same manner as if it was a dispute into the conduct of a Road Board election." Again, in his Bruce judgment he says: "The court in this matter is somewhat like an automaton."

Well, now, where have we got to now? The returning officer and electors of Bruce are being tried for their political liberties, as if it were a "Road Board election." where not thousands but only a few hundred make up the rolls. Let it proceed, and let us watch the struggles of the unfortunate magistrate and the equally unfortunate returning officer and electors of Bruce. The magistrate has got his "Road Board" Act, his bed of Procrustes, let us call it; and if the returning officer of Bruce is too long or too short for the dimensions of this instrument of torture, the magistrate will lop off a limb, or strike off the head altogether, and leave the officer, whose electoral box is the palladium of the liberties of the electors of Bruce, a quivering and decapitated corpse. What, then, are the dimensions of this bed of Procrustes, this "Road Board" Act? Section 50, subsections 2 and 6, gives the two relative sections under which the magistrate grouped all the irregularities and technicalities, covering in their enumeration almost the entire alphabet, alleged against the returning officer and electors of Bruce. These sections are: "(2) That the poll was open beyond or was not open within the hours hereby required," and "(6) That any other irregularity occurred in the proceedings, which, in the opinion of the magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election." Now, at the outset, I am prepared to say and prove that the returning officer and electors of Bruce conducted both elections—parliamentary and licensing—in an honourable and creditable fashion, and that probably in no other electorate were they more honourably and creditably done. Molehills have been made into mountains, and powerful legal microscopes have been turned on the conduct of the proceedings to detect a flaw, with results most creditable and honourable to the returning officer and electors, and discreditable and dishonouring to their persecutors. And if the magistrate had exhibited in Bruce the same courage and judgment as he displayed in Matura, and been consistent with himself, "local" Act notwithstanding, the petition would have been dismissed, and the election upheld. But an array of counsel, such as probably never addressed a Supreme Court judge within the bounds of the Bruce electorate, appeared at Milton before the stipendiary magistrate, and pounded into him as many legal sophistries and quibbles as ever obfuscated the judicial intellect, and reduced him as he appears to confess, to "something like an automaton."

And let us study the result in his long and disappointing decision. First, under section 2, on the question of time. If "strict time," it is alleged, is not kept the election is void. But in considering this question of "strict time," even in a Road Board election, it was not necessary for the magistrate to divest himself of his reason or his courage. It was mandatory—the capital sentence, it is true; but to bring in the capital verdict was no more obligatory than for a jury to bring in a verdict of murder in a trifling assault. Just because the court could pronounce nothing less than a capital sentence, final and without appeal, it might have been evident to a magistrate, who maintained his balance and his courage, that the capital verdict itself was not to be brought in on vexatious, frivolous, and technical grounds. For if it had been so. Parliament would have taken some care to provide a common standard "time" for every booth in the electorate. "Tis with men's judgments as their watches: None go just alike, yet each believes his own." Hence, when the watches of the witnesses varied, it could not be certain which was right, and both might be wrong. Abstract "strict time," apart from the purpose for which the time is stipulated, is a figment of the brain, and could not have been found kept in every booth in any electorate in the colony on the day in question.

Now, at Manuka Creek the question of "strict time" could not have been decided that day. By the parliamentary officer it was stated he opened his box at a-quarter to six; the licensing officer stated it was ten to six. Both officers counted first the parliamentary votes, and, as there were 53 of these, the magistrate reasons that to count them "would not take many minutes." Now, notice this "would not take many minutes." This is merely opinion—it is not evidence, and it is not fact. The question is not "would," but "did" it take many minutes? And the magistrate had no positive evidence for his opinion, but much to the contrary. Having got this "would," he draws the conclusion: "It is certain there must have been a premature closing of the booth. I hold, therefore," he says, "that strict time was not kept at Manuka Creek." Upon such flimsy evidence and precarious reasoning does the magistrate bring in a verdict involving capital sentence. Bear in mind, the electoral poll had nothing to do with the licensing poll, and that an irregularity of the electoral or parliamentary officer did not in any way affect the conduct of the licensing officer. As the magistrate says in his Matura judgment: "I have nothing to do with the pranks of the electoral officer." Now, even if abstract strict time had been laid on to Manuka Creek by electric telegraph, copyright, from Wellington, there is every reason to believe that the licensing officer kept it that day at Manuka. Everyone knows that it might have taken much more time than the

magistrate thinks would suffice. To count 53 electoral votes, take note of, and discuss with scrutineers doubtful markings, might take, and often does take, 20 minutes or more. Was it mandatory, then, for the magistrate to adopt that precarious reasoning? As a matter of fact, I believe it was some time after six when the licensing officer reached his own box. It is certain, therefore, contrary to the magistrate's opinion, that there was no premature closing of the booth. In fact, it is difficult for any sane man to bring himself seriously to discuss abstract "strict time" in the case in question, for not a solitary voter disturbed the peaceful flow of time as it approached the fateful moment of 6 p.m.

Next, take Berwick. Here, again, it is not the simple question of fact; but, while the sentence is death to the political liberties of the entire Bruce electors, the magistrate himself finds by a process of legal and inconsistent reasoning that this booth was closed 15 minutes. At this precious booth, a private residence, only 33 voters polled. Not one human being was precluded from voting, or voted before or after the hours of opening and closing, and yet the magistrate brings in the verdict: "Closed 15 minutes; the sentence is death to the political liberties of the electors of Bruce." How did this come about? This frightful and scandalous offence was committed in this way:—The licensing officer went a few chains to vote at another booth "over the border," in the Taieri electorate. He left the electoral officer in charge of his poll till he came back. It took him 15 minutes; and then remember this: he performed the same kind office for the electoral officer, who went and likewise voted. Not one voter came during his absence. Now, if the proper evidence of whether a door is locked or not is that someone has tried to open it, so the proper evidence, one would think, of whether the poll was open—that is, in the magistrate's own words, "the operation or opportunity of voting"—would be that someone tried it and failed. That would, at all events, be positive evidence of closure. And it is evident the magistrate was ill-assured that this poll was indeed closed. At any rate, it is a legal opinion, for which he gives three inconsistent reasons, which, to the lay mind, cannot but appear inconsistent and unsatisfactory. Remember that at Waikawa, in Mataura, the booth was locked twice over for 20 minutes, and that a voter, who sought to enter the booth to vote, found it locked; and yet the magistrate "held" that the poll was open all the time. Again, it is legal opinion; and the magistrate gives three reasons for his conclusion. First, he asks, was there a lawfully appointed substitute? and he answers in the negative. He quotes section 112 of the Electoral Act, where it permits the appointment of a substitute, in writing, for illness or other sufficient cause. As his substitute was not appointed in writing, or for sufficient cause, the magistrate declares he was not appointed at all. "The cause of absence was purely private business—to vote in another electorate. This is not a 'sufficient cause' within the meaning, of the section." This is an opinion which many will question, and a man of more courage would have settled it differently. Now, is it "purely private business" tendering your vote on election day? Private, indeed, may be your reasons for voting in one direction or another, but the act itself is one of the most public and honourable a man can discharge. In the ancient State of Greece penalties were laid on the citizen who failed to vote, and, as a matter of fact, our own Colony penalises the citizen who fails to vote by striking him off the roll, and at great cost provides an opportunity of voting for every elector. More than that, the very section preceding the one quoted by the magistrate says: "(3) A deputy-returning officer shall be entitled to vote as an elector of the district on the roll whereof his name is duly entered as a qualified elector, but he shall not have the power hereinafter conferred upon the returning officer of giving a casting vote"; it being the expressed will of the Legislature not to disfranchise any, not even the principal returning officer, whose vote is reserved, in case of equality, to decide the poll. And it is upon this narrow and illiberal view of a great public duty and privilege that the validity of the election turns. If the magistrate had deemed this public and honourable duty, when it could be discharged without in any way infringing on the equal right and privilege of another elector, a "sufficient cause" for a 15-minutes' absence from a booth where only 33 voters polled all day, it would have saved him from trampling on the rights and liberties of 4000 electors for a mere legal figment. And if the cause of absence "was not sufficient," then the magistrate might have stopped there; but he proceeds to give a second reason for closing this poll 15 minutes, and thus avoiding the election. "Again," he says, "the electoral officer cannot act as deputy-returning officer for the licensing poll, as the law is clear that there must be two deputies." Now, what "law" is clear? The magistrate, in his Mataura judgment, as already quoted, declares: "I have nothing to do with the pranks of the electoral officer." Very good. Then what has he to do with the pranks of the electoral officer at Berwick? Nothing whatever; if he chose to close his poll and go home, or if he chose to act for the licensing officer for 15 minutes, what has the magistrate to do with his pranks? He was certainly a fit and reliable man to act for 15 minutes, and if the magistrate had nothing to do with his pranks as electoral officer, he was a fit man as a substitute. And as to the "law that there must be two deputies," I ask. What "law"? Not the "licensing" nor "local" law. Is it not plain to the lay mind that if there "must be two deputies," and if the electoral officer vacated his position to "act" for the licensing officer during the latter's absence, then it was the electoral poll and not the licensing poll that was closed for 15 minutes that day? And, although the electoral poll had been closed all day, the magistrate had nothing to do with the "pranks of the electoral officer." Apparently little satisfied with his precarious reasoning, the magistrate gives a third and apparently conclusive

proof that, as there was no legal substitute, the poll was closed. "Again," he says, "the deputy-returning officer being in one of his functions, at least, an officer whose duties are judicial, he cannot by a common law delegate his functions to another." Now, this third reason proves too much. Whatever the common law is, it is contradictory of the magistrate's first reason, that by section 112 of the Electoral Act "Every returning officer and deputy-returning officer may appoint, in writing, a substitute to act for him in case of being prevented by illness or other sufficient cause from attending, or continuing to attend, at his polling place." If, by a common law, "he never could delegate his functions to another," what is the meaning of these very words explicitly stating that he can? Further, if the magistrate can quote section 112 of the Electoral Act against the returning officer for not appointing his substitute in writing, how does he not also quote and state the relevance of section 165 of the same Act, which says: "(165) An election shall not be liable to be questioned by reason only of any defect in the title or want of title of the person by or before whom such election or any polling was held, if such person was actually appointed or was acting in the office giving a right to preside at any such election or polling." Now, it will take some legal fencing of no ordinary kind to overcome these objections to the magistrate's reasoning on this matter. If it is replied that section 165 of the Electoral Act is not in the Regulation of Local Elections Act, then, I reply, neither is section 112 of the Electoral Act, quoted by the magistrate. Does it amount to this, then: that when the returning officer pleads that his licensing election was conducted, like a parliamentary election, under the Electoral Act, he is nevertheless tried under the Local Elections Act as if the election was a Road Board one? And, further, when he is tried under the Local Elections Act, may the Electoral Act, notwithstanding, be quoted whenever it is against him, but never when it is in his favour? Indeed, as to the legal subtleties involved in this single question, so far from their being within the scope of the intellects of the returning officer and the un-fortunate electors of Bruce, one may say that the whole question might, with advantage to all concerned, have been turned over by the magistrate for settlement amongst the subtle intellects in Milton's "Paradise Lost," who

*"reasoned high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will and fate.
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end in wandering mazes lost."*

When the magistrate himself gets out of the labyrinth of his own reasonings into the light of day he declares: "There was, therefore, at this polling booth for the licensing poll neither substitute nor returning officer either de facto or de jure, and the poll was thus closed for 15 minutes." Here, it appears, that instead of its being a manifest certainty that this booth for 33 voters was closed for 15 minutes, when nothing but the wind sought entry at the door, it is a highly complicated and knotty and inconsistent argument whereby it is "proved." If a man is innocent till he is proved guilty, if the accused should have the benefit of the doubt, have not the returning officer and electors of Bruce good reason to ask, Why did the magistrate not give them the benefit of the doubt? But no: he "finds" the poll closed, and pronounces the capital sentence of political extinction on the returning officer and electors of Bruce. Such is this most heinous and scandalous offence in the matter of time.

Yet there is Waitahuna Gully to consider. "It is four minutes to 6" at Waitahuna Gully on this fateful day. "Strict time" is to be kept—it is a Road Board poll that is proceeding, and if you err a minute or two the heaviest penalty that can be inflicted will fall, Not on the officers, whose watches may err, but upon the whole electors of Bruce. It does not matter whether the result of the poll is affected one jot by what is done or not done. The law of this Road Board Act, so we are asked to believe, is that "strict time" must be kept. Let us see what absurdities we get out of this legal figment at Waitahuna Gully. The magistrate says: "The evidence of both sides agrees in the main, and shows that the poll was definitely and intentionally closed by locking the door and opening the ballot boxes at about four minutes to 6. Within two or three minutes of such closing, the door was unlocked to admit a belated voter, who claimed it was still not quite 6 o'clock. The vote was taken, and the door once more locked. There was thus a clear and distinct breach of the sub-section." Now. I defy any reasonable mind to follow the magistrate here. What is the offence disclosed against the licensing officer? Is any offence whatsoever disclosed against him? First, as an elector of Bruce, have I not the right to ask. Is the magistrate sure that either of the disputant watches was correct? Is it not very likely that neither was absolutely right to the minute where "three minutes" are in dispute? A "twelve-and-sixpenny Waterbury" was one of the authorities quoted—and are the electors of Bruce disfranchised on the evidence of a twelve-and-sixpenny Waterbury? Now, to examine the magistrate's reasoning. He says: "The poll was definitely and intentionally closed by locking the door and opening the ballot boxes at about four minutes to 6." As to the facts, not only is there no evidence to support this statement—it is directly and minutely contradicted (1) by the scrutineer for the Liquor party, and (2) by the returning officers. Mark you, the magistrate has nothing to do with the electoral

box: he has to do only with the licensing box. He says both "boxes" were opened on closing the doors. The Liquor scrutineer—Quilter [evidence Daily Times]—says that when the door was closed only the "electoral box" was opened. Further, he says: "The door had been closed three or four minutes before Mr Henry knocked. Nothing had been done to the licensing ballot box in that time." Now where is the offence disclosed? Where is it shown that it was not within "strict time" that this elector voted? There was a difference of opinion, as might be expected, as to the correct time when a minute or two was in dispute. What if the "door" had been closed, however, "intentionally," if the time was not up? The door was closed and locked for 20 minutes twice over at Matura—for 40 minutes in all,—and yet that did not close the poll or void the election there. If at a minute or two before 6 the licensing officer closed the door "intentionally," preparatory to opening his box, the offence, if offence there were, was not committed of opening his box. Meanwhile, in the nick of time, a free and independent voter taps at the door. "Time is up!" "No, it isn't!" "Well, let us see!" The twelve-and-sixpenny Waterburys are consulted! "A minute to spare!" Now, so long as the voter tendered himself to vote before 6, it did not matter if the process of voting went itself beyond the hair line of 6 p.m. traced by the Waterburys. Where, then, is there any evidence to show that the "polling"—"the opportunity of voting—was closed before 6, or was open after it? Not a particle; but much to the contrary. What reason is there to doubt the Liquor scrutineer and the licensing returning officer's evidence? He said: "Witness locked the door, and one of the ballot boxes was opened. It would be about three minutes before 6 o'clock that he locked the door, and it was subsequently that Henry voted. After Henry had left the booth the door was again locked. The booth was not open more than nine hours." Yet, in the face of that evidence, the magistrate holds there was a "clear and distinct breach of the subsection" about "strict time." Again, I ask, What offence was disclosed? Surely, in the name of common sense, this magistrate appointed to try people for their lives does not convict and sentence a man for an "intention" that, in point of fact, was not carried out. He appears to reason that as Mr Barnett "intentionally" closed the "door," that that is equal to, in fact, closing the poll—i.e., "the opportunity of voting." The sole question is, in point of fact, What did Mr Barnett do? If he "intended" to close the poll two or three minutes before the time, but, in point of fact, altered his mind before it was too late and allowed a man to vote, where, in the name of reason, I ask, was an offence disclosed? Carlyle somewhere has a powerful sentence on the chasm that separates "the hand on the trigger" and "pulling the trigger"—and that chasm was here. Mr Barnett had his hand on the trigger; in point of fact, he did not fire; nobody was hurt or even frightened; and this magistrate brings in the verdict, "Murder"; sentence, "Death." An "automaton" magistrate, with a vengeance! It appears to me that the returning officers acted with far more wisdom, prudence, and courage in the discharge of their duties than the magistrate in the discharge of his.

Such, then, is all the evidence on this subject of time. Such are the reasons compelling the magistrate to bring in a capital verdict, and inflict a capital sentence, depriving the electors of Bruce of their power at the polls. On such flimsy and precarious reasoning is his verdict based. And seeing, as he alleges, that this capital sentence is so strict, is mandatory, was it mandatory to bring in that capital verdict itself? Few but partisans will believe it.

Now, if these are all the counts against the electors of Bruce on the section dealing with time, what are the charges under subsection 6? That subsection says "That any other irregularity occurred in the proceedings which, in the opinion of the magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election." Now, you must bear this section in mind, for a mass of false reasoning and nonsense has been talked about it that might have disgraced an assembly of Hottentots. The able counsel for the publicans pounded a lot of sophistical reasoning and nonsense into the magistrate as to the meaning of this section, and he appears to have been completely obfuscated by their sophistry. I think I shall make it clear to every elector in Bruce that the magistrate has had the wool pulled over his eyes by these clever gentlemen. It is a wonder he did not see the twinkle in their eyes. They knew better; and I think he knows better by now.

Now, what does this subsection provide? "That the election shall be void if any other irregularity occurred which, in the opinion of the magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election." If you are to detect the fallacy of the magistrate's decision under this section, you must get a clear meaning of the words employed. What is the magistrate's meaning? He says: "By the common law an election was voided if the irregularities proved were such as to affect the result of the election; but it is clear that a certain practice may be unfair in its tendency without, as a matter of fact, really affecting the result of the poll, and it is this class of practice which comes under the sixth subsection." The moment the magistrate got this nonsense into his head the voiding of the election was a foregone conclusion. And there never could be a popular election conducted under the sun but it would be instantly upset if such were the meaning of the subsection in question. Where did the magistrate get this notion from? Mr Chapman (counsel for the petitioners) pounded this into the magistrate. He said: "What was required to void an election was that the tendency, and not the effect, had to be shown. There were some classes of acts as to which it would be impossible to show the ultimate effect. He submitted that the Legislature selected with deliberation the expression 'tended to defeat the fairness of the election,' and that that

enabled the magistrate to void the result of the poll if he found that the acts complained of had that tendency, without his being obliged to find they had that effect." If Mr Chapman had seriously brought this nonsense before a judge of the Supreme Court, the judge would have advised his examination by two medical men. Shorn of its sophistry, what does it mean? That if something happens in a vacuum, somebody has got to be hanged! A tendency is a balanced force—and we are surrounded with myriads of them, physical, moral, and spiritual—forces of gravity, pulling and straining and balancing our world and its contents; forces of good and forces of evil tending in contrary directions; forces of men tending in contrary directions;—but no one in his senses treats a balanced force as a liberated force.

Now let us examine the magistrate's language. He says that an election is voided for a class of practice which may have a tendency to, "but, as a matter of fact, really does not, affect the result!" We are asked, as Mr Chapman says, to believe that the Legislature "with deliberation" has selected its words, and that if the magistrate finds any tendencies—that is, forces at work—in the conduct of an election that, though unfair, yet do not affect the result, he is to void the election, and to inflict the capital sentence on the whole electors. This is simply incredible. Let us strip the fallacy by examining the words in detail. There are two expressions used by the magistrate that will let us see where the fallacy got in. He says that by the common law of parliamentary elections only such irregularities count as "affect the result"; but here he has only to find irregularities that "defeat the fairness of the election"; and he holds that these two things are different, though it is as clear as can be that they are one and the same. When is the fairness of an election defeated? Evidently only when Brown is elected when Jones should have been. If Jones has the majority of votes, yet if Brown is elected, evidently the fairness of the election is defeated. Only when the wrong party gets in, or the wrong issue is carried, is the fairness of the election defeated. That Brown's votes or Jones's votes might have been more or fewer is of no consequence to the ultimate fairness of the election, if, in point of fact, a few votes more or less did not affect the figures to the extent of placing the wrong man in and the right man out. That is the only "result" the Legislature cares two straws about when it speaks of "defeating the fairness" or "affecting the result." Now, if after allowance for all irregularities it is found that the "result" would not have been other than it is, then no man will contend that the Legislature would void an election for anything less than what would affect the ultimate result. And the magistrate declares in explicit words that none of the irregularities "affected the result"; yet he has voided the poll. He says: "As the majority was over 30, I do not think the proved cases affected the result." Surely, then, if the proved cases did not affect the ultimate result, the fairness of the election was not defeated. The two things—when you are dealing with the simple question, "Who had a bare majority of votes after all allowances and deductions are made?"—"to defeat the fairness" and to "affect the result," that is, to defeat the ultimate fairness, and to affect the ultimate result—are one and the same. And if you will read the decision of the magistrate who tried the Ashburton petition, you will see this non-sensical fallacy never disturbed his judgment. He used the expressions "tended to defeat the fairness of the election" and "affected the result of the election" with precisely the same meaning. Here are his incisive words: "As to the overcrowding, it is quite evident that though an irregularity was permitted, causing some inconvenience, it in no way affected the result of the election, as no one was thereby prevented from voting. . . The method adopted was not strictly in accordance with the letter of the statute, but I cannot see that it would make any difference in the result, or suppose that the result would have been altered had the proper method been used. It may have been a mistake, but it did not tend to defeat the fairness of the election. It seems to me unreasonable to contend that any such irregularity, without which no election is ever likely to be free, can over-ride the will of the people so unmistakably expressed." There you have as clearly as language can express it that the Ashburton magistrate regards "tending to defeat the fairness of the election" the same as "affecting the result of it." Not so our magistrate. And once the counsel for the petitioners sent him wool-gathering for things which, after all, it was found did not affect the ultimate result, the decision of the magistrate in their favour was a foregone conclusion.

It is plain the magistrate was misled by the fallacy lurking in the word "tendency," which he asks us to believe the Legislature decreed should void an election. That a "tendency to defeat" should be as fatal as "in fact, to defeat." This is incredible. This is to play at elections. It is to ask us to believe that the electors are playing themselves in school at mock elections, and if in the course of the election the teacher should notice anything that tended to defeat fairness he should "have it all over again," even although the ultimate result was not affected. We have heard of grandmotherly legislation; but playing at elections and making them void because of irregularities that have a bad tendency, but, in fact, are counteracted in the ultimate result, is to reduce a grave public question and the electors of the colony to factors in a "Comedy of Errors." Now, what is meant by a "tendency"? I would respectfully invite the magistrate's attention to any text-book of Logic, say to "Mill's Logic," Book III., chap. 10, "Of the Plurality of Causes, and of the Intermixture of Effects"; to "Whately's Logic": Appendix, "Ambiguous Terms"; chap. 28, "On Tendency"; and to "Jevons's Logic," chap. 31: "Explanation, Tendency, etc."; and he will admit that if he can quote "authorities," so also can I. Let me

endeavour to explain what is really meant by "tendency," and you will at once see how reasonable is this sub-clause 6, and, if you will examine the context, how consistent it is with the preceding clauses in the Local Elections Act, and how, as might be expected, it is an expression of a principle of equity and justice, instead of being, at the instigation of our opponents' counsel, a weapon of folly in the hands of a magistrate. We are dealing with tendencies or causes or forces and their effects. Now, it is well known that in nature, as in an election, any effect may have more than one cause, and it is because there might be more than one cause tending to affect unfairly the ultimate result of an election that the word "tendency" ("a contributing influence," the Century says) is used. How, for instance, to take an illustration from nature, are the trade winds accounted for? Not by one cause; but by a plurality of causes, which tend to produce one effect. And so the ultimate result of an election may be altered by a plurality of causes or tendencies, or contributing influences, which affect the ultimate result, but which, taken singly, might not have that power. As Professor Jevons says of the example I have taken:—"There is one law or tendency which causes winds to blow from the Arctic regions towards the equator, and a second tendency which causes them to blow from east to west. These tendencies are combined together, and cause the trade winds to blow from the north-east in the Northern Hemisphere, and from the south-east in the Southern Hemisphere." Again, he says:—"If the joint and homogeneous action of causes has been clearly explained, it will be now clear that a tendency means a cause which will produce an effect unless there be opposite causes, which, in combination with it, counteract and disguise that effect. Thus, when we throw a stone into the air, the attractive power of the earth tends to make it fall, but the upward motion we have impressed upon it disguises the result for a certain time." And Jevons concludes: "A tendency, then, is a cause which may or may not be counteracted." Now, the whole question for the magistrate resolved itself into this: Granted the irregularities, inseparable from every election, and tending to unfairly affect the ultimate result, were these irregularities and tendencies counteracted in that ultimate result? Plainly, a cause, hurtful in itself, if counteracted, is rendered harmless; and there are thousands of such tendencies abroad that are so counteracted. But neither law nor reason could treat a cause or force counteracted, and so rendered innocuous, as if, in fact, it was liberated to its full effect. The tendency of the careless discharge of firearms is to wound or kill, and the careless discharge of firearms in a public place is punishable. But it would be absurd if the law punished a man for murder or culpable homicide, when, in point of fact, the tendency, in a particular case, was counteracted—and the bullet entered the ground or buried itself in a wall. In fact, nobody was hit, the tendency was counteracted, and other fortunate circumstances altered the ultimate result. You see, then, that a tendency is a cause that may or may not be counteracted. Now, in the particular cases the magistrate groups under this subsection, he says that the tendency to defeat the fairness of the election was, in fact, counteracted, and did not appear in the ultimate result. He says: "I do not think the proved cases affected the result." That is to say, the tendencies to unfairness were counteracted by the tendencies to fairness, and did not appear in the ultimate result, whereby no-license was carried, representing the will of the people. Yet the magistrate, at the instance of "learned counsel," tried the unfair tendencies in a vacuum, and without regard to reason or common sense. It was a favourite dictum of Lord Chancellor Eldon that a "thing should be clothed with its circumstances"; and if the magistrate had clothed this tendency to unfairness with the circumstance that, in the ultimate result, it was counteracted, he would have seen he was upsetting our election for a figment of the imagination. These, then, are the grounds on which our election is voided. The legal figment of strict time, and the logical figment of a counteracted force, neither of which affected the result one jot. And, if only the magistrate had exhibited the same courage and consistency in dealing with the Bruce election as with the Mataura his decision would have been in the exact words of the Ashburton magistrate, who used the words I have already quoted: "It seems to me unreasonable to contend that any irregularity, without which no election is ever likely to be free, can ever over-ride the will of the people so unmistakably expressed."

I have not, however, done full justice to the electors of Bruce if I do not now examine this same magistrate's decision at Mataura. How he upheld Mataura and voided Bruce no reasonable mind can fully understand. The irregularities at Mataura were greater than those in Bruce, and yet he dismissed the former petition with decision and courage. I think possibly the reason is, that the powerful bar engaged in Bruce pounded so many legal technicalities, quibbles, and sophistries into him that he got misled for the moment by his adoption of the fallacy I have exposed. Be that as it may, the decisions are not consistent with each other. Take the irregularities in Mataura under "strict time" alone, and you will see they were much more serious and pronounced than those in Bruce. At Gore the poll was not open till a-quarter past nine. Yet, how does the magistrate reason? He admits the "main door was shut at 9. when Mr Boyne told the officials inside, 24 in number, to vote. This was done, and the main door was immediately again opened at 9.15 a.m. to the public. There was also a side door open all the time. I am satisfied polling commenced at 9 a.m. here, and to have allowed the general public in until the officials had voted would have caused a block. I therefore hold strict time was kept at Gore." Now, if the magistrate had applied the same principles at Mataura that he applied in Bruce, I fail to see how "strict time" was kept at Gore. He says the main door was locked; the public were excluded, but

that, as the "officials" were voting, this kept open the poll. But when did Parliament appoint a time for "officials" to vote, and give them the privilege of barring out the "general public" for the first 15 minutes of the poll? Parliament expects every booth to accommodate, in addition to the officials, at least six of the public; and provides that officials shall vote, not as officials, but as members of the general public, in an open booth. And if any elector that morning had appeared at the poll to vote at nine before catching a train, he would have been prevented from doing so. Certainly, if the "strict time" limit applied in Bruce had been applied in Mataura, it puzzles me to see how the former poll is void and the latter upheld. Again, at Hedgehope a more glaring irregularity occurred than any in Bruce. Here the electoral officer was late 20 minutes, and "he had the official seal"; but "with the electoral officer's pranks," the magistrate says, "he had nothing to do." No, certainly; but he had to do with this fact: that "where the machinery was wanting, there could be no poll"; and the licensing officer could not give out, and probably would have refused to give out, any voting papers without the official seal. So far as he was concerned, the seal might have been at the bottom of the sea for these 20 minutes; and, as the act, section 7 (f), provides that "the returning officer shall cause the voting paper for the licensing poll to be marked in the same manner as the ballot paper, and shall give the voting paper and the ballot paper simultaneously to the voter," it was manifestly impossible for him to do so. And if the magistrate had acted "like an automaton" in Mataura, as he did in Bruce, he would have held that strict time was not kept at Hedgehope, and have voided the election. Again, at Waikawa Valley, it is equally impossible to reconcile the magistrate's decision in Bruce with his decision in Mataura. Here a private residence was gazetted as a polling place. "The actual voting took place in the front room, which opened off the hall. The hall or front door was open all day. At lunch time and tea time all the officials left the front room, locked it, and retired for, say, 20 minutes into the adjoining room, where they had a meal. A voter who called during this interval of refreshment was given a meal before they all returned into the voting room, when he voted." Now, clearly the booth—that is, "the room where the actual voting took place"—was closed here for at least 40 minutes that day; and a voter who called to vote was absorbed, so to speak, by the officials, while they had "locked" the booth and were absent from it. I think anyone will admit that the elements of irregularity here were in a high degree more reprehensible than any in Bruce, and yet, although none of our booths were "locked" in the face of any voter, our poll is void, and Mataura is upheld. On the principle that where an irregularity did not affect the result one jot an election should stand, then nothing occurred, either in Mataura or in Bruce, to void the poll; but the reasoning by which the magistrate constructed a legal figment into an offence in Bruce is conspicuously wanting from his reasoning in his Mataura decision.

I think it must be evident to the electors of Bruce that on very flimsy evidence and precarious reasoning they have been robbed of their rights, and their will rendered void at the polls. Moreover, apart altogether from the evidence itself, there was good reason for the magistrate to look on the whole petition with the gravest suspicion as a transparent attempt on the part of a few electors to get behind the polls and defeat, by legal technicalities, the will of the electors lawfully declared. Indeed, it is questionable whether there has been a more flagrant attempt to defeat the will of the people by legal technicalities since the days prior to the Reform Bill, a hundred years ago, in Old England. You would think that the clock in one night had been turned back a century, and all the struggles of the Chartists and reformers were a thing of nought. For what do we find in the present instance? The petitioners to void the poll were parties, by their officially-appointed scrutineers, to all the offences they complain of. What do you think of a man who comes into court with a grievance, and seeks judgment against his fellow-electors for an irregularity which he took no means to prevent, which he connived at, condoned, or even perpetrated himself? For, in the case of the violations of secrecy of the poll on the part of the voters, what evidence was there to show that it was committed by the no-license voters, and not by the complainants themselves? And, while the magistrate remembered this fact in Mataura, he entirely forgot it as a factor in his Bruce decision. In his Mataura decision he says: "Those witnesses, chiefly hotelkeepers and licensing scrutineers, who testified about the defective arrangements, did not complain to the deputy-returning officer at the time, and made no suggestion of improvement." Now, this is precisely the position in Bruce; and it is most exasperating to temperance reformers, who have been carrying on this battle for years, to have the victory, fairly and honourably won, snatched from them by methods that belong to the dark ages, a hundred years ago, of parliamentary warfare in England. To such a pass have we come in this Colony that boasts itself as in the van of the world's progress. I say, then, our position has only to be brought clearly before the people and Parliament of this Colony to have this wrong rectified. It is incredible that a proud and free people have degenerated to the level of a South American Republic, where one oligarchy gives place to another, but the people never rule. The law is no stronger than its weakest link; and let it be borne in mind by electors everywhere, that the power of the people of New Zealand is no stronger than the power of the electors of Bruce. There is no free poll in Bruce for nearly 4000 electors, who, by the decisions of the law courts, are robbed of rights, which I will not say Parliament has conferred on them, but of which Parliament is the guardian.

Now, what are the electors of Bruce going to do? They are going to stand by the poll. Some have talked of

a fresh election; but that is not the road to victory, but to a fresh defeat. Some have dug a section out of the old Licensing Act, by which, in certain circumstances, provision appears to be made for a fresh poll. But a fresh poll cannot be taken in the same circumstances. You cannot make a fresh parliamentary election; hence it is impossible to have a fresh election on the same conditions, with only alleged irregularities eliminated. You cannot guarantee that your poll will not be void by the absence of half the voters on the roll. You, in short, cannot repeat the conditions; and a fresh election is just a further attempt to trample on the rights of the people by using the forms of popular government to deprive them perpetually of power. Again, it is said that, by another section, it may be declared that Bruce electorate has undergone some boundary changes, and that after all it is not the electorate of Bruce, and our ultimate success hinges on this legal technicality. That is unless Parliament meantime validates our poll. After the decisions that have come from the law courts heretofore, I shall be surprised at nothing in future, even though it should be decided that Bruce is in Taieri or in Turkey. But let our opponents wring what decisions they may from the courts, they, will find that, until Parliament has reviewed the situation and decided whether the people are to be robbed of their liberties by legal figments and legal technicalities, no more such decisions will affect the determination of the people of Bruce. They will stand by their poll, as they stand by their ancient liberties and birthrights, and demand that no licenses be granted in Bruce until by lawful vote at a parliamentary election they reverse their previous decision. And before that is done, nearly one thousand voters will have to go over to our opponents. I believe that the action of our opponents in going behind the polls will bring to our side more than one thousand electors that have hitherto voted against us. We therefore intend to elect a Licensing Committee who, meanwhile, in terms of section 3 of the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, will grant no new licenses or renew old ones until a fresh mandate, reversing the previous decision, is arrived at by the electors of Bruce. That reversal, I believe, will never come. The future is on the side of the Temperance reformers of New Zealand, and the Liquor party cannot fight against the future any more than they can against the rising sun. Though our fortunes are at their lowest ebb in this reverse, yet I believe Mr Cruickshank has done the greatest service that has ever been done by the courts of New Zealand to the Abolition cause. By strict adherence to "law," he has reduced it to an absurdity. He has called pointed attention to the state of the law, to the mass of legal technicalities, decisions, and figments that stand in our way, and how, while enjoying the forms of popular election, a minority can perpetually thwart and defeat the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, and deprive them in the law courts of every victory that they win at the polls.

We must then go to Parliament. Parliament and the people of the colony have got an object lesson that they will not soon forget. We have given our opponents every advantage. Though the Abolitionists are a majority of the electors, they have said: We will not force this reform until in every electorate it is carried by 5 to 3. That ought to satisfy even our opponents; and Parliament, I am convinced, will not tolerate a state of things one day, by which a minority of 3 to 5, beaten at the polls, are able to wrest victory from the law courts. Law courts—at least, in the Old Land—have been notoriously conservative in their judgments in favour of popular rights; but the day is past, when the courts can, even if they should wish, long withstand the will of an overwhelming majority of the people. Parliament is higher than the courts, in the sense that it is the final interpreter of its own intentions and statutes, and can make these statutes express the mind of the people. The people, in short, have their intentions expressed by Parliament. And to Parliament we make our appeal. No doubt strenuous efforts will be made to defeat us, because our victory now will be the herald of victory next election in half the electorates of New Zealand. But no more trials of this kind will be repeated. The farce of conducting an election according to the provisions of one Act, and trying a petition to void that election according to the inconsistent provisions of another, thanks to Mr Cruickshank will not be repeated. And "it Parliament—which I will not believe—is responsible for sending the Electoral Act to every booth in the colony to guide licensing returning officers, when it meant to send the Local or Road Board Act, then, I say, Parliament will hasten to undo the wrong inflicted on the electors of Bruce, and will validate their poll. I believe in this demand I voice the mind of the 4000 electors of Bruce, as will be seen when the petition of the electors of Bruce is presented to Parliament. And hundreds of thousands of electors throughout the Colony, when they really understand our position, will be of one mind in demanding for the future a poll free of legal technicalities and figments—a free poll for a free people. I beg to move the following motion:—"This meeting of the electors of Bruce protests against the voiding of the licensing election by the magistrate on unsubstantial and purely technical grounds, and resolves to petition Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, to validate the poll, as the magistrate, who conducted the recount and held the inquiry, has declared that the required majority of three-fifths unmistakably expressed the will of the electors of Bruce, and that the irregularities and technicalities did not affect the result. The electors of Bruce pledge themselves to resist every attempt of a minority to get behind the polls, and to demand a free poll for a free people. And that copies of this resolution be sent to the Right Hon. the Premier and to the Honourable Member for Bruce."

Mr Fraser resumed his seat amidst loud applause, the address, which was frequently applauded, having

occupied nearly two hours in delivery.

Mr P. M'Skimming, in seconding the resolution, made a strong appeal to the electors to return the Temperance candidates at the licensing election.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by large and enthusiastic audiences at Milton, Kaitangata, Stirling, and Waitahuna. the centres of the electorate, March 20-26. 1903.

Appendix I.

The Local Option Poll.

(Daily Times, March 25, 1903.)

The Rev. P. B. Fraser was treading on somewhat thin ice when, in the course of the vigorous and able speech he delivered at Milton on Monday evening, he combated the conclusions which Mr Cruickshank, S.M., had formed upon the evidence that was laid before him at the recent inquiry concerning the validity of the Bruce local option poll. The magistrate, whose integrity was in no way impugned by him, "took an unreasonably narrow view of the law," his judgment was "inconsistent with his judgment in the Mataura case, and also inconsistent with itself," he "bungled a bad law," and his mind "appeared to have been completely obfuscated" by the "sophistical reasoning and nonsense" which counsel for the petitioner "pounded" into him. There is, it will be acknowledged, a delightful freshness and frankness about the way in which Mr Fraser expresses his opinion of the magistrate's judgment. But it is in good company that Mr Cruickshank suffers the sting of the biting criticism that is applied to his decision. Mr Justice Williams, by his ruling in the case three years ago, which decided that the inquiry into a petition impeaching the validity of a local option poll should be conducted under the provisions of the Regulation of Local Elections Act, has also come within the range of Mr Fraser's oratorical artillery. His Honor, we are assured by this authority, not only nodded over the case in question but went "clean asleep," and the product of his slumbers has been "a mass of inconsistencies, legal quibbles, sophistries, and heartbreaks." This is undoubtedly very pretty rhetoric, and it will, it may be assumed, be appreciated as such by the Bruce electors: but it does not seem to have occurred to Mr Fraser, or if it did he does not seem to have made sufficient allowance for the fact, that the judge and the magistrate had both to administer the law as they found it. The law may be, as it is, full of inconsistencies, but that is the fault of the Legislature, the body representative of the people, and not the fault of the Bench. Mr Fraser forgets, moreover, that the decision of Mr Justice Williams, which he regards as "the source of all their troubles," was, unlike Mr Cruickshank's finding on the petition challenging the validity of the local option poll, subject to review. And the fact that it stands to this day as the authoritative statement of the law concerning the procedure to be followed in the case of a contention regarding the validity of a poll should suggest to him the possibility that the view Mr Justice Williams took in arriving at his judgment has obtained the substantial concurrence of the lawyers of the country. A layman's knowledge of the law and of the principles to be applied in the interpretation of statutes is not usually to be preferred to that of a trained lawyer, and Mr Fraser makes an abundant display of courage—the quality of which he deplors the absence in Mr Cruickshank—when he ridicules the decision of a distinguished judge who has occupied a seat on the Supreme Court Bench for a generation and has been noted as much for his conspicuous perspicacity as for his absolute impartiality. Mr Fraser would apparently have the inquiry conducted, as the law provides, in terms of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," and the matter in dispute determined as if the poll had been an electoral poll. It is one of the most surprising things he ever heard of, he says, that any other course should be adopted. But it is perhaps not so absurd as he supposes, or so absurd as the very course he favours would be. "To enact that an inquiry should be held under one set of sections and that the decision should be given on principles altogether inconsistent with those expressed in the sections under which the inquiry is to be held would be an absurdity." These words are used by Mr Justice Williams in the decision with which Mr Fraser finds fault. Possibly Mr Fraser may, when he has been able to look more closely into the question, agree that even his interpretation of the law is not unassailable.

Mr Fraser is on firm ground, however, when he demands that the will of the people as expressed at the local option poll shall be respected, &c.

Appendix II.

A Reply to Leading Article in Otago Daily Times (March 25).

"Law" in Bruce.

To the Editor.

SIR,—I am rather pleased than otherwise that you make the long range of the judge's gun an admirable cover for the magistrate. That Mr Cruickshank was bound by the ruling of Judge Williams I have made abundantly clear to the electors, and relieved the magistrate of a deal of unmerited odium in consequence. That, however, you should represent me as "ridiculing a distinguished judge" is just one of those misrepresentations I may expect. It is much easier to do that than either to show the reason for the judge's ruling, or to demonstrate the weakness of my criticism, and people who have made no study of the question will be satisfied that you are right. But the fact is the judge's ruling is what no ordinary mortal can understand, and I haven't met a lawyer who can understand it either. That it is the "law" does not make it reasonable; and that it has not been appealed against does not prove it unassailable. The decision was given three years ago in *Bastings v. Stratford*, and as the Bruce people had nothing to gain, not having got the required three-fifths, they did not see they were called on to face further costly litigation in the Court of Appeal. If they had as big a treasury as their opponents to draw on it would have been taken to appeal long ago. Then, as to the question whether the judge's decision is consistent with "law," that is a purely secondary question for the electors of Bruce. What we are concerned with is with the state of the law, and how our opponents, beaten by overwhelming majorities at the election, are able to wrest decisions from the law courts which render nugatory the verdict of the people at the polls. Further, the electors of Bruce are concerned with their inalienable rights, and are not to be deterred from criticism of the judgments of the law courts when the effect of such judgments is to reduce them to bondage. The merits of the case will only be fully known when the argument is duly presented, and the electors of Bruce are making arrangements to have their case fully put before the colony as it was presented in the address you refer to.

Meanwhile I will just quote your sentence from Judge Williams "To enact that an inquiry should be held under one set of sections and that the decision should be given on principles altogether inconsistent with those expressed in the sections under which the inquiry is to be held would be an absurdity." Now, kindly substitute the word "poll" for inquiry in the above sentence and see how it reads: "To enact that a Poll should be held under one set of sections and that the decision" [as to the validity of that poll] "should be given on principles altogether inconsistent with those expressed in the sections under which the Poll is to be held would be an absurdity." If Judge Williams has got the magistrate out of the "absurdity," it is only by casting the returning officers and electors of Bruce into it headlong.. It is the effects of that "absurdity" we now bear the brunt of. In conclusion, let me draw your attention to a significant sentence in the Chief Justice's decision in *roe the Newtown* appeal. He says: "The words 'electoral poll' might, as was held in *Bastings v. Stratford*, refer to a local electoral poll, but even if they referred to an 'electoral poll' under the Electoral Act, the subsection did not confer on a magistrate the jurisdiction of an electoral court." The significant word "might" would appear to indicate a very marked neutrality in the mind of the Chief Justice. But, be that as it may, we have found out that this is "law," As nobody pretends that the Legislature could ever have meant either of the above "absurdities," it is clear we are proceeding on the right lines to know whether it is the Legislature or the law courts that have reduced the electors of Bruce to a state of impotence and bondage that would disgrace a province in Turkey, in order that Legislature or law courts may remove the barriers to our freedom which their inadvertence or mistake has created.

—I am, etc.,
P. B. Fraser.

Lovell's Flat,

March 25.

Appendix III.

Result of Bruce Licensing Committee Election, March 30, 1903.

The Daily Times report says:—In March, 1900, with two small returns to come, which could not alter the result, the voting was: James Adam, 821; James Inglis, 809; Robert M'Kinnon, 766; H. H. Frazer, 750; and Hugh Russell, 631. This was a win for the No-licence party. It will be seen that the interest in the election of a committee has largely increased when Mr Adam's total of 821 is placed against the Rev. Mr Fraser's or Mr

Dunlop's total of 1797. The voting three years ago was also much closer, the candidate lowest on the list polling 582, without the two small returns not to hand. It will be found that, adding the votes cast for the Temperance party this time, the total is 8927, the total for their opponents being 5850; and the average for each candidate for each side would be: Temperance, 1785; Moderate, 1170. Reckoned in this way the Temperance candidates had an individual majority of 615 votes, and a collective majority of 3077.

The Bruce Herald says:—The result of the poll for the Bruce Licensing Committee did not come as a surprise to many people in Bruce, as it was a foregone conclusion that the No-license ticket must head the poll. At the same time, although this was the general opinion, even before the poll took place, few could have imagined that the victory would be so overwhelming as it turned out. At the election in 1900 the total votes polled was only about 1500, whereas, on the present occasion, 2891 valid voters recorded their votes. The highest total individual recorded vote (Mr P. B. Fraser's) was 1797, and the lowest on the same side was 1762, it will therefore be seen that the No-license party secured more than a three-fifths majority of the total number of valid votes recorded. There is no doubt the No-license party won a splendid victory, and they can pride themselves on the fact that they defeated probably five of the most representative men to be found in Bruce.

Appendix IV.

Petition of Bruce Electors to Parliament to Validate the Licensing Poll.

Unto the Honourable the Members of the House of Representatives of New Zealand in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned electors of Bruce humbly sheweth:—

- That a Licensing Poll, in terms of "The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, 1895," was taken in the electorate of Bruce on the same day as the General Election, 25th November, 1902.
- That the said poll was conducted by the returning officer and electors in the manner set forth in the said Act for taking the Licensing Poll.
- That the proposal, that no licenses be granted or renewed in the electorate, was declared by the returning officer carried by the required three-fifths majority of the electors.
- That on a recount of the votes by the Stipendiary Magistrate, in terms of the law, the numbers for the various proposals were declared as follows:—Voters, 3901; Continuance, 1525; Reduction, 2157; No-license, 2372; showing a majority of 31 over the required three-fifths of the electors, and an actual majority of 847 of the electors for No-license as against Continuance.
- That a petition by a defeated minority of the electors to declare the election void on the ground of alleged irregularities permitted in the conduct of it, was lodged in the Court of the Stipendiary Magistrate and tried by him.
- That the said magistrate "reluctantly" declared the election null and void on the ground that "strict time" was not kept at certain booths, and that certain irregularities tending, in the magistrate's opinion, to defeat the fairness of the election were permitted at others.
- That the magistrate found that, all the irregularities notwithstanding, the ultimate result of the election was not affected thereby; his words being: "As the majority was over 30 I do not think the proved cases affected the result."
- That the decision of the magistrate in voiding the election for irregularities that did not affect the result, was based on the principle that the Licensing Poll should have been conducted as a "Road Board poll," in terms of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876."
- That "The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, 1895," in terms of which the poll was held, declares, section 7 (1.a): "The returning officer of the electoral district shall, upon the day appointed, proceed to take the Licensing Poll in the manner provided by the Electoral Act for taking the electoral poll."
- That section 7 (o) of the same act says: "If the result of any licensing poll is disputed, any 50 electors may require an inquiry to be held in manner provided by section 48 and the subsequent sections of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876, and the matter in dispute shall be determined in the same manner, mutatis mutandis, as if the said poll were an electoral poll."
- That, the above sections notwithstanding, the magistrate decided the matter in dispute as if the said Licensing Poll were a "Road Board poll" taken in terms of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876."
- That the said "Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," was not sent by the authorities to the returning officer to guide him in the conduct of the Licensing Poll.

- That the returning officer did not send a single copy of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," to any booth in the electorate to guide the deputy-returning officers or the electors in the conduct of the election.
- That in consequence of the said decision of the magistrate, based on principles governing the conduct of a road board poll in the Regulation of Local Elections Act, the whole electors of Bruce have been deprived of their lawful power at the poll, and their unmistakably expressed will declared null and void.
- That in terms of section 57 of the Regulation of Local Elections Act, there is no appeal from the decision of the magistrate.
- That the law does not provide for a fresh poll of the electors under the same conditions as those under which the election which was declared void was held.
- That a fresh election is not required either in law or equity to determine the will of the electors, as, in the opinion of the magistrate, the result of the election would not have been other than it is.
- That a fresh election, which could not be held under the same conditions as those under which the election which was declared void was held, and simultaneously with a parliamentary election, would not be just to the electors of Bruce, and would, in the circumstances set forth, be without precedent in the conduct of elections on national questions.

Now, therefore, the undersigned electors of Bruce humbly pray that your Honourable House, in view of the premises above set forth, will be pleased to validate the said Licensing Poll.

And your petitioners will every pray.

Appendix V

His Honour the Chief Justice. Wellington,

March 25.

In the course of hearing argument re Port Chalmers poll in Court of Appeal, the Chief Justice is reported in Otago Daily Times to have spoken as follows:—

"The Chief Justice remarked that it was perfectly plain that the Regulation of Local Elections Act was not a suitable one to deal with these questions at all. But the Legislature had chosen to say it was, and they must spell some sense out of it. One had only to look at the Act to see that, even as applicable to County Council elections, it was far from being complete. The whole tiling required revision by the Legislature—there was no doubt about that."

Appendix VI.

The Magistrate's Decision at Bruce.

Yesterday morning, March 11, 1903, Mr G. Cruickshank, S.M., sat in the Chambers Room at the Supreme Court to give his decision in the Bruce licensing poll inquiry. Messrs F. R. Chapman. W. A. Sim, and D. Reid (instructed by Mr N. Paterson and Miss Benjamin) appeared in support of the petition to upset the election, and the Temperance party were represented by Messrs A. S. Adams and J. F. Woodhouse.

His Worship said he had intended to go to Milton to deliver his judgment, but, to suit the convenience of the parties, he had arranged to give it in Dunedin. He would, however, be passing through Milton on the following day, and would then enter up the records.

Mr Chapman: So that the actual entering up of the judgment will be in the district to-morrow?

His Worship: Yes. In a highly technical matter such as this, it is as well to comply with the regular procedure. My judgment is as follows:—

This is an inquiry held under section 48 of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," to test the worth of the allegations in a petition of Bruce electors praying that the local option poll recently taken in the Bruce electorate may be declared void upon the ground of various irregularities in the conduct of the election. In considering the law and facts laid before me at this inquiry I have never been, without a deep sense of my responsibility in this matter, having before me the words of Mr Justice Barry when giving judgment in the Drogheda petition in 1874. He said: "That able and experienced judge, Baron Martin, in giving judgment, said, 'I adhere to what Mr Justice Wiles said at Lichfield, that a judge, to upset an election, ought to be satisfied beyond all doubt that an election is void, and that the return of a member is a serious matter, and is not to be lightly set aside; and the rule laid down by that eminent judge seems to be consonant with justice and common

sense, and to be one of general application."

The law under which this petition is to be tried is contained in section 50 of the Regulation of Local Elections Act. Subsection 2 says: "If upon any such inquiry it appears that the poll was open beyond or was not open within the hours hereby required, the whole election shall be void." And subsection 6 says: "If upon any such inquiry it appears that any other irregularity occurred in the proceedings which, in the opinion of the magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election, the whole election shall be void."

All the allegations in the petition come under one or other of these two subsections—either under subsection 2, which is so strict about the opening and closing time, or subsection 6, which deals with things which tended to defeat the fairness of the election. I will deal with each class in turn, taking first the evidence given about the hours kept at the booths.

Time.—The provision as to the hours of polling is plain and mandatory. The court in this matter is somewhat like an automaton, and once it is clearly proved beyond all manner of doubt by admissions or thoroughly reliable evidence that the poll—that is, the operation or opportunity of voting—was closed at any one polling place in the district for any really appreciable length of time before or after the statutory hours, 9 to 6, the court has no option but by mere weight of the statutory machinery to declare the election void. This being the law, let us take the individual instances wherein evidence was led alleging want of punctuality. Without going into the evidence here, I will say shortly that I hold it is not proved that strict time was not kept at Milton or Akatore Beach. The first case which calls for inquiry is that of Manuka Creek. The deputy-returning officer for the electoral poll opened his box, according to his own story at 5.45 p.m. The deputy-returning officer for the licensing poll says that the electoral box was opened at 10 minutes to 6. He says they counted this together, and then the licensing box was opened and counted. As there were only 53 votes altogether, the counting would not take many minutes. Although the two officers, who are the only witnesses on this subject, differ in their account of the time, it is certain that giving the most favourable construction to the evidence for the defence, there must have been a premature closing of the booth. I hold, therefore, that strict time was not kept at Manuka Creek.

The next case which calls for serious consideration is that of the Berwick polling booth. Here the returning officer appointed to take the licensing poll left the booth altogether for what he calls "15 minutes at least." What is the effect of this? Clearly, it is a closing of the licensing poll for that period, as there can be no poll without a returning officer. The second question, however, arises: Did he leave a substitute to act for him? He says he left the electoral returning officer in charge. Section 112 of the Electoral Act permits the appointment of a substitute in case of illness or other sufficient cause. Now, here there was no appointment in writing; it is questionable if there was any verbal appointment of a substitute. The cause of absence was purely private business—viz., to vote in another electorate. This is not a "sufficient cause" within the meaning of the section. Again, the electoral officer cannot act as deputy-returning officer for the licensing poll, as the law is clear that there must be two deputies. The deputy-returning officer for the licensing poll is appointed for the "sole purpose of attending to the business of taking the licensing poll." Again, the deputy-returning officer, being in one of his functions, at least, an officer whose duties are judicial, he cannot by a common law delegate his functions to a substitute. If the statute is not complied with the substitute has no power. There was therefore at this polling booth for the licensing poll neither substitute nor returning officer either *de facto* or *de jure*, and the poll was thus closed for 15 minutes. This quarter of an hour is too long to be overlooked, and is enough to constitute a substantial breach of the act.

There remains the case of the Waitahuna Gully polling place. The evidence of both sides agrees in the main, and shows that the poll was definitely and intentionally closed by locking the door and opening the ballot boxes at about four minutes to 6. Within two or three minutes of such closing the door was unlocked to admit a belated voter, who claimed it was still not quite 6 o'clock. The vote was taken, and the door once more locked. There was thus a clear and distinct breach of the subsection. If this had been the only breach. I might have tried to waive it, using the discretion given by the maxim *De minimis non curat lex*.

There are thus three distinct breaches of the second subsection. By the common law of elections these instances of premature closing would not avoid the election unless the result was shown to be affected; but here I am acting under a much stricter law.

I will next take the cases coming under the sixth subsection—that is, instances of irregularities which tended to defeat the fairness of the election. By the common law an election was avoided if the irregularities proved were such as to affect the result of the election, but it is clear that a certain practice may be unfair in its tendency without, as a matter of fact, really affecting the result of the poll, and it is this class of practice which comes under the sixth subsection.

To take the individual irregularities:

- There was evidence given of nine instances where one only of the two returning officers assisted old or illiterate voters without the presence of the scrutineers at both the electoral and licensing polls. This did

not affect the fairness, as I cannot doubt the impartiality of or impute bias to the returning officers without positive proof.

- The returning officer at Waitahuna refused to count four votes lawfully given, owing to the No-license scrutineer challenging the voters. As the voters answered all the statutory questions, it was his bounden duty to count these four votes. If this had happened prior to last year it would be unfair, but I think the recount permitted and held under last year's act was meant to cure this kind of unfairness, and it has, in fact, done so. I hold, therefore, this does not tend to defeat the fairness of the election.
- Considerable evidence was given of three voters who were denied the privilege of voting by the returning officer, but as in each instance either the identical name was not on the roll or someone of the same name had already voted, I fail to see how either party can claim these votes, and so there is no unfairness.
- A man named Roy Pearson came into the Aaktore Beach booth near closing time, and stayed with the officers after the poll was closed, and was present when the votes were counted. As there were only 21 votes taken there all day, the papers might be carefully handled and scrutinised and the secrecy of the ballot endangered by the presence of an outsider not sworn to secrecy. It was a distinct breach of the act, being a violation of section 129, and was very improper. Still, I do not feel disposed to say that anything happened that gave either party an advantage in this instance, and I hold it did not defeat the fairness.
- Evidence was given showing that for a great part of election day Messrs Scott-Allan, Blaikie, Weston, and a Salvation Army officer were inside the passage leading from the front door of the school house to the polling room at Kaitangata. One voter—M'Lel-land—says he was told to strike out the top line, but from M'Lel-land's tone in the box I should not think he was in any way influenced by these suggestions. As to the fairness of it, I do not suppose the presence of these gentlemen helped their cause in anyway; probably did it harm.
- The next irregularity is the want of secrecy alleged in various instances. The fundamental principle of voting by ballot is the secrecy of the system. This is the spirit of the English Ballot Act, and also of all our Electoral Acts, whether for parliamentary, local body, or local option elections. In the Bolton case Mr Justice Mellor said: "There is no doubt that the Legislature, when it passed the Ballot Act, did intend that that should be a perfectly secret mode of voting as far as any instrumentality or machinery which it could provide could make it so." And the learned judge then went on to show that the Ballot Act visited the violation of secrecy by a penalty (in New Zealand it is punishable by imprisonment), but the act does not declare in any way that infringement of secrecy shall affect the seat. Another judge also said: "I am satisfied there is nothing in the act, however it may affect individuals, which can affect the seat." There is, therefore, nothing in the Electoral Acts whereby individual cases of want of secrecy in voting will affect an election. The only case of such is where, the want of secrecy is so wholesale that large numbers, sufficient to make it uncertain which way an election might have resulted, have, through fear of disclosure, refused to record their vote. There is no evidence here of any fear of the infringement of the secrecy of the ballot which kept voters away, such as was urged in the Down case (3 O'M. and H., 126), or in the Wellington election petition. The evidence shows that in 14 instances voters entered the inner compartment together or otherwise, and completed their voting in company. These couples were generally husband and wife, or parent and child, or two intimate friends. The Milburn polling booth had its inner compartment closed nearly all day, the voting being done on the back desks of the main room—not a large one. In one instance one lady says she did the actual striking out for her friend. In another case the wife of the deputy-returning officer at Milburn, during the short absence of her husband, seems to have suggested to an old voter how to exercise his privilege. I have to decide the question whether these breaches of the secrecy of the ballot tended to defeat the fairness of the election. As the majority was over 30, I do not think the proved cases affected the result. I think that in the majority of the cases the voters had made up their mind before entering, and neither side won nor lost votes by the practice. The law, however, expects each voter to vote alone and secretly, free from tuition, oversight, intimidation, suggestion, or parental or marital control. If the stronger-minded are to be allowed to vote in couples along with their weaker friends, how can such a procedure be fair, even if it does not affect the result? I think in this election its tendency is to defeat the fairness of the election.

It is with reluctance I uphold the prayer of the petition and declare the election void. I do so upon the ground of the poll being closed at Manuka Creek, Berwick, and Waitahuna Gully, and also the tendency of the practice of violating the secrecy of the ballot to defeat the fairness of the election. This has been my opinion since first hearing the evidence, but I have delayed the matter to make sure of my conclusions, in order to uphold, if possible, the verdict of the people; but I can come to no other decision. "If says Baron Pollock, "the language used by the Legislature is plain and clear, we have nothing to do with its policy or impolicy, its justice or its injustice, its being framed according to our views of right or the contrary—we have nothing to do but obey it and administer it as we find it."

I therefore declare the poll void.

Appendix VII.

The Magistrate's Decision at Mataura.

Gore,

February 19.

Mr Cruickshank, S.M., to-day delivered his deferred judgment as follows on the petition praying that the recent local option vote, by which prohibition was carried in the Mataura Licensing district, should be declared invalid:—

This is an inquiry ordered to be held in pursuance of a petition under section 48 of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," praying that the local option poll recently taken in the Mataura electorate may be declared void, upon the ground of various irregularities alleged in the conduct of the election.

The local option or licensing poll is taken by virtue of "The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, 1895," the seventh section of which enacts that the returning officer of the electoral district shall, upon the day appointed for taking the parliamentary poll, proceed in the manner provided by the Electoral Act to take this licensing poll. This seventh section contains the further provision that, if a licensing poll is disputed, the matter in dispute shall be determined by a magisterial inquiry, held under the Regulations of Local Elections Act, in the "same manner as if the licensing poll were an electoral poll." By the decision in the case *Bastings v. Stratford* it was decided that the words "electoral poll," just quoted, mean an electoral poll under the Local Elections Act, and not an electoral poll under the law regulating parliamentary elections. This being the law, we have then to turn to section 50 of the Regulation of Local Elections Act to find what will invalidate an election. Subsection 2 says: "If upon any inquiry it appears that the poll was opened beyond, or was not opened within, the hours hereby required, the whole election shall be void"; and subsection 6 says: "If upon any inquiry it appears that any other irregularity occurred in the proceedings which, in the opinion of the magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election, the whole election shall be void." I have therefore to decide the matters in dispute, not by the common law of parliamentary elections, as laid down in the leading case of *Woodward v. Sarsons*, but by the above clearly-defined rules. By the common law minor irregularities will not disturb any election, unless they can be shown to affect the result; but I am bound here by the local election statute, and I have to decide the question in the same manner as if it was a dispute into the conduct of a Road Board election.

All the allegations in the petition come under one or other of the two subsections which I have quoted—either subsection 2, which is so strict about the opening and closing time, or subsection 6, which deals with the irregularities which tended to defeat the fairness of the election.

To deal first with the allegations coming under subsection 2—that is, that strict time was not kept,—evidence was given of the hours kept at the following polling places:—Gore, Hedgehope, Otamita, Waikawa, and Waikawa Valley.

Gore.—This was the principal polling place, and was under the general superintendence of Mr Boyne, the returning officer. The evidence here is very clear, and not conflicting. Everything was all in order and ready at 9 a.m., when Mr Boyne shut the main door, and told the officials inside, 24 in number, to vote. This was done, and the main door was immediately again opened at 9.15 a.m. to the public. There was also a side door open all the time. I am satisfied that the polling commenced at 9 a.m. here, and to have allowed the general public in, until the officials had voted would have caused a block. I therefore hold that strict time was kept at Gore.

Hedgehope.—The evidence shows that the deputy-returning officer for the licensing poll was in his place and ready to take votes at 9 a.m., the door being open. It is not clear whether the deputy-returning officer for the electoral poll was at the booth punctually or not, several witnesses saying he was 20 minutes late, and it is admitted that the latter officer had the official seal. I have, however, only to inquire into the licensing poll, and not into the pranks of the electoral returning officer. The fact of the electoral officer, with the seal in his pocket, being absent for a short period, only affects the licensing poll to the extent that it means that the papers may not be given out simultaneously, and that the voting paper will not be stamped with the official seal, but with some other mark on the back thereof. Both of these facts will be dealt with later, when dealing with the question of irregularities. I hold, therefore, that Hedgehope booth kept the regular hours.

Otamita.—This is purely a question of evidence, and I hold that the petitioners have not proved to my satisfaction that the strict hours were not kept.

Waikawa.—This is also a question of evidence, and it is not-proved to my satisfaction that legal hours were not kept.

Waikawa Valley.—The evidence here shows that the house of the licensing returning officer was gazetted as the polling place. The actual voting took place in the front room, which opened off the hall. The hall or front door was open all day. At lunch time and tea time all the officials left the front room, locked it, and retired for, say, 20 minutes into the adjoining room, where they had a meal. A voter who called during this interval of refreshment was given a meal before they all returned into the voting room, when he voted. This incident will be dealt with later on as an irregularity. I hold that the poll was here kept open for the time required by law.

This disposes of all the allegations that strict legal time was not absolutely kept, as required by subsection 2, and in each instance I hold that the petitioners have failed to prove their case.

I shall next deal with the allegations of irregularities which tended to defeat the fairness of the election. The petition contains allegations under the heading of the whole alphabet, many of them in wide general terms, and a number of the allegations were withdrawn. The allegations that the deputy returning officers instructed and directed voters to strike out the top line, and permitted prominent prohibitionists to harass voters into so doing, and the allegations of illegality against the S.M. at Invercargill were properly withdrawn by counsel at the opening. Charges like these against responsible officers should not be lightly made.

The only irregularities mentioned in the evidence were in the direction of proving the following:—(1) Papers not given simultaneously; (2) returning officer opened the sealed packet of the Dacre voting papers; (3) inner compartments not secret enough; (4) more than six voters in the booth at one time; (5) a voter having a meal with the officials.

- There is very little evidence of the ballot and voting papers not being given out simultaneously, and without going into a dissertation on this question, so ably argued at the hearing. I can say without hesitation that nothing which had the slightest tendency to defeat the fairness of the election was proved.
- It was proved that the returning officer did wrongfully open the packet of the Dacre voting papers to find out the true result of the polling at that place, as the telegraphic and postal returns from the deputy-returning officer varied. The recount has cured this irregularity, and, in any case, it did not affect the fairness of the election.
- The inner compartments in certain booths were rather makeshift concerns of maps, blackboards, desks, and easels, and would not always protect the child-like voter from an inquisitive, prying bystander. But those witnesses, chiefly hotel keepers and licensing scrutineers, who testified about the defective arrangements, did not complain to the deputy-returning officer at the time, and made no suggestion of improvement. Nothing that in any way affected the fairness of the election has been proved.
- It was shown that at Gore, Edendale, and Wyndham, at certain times during the day, more than six voters were in the booth at once; but nothing unseemly occurred, and in my opinion, clause 119 is directory only, and is intended to clothe the returning officer with the power of excluding voters, if he wishes to exercise it, when the crowding in tends to impede his work. Nothing has been proved that affected the fairness.
- The fact of the voter having a meal with the officials was distinctly irregular, and contrary to the directions given in the Electoral Act but I fail to see any unfairness in this particular instance.

I hold, therefore, that no irregularity which affected the fairness or tended to defeat the fairness at the election has, in my opinion, been proved. As the petitioners have failed under both sub-sections to prove their case, the petition is dismissed.

Mr Neave appeared for the petitioners, and Mr Smith for the Temperance party.

Mr Smith asked for costs, but the request was declined, each party being ordered to pay its own costs.

Appendix VIII.

Ashburton Poll. Decision of Mr C. A Wray, S.M.

February 5.

The Magistrate gave his decision this afternoon as follows:—

"The electors of Ashburton have decided by a substantial majority that no licenses are to be granted in the district, and I am asked to declare the poll void on two grounds: (1) That overcrowding was allowed at some of the booths; and (2) that voting papers were not given out simultaneously, as required by the Act. These

objections would come under subsection 6 of section 40 of the Act of 1876 as irregularities in the election, which tended to defeat its fairness. As to overcrowding, it is quite evident that though an irregularity was permitted, causing some inconvenience, it in no way affected the result of the election, as no one was thereby prevented from voting. As regards the simultaneous voting, I think that the proper course was not followed at Mayfield and at Mount Somers, and each voter should have received his two papers at the same time, and retired with both to compartments. The method adopted was not strictly in accordance with the letter of the statute, but I cannot see that it would make any difference in the result or suppose that the result would have been altered had the proper method been used. It may have been a mistake, but it did not tend to defeat the fairness of the election. It seems to me unreasonable to contend that any such irregularity, without which no election is ever likely to be free can override the will of the people so unmistakably expressed. The petition is dismissed."

Appendix IX.

The Judgment of Mr Justice Williams in Bastings v. Stratford.

In order that the whole materials may be available for the reader to form an independent Judgment, and that justice may be done to the Stipendiary Magistrate, I have given above his decisions in full at Bruce and at Mataura, and also such defence, the only attempt I have seen, as the Daily Times made for his deliverance. As, however, the decision of his Honour Judge Williams in Bastings v. Stratford, affecting, as it does, every electorate in the Colony, is the controlling factor in the whole situation, and as most readers will wish to have it for reference, I now add the full text of the judge's decision, and readers can study the relative portions for themselves. It was delivered on March 30, 1900, when the Liquor party (Mr Bastings being a hotel keeper at Milton) appealed to the Supreme Court against a decision of Mr Stratford, S.M., when he proposed to rectify an omission of the returning officer in the licensing poll that was then taken. The net result was that on that occasion, when reduction was carried, as on this, when no-license is carried, the electors of Bruce, through no fault of their own, were rendered impotent at the polls. His Honour's judgment is as follows:—

Dunedin,

March 30, 1900.

At a sitting of the Supreme Court in Chambers yesterday morning, Mr Justice Williams gave judgment on the motion for a writ of prohibition to restrain the magistrate (Mr Stratford) from proceeding to carry into effect the order made by him on February 19, 1900, directing the returning officer to ascertain the result of the poll referred to in the said petition, and to make a declaration of the result thereof. The matter was argued by Mr Sim (instructed by Mr Donald Reid, of Milton) in support of the motion and Mr A. S. Adams in opposition.

His Honor said:

This is a motion for a writ of prohibition to stay further proceedings under a petition which had been heard by the magistrate under section 7, subsection B "The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act Amendment, 1895," and "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876." A petition has been presented under these Acts disputing the result of the licensing poll in the electoral district of Bruce on the ground that certain irregularities had taken place at the election. It was alleged that the returning officer had not himself counted each vote; that some of the votes recorded for reduction had not been counted at all; and that there were cases of double voting. The magistrate decided that it was the duty of the returning officer himself to count every vote, and that, as he had not done so, he ought to do so; and the magistrate accordingly ordered the returning officer to count the votes and to make a declaration of the result, as provided by sections 8 and 9 of the Act of 1895. From any point of view this order is wrong. The returning officer has already purported to make the return prescribed by the Act. Having so done, he is *functus officio*. If his return is appealed against, and there is any power to correct it, that power could be exercised only by the court itself before which the appeal is brought. That was decided in the case of *Cotton v. Hawkins* (15, N.Z.L.R., 496). It was admitted by counsel on both sides that the decision of the magistrate that under "The Alcoholic, Liquors Sale Control Act Amendment Act, 1895," it was the duty of the returning officer to count every vote himself could not be supported. I entirely agree with admission. By the seventh section of the Act of 1895, subsection A, it is provided that the returning officer of the electoral district shall take the licensing poll in the manner provided by the Electoral Act of 1893 for taking the electoral poll. By section 7, subsection D, the returning officer is to appoint a deputy-returning officer and a sufficient number of poll clerks for the sole purpose of attending to the business of taking the licensing poll. By section 7,

subsection J, the polling booths in each district are to be the same as those used at the taking of the electoral poll. The authority therefore given by subsection D to appoint a deputy-returning officer and clerks must necessarily mean to appoint a deputy-returning officer and clerks for each polling place, as otherwise it would be impossible to take the poll at all. Nothing is said in the Act of 1895 as to what the duties of the deputy-returning officer are, except that he is to see (subsection G) that every voter is provided with one voting paper for the licensing poll. It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain what his duties are from the provisions of the Electoral Act of 1893, as the poll is to be taken in the manner provided by that Act. The duties of a deputy-returning officer in taking the poll are set out plainly enough in sections 112, 113, and 114 of the Act of 1893. He is, at the polling place at which he presides, after the close of the poll, to open the ballot boxes and to ascertain the number of votes for each candidate, and he is to abstain from inspecting the writing on the back of the ballot papers, and take care that no one else sees it. When he has ascertained the total number of votes he is to make up the ballot papers into a parcel, seal it up, and send it to the returning officer. He is also to seal up in separate parcels and send to that officer the unused and spoilt ballot papers and the other documents specified in section 113. He is also to send to the returning officer, inter alia, a list of the total number of votes received by each candidate. Then, after the returning officer has received the various documents from his deputies, he is, by section 116, to make arrangements for counting the votes. By section 117 he is to compare the copies of rolls on which the fact of any person having voted has been noted, and if it appears that the same person has voted at two or more polling places he may open any of the sealed packets, take out the ballot papers corresponding to that person's number on the roll, and disallow the votes so given, and he is then again to seal up the ballot papers. By section 120 the returning officer is to make up from the various lists the general state of the poll, and is then to declare the result. It was suggested that section 8 of the Act of 1895, which enacts that the returning officer shall count the votes, meant that he should himself go through all the voting papers and count each vote. But if this were so the poll would not be taken in the manner prescribed by "The Electoral Act, 1893." Section 8, however, is perfectly reconcilable with the provisions of the Electoral Act of 1893. That Act itself contemplates that the votes shall be counted by the returning officer, only they are to be counted in the manner prescribed by that Act. Section 116 of the Act of 1893 provides that the returning officer is to make arrangements for counting votes as soon as practicable after the close of the poll. The votes, therefore, have to be counted after the poll is closed and after the lists with the sealed parcels of ballot papers have been sent in. They are to be counted, not by opening the parcels and recounting each vote, but the rolls are to be first checked for double votes, and when these have been eliminated the various lists are to be added up. Section 8 simply means that the returning officer is to count the votes in the manner prescribed by the Electoral Act in taking the electoral poll under that Act. There was, therefore, no irregularity in the fact alleged in the petition that the returning officer had not himself counted the votes. The second allegation, that there were votes in favour of reduction which had not been counted at all had, however, to be dealt with by the magistrate, and if he had jurisdiction to hear the petition, it was his duty to inquire into the truth of this allegation. It is contended, on behalf of the plaintiff, that because the inquiry was not commenced within 14 days after the petition was filed, and because seven days' public notice was not given of the time of holding the inquiry, as required by section 49 of "The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876," that the magistrate had no jurisdiction. It was further contended that if he had jurisdiction, and it was found that the allegation was proved that votes had not been counted which, when counted, altered the result of the poll, the only course the magistrate could take would be to declare the poll void. The jurisdiction is given to the magistrate by section 7, subsection of the Act of 1895. That section is as follows:—"If the result of any licensing poll is disputed, any 50 electors may require an inquiry to be held in manner provided by section 48 and the subsequent sections of 'The Regulation of Local Elections Act, 1876,' and the matter in dispute shall be determined in the same manner, mutatis mutandis, as if the said poll were an electoral poll." The Act of 1876 is an Act regulating the election of members of local elective bodies. Section 48 provides that after any election any candidate and two electors, or any six electors, may make a declaration that they believe the election was void upon the grounds set forth, and may petition for an inquiry. This declaration and petition are to be filed in the Resident Magistrate's Court. The section then goes on to provide that the resident magistrate of such court "shall hold an inquiry as to the matter alleged in such petition, and upon due hearing of the case may declare such election or the election of any candidate thereat to be void, and may declare any other candidate to be duly elected, subject to the following conditions." Then comes section 49, in these words: "Such inquiry shall be commenced within 14 days after such petition is filed, and the resident magistrate shall give not less than seven days' public notice of the time of holding the same." It was contended, on the authority of the Queen v. the Justices of London (93, 2 Q.B., 476), that, although the provisions of section 49 might be mandatory on the magistrate, still, that the magistrate remained clothed with authority to do justice in the matter, as, if he could not do justice, it would not be done at all. If section 49 had been detached from section 48, and the words "subject to the following conditions" in section 48 had been omitted, the above case might perhaps have applied. The magistrate would have had a general

authority given him by section 48, and that authority might remain if, through accident or his own default, the provisions of section 49 were not complied with. By the insertion of these words, however, the Legislature has used language which expressly makes the commencement of the inquiry within 14 days and the seven days' notice by the magistrate conditions precedent to the exercise of any jurisdiction by the magistrate. The law is thus stated in "Maxwell on Statutes," page 543: "Where the act or thing required by the statute is a condition precedent to the exercise of the jurisdiction of the tribunal, compliance cannot be dispensed with; and if it be impossible, the jurisdiction fails." If the Legislature in plain words gives a jurisdiction, subject to specified conditions, to a person who otherwise would have no jurisdiction, I do not see how any jurisdiction can exist unless the conditions are complied with, or how the conditions can be dispensed with. Where the language is clear no argument from inconvenience can prevail. Nor can it be said that such an absurdity results from the literal construction that this court must read section 48 as if the words "subject to the following conditions" had been omitted. The intention of the Legislature, to be gathered from the language of the statute, is that the inquiry should be commenced very shortly after the election, and that a specified notice should be given of the inquiry. The Legislature may well have considered these matters to be of supreme importance, and that it would be better that no inquiry should be held at all than that the hearing should be delayed from any cause whatever, even although the delay and the omission to give the notice may have been the result of pure accident. I see no sufficient reason to conclude that the Legislature did not mean what it has plainly said. As, therefore, the inquiry was not commenced within the time limited, and the prescribed notice was not given, I think the magistrate had no jurisdiction, and that the writ of prohibition must go. As, however, the matter was discussed at the hearing, I will proceed to consider what, if the magistrate had jurisdiction, he ought to have done with respect to the second allegation, that there were votes in favour of reduction which had not been counted. Certainly it would have been his duty to inquire into the truth of the allegation, and to ascertain by counting the votes whether the allegation was proved. Then the question arises: Can the magistrate, if he finds a majority of votes in favour of reduction, give effect to the result, and alter the return by declaring the proposition carried, or is the poll void? By section 7, subsection o, of the Act of 1895, the inquiry is to be held in the manner provided by section 48 and the subsequent sections of the Act of 1876. Section 51 provides that no inquiry shall be made as to any election, except as to the truth of any of the allegations set forth in the foregoing section 50. Section 50 provides that if, on any such inquiry, it appears that certain things there specified have happened, the whole election shall be void. If it appears that certain other specified things have happened, the election of a candidate is to be void, and the candidate next highest on the poll is to be declared elected. If it appears that a person voted who was not entitled to vote, or gave more votes than he was entitled to give, these votes are to be struck off, and the candidate then having the highest number of votes is to be declared elected. The allegation that the returning officer has omitted to count the votes is not precisely set forth in section 50. It comes, however, under paragraph 6 of that section, "that any other irregularity occurred in the proceedings which, in the opinion of the resident magistrate, tended to defeat the fairness of the election. If such an allegation is proved, section 50 provides that the whole election shall be void. If, therefore, at a local election a rejected candidate alleges and proves that the returning officer has omitted to count votes given in his favour, and that with these votes he would have a majority, the magistrate cannot declare him elected, but the whole election is void. The provision is a curious one, and so is the provision that if a candidate is proved to have obtained a single vote by bribery the election is not to be declared void, but the other candidate is to be declared elected, however small the number of votes he may have polled. Why the Act of 1876 was thus framed it is impossible to discover; but so it is. The inquiry here is to be held in the manner provided by section 48 and the subsequent sections of that Act. Sections 50 and 51 are certainly subsequent sections, and they regulate the procedure on such an inquiry. At a local election poll persons are voted for; at a licensing poll propositions. If section 48 and the subsequent sections be applied by substituting propositions for persons, and making the necessary adjustments, then, as votes omitted to be counted in favour of a person would render the election void, so votes omitted to be counted in favour of a proposition would have the same effect. The result is odd, but not more odd in one case than in the other. It was said that, although by section 7, subsection o, the inquiry was to be held in the manner provided by the above section, yet by that subsection the matter in dispute was to be determined in the same manner, *mutatis mutandis*, as if the poll were an electoral poll. It was contended that this meant that the magistrate, in deciding, was not to be governed by the Act of 1876, but by the Elections Petitions Act of 1880 and the general law relating to elections. That is, that the magistrate, in deciding, was not to exercise jurisdiction under the Act of 1876, but was to decide, *mutatis mutandis*, as if he were an election court, constituted under "The Elections Petitions Act, 1880," trying a petition against the return of a member of the General Assembly. I do not think the section will bear this construction. The words "an electoral poll," following on the direction that the inquiry is to be held in manner provided by "The Regulations of Local Elections Act, 1876," refer to an electoral poll held under that Act. To enact that an inquiry should be held under one set of sections, and that the decision should be given on principles altogether inconsistent with those

expressed in the sections under which the inquiry is to be held, would be an absurdity. The difficulty arises from the fact that if the poll under the Licensing Act is void, there is no provision for another poll being taken; while, if the election of candidates is declared void under the Act of 1876, a fresh election can be had. But that there was an omission on the part of the Legislature to provide for the contingency of a licensing poll being declared void is plain from any point of view. If the magistrate were not governed by the Act of 1876, but had to decide as if he were an election court under the Act of 1880, trying a petition against the return of a member of the General Assembly, there are many cases where, under the general law of elections, he might have to declare the poll void. If he did so, the Legislature has made no provision for the poll being retaken. I think, therefore, that if the magistrate had had jurisdiction, and had found that there were votes in favour of reduction which had not been counted, he could not have given effect to the result; but that, under section 50 of the Act of 1876, the whole poll would have been void. There will be a writ of prohibition, as prayed.

Mr Adams observed that in the judgment his Honor had stated that there was no ground for the allegation in the petition that the returning officer should personally count the votes. That allegation was not in the petition, but in the magistrate's judgment, and was not raised on behalf of the petitioners at the hearing.

Prefix.

Crown Grant.

A copy of the original grant of the lands of Otago to the New Zealand Company will no doubt afford most of our readers some information of which they are not now possessed, and will also show the changes which have taken place in the spelling of the native names of localities and also the boundaries of the settlement.

Whereas, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; to all to whom these presents shall come. Greeting.

Whereas it hath been made to appear to us, that the New Zealand Company hath, by virtue of the license and authority to it given, acquired from certain aboriginal natives in New Munster entitled in that behalf a full and valid cession of all the rights of such aboriginal natives in the lands hereinafter particularly described, subject to the reservation herein-after made for the benefit of the said aboriginal natives. Now know ye that we, of our special grace, for us our heirs and successors do hereby grant unto the said New Zealand Company, their successors and assigns, all that piece or parcel of land situate on the East Coast of New Munster and comprising the lands known as Otakau, Kaikarae, Taieri, Mataau, and Te Karoro, and which piece or parcel of land is bounded on the north by the sea coast from a point at Purehurehu having a mile distant from the western head of the harbour of Otakau to Otupa and then to the Poatiri; on the east by the sea shore from Poatiri aforesaid to Tokata; on the south and south-west by the ridge of hills known as Taukohu to Pohuarua; on the west by a line running along the summit of the Kaihiku Range; then by a right line drawn from the northern extremity of the said line along the Kaihiku Range known as Maunga Atua; thence by a line running north north-easterly along the summit of the said Maunga Atua Range to Wakari; thence by a line running along the summit of the hills to the mountain known as Mihiwaka, and thence by a line along the summit of the hills till it joins the said northern boundary at Purehurehu; the piece or parcel of land is estimated to contain 400,000 acres or thereabouts, and is with the boundaries thereof, more particularly delineated in the plan thereof endorsed upon these presents; together with all islands minerals and forests next adjoining thereto or thereupon being, and together with all appurtenances to the said piece of land or any part thereof belonging, or in any wise appertaining excepting and always reserved out of this present grant by us, our heirs and successors, a certain piece of land on the western head of the said harbour of Otakau containing 120 acres or thereabouts, and a certain other piece of land situate on the eastern head of the said harbour containing 250 acres or thereabouts, and the islands of Kakariri and Kaumautaurua, and which last-mentioned reserves are coloured blue upon the said plan; and also excepting and always reserved out of the said grant for the sole and exclusive benefit of the said aboriginal natives and their heirs for ever: All that piece of land called Omata, situate on the eastern shore of the harbour of Otakou, bounded on the west by the said harbour, on the south by a line drawn from Mauparika on the shores of the said harbour to Purehurehu, thence along the coast to Waiwakahereke, thence round to Putukura, and thence along the side of the harbour to Moupariki, on the east and north by the sea, and which piece of ground comprises the whole of the land on the eastern shores of the said harbour lying to the northward of the said line from Mouparika to Poatiri Poutiri, excepting the said reserve on the eastern head of said harbour hereinbefore made for ourselves, our heirs, and successors; and also excepting that piece of land situate at the Taieri aforesaid, bounded on the north by a line drawn on the

seashore in a west north-west direction till it strikes the Taieri River at Maitapapa, on the west and south by the Taieri River, and on the east by the seashore; and also excepting all that piece of land at Karoro, bounded on the south by the River Karoro, on the east by the sea shore, on the north by a line drawn so as to include the kainga or village at that place, and prolonged westerly one mile inland, and on the west by a line drawn due south from the termination of such last-mentioned line till it meets the said Karoro River, and which last-mentioned line till it meets the said, .:8(, of Karoro; and all which reserves are for benefit of the said aboriginal natives with their boundaries and abuttals are more particularly delineated and described in the plan endorsed hereon and coloured yellow; to hold the said piece or parcel of ground and islands and premises as aforesaid with them and every of their appurtenances, except as aforesaid, unto the said New Zealand Company their successors and assigns forever.

In witness whereof we have caused this our grant to be sealed with the seal of our territory.

Witness our trusty and well-beloved George Grey, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our said territory and its dependencies at Wellington, in New Zealand aforesaid, this 13th day of April, in the ninth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

G. GREY, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

(From a series of articles in the Witness, contributed by me in 1882.)

According to the original terms of purchase of land in the settlement ballots for the priority of choice of the different allotments of land in a manner arranged by the court of directors in London, took place in the company's house there, and the choice of allotments according to the right of priority so determined, was to take place in the settlement as soon as possible after the arrival of the settlers, and under such regulations as should be prescribed by the company's agent or other officer duly authorised. Neglect or refusal to comply with such regulations in regard to any allotment, to occasion a forfeiture of the purchaser's right of choice, and to vest in the agent on behalf of such purchaser. The parties to the first ballot were allowed to select out of the whole town allotments, and the first having been held, 50 properties were to be placed at the disposal of the agent for sale in the colony at increased prices, each kind of allotment to be sold separately, if so desired, by the purchaser. The prices fixed for town land being £40 per quarter acre, suburban £40 for 10 acres, and rural £100 for 50 acres. Subsequently the terms of purchase were altered. If selected at Home the price was fixed at £40 per acre, or 6120 10s if the property were purchased entire; but if separately then town land was to be £12 10s per quarter, suburban £30 for 10 acres, and rural £50 for 50 acres. Ballots for priority were discontinued, and assignments of land were made in order of application, and in accordance with choice. Simultaneous application to be decided by lot or arbitration, at the option of the applicants. Enhanced prices were still maintained for selectors in the colony, being £40 each for town and suburban, and £50 for 25 acres rural.

Friday, the 21st day of April, was fixed by Captain Cargill as the day of selection for town lands only. Sections either in Dunedin or Port Chalmers could be selected. Those having the privilege went over the lands in both places, so as to make the best choice they could. The selectors numbered about 20, and they were at great loss how to do, whether to choose for the present advantage or the future.

Choice No. 1 fell to the lot of Mr Garrick, solicitor, and he took the section—the present site of the Bank of New Zealand—at the corner of Princes and Rattray streets. This was the first piece of ground sold in Otago, and the price at which it was sold was ten shillings one quarter of an acre—at the rate of two pounds per acre. Could the fortunate selector have dreamt that his lot would in the short space of thirty-five years have increased in value from ten shillings to ten thousand pounds, he would have been very chary in disposing of it.

The next choice was the right of Mr James Williamson, the father of Mr Williamson, of the Kaikorai, and he exercised it by selecting the corner of Manse and Princes streets, now the warehouses of Messrs Brown, Ewing and Co., and Wain's Hotel.

Mr Andrew Mercer made his selection in Forth street, where it is crossed by the Water of Leith—apparently an out-of-the-way spot—but the intention was to establish a sawmill business or other trade requiring water power, and an agreement existed between Mr Williamson and he that the sections should be mutually divided.

In choosing his section Mr Williamson had the advice of Mr Anderson, who was a great cattle dealer, a general merchant, and very well-to-do. By the judgment of the surveyor and residents it was considered one of the best, if not the best, site in the town, having a frontage to Princes street—the principal street—of over a hundred feet, and fronting another street, of which he forgot the name, of about a hundred feet—a spacious place for building. The original price was ten shillings, and he believed if he would then sell it he would get a hundred pounds. This was turning money; so wrote the happy purchaser.

Captain Cargill selected in Princes street south, now occupied by Messrs Cargill and Co.

Mr Burns, as representing an absentee, at the corner of Walker and Princes streets, now occupied by Mr Wyper, ironmonger.

Mr McDermid, in Moray Place. A few others might also be enumerated, but those given will show the foresight and judgment exercised in making the selections.

The municipal sections and those for religious and educational uses were selected by Mr Kettle and the resident agent.

The suburban selections were not made for some weeks later, and a great diversity of opinion existed as to their relative positions and values. Halfway Bush, Kaikorai, Green Island, Town district, Peninsula, and North-East Valley each and all had their fancies, but the section most coveted was one below Port Chalmers, Oweite, which was considered of exceptional value and importance on account of the deep water frontage it possessed. The holder of the priority of choice for the suburban section was Mr John Buchanan, and he was importuned and tempted by a good many of his fellow settlers to sell his right of choice—indeed, as much as the full value of the section, and perhaps more was offered him to give up his first place; but he persistently declined to sell, and acting on the principal that everything everybody thought and said must be true, selected the prized section, J but up to this day it has not attained the prominent value predicted—it has not realised the promise of good things to come.

Several of the selectors chose their sections in Port Chalmers in preference to Dunedin. A considerable amount of doubt existed in their minds whether, in acting as agents for absentees, the immediate prospects of the Port were not superior to those of the inland town, and gave the Port the benefit. Two weeks after the town selection one agent wrote:—"The town section measures a quarter of an acre, and costs in London ten shillings. Its present value since the selection is estimated at £40, and it brings a rent of £4 per annum. I yesterday let a section at Port Chalmers for three years at £8 per year; but this is a *prime* section with frontage to the harbour. At the end of the lease it should be worth a great deal more. I have chosen two suburban sections together, in a situation that has taken my fancy for its romantic beauty; they form the point of a beautifully wooded promontory, nearly a hundred acres in extent, that projects into the harbour at Sawyers Bay, near Port Chalmers. I hesitated long before choosing till I learned that it would be the most likely place for landing cattle brought from Australia. There is deep water at the very point, where a large vessel could ride with its side almost touching the bank, and were the twenty acres enclosed, it would form a paddock where the cattle could remain till they have recovered from the effects of the voyage.

The selection of the rural lands was still further delayed so that the weather should be more settled and favourable for a personal inspection by the settlers. Parties were formed for this purpose, and the whole of the available lands were explored. Several selections were made in the Molyneux district, as the appearance of the land, with the bush and surrounding country was very tempting, overcoming the sixty miles distance from town. Others chose the east side of the Taieri plain; and others again the far richer and more fertile district towards the base of Maungatua; whilst others (including the minister and his son), who represented several absentees—earnest and sanguine promoters of the scheme—spotted in and around the five hundred acres in the centre of the Taieri. This selection was looked upon by the majority as not a prudent one, the superabundance of water lying on it being considered objectionable; but the result has proved the wisdom of the choice Mr Burns, having a good many choices to make—some of them early, and others far down the list—agreed with Mr Kettle that if allowed to select contiguous sections, all the other selectors should have precedence. He tried hard to get a complete block, so as to lessen the cost of fencing, but in this he was frustrated by Mr Kettle picking one or two out for municipal reserves.

No selections were made in the Waiholo or Tokomairiro districts.

... THE BUSINESS of Brown, Ewing & Co. LIMITED, Was established in the year 1849, on a section now forming the CORNER OF PRINCES & MANSE STREETS, DUNEDIN. The wooden structure at first occupied was of very modest proportions, and necessarily contained but a moderate stock of DRAPERY and CLOTHING, such as were obtainable in those days. By dint of hard work and stern application of those high principles essential to the successful issue of a commercial enterprise, it soon took root in the favourable estimation of the community, and steadily increased in dimensions and importance with the amazing growth of the Province. The firm holds the enviable record of being the earliest to identify itself with the DRAPERY TRADE in OTAGO, and is now doing a turnover equal in extent to any similar establishment in New Zealand. The stocks are of necessity very large, the various departments representing everything that is fashionable in LADIES' & GENTLEMEN'S ATTIRE, from the finest and most costly Fabrics and Garments to the most ordinary requirements of everyday wear, the interests of the firm in this direction being looked after by an EFFICIENT STAFF OF RESIDENT BUYERS IN LONDON, who control the leading Fashion Centres of the United Kingdom and the Continent of Europe.

PARK, REYNOLDS & CO. Auctioneers, Valuators, And Arbitrators SUCCESSORS TO MeLANDRESS, HEPBURN & Co AUCTIONEERS. WHO SUCCEEDED JAMES PATERSON & Co., AUCTIONEERS, By whom the business was acquired from JAMES MACANDREW and W. H. REYNOLDS, TRADING AS JAMES MACANDREW & Co., AUCTIONEERS, ESTABLISHED 1851.

"STANDARD" SEEDS. These Celebrated Seeds are now known almost everywhere. They are pure and true and of finest quality. Send for Samples and Price List. "STANDARD" MANURES. Everywhere admitted from experience to be the best on the market. The increasing demand for them convinces us that they suit the various soils of New Zealand. Ask for full Particulars and Prices. NURSERY DEPARTMENT. We can supply all the leading sorts of FRUIT TREES, ROSES, SHRUBS, and SHELTER TREES, well grown at reasonable prices. "MONTAUK." This Specific is a certain and everlasting Cure for Blight and other Pests affecting Fruit Trees. It is acknowledged by Nurserymen and Fruit Tree Growers to be the best mixture ever put on the market. We are Sole Proprietors and Manufacturers of "MONTAUK." SEND FOR SEED AND OTHER CATALOGUES BEFORE PURCHASING YOUR REQUIREMENTS, AND IT WILL PAY YOU TO DO SO. Nimmo & BLAIR, Seed Merchants & Seed Growers, DUNEDIN, N.Z.

PROVINCIAL HOTEL, STAFFORD ST., DUNEDIN. JOHN GEBBIE = Proprietor. This widely-known and famed Establishment was opened as a modest Boarding House in 1851. The following year a license was obtained and the premises extended. With the increase and prosperity of the Province the PROVINCIAL has kept pace, many alterations and extensions taking place as the times demanded, always occupying a foremost position. It is now a substantially-built Stone and Brick Building of three storeys, with LARGE ACCOMMODATION, Replete with every Comfort and Convenience, and extensively patronised. THE PROVINCIAL is the Oldest Hotel in Otago, and few, if any in the Colony, have had a continuous progressive existence for over half a century as the above Hotel has had. ALL VISITORS know the CHARGES are EXTREMELY MODERATE, CUISINE of the HIGHEST ORDER, and ATTENDANTS PROMPT and OBLIGING.

WAI-RONGOA Mineral Water. PURE, AND BOTTLED ONLY AT THE SPRINGS. It has obtained the reputation of being one of the Mildest and best Aperients ever brought to public notice, and the demand is daily increasing as its merits are being tested. The water is carefully bottled and supplied in glass syphons at a price placing it within reach of everyone. Can be drawn in quantities as required without the remainder deteriorating. This enterprise is a private one, without any Government coddling, and entered into after the most careful analysis had been made, both in Europe and the Colonies, hence the success that it has so deservedly commanded. For AERATED WATERS The only GOLD MEDALS at the London Competition (TEN IN NUMBER) were awarded to our manufacture, as superior to all other makers. Cordials produced from Pure Fruit Extracts. SODAWATER SPECIALLY PREPARED for INVALIDS. MALT VIINEGAR, &c. THOMSON & CO.

W. GREGG & CO., LIMITED. Established 1861. DUNEDIN. The Oldest and still the Leading COFFEE and SPICE House in New Zealand.

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J. SPEIGHT & CO.'S BRILLIANT, SPARKLING, Ales and Stout DELICIOUS & NOURISHING. CAN BE OBTAINED IN ANY PART OF THE COLONY EITHER IN BULK OR BOTTLE. J. SPEIGHT & CO, ESTABLISHED 1863, GEORGE GUNN MUNRO Monumental Works, MORAY PLAGE and GREAT KING STREET. Plans and Designs for all kinds of MONUMENTS, TOMBSTONES, TABLETS, &c., in Marble, Granite, and New Zealand Stone. Also Tomb Railings & Grave Enclosures of all kinds at cheapest rates. MARBLE or STONE CHIMNEYPIECES to any design. PLANS PREPARED AND ESTIMATES GIVEN. GRAVE RAILINGS IN VARIOUS DESIGNS. HECTOR F. M. MITCHELL. Telephone No. 448. HENRY MITCHELL. P.O. Box No. 384. MERCER & MITCHELL, Accountants Mining and Commission Agents, 14 bond street, dunedin.

A. & T. INGLIS Cash Emporium, GEORGE STREET, DUNEDIN. CHEAPEST HOUSE IN THE COLONY FOR... General Drapery, Clothing, Mercery, Boots and Shoes, Carpets, Floorcloths, Linoleums, Furniture, Crockery, Ironmongery, and General Household Furnishings. A. & T. INGLIS, Cash Emporium, GEORGE STREET, DUNEDIN.

STANDARD Insurance Co. FIRE, MARINE, and FIDELITY Guarantee. Head Office TRIANGLE, DUNEDIN Branches and Agencies throughout New Zealand, Australia, and in London. DIRECTORS: Messrs. JOHN REID (Chairman), A. C. BEGG, M. JOEL, D. HAYNES, J. MILL, A. THOMSON, and Hon. THOS. FERGUS. THOMAS R. FISHER, General Manager.

Early Settlers' Picnic At Wingatui, February 13,

1902. Passengers by the Blundell (1848), With Descendants.

Donald Reid & Co., LIMITED, STOCK SALESMEN, Wool, Grain, Produce & Land Brokers, CUMBERLAND, JETTY & VOGEL STREETS, DUNEDIN. Land, Stock and Clearing Sales a Specialty; also hold regular Auction Sales of Wool, Grain, Hides, Skins, Tallow, and other Produce. All Consignments carefully valued by competent men, classed when required, and protected to full market value. UNEQUALLED ACCOMMODATION. BEST SERVICE. PERSONAL SUPERVISION. LOWEST SCALE OF CHARGES. HIGHEST PRICES. PROMPT RETURNS. We act strictly as Selling Brokers only, and do not Buy or Sell on our own account. Liberal Cash Advances made on Wool, Grain, Frozen Meat and other produce, either for Sale in Dunedin or for Shipment to Lonion or other markets. VALUATIONS MADE, LOANS NEGOTIATED & ARBITRATIONS CONDUCTED All Farm and Station Requisites supplied of best quality at lowest prices. Send Consignments and Orders to DONALD REID & CO., Ltd, PRIVATE RAILWAY SIDING, DUNEDIN. AGENTS FOR: Fisons' Sheep Dips (Powder and Liquid) Gow's Non-poisonous Dipping Powder Ruston Proctor & Co.'s Traction and Portable Steam Engines and Threshing Machines Belfast and Fisons' Manures Thomas's Basic Slag Reid's Patent Wire Strainers ("Titan and "Triplex")

Early Settlers' Picnic at Waikouait: Some Old Residents of Waikouaiti.

ESTABLISHED 1861. JOHN EDMOND ...GENERAL... Ironmonger and Hardware Merchant, PRINCES & BOND STREETS, DUNEDIN; TAY & WOOD STREETS, INVERCARGILL. Every ARTICLE needed in Domestic Economy, from the modest COTTAGE UTENSILS to the Elaborate RANGE and Highly-finished GRATE, FENDER, FIRE-IRONS, and Mantels. The TABLE SUPPLIED with CUTLERY of every Variety, From the Plainest to the most Ornate Pattern, an Metals, Wood Bone, and Ivory, of every description, LAUNDRIES completed in every detail. FOR THE FARM AND GARDEN.—All necessary In plements, Barbed and Galvanised Wire, Staples and Netting. FOR SHIP CHANDLERY.—Every item, from the heavy Anchor and Chain to Sails and Ensigns. Nautical Instruments—Chronometers, Barometers. FOR GOLD DREDGING—Expanded Metal, the best Gold Saver existing, FOR SPORTS.—Cricket, Golf, Croquet, Bowling, Tennis Every Material in newest principles, and a voluminous assortment of everything else in the trade which cannot be easily enumerated. The reputation of the Firm for most Reasonable Charges, Can and Promptness in fulfilling and dispensing Orders is daily screaming.

Copy of Pound Note of the Banking Company Referred to in the Text.

IRVINE & STEVENSON'S GREAT Grocery Emporium, 64 to 66 GEORGE STREET Branch Shop: PRINCES STREET. Tea Dealers, Grocers, AND Provision Merehants, All our Supplies are either imported or purchased direct from the Manufacturers, and sold for READY MONEY; hence we can sell always at BED-ROCK PRICES. You pay no Middle Profits by dealing with us. ESTABLISHED 1864. St. GEORGE PRESERVING WORKS, DUINEDIN. No. 1—BACON FACTORY - - ST. ANDREW STREET. 2—STARCH FACTORY - - FILLEUL STREET. 3—FISH FACTORY - - WESTPORT. 4—FISH FACTORY - - GREYMOUTH. 5—PRESERVING WORKS - WINGATUI. 6—FRUIT FACTORY - - NELSON. 7—FISH FACTORY - - AKAROA. 8—MILK FACTORY 9—MILK FACTORY - - TARANAKI. HENLEY. 10—FISH FACTORY - - BLUFF. Large Manufacturers of all kinds of Preserved Provisions. MAKERS OF "LILY" STARCH. Proprietors IRVINE & STEVENSON.

Facsimile of One Guinea Note Issued by the Paisley Banking Co.

SCOULLAR & CHISHOLM, ... LIMITED, ... Furniture Manufacturers & Importers MACLAGGAN & RATTRAY STS., DUNEDIN. ESTABLISHED 1863, AS NORTH & SCOULLAR. The Brick and Stone Warehouse is one of the largest and most imposing south of the Line; and such is the reputation of the firm throughout New Zealand, that the name alone is regarded as a sufficient guaranty for the Quality, Workmanship and Design of every Article produced and sold. At the Wellington Exhibition in 1885 the firm obtained THE ONLY GOLD AND SILVER MEDALS awarded for FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS. At the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in 1899-90 the firm again took the Award for FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS, their Exhibit being a centre of attraction to visitors. While largely importing from Britain, the Continent, and America prominence is always given to our beautiful and suitable Native Wood in our manufacture of Furniture. In the different departments of the business employment is given to 50 or 60 hands in our extensive Factory, and a magnificent display is always made in the Warehouse in Variety, Style, and Finish from the most elegant and elaborate to the most unpretentious and modest everyday useful article. The Carpet and Floorcloth Showrooms Are the finest in the City, and the variety and designs in FLOOR COVERINGS are numerous, up-to-date, and so reasonable is price as to satisfy the most exacting.

Early Settlers' Picnic at Waikouaiti: Group of Early Settlers and Descendants.

ANDREW LEES, 48 GEORGE STREET, DUNEDIN, IMPORTER OF Plate and Sheet Glass Paperhangings, Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Brushware, Mouldings, Mirror Plate, Bevelled Mirrors, Artists' Materials, And every Trade Requisite. Established in 1859, and is the Oldest Firm in the trade in Otago, and a Leading House in this line; keeps the largest stock of Plate and Sheet Glass in the Colony, and holds very large stocks of Paperhangings and Picture Frame Mouldings, purchased from the chief manufacturers, and is noted for keeping his stock up to date with all the latest novelties and replete with every variety, from the cheapest to the more expensive in the recent higher attainments of art patterns and designs. Is the chief distributing Agent for the new BON ACCORD SANITARY PAINT, which is fast coming into prominence, as it far excels any other paint for brilliancy and beauty of colour, and is suitable for a large variety of purposes both outside and indoors. Mr LEES also carries on an extensive Decorating and Glazing business, and all work entrusted to his care is faithfully carried out, and only the best of materials used.

Miscellaneous Group at the Early Settlers' Picnic at Wingatui, february 13, 1902.

A POPULAR LOCAL OFFICE INSURE WITH Fire & marine national Insurance Co. of N. Z.. Authorised Capital = = £2,000,000 Accumulated Funds = = £270,624 AGENTS IN ALL COUNTRY TOWNS. Head Office = Dunedin.

Group of Early Settlers' Balclutha Picnic Committee

Front Row: Miss Robertson (Victory, 1863;), Mrs S. Wright, Mr John M'Neill, Mrs Hog P. Nelson (Balclutha. secretary), Mrs J. M'Neill, Mrs W. Shiels, Mrs J. Low (Royal Albert, 1853).

Back Row: J. Wilson (1849), W F. Shiels (Jura, 1858), S. Wright (1849), J. Hogg (Gloucester, 1859), L. Lang lands, Dunedin secretary (Victory, 1848), R. R Grigor (1858), Sinclair Wright (1849).—Guy, photo.

...THE... Perpetual Trustees, Estate & Agency Co. of New Zealand, Limited. With which is incorporated the Finns of GILLIES, STREET & HISLOP and CONNELL & MOODIE. Subscribed Capital £106,250. Paid-up Capital £8,125 17s 6d

Group of Old Identities at Balclutha Picnic.

Back Row: W. H. Carey (native), Mr J. M'Neill (Mooltan), Mrs J. M'Neill (Mooltan), Mr John M'Neill

(Mooltan), Mrs John M'Neill (Mooltan), Mrs C. Begg (Robert Henderson), Mr G. Horder (1861), Mrs G. Holder (1861).

Front Row: Mrs W. H. Carey (Henrietta, 1860), Mrs Walter (Mooltan, 1849), Mrs J. Grey (Mooltaai, 1849), Mrs Cross (Mooltan, 1849), Mrs Clemison (Mooltan, 1849), Mrs Peterson (Mooltan, 1849), Mrs J. W. Laing (1851), Mrs Bishop (Chilla).-Guy, photo.

Chas. Begg & Co., LIMITED, DUNEDIN, WELLINGTON, TIMARU, INVERCARGILL, IMPORTERS OF PIANOS, ORGANS, MUSIC, BAND & ORCHESTRAL INSTRUMENTS And their ACCESSORIES. This Firm was Established in 1861 by the late Mr. Chas Begg, who manufactured the first four pianos made in New Zealand, using native woods in all parts excepting those for which imported timber was absolutely necessary. They were shown and sold at the Dunedin Exhibition of 1864 (held in the present Hospital Buildings). One of them has since come into the possession of the firm, who will be proud to show it as a Specimen of Thorough and Reliable Workmanship. Our Goods are Reliable, Our Prices are moderate, AND WE SELL FOR CASH OR TIME PAYMENT.

Dedication to the Early Settlers' Association, Otago.

The suggestion was made to me by several old friends at the Balclutha gathering that a reliable record of events which occurred in the first years of the history of Otago should be compiled and printed, and asking me to undertake the duty. I willingly respond.

Having at command all known reliable documents, and patriotism reigning rampant in my heart, my pleasant duty is so far accomplished under no bias or preconceived opinion.

To my mind the individuals who, in face of enormous difficulties, succeeded in transforming waste, unproductive lands into a luxuriant heritage, hold a higher dignity under the name SETTLER, than those who, under more favourable circumstances, achieve fame as citizens.

JAS. M'INDOE.

1902.

I.

(From the Otago Daily Times, January 23, 1903)

Picnic at Balclutha.

The reunion of early settlers at Balclutha on Wednesday, held under the auspices of the Otago Early Settlers' Association, was an unqualified success. The energetic secretary (Mr L. Langlands), who was mainly responsible for the gathering, deserves credit for its success, inasmuch as about 500 Old Identities and their descendants gathered together on the Show ground. The local committee also did all that was necessary to provide refreshments, of which there was an abundance. Mr J. W. Wilson, chairman of the local committee, had associated with him Messrs Sinclair Wright, Samuel Wright, J. Hogg, W. Shiels, R. R. Grigor, John McNeil, and Peter Nelson (secretary), all of whom worked hard to make the gathering a success. A good number went by the express for the south from Dunedin, and at various points en route others were picked up. Arrived at Balclutha, a number of vehicles were in waiting, and a procession was formed to the Show ground, where the day was to be spent in friendly chats amongst shipmates who had not met for many years in not a few cases. After the lapse of half a century and over, it is really surprising the number of original immigrants who put in an appearance yesterday.

The following list (from which, no doubt, a few who were present have been omitted) will give a very fair idea of the hearty manner in which the old pioneers turned out:—

- 1848.—M. Marshall, L. Langlands, A. Marshall, Mrs M. Marshall, Mrs Robert Christie, Mrs A. Nicholl, James Adam, C. R. Chapman.
- 1849.—Joseph Bower, James M'Neil, John M'Neil, James Sim, George Calder. Mrs W. Patrick. Robert Murray, Miss Peterson, Mrs Clemison, Mrs E. Grey, Mrs Walters, Mrs James Johnston.

- 1851.—Mrs David Dunn.
- 1852.—Charles Taylor.
- 1853.—Robert Christie, Peter Ayson, G. Millar, J. F. Ayson.
- 1854.—John Reid, Mrs James M'Neil, Mrs John Tumbull (from Nelson).
- 1855.—Hugh Murray.
- 1856.—Alex. Petrie, Andrew Kilgour, Miss Spiers, Mrs Walter Begg, J. Grant, John Sutherland, James Sutherland, J. Finn, Peter Robertson.
- 1857.—William Dalglish, James Raitt.
- 1858.—James Bennett, Mrs A. Chapman, Jas. Shiels, Mrs James Shiels, Robert Hogg, E. Boyd, James Drinnan, C. Lamond, Robert Miller, D. M'Grouther, Peter M'Gregor, Chas. Duke, D. Haggart, A. N. Hislop, J. Pringle, Miss Paterson, Peter Bell, Mrs P. Bell, Thos. Mackenzie, M.H.R., James Allen, M.H.R., John Duthie, Robert Grigor, Mrs R. Grigor, Alex. Grigor, James Roberts. Mrs J. Roberts, C. Dabinett, Mrs W. M'Lay, C. Grant, Mrs C. Grant.
- 1859.—J. W. Thomson, M.H.R., James Biyce, Mrs Joseph Bowers, R. Hewitson, W. Hewitson, Alexander M'Gregor, James Petrie, Mrs J. Petrie, Mrs R. Robson, F. Twiss, Mrs Thornton, James M'Indoe.
- 1860.—W. Munro, Mrs Wvllie, D. Chisholm, Mrs Grant, John Turn-bull. Mrs W. H. H. Carey, Robert Robson, Mrs John Martin, Captain Hugh Paiterson, A. M'Callum, Mrs C. Hayward, James Duncan, Mrs J. Duncan, Thomas Duncan, George Smith, John Allan.
- 1861.—H. White, R. B. Paul, John Mitchell, John Sinclair.

The oldest of the Old Identities on the ground was Mr John Martin, who arrived in Wellington in 1841 and came down to Otago with Mr Kettle, surveyor, in 1847. Mr Alex. Grigor was the first schoolmaster in the Clutha having been appointed a schoolmaster by the Otago Association in Edinburgh in 1858. Mr R. Grigor is one of the oldest surveyors in Otago, if not in the colony.

The Molyneux district, as it was generally called, was one of the first rural districts to be settled, the first settlers landing there in 1849. Prior to the arrival of the Otago pioneers Messrs Wilsher and Russel occupied land at what is now known as Wilsher Bay. In March, 1849, Mr George Hay, together with his wife and family, went round to the Molyneux in a boat designated the Jumping Jackass, built by Mr Roebuch, and fastened with nails cut out of the iron hoops off the barrels used for whale oil. About the same time Messrs Redpath and Shiels, with their families, landed at Wilsher Bay in a boat called the Radymanthus. The earliest settlers in the Molyneux district were Messrs Hay, Archbold brothers (2), F. Pillans, Redpath, Ramage, John Shepherd (afterwards first chief constable in Dunedin), Ferguson, Fuller, W. Mosley, and John Shaw. Messrs Fuller and the Chalmers brothers were the first settlers in South Molyneux. Mrs George Hay is still living, and is now in her eighty-eighth year. Of her sons, two (William and George) are still in the district, and one (John) is chief surveyor at Invercargill. When the early settlers first took up their abode in the Molyneux the only communication with Dunedin was by open boat, which landed at Wilsher Bay, and from there ploughs and other agricultural implements, as well as household supplies, had to be carried by the settlers themselves to the river, several miles away, to be boated again to their destination. Nothing could be greater than the contrast between then and now, and some of the first settlers still speak with pride of the hardships they endured when laying the foundation of a prosperous settlement. It was interesting on Wednesday to the younger generation to witness the hearty hand-clasps and cordial greetings with which the old pioneers renewed the acquaintance of long ago. Age may have sapped their strength, but it has not cooled the indomitable spirit which brought them through the trials and difficulties of early colonisation in New Zealand. One Old Identity—Mr John Finn—donned the garb which was fashionable at the beginning of the settlement, and appeared in orthodox blue shirt and white moleskin trousers. After refreshments had been served and sufficient time allowed to permit of old friends to exchange greetings, several of the visitors addressed the crowd.

Mr John Reid (ex-president) read the following letter of apology from Mr D. Reid (president):—"Dunedin, January 22, 1902.—Dear Mr Reid,—Will you kindly make apology for my absence at the Early Settlers' picnic to be held at Balclutha to-day. I am sorry at not being able to be present, as I am sure it will prove a grand, harmonious, and enjoyable gathering. Many have been hopefully looking forward to it with much expectation. Our early pioneers have but few opportunities of meeting together and renewing old friendships, enjoying social intercourse, and reviving pleasant memories of the past. Such meetings as you inaugurate today must surely be of great benefit to all. It is a grand thing to have these meetings in the localities where many of the old pioneers reside, who could not spare the time or bear the fatigue of attending the central gathering at Dunedin. It is right and commendable, and a duty laid on us to keep green the memory of our early pioneers; and their children and grandchildren, the men and women of to-day, should make this gathering an annual affair, and resolve to keep one day every year as 'Pioneer Day,' in memory of the worthy band who under considerable difficulties and discouragements, laid the foundation of our free and liberal institutions on a firm basis. Given a

fine day which I trust you may have, and I am sure you will be a happy party. I congratulate you on your first 'pioneer picnic,' and wish you great success.—Yours truly, DONALD REID."

Mr Reid said he had not much to add to what their worthy president had expressed in his letter, but hoped they would be privileged to enjoy many more days such as that which called them together at Balclutha.

Mr J. W. Thomson, M.H.R., expressed his pleasure at being present, and was pleased to see such a large gathering. He would not begin by addressing them in the usual style, but preferred to call them fellow settlers—old fellow settlers who had borne the heat and burden of the day for many years. He congratulated them on being present that day in such numbers, after well-nigh on 54 years since the first of them landed on these shores. He paid a very high tribute to the enterprise of the early settlers, who came to this land, taking a leap in the dark. The people did not know what they were coming to, but that did not deter them from doing their best when they did come. When the diggings broke out it soon became known, that New Zealand was destined to become a country of importance, which the early settlers had helped to make it. He hoped, as Mr Reid had suggested, the gathering of Old Identities would be an annual affair, and that "Pioneer Day" would come to be recognised as a regular holiday. Such a meeting as that was not so much for the purpose of meeting one another of those belonging to the district as for meeting those they had not seen for 10, or 20, or 30 years.—(Cheers.)

Mr T. Mackenzie, M.H.R., said he also claimed to be an Old Identity, having landed in the Robert Henderson in 1858. But if he were an Irishman he would have a grievance, and that was that he was brought here against his will.—(Laughter.) He was glad to meet his old friends of the Clutha.—(Cheers.) A quarter of a century ago he came among them as a young man, and he was glad to think that the descendants of the early settlers were worthy of the parents who came here from Scotland in the early days. He had been to Scotland since, and he felt sure that the very best people came here in the early days.—(Laughter and cheers.) Those who came first brought with them to this young country the best traditions of their race. And they had produced a race willing to stand together shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Old Land. Mr Mackenzie called for three cheers for Mr Chamberlain, which were heartily given. Continuing, he said New Zealand had been asked to send out another contingent, and while all must deplore the fact that so many young men were being sent out of the colony, they must be proud that these young men were so ready to go to the front to fight the enemies of their country. The moral effect was the greatest Europe had ever witnessed.—(Cheers.)

Mr James Allen, M.H.R., said anyone standing there that day must feel proud that he belonged to the race of Britishers. If anything made our enemies envious it was that the Britishers were the best colonisers in the world. Those who came to New Zealand first had a hard struggle to fight, but they did not flinch. They had fashioned into a noble land the wild country to which they came in the early days. That had made us the envy of the world, and our successful colonisation was the cause of the gibes and jeers of Germany to-day. And those who came after the pioneers were worthy representatives of their fathers and mothers, and were willing to show to the world that they were part of the old stock ready to hew out homes in any other colony. He hoped the names of the early settlers and the ships they came in would be handed down to posterity. He hoped to see their sons flourish as a bay tree, and their daughters become the corner stone of a temple in the land. He wished prosperity to the sons and daughters of the early settlers and to their grandchildren. If the younger generation did not forget what their fathers and mothers were, this colony would so flourish as to outstrip any part of the globe not colonised by people of our race.—(Cheers.) He wished all present a pleasant reunion, and hoped they would go back to their homes feeling that they had had a good time, and for the rest of the year remember the day spent there.—(Cheers.)

Messrs John M'Neil and William Hay also briefly addressed the people, after which Mr J. W. Wilson proposed a hearty vote of thanks to those who had gathered there to the picnic.

Mr George Calder, one of the vice-presidents, moved a vote of thanks to the committee for the excellent manner in which they had provided for the comfort of all present.

Children's races were got off at intervals, and the music of four sets of bagpipes helped to enliven the proceedings. Altogether a very enjoyable day was spent, and the local committee were indefatigable in their efforts to entertain the visitors. Showers of rain commenced to fall at 3 o'clock, and an hour later the grounds were vacant, all having left to catch the train or to make for home, voting the reunion a thorough success.

II.

On the Run.

Most of my readers will understand the meaning of this phrase. It is an antiquated one, reaching back to before the days of the settlement, and a license from the agent of the New Zealand Company entitled parties to occupy the country for grazing purposes.

Our first recognised runholder was Mr Archibald Anderson, who, in conjunction with Mr James Cullen, now of Outram, held the depasturing right of the country from the head of the harbour, including the site of Dunedin, southward along the Taieri, and including the whole of the Peninsula. The exact boundaries of the run were not specifically delineated. Sending down from Wellington a considerable number of cattle and sheep, Mr Anderson soon found that in his own interests his presence was absolutely necessary. The herds and flocks were satisfactorily increasing, the land getting fairly well stocked, but unfortunately no account sales or remittances were forthcoming, his manager not considering that a part of his duty to attend to. So, along with his family and friend Cullen, he came down to attend to his own affairs, arriving in 1845. His sole right of possession was soon after cancelled, as the company had arranged with the Edinburgh Association for a block of 400,000 acres, and in the following year Mr Kettle, with his assistant surveyors, arrived, and before his theodolite Mr Anderson was obliged to retire, and his right to the run was cancelled. There being no pressing necessity, however, he remained in undisturbed occupation, and was on the spot to welcome the first settlers on their landing in 1848.

Settlement had now taken place, and as very few animals in the shape of cattle had come along with the harbingers, the graziers retired leisurely, their number slowly increasing, the most prominent among them being Mr Edward Lee, who, along with Mr J. Hyde Harris, secured a herd, establishing themselves on the West Taieri, and gave the name Lee Stream to that rivulet which is destined to act such an important factor in the electrical system for Dunedin.

The great aim of Captain Cargill and his coadjutor, Mr Bums, was to keep their flock close at hand, well together, so that a better surveillance over them could be exercised, and the great advantages of kirk and school and social intercourse could be secured. But it was of no use; the land was rich, there was plenty of room for enterprise, and the feeling of complete liberty of thought and action must have full swing. So the purpose, however admirable it was, could not be carried out. The people would segregate; like the cattle, they would seek out pastures new and of better feed.

Another feeling animated a considerable number. They considered a great mistake had been committed in locating the centre at the harbour—that Dunedin should have been fixed somewhere else. A few of the more adventurous spirits sallied forth, well equipped for their perilous travels. It was well they should have been so furnished, as it was reported by Mr Kettle that no white residents would be met with, the principal inhabitants being a few scattered Maoris. Following the tracks of these nomads, the Taieri was passed over as swampy; Tokomairiro was not attractive, and only when the Clutha was reached were their expectations realised. In one respect there were grounds for the belief. The soil was infinitely superior to that around Dunedin. The land was much more level, and the area far more extensive. The fatal point was the want of a commodious and safe shipping port. This was a want that could not be remedied, and Messrs Kettle and Tuckett's selection has long been completely justified.

There were a few whites in the locality: Captain Wilsher and others, more or less connected with the whaling industry, who had secluded themselves on the coastline among the Natives. On the return of a portion of the explorers to Dunedin, a few remained behind to make the necessary arrangements for erecting whares for permanent occupation. Their report was received with enthusiasm, and a rush on a small scale was imminent. The great difficulty to overcome was the journey. Overland for wives and bairns could not be thought of, as there were no conveyances. Even the slow-moving bullock sledge was not available, and even though it had been, the route at several places was impracticable. The open ocean could alone be made use of, and to accomplish the voyage in small boats, either open or partly decked, occupying, it might be, weeks, was a perilous venture. The resolve once taken, it must be carried out. The greater the risk and danger, the greater the honour and glory in over-coming.

Among those who made up their minds for the change, were douce, cannie-going men, resolute in purpose, and with determined wills. Certainly the majority were young, unmarried blades, ready for any hazard, who had little impedimenta to bother them, and the overland route was their choice; those with responsibilities must go by sea, and by this means also must the necessaries of life be transported. Luck attended each, and with few calamities, but many grievous delays, the destinations were safely reached, and then the job of setting their house in order brooked no delay. Bitter privations were experienced, hopes and expectations were long in being realised; yet amid all the buffetings, a bright star shone above. "The smilings of a fortune were not beguiling," and a full fruition was the result, as the splendid, joyous, and happy gathering at Balclutha on Wednesday, the 22nd January, demonstrated.

The remark is common, "Pity the sorrows of the old." As well pity the pains of youth. Old folk have as great a relish for amusement as their juniors—of a different sort, however: not so demonstrative, but just as

real. No better proof of this could be given than at the aforesaid meeting. Matrons up to over fourscore were brimful of enjoyment in exchanging with each other their experiences of the "unco's" and the "afu's" of the past. Auld hearts grew young again, and the veterans cheered lustily on the spirit-stirring addresses referring to the glory of our Empire and the chivalry of the New Zealand youth in volunteering their lives in defence of our flag and the rights and liberties of our fellow subjects everywhere. Could the hearts of some of these sturdy old fellows be read, even though "the keepers of the house," through hard work and age, might not be so steady as in days of yore, the sentiment would be found there so appropriately uttered by Hugh Gourley, "Give me the rifle, and I am ready also to go to South Africa." Scenes like these

"Remake worn man once more the boy."

III.

Introductory.

Any ordinary reader on perusal will readily see these notes have not been arranged with critical accuracy as to order of occurrence, nor with any desire to extenuate, conceal, or condone anything which may appear to have been a flagrant abuse of privilege, a hidden motive or an offence against propriety. The historic facts are related, "impugn them who so lists." It is also fair to state the authorities from which they have been gathered often were betrayed into the use of unseemly language not justified by the requirements of the case, and the frequent repetition of the epithet "Enemy," referring to an opponent, tended rather to irritate than conciliate.

From the lofty editorial chairs down to the occupants of the meanest correspondence stools, jargon and slang were freely branded on individuals, oft times with particular minuteness, so that no mistake could be made as to the person indicated; and not only so, but frequently within the ranks of the little coteries themselves., violent ebullition of temper would be displayed on matters of even secondary importance, threatening, and often effecting, complete disruption. It was a period of disquiet and unrest among the "leading lights." and the reason why is not difficult to discover. There were no distinct party lines drawn with acknowledged trusted leaders; no cohesion existed in the dominating cliques. Each one thought himself the better man of the two, and would not give in—rather revolt than submit. It is always the case where no regularly organised parties exist: chaos reigns, developing indifference or complete somnolency

Let it not for a moment be supposed the foregoing remarks are applicable to the whole community. The majority were a frugal, industrious, intelligent body, intent on their own particular affairs, keeping, however, a watchful eye on what was taking place around them; laughing heartily at the futile attempts of the esteemed giant pigmies, who, for a trifling consideration, and in the shortest time, would undertake to turn the world upside down and establish a new order of things. These charges are not levelled indiscriminately against the whole of the prominent actors on the scene, for among them were men of highest worth, who placed the settlement under deepest obligation. Only to brawling boasters do they refer.

It cannot be said the Government of the day did anything to soothe the perturbed feeling existing. Contrariwise, they seemed desirous of fomenting strife, and raising antagonism by their actions. Unnecessary expense and badly-selected appointments were made, unpalatable institutions attempted to be foisted on the people, claims for legitimate expenditure refused or grudgingly granted in part, and when just and equitable rights were bestowed, long delays on merely technical excuses, took place before these rights were so arranged as to be brought into practical operation. The neighbouring settlements—Wellington in particular—joined in the frivolity of trying to make fun of what they considered the impotent efforts of Otago to make her existence felt and acknowledged. A few short years turned the laugh in another direction.

IV.

Long Ago.

It is somewhat difficult to write a clear and concise account of the days o' auld lang syne, available material from which to draw inspiration not being plentiful, the preserved records of the past being scant, and the traditions of the fathers have become hazed and obscure. Such as we have we give, and someone else may

supplement according as they have opportunity.

It naturally occurs to refer to official documents for reliable information as to how things were in primitive days, and of these, so far as available, advantage will be taken, although, sad to say, very many of these, from several causes, are now lost to sight however dear they may be to memory. Every facility has been afforded in hunting them up, and the result of the search is now with pleasure presented to our readers.

The Clutha district was held by many as the centre from which all the other partitions of the settlement of Otago should have radiated, and there is no doubt many substantial grounds were urged for the opinion. Its position as the heart of, the selected block, the lay and extent of its grand and fertile area, the immense stretch of available depasturing country around to the south and west further than the eye could reach, the comparative ease with which internal communication could be opened, its copious water supplies in all directions, its known mineral deposits (containing untold treasures of comfort and wealth, easy to be procured), together with its genial climate, were attractions hard to resist, giving weight and force to the arguments plentifully brought forth by the strenuous advocates. It was true that bush was not very lavishly distributed, and the scarcity of timber, such an essential requisite for building and fencing, was urged as an objection; and another, more powerful, was the want of a bay or harbour in which ships in all weathers could lie safely at anchor, and a port (free from sudden river floods) where cargoes could be loaded and discharged without undue risk. Both these disadvantages, it was maintained, could be easily met and overcome by a moderate outlay of money.

The discussion was not confined to the question of headquarters or capital only; others were introduced to promote discontent and, if possible, burst up the settlement, the main principle on which it, along with its neighbouring settlement—Canterbury—was founded, being very obnoxious and repugnant to a number, and in the light of our present day socialism appears even more so. The name contemptuously given was that of "Class," which that of Otago did not justly merit, as it was open to all to join whatever their creed or tenets might be. Without doubt, at its initiation, the idea prevailed to make it a Presbyterian settlement; so also was it to make Canterbury Anglican. In both cases the idea received substantial recognition as the Church lands testify. But it was not exclusive, as among the first immigrants were representatives of almost every religious belief.

The feud was carried on with considerable bitterness in the columns of the newspaper and by pamphlet, threatening to frustrate progress and prosperity. The Commissioner of Crown Lands (Mr Mantell) was known to be in direct antagonism to the whole scheme of settlement, and did not hesitate openly to declare and show his opposition, going even so far as to express his desire to wipe out the name Dunedin. Among the efforts laid to his charge was the authorship of long letters which appeared in several numbers of the Otago News, afterwards published in the form of a pamphlet, intended for circulation at Home and in the colonies, and bearing the signature "Agricola," in which the monstrous notion was uttered and enforced that the whole lands within the Otago Block, including the rich and fertile districts of Clutha, were not adapted for the growth of grain crops, only fitted for the grazing of sheep and cattle.

A few of the bolts shot by this great Jove and others may prove interesting reading, and are justifiably included here:—

"Looking at the map of Otago District our prosperity as a town must entirely depend on our herds of cattle and flocks of sheep; in fact, we do not possess in any part of the district land suitable for the success of agricultural pursuits. The suburban sections in nine cases out of ten are worthless as farms for years to come. We rate the advantages and disadvantages as follows:—The Taieri district, although possessing a few good sections, is allowed by all to be nothing but a lake in winter; and, even if it were not, a few flocks of sheep would soon fill it. The Tokomairiro is in some places extremely narrow, but offers greater advantages for grazing than the Taieri, by opening into the Molyneux district along the shores of the Tuakitoto Lake. Crossing the Kaoui River we enter not only the real but the most extensive and valuable grazing country in the Otago Block, and to these plains must we look for the future source of our riches and commercial prosperity. Allowing then that the Otago district is essentially a grazing district—and who can deny it? why have the company and association not acted on the knowledge and sent out a class of free immigrants, who would have proved a valuable acquisition to the purchasers of land and stock?"

Another says:—"The Taieri plain is, with here and there an exception, one vast swamp; so much so that the southern part is incapable of being laid out in sections. The Waihola comes next with beautiful pasturage. The Tokomairiro is one vast plain, without flax, fern, or tutu, covered with fine dry grass upwards of a foot high, suited for sheep rather than cattle. The Molyneux district has on the banks of its river a large portion of remarkably rich but swampy land, the island is subject to inundations, and for the most part swampy. There is more good land in this district than I have yet seen, and capable of being easily brought into cultivation, but in my idea it would be ridiculous for a man to lay out his capital in producing corn, which might at some distance of time yield him 30 per cent., when he could, without risk, gain 100 per cent, in cattle, and have his capital always available."

Another makes a calculation, and says:—"The owner of a flock of 2000 sheep will require some 5000 acres to feed them. Ten flocks of the same limited amount will require 50,000 acres, and 50 flocks will take up the whole of the Block." On this liberal principle the whole settlement would be occupied, representing a population of 50 runholders with their dependents.

The editor of the News says:—"If we suppose it—that the estimate made of the capabilities of the district—refers to the confessed superiority in a commercial and successful point of view of the Otago Block as a pastoral over an agricultural country, we again reiterate the fact. Our ultimate prosperity must depend, not on our agriculture, but on the extent of our flocks and herds. We say we have no land suitable for the success of agricultural pursuits in a commercial and prospective point of view; in fact, we shall not be able to grow sufficient grain and vegetables from 10-acre sections to supply our own market for many years to come, if ever. The Otago settlement possesses an intrinsic merit which sooner or later will be perceived, and responded to by capitalists at Home and abroad; till then we leave the decision of the pastoral and agricultural question, feeling certain it will succeed in one—when our splendid plains are filled with stock."

There can be no doubt some of these writers were sincerely honest in their opinions, with others the wish was father to the thought. Had any of them been alive to-day, which is unfortunately not the case, they would be disillusioned and mystified at the great changes which have been brought about; and no one more so than the highly esteemed editor himself. The swamps have been drained, scrub and tussock cleared off, all the plains and hillsides are dotted with smiling homesteads occupied with an energetic humanity, the luxuriant crops of grain and roots spread over almost the whole area, and the pasture fields teeming with flocks and herds, all give testimony that the answer to the question of the editor should not be in one respect only, but in three—rapid, substantial, and increasing progress in our

Population, Crops, and Stock,

Thus confirming the accuracy of the judgment of the original selectors in choosing the locality, as we have a goodly heritage and the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places.

The result of this unhappy dispute was disastrous to the newspaper, as the patronage and support of those in authority were withdrawn, and, after struggling manfully for some months, on the 21st December, 1850, with the issue of its ninety-first number, the Otago News ceased to exist, the last words of its editor being, "Last of its race, farewell." The motto which it bore, "There's pippins and cheese to come," was not realised.

The mantle of poetic genius had fallen on some of the earliest settlers, and no wonder; the surroundings of Nature were inspiring. Unfortunately, the names of the bards are not given; only initials appear, and with the following extracts from the News, this part of our narrative will close.

Emigrant's Farewell.

My native Caledonia, my heart heaves a sigh,
As on thy hills sae bonnie I gaze with lingering eye.

Land of my childhood, and my youth,
Land of the brave and free;
Land of love and land of truth.
How dear art thou to me.

My wayward fancy bids me roam,
To seek a foreign shore;
My clearest friends and native home
I may ne'er see them more.

But still, though on a foreign land,
My thoughts shall rest on thee;
And on the highest hill I'll stand,
And gaze across the sea.

For Ah! Affection's tender spring,
No ocean wave can sever;
But I'll sit me down, and loud I'll sing.
Auld Scotland, live forever!

[POSTSCRIPT.]

'Tis true I love those distant shores.
Whereon I spent my youthful hours?
But still I can with equal fire
Otago hills and dells admire.

More genial climes and purer skies.
More verdant hills transcendent rise;
Embroidered o'er with varied hue,
Fantastic, yet to Nature true.
The wimpling rill and gurgling stream,
And flowing river fill the scene,
And thou! whose voice my heart's blood warms
How shall I sing thy artless charms?
Fair daughter of a worthy dame,
Of ancient and historic fame;
As yet no domes or gilded spires.
Or massive column greet the eyes;
Yet still in embryo I can see
The germs of future life in thee.
Then, onward! let thy motto be
Emblazoned on your heraldry;
Onward! Onward! sons of toil,
Hew down these woods, dig up the soil.
Then, soon out o'er the smiling plains
En masse shall wave the golden grain;
Unnumbered flocks and herds shall roam
Around those hills, around thy home,
And round thy cottage porch shall twine
The luscious fig and clustered vine.
And peace and plenty round thy hearth,
With other joys of heavenly birth
Hold their benignant sway;
But only this you keep in view
That toil must lead the way.

—W. M.

March 7, 1849.

(Two words altered.)

To Otago.

Let them vaunt of the cliffs that look rugged and bold,
With their bare, craggy sides and their summits of cold;
Give me the bold mountains with Nature's gay sheen,
Hills all covered o'er with mantles of green.

And where are the hills that in grandeur compare
With the heights of Otago, so lovely and fair?
Where the bush is aye green, ever Verdant the trees,
Ever fanned the clear sky with the sea-tempered breeze.

Where summer is smiling, and sweetly the flower
Hangs from the green twig in the quiet sheltered bower;
Nae foliage of Nature, tho' lovely it shine,
Ever blooming Otago is equal to thine.

Though few be the strangers thy fair climes explore,
And few be the homes that arise on thy shore;
From lands and from regions across the wide sea,
Are hearts that will venture, Dunedin to thee!

—A. M.

March 24, 1849.

There are merits in both these compositions; the earnest patriotic spirit pervading them is worthy of highest commendation.

V.

Incidents.

During its career the plucky little News contained a large amount of valuable information, as well as affording excellent selections of reading matter, and had its councils been more plain and forbearing, less provoking and defiant, its future was very well assured; but, with bulldog tenacity it held its own cherished opinions, refusing to concede one iota, and so hastened its own extinction. There was no give-and-take even when no vital principle was at stake, simply theoretical or speculative opinions were in debate, and with something like perversity it goaded on its opponents to ungenerous reprisals.

Many interesting items might be culled from its pages, but limits insist on brevity, so selections must be curtailed. The petitions of the workmen and labourers employed by the New Zealand Company, in all 30 signatures, to Wm. Fox, Esq., principal agent—setting forth that they were compelled to work 10 hours a day, at the low rate of 3s a day as wages; these facts, coupled with the deduction of broken time, and the high price of food and clothing, rendered life uncomfortable and unbearable—received short shrift in a lengthy reply, refusing to accede to either request, and he thought the wages sufficient for a working man. The recognised hours by private employers were eight per day, and wages one shilling higher. The petition of the labourers was

backed by another signed by an equal number of mechanics and small tradesmen. The News took the part of the workers, and vigorously analysing the reply from Mr Fox, said it was "shuffling," and bringing in the position of the employed at Wellington with longer hours and smaller wages (2s 6d), launched into the very midst of the "Great Labour Question." Was this candid? Was it answering the prayer of the petition? the News asked, and said emphatically it was not! and the effervescings of a "Land Purchaser" and of a "Landed Proprietor" as published in the paper failed to convince to the contrary. Both these correspondents strongly supported the views of Mr Fox, and in return got somewhat severely handled by the News, which repudiated with scorn the insinuation "of displaying extreme acrimony against the New Zealand Company and its agents either as a body or individually. If a public good is done or improvement conferred it would not remain silent or give praise 'with slow and greedy measure;' but if they do not fulfill their promises and professions, it is a duty to take notice of misdeeds, and in a spirit of plain dealing sincerely to point them out with their remedies. In doing this our judgment may sometimes err, but our aim is to be just both to employer and employed, disavowing ALL party spirit and narrow minded bigotry."

The prices ruling in Dunedin were, in March, 1849: Beef (fresh), 7d to 8d per lb; bread (4lb loaf), 10d; butter—fresh 2s, salt 1s 8d to 1s 10d; cheese (Bathurst), 1s to 1s 6d; coffee, 1s 4d to 1s 6d; eggs, 1s 6d to 2s per doz.; flour, 16s to 18s per 100lb; ham and bacon, 6d to 8d; mutton, 7d to 7½d per lb; milk, 4d per quart; potatoes, £4 10s to £6 per ton; fowls, 4s per pair; ducks, 4s; geese, 14s; wild ducks, 3s 6d; sugar—loaf 7½d to 8½d, raw 4d to 6d; tea, 2s to 2s 6d; cows (milk), each £14 to £18; mares, £20 to £30; sheep (wethers), 20s to 28s. Wages—mechanics (per day), 5s to 7s 6d; labourers, 3s to 4s; shepherds, from £30 to £40 for selves and wives; farm servants, from £20 to £30; female servants (very scarce), £12 to £20 per annum.

Following the quotations of prices of provisions, etc., thus given, it is correct also to note the rents quoted by the Company for quarter-acre sections in town, and ten acres suburban land. Each were £4 per annum on a lease for three years, value given for buildings and improvements at the expiry of the term. One would say rather a stiff figure at the time, representing a capital value at, 5 per cent, of £80 for the town and eight shillings per acre for the suburban sections in their wild and natural condition. The Trustese for Church and School Property let their sections at the same rental, making the lease for seven years. Private owners for choice sections got as high as £12 per annum. The usual rent charged for wooden houses was about 25 per cent, on their original value, and in some instances 35 per cent.

The first Anniversary Day was to be devoted to sports, and the bill of fare issued by the committee proves creditable to their exertions and to the generosity of the subscribers, and the editor adds: "The day is henceforth stamped in the Otago calendar as one set apart for hilarity, mirth, and cheerfulness, and as such we have no doubt will be anxiously looked forward to by the thousands yet to inhabit Dunedin—a day of unbending from the everyday work of life; to mix socially together, and in the remembrance of the past to gather fresh courage for the future." The sports occupied two days—Friday and Saturday, March 23 and 24,—the first devoted to rival contests in the cricket ground and aquatics in the bay, winding up with a ball in the Royal Hotel long room in the evening, about 40 or 50 ladies and gentlemen meeting to enjoy the "festive dance," and "morning's grey light was beaming" when the majority of the party separated. The second day was devoted to horse racing, on the course hurriedly prepared on the belt near Linden School, above Walker street. A large section of the community, however, kept the day by thanksgiving services in the kirk.

The religious controversy waxed very hot, representatives of all shades were drawn into the vortex, and gave vent to their feelings in letters—acrimonious and personal. Indeed, so intolerable had it become, that the editor at length discreetly resolved to close down and refuse further publication.

It cannot be supposed that many incidents are of surpassing interest to us, whatever aspect they may have assumed to those taking part in producing them. A few, however, are produced indicative of progress. The area of the Block first selected for settlement was 144,000 acres (afterwards increased to 400,000), subdivided into 2200 properties, the total extent of the first survey made by Mr Kettle, and at the end of the first year—March 22, 1849—only 240 of these had been disposed of, many of them held by friends in Britain, and the progress of sales on the spot was not very encouraging; this state of affairs continuing for some time afterwards. The following condensed tables for the first year show:—

Public Revenue and Expenditure,

- For period ending December 31, 1848: Revenue, £909 10s 7d; Expenditure, £695 4s 9d.
- From January 1 till March 30, 1849: Revenue, £349 14s 7d; Expenditure, £257 8s 10d.
- From April 2 till June 30: Revenue, £509 6s 3d; Expenditure, £239 1s 2d.
- From July 2 till September 29: Revenue, £500 10s 2d; Expenditure, £420 18s 3d.
- Total Revenue, £2269 1s 7d; Expenditure, £1613 3s, showing a surplus of £655 18s 7d.

This does not include land sales, only the amounts collected by the Government through their officials at Port Chalmers, where the Custom House was situated. These surpluses were regularly sent off to Wellington, as far as possible in gold, leaving nothing behind for local expenditure; draining the settlement of specie and substituting Government Bank of Issue Notes not negotiable outside the colony.

Dunedin had not hitherto the right to call itself a "Town," but early in 1849 a proclamation appeared in the Government Gazette conferring the title on both it and Port Chalmers—twins; helpless, indeed, as no endowment was attached, no authority constituted, or privilege attached. The old regime was to continue, ruled by a Bench of Justices and protected by a foreign police. It was reserved for the Provincial Council to bestow more than a name. The germs of social advancement soon began to develop themselves, as a branch of the: Manchester Unity Order of Oddfellows was established, a Public Library was opened, building societies were set agoing, concerts inaugurated, a teetotal society projected and, strange to tell, a rush to the diggings in California talked of.

Meetings were held protesting against the introduction of convicts proposed by the Home authorities, native industries (principally in timber work) manifested themselves, the proverbial big gooseberry, potato, turnips, and cabbage were temptingly exposed, roads to the interior were started, the Saddle Hill coal mines were announced, traders for ports north and south were fully advertised, and the streets in Dunedin almost neglected.

A rather interesting advertisement appeared in the News signed by Captain Cargill, asking settlers to forward to him at Dunedin, at reasonable cost, specimens of native produce, in timber of certain dimensions, two tons of Saddle Hill coal, birds, fishes, and seeds, trees, shrubs, and plants for transmission to London for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Whether any were sent is not recorded.

The houses in the settlement in 1850 built of stone were 5, brick 5, weather boards 85, poles and logs 14, grass and poles 10, clay 85;—a total of 204. The first flour and sawmill, erected by Mr Valpy at Water of Leith, were started in May of that year.

The regular abstraction of money from the chest to Wellington could no longer be tolerated, so a cry was got up: "Send Back the Money." Indignation meetings were held, stern truths told, veiled threats whispered, with the result that the Government vessel Acheron, which on June 13 took £900 off to Wellington, was next month sent back with it, not all in coin—gold and silver—but mostly in Bank of Issue Notes, looked on with little favour. And to placate the turbulent inhabitants a Judge of the Supreme Court, with a handsome salary to be paid out of the returned surplus, together with that of another appointment as Resident Magistrate, with a good screw to be drawn from the same source, together with the indication of a gentleman gaoler, well endowed to be paid from the same exhaustless fund, the people ought to be more than satisfied; find means themselves to make their roads, and as crime was reported to be almost an unknown quantity, now was the opportunity to manufacture some and encourage trade.

A draft of a bill intended to provide local Government was also forwarded for consideration, the constitution of the governing body to be two-thirds elective and one-third nominated, with the power to appropriate the surplus revenue. It was not received with much acceptance, and it was ironically asked, would it not rather have to make up deficiency than disburse surplus, and that neither mayors, aldermen, or paid officials were needed, the people were quite qualified to manage their own affairs in a practical way?

VI.

Retrospect.

In reviewing the history of the settlement during the first year of its existence, the News took a very extended view of its importance, saying: "As pioneers and founders of a new colony, we consider the world has a right to demand the benefit of that years' experience, more especially that portion of intending settlers who have been 'anxiously waiting' for disinterested information from parties already located here. In making our observations we beg distinctly to assert that while we are unavoidably compelled to omit many favourable circumstances instead of exaggerating those already reported, we prefer rather the mere publication of facts with little or no comment whatever, considering that a feeling of duty towards intending immigrants, who may be influenced by our writings, and a principle of true policy respecting our adopted country alike demand honesty on such an occasion."

Describing the position and appearance of Dunedin, which are faithfully portrayed, expressing the opinion that the low range of sandy formation to the eastward of the hay shuts out the sea which must at one time have

flowed through what is now the harbour. With this opinion many will be disposed to agree, although the time when must have been very remote, as near the centre of the Flat, until within recent years, two clumps of trees existed, principally white pine, which must have taken centuries to attain their dimensions. It is also noted that the unevenness of the ground, though it may render the town more picturesque, unfits it in some measure for business purposes, and we have little doubt as the number of inhabitants increase, the main body of the town will be more near the North-East Valley and Pelichet Bay, on what, at the present time, presents the appearance of a swamp. A few good drains would, however, carry off all the surface water and leave fine level sites for building purposes. Could the author of this remark revisit his ancient habitation, his exclamation would be: "What a change is here!"

With a feeling of genuine admiration, the News further says:—"The small hills at the back would form delightful spots for crescents and detached villas, offering a prospect of the bay and town with a peep at the ocean beyond, a little to the left of which a 'gradual swelling pile' rises, with a fine commanding view of the ocean, the whole of the town, and the wood-covered heights on each side of the harbour. Here rest the mortal remains of some of our fellow-settlers—away from the confusion and noise of a town—taking their 'long and lasting sleep,' in the midst of Nature's life and loveliness. Below may be seen the edifice set apart for a church—a plain wooden building with a Public Library appended—the Manse, and Captain Cargill's residence, neat mansions of wood, towards the south end of the town, with small gardens attached; Mr Yalpy's house, forming a conspicuous object, but not a very pleasing one in point of architecture; the principal surveyor's house on a small piece of rising ground, with a fanciful verandah; a confused cluster of buildings round the Commercial Inn and the Royal Hotel—these are some of the most prominent objects in the picture of the town. Here and there, too, dotted among the houses may be seen the painted top of a gipsy-like tent, or the more rustic dwellings of clay and grass, peeping from amid a bower of trees. The number of houses is about 110, a small garden attached to many of them sufficient for growing a few vegetables. We have a police magistrate, two physicians, one solicitor, three merchants, three gardeners, two butchers, two bakers, five shoemakers, one tailor, several storekeepers, carpenters, and sawyers. We have also two hotels, a newspaper, a gaol, a jetty, two good barracks, comfortably fitted up for the reception of immigrants, a brickfield, and a stone quarry. The town is but moderately supplied with good water, though a slight outlay would remedy this evil. The Water of Leith, a fine clear stream, is at a short distance, and might easily be conveyed in to the town. Wood is rather an expensive item in family economics—about 12s a cord. The labouring classes, however, generally employ their children to bring it from the neighbouring bush, or cut it when the day's work is done."

Such is a faithful picture of the ways and means of the primitive town, now the handsomely built and picturesque City of Dunedin, of which all are so proud.

So that no false impression might be conveyed the, cost of living, and the quality of goods supplied are tersely given. "The meat is of excellent quality; poultry and eggs are scarce; bacon and pork slightly deficient in flavour; potatoes of all qualities—those grown on new ground are not so good; tea very inferior; rice, sugar, currants, raisins, and spices very high in price, and frequently unobtainable. (A direct communication with Sydney has commenced, which will give a constant supply of these articles at a reasonable rate.) Vegetables, it is expected, will be very cheap; clothing is generally about 50 per cent, or 60 per cent, above Home prices; glass, earthenware, kitchen utensils, and household furniture about 100 per cent, more than the English markets." Unfortunately flour and bread are not referred to, and oatmeal was hardly dreamt of. A lament is made that "the extremely high price of sawn timber is a serious drawback to the increase of the town, the sawyers charging from 14s to 20s per 100 feet at the pit. This and the expense of carting the wood renders it impossible for many of the settlers to build for themselves comfortable houses. The scarcity of large timber—the distance of the trees from each other—and they want of good roads and means of conveyance may, to a large extent, account for these high prices, but we think the sawyers will find it to their own interests to reduce the price, otherwise it will be imported from the 'sister settlements.' "

Port Chalmers or Koputai is then described. "Situate about half-way between the entrance of the harbour and its head. Every available part of the ground has been taken advantage of to form town sections along the shores of the bay and extending back to the opposite bay. The Custom House, Post Office and Treasury, two merchants' stores, two inns, a butcher's shop, and a few private houses on the shores of the bays and coves adjoining constitute at present the whole of the township, while its advantages, from a commercial point of view, are so numerous, that we have no doubt ere long it will prove a prosperous rival to Dunedin. The population amounts to about 150 souls. Ships of any tonnage can anchor within a short distance of the town, perfectly sheltered from the strongest winds and uninfluenced by the tides. The depth of water is sufficient to enable coasters to heave down at high water mark to repair, paint, etc., a facility which few harbours besides can boast of. Additional advantages might also be obtained from ware-houses built partly on the hillside south of the bay, where there is plenty of water to enable vessels to load and unload direct. Ships requiring provisions, wood and water, will find it the most convenient harbour in New Zealand, and we have the

testimony of several captains of vessels employed in the whale fishery to the same effect. Looking at the many natural advantages which the Port possesses, we have no hesitation in saying that the arrival of a few more immigrant ships will make it a busy, industrious, and thriving place." So much for Port Chalmers.

Rural affairs are next touched on, comprising every variety of lands only wanting inhabitants and roads to make them superior to the oldest settlements, are too lengthy for our present purpose. Fuller details will shortly appear.

"The weather is very variable, particularly in April, May, June and July, which may be considered as the winter season. The rain is usually accompanied with a cool S.W. wind sweeping from the ocean across the bay and, over the town, which, from its situation at the head of the harbour, is also exposed to the strong N.E. winds. These are the prevailing winds—the former blowing directly out and the other directly in to the harbour. The range of the thermometer is, however, very small, the lowest mean average being about 54 degrees and the highest 68 degrees. The principal complaints are of a rheumatic character, resulting from the sudden changes of the weather, and the unsubstantial character of most of the dwellings. With good houses, lined and properly shingled, many of these complaints would disappear, and the salubrity of the climate would never be called in question, the rosy faces of the young children being proof positive that the climate is much superior to the one they have left behind them. It is also well adapted for the growth of vegetables and grain, and a continued succession of crops may be grown throughout the year. There is seldom either snow or frost in the winter season for more than one or two days. The mornings and evenings are generally cool, but it is fine and warm in the middle of the day. In the summer season the thermometer rarely rises above 80 degrees in the shade, accompanied by a pleasant breeze. The soil varies considerably throughout the district. Where the hills are covered with short flax and fern the soil is generally poor, and will scarcely repay the outlay in cultivating it. In the valley the soil is rich, but frequently swampy, requiring good drainage before it can be worked with advantage and profit. The bush land is generally the best for instant crops, and when once cleared it is very productive."

With regret, it is added, this was the only opportunity Mr Graham had of giving his opinion, as before next Anniversary Day his paper, the News, was numbered among the dead.

VII.

Otago News.

It is now proposed to give a short sketch of

The Otago News,

Published every alternate Wednesday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

"There's Pippins and Cheese to come."

NO. 1. DUNEDIN, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1848. Price, 6d.

The Otago News will be published every alternate Wednesday for the first six months; price, 6d each paper, or 6s for six months; payable in advance.

Printed and published every alternate Wednesday afternoon, at 6 o'clock, by H. B. GRAHAM, Rattray street, Dunedin, Otago. New Zealand.

Such are the heading and imprint on our first newspaper, and the following extracts will be read with great interest. The leader, which appears on the second page, breathes the spirit of perfervid patriotism in plainest language, and had its principles been adhered to, haply, the News might to-day be alive and flourishing.

As the leader claims first importance, it is given here in full text.

"There's Pippins and Cheese to come."

It is a well-known fact, founded on past experience, that no new colony can become of any importance in the universal eye unless a public organ, like the press, whose iron tongued mouth may be heard—uttering its wants, its benefits, its abuses, its hopes and fears thousands of miles away, and stirring up the hearts of men to justice, and to act faithfully at home and abroad. This was one reason we had for establishing the Otago News. Many others might be named, but the most prominent besides was that we expected benefit ourselves from its production. Selfish it may appear to own it, but would it be believed if we stated otherwise—that we merely worked and toiled pro bona publico, looking for no reward ourselves? No; "but whilst we acknowledge this, let it be remembered we have the public good ever before our eyes, and that truth will appear in the present and

future number of our paper.

Our columns will embrace every topic of interest connected with the colony, discussed and commented on with fairness and impartiality. So—totally disavowing All party spirit or narrow-minded bigotry—we are equally free to express ourselves, and to give our mite of encouragement when encouragement is due. Correspondence upon any and every subject of importance to the town and neighbourhood of Dunedin will be gladly accepted and admitted within our columns, but all letters of a personal character will be omitted, believing, as we do, that a newspaper is not a fitting vehicle for personal invective and satire, creating ill-will and animosity between parties who should live in concord and peace with each other.

Public measures are public property, but the spirit of Christianity and goodwill demand that in private action of all men should rest between themselves and their consciences. It is on this ground we take our stand, and we hope never to deviate from the plan we have thus marked out for our guidance. We have also great faith in the future progress of mankind, and we look upon the Press as the great instrument to be used in the moral regeneration of the world. Through its influence we hope for "a good time coming," when the labourer will be worthy of his hire, and the wealthy and great will go hand in hand with all that is good and noble—when the poor man, rich in intellect, will find his poverty no bar to his advancement in society, and the hidden treasures of many a mind will yield up its stores to the public good and receive a commensurate reward for the world it has benefited. To hasten the delightful period will be our pleasing duty, and we call upon every friend of humanity to join and help us, that we may root out all the bad prejudices and party feelings of the old world, and inculcate a nobler and better spirit among all classes of the community. The soil may prove unfruitful at first, and our endeavours meet with disappointment; but never despair; the world is opening a new page of history; old things are passing away, and however slow may be our progress at present; however humble our lot or lowly our fare; let us persevere, and we shall find a joyful realisation of the motto we have chosen, in the prosperity—mind and body—of those around us.

No preliminary puffs pervaded the advent of the News, nor did the editor consider particular attention should be drawn to the absolute need for such an organ to give vent to public opinion, the advantage conferred on the community, or his own peculiar fitness for the position as a leader and guide, nor his superior ability for elevating and educating the people in morals and manners. Quite a contrast to a modern performer who proclaims himself a model for all to copy, the absolute embodiment and presentment of the organisation of which he is the temporary head, a paragon in diction, and whose pontifical robes conceal many personal attractions.

From the actual dearth of events of importance the News was unable to give any local pars, sensational or otherwise, for some time. Then a few cropped up, of which notice will be taken in due season. Public and general announcements are the great support of all periodicals, constituting their life's blood, and so the editor opens the first column of his first page in his first number by showing a good example to the constituents he was wooing—by advertising.

The advertising mania began to develop itself on a small scale certainly. With the advent of the paper a few specimens culled at a venture from the earlier numbers of the News may bring to the memory some old folks or associations now lying dormant under the accumulated heaps of more stirring but as really passing events, by which the public mind is kept in constant agitation creating a thirst for more. These early ads had the recommendation, proudly stamped on their front, of modesty and honesty, not like the inflated and over-loaded puffs now so rampant, which oft times deceive the unwary and render more wary the cute. A few remarks are added.

The proprietor and publisher of the News opens the ball by announcing at the head of the first column of the three which cover each of the four pages of his paper, the page measuring in full length and breadth 14in x 10in, and called "post folio" size.

Advertisements inserted in the Otago News on the following terms:—Six lines and under, 2s for the first insertion; all above six lines, 4d per line per insertion; half price for every succeeding insertion.

All communications, advertisements, and orders to be addressed to H. B. GRAHAM, at the Otago News Office, Dunedin.

NOTICE.—No orders for the Otago News attended to unless paid in advance. Advertisements for the first page should be sent in on or before the Friday previous to the day of publication. No advertisements inserted a second time unless particularly specified.

Printing.

Pamphlets, Tracts, Bill-heads, Cards. Custom House Forms, &c., printed with neatness, punctuality and despatch at the office of the Otago News. A considerable reduction made to Missionaries and religious societies.

A well-assorted stock of Stationery always on hand; also. Children's Primers and Picture Books, Religious and Fancy Prints, and Engravings, at different prices.

Just Published.

Graham's Otago Almanac for 1849, containing the time of high water, sun rise, sun set, sun's declination, equation of time, moon's age, feast, fast, and remarkable days, gardener's calendar, and various other useful and local information, and may be obtained at the Otago News Office, Rattray street, Dunedin. Price, One Shilling.

If a copy of this interesting relic is extant, it should be placed among the curiosities in the Early Settlers' Museum.

Business advertisements claim next place, and as to the ladies' precedence is always accorded, that wholesome course will be adopted here.

Straw Bonnets.

The undersigned has received a large and varied stock of Dunstable and Coloured Fancy Straw Bonnets, which she can offer to the public at moderate prices.

M. I. Graham. Next News Office.

N. B.—Straw Hats and Bonnets made, cleaned, and repaired.

The feminine fancy was even then properly in operation. Wonder how the shape and style in vogue would suit the taste of to-day. Perhaps some dear old Grannie may have laid one past as a keepsake, and would gratify by an exhibition of it.

P. Crow, Butcher,

Had always on hand a good supply of Meat and Tallow Candles, of first-rate quality, at 8d per lb.

Peter was prominent in racing and other sports. A real good fellow.

C. S. Partridge, Maclaggan street, informed the inhabitants he was a watchmaker in Rattray street, and his work, like himself, could always be relied on for correct time. Also working jeweller.

A. Anderson had on sale Drapery and Hardware Goods in great varieties; and, not forgetting creature comforts, offered Port and Sherry Wines at 5s per gallon, or 12s per dozen; fine India Ale. 11s 6d per dozen; and Real Scotch Whisky at 20s per gallon, in quantities of not less than two gallons, at his store, corner of Princes and Rattray streets. He also acted as commission agent, buying and selling properties; and, in conjunction with his partner. James Cullen, had for sale at Bellvue Dairy quiet milch cows, calved in the district, and was prepared to let for hire per diem a bullock team, with or without the dray; also a mule, with either pack or riding saddle.

Both these gentlemen had been resident in the district for years before the arrival of the first settlers in 1848.

John De La Condamine Carnegie took a prominent place at his stores in Princes street (almost opposite our Post Office), where he always kept, as a merchant and commission agent, a well-assorted stock of groceries, slop clothing, &c., of which he requested inspection. Also, of a small quantity of superior West of England Pilot Cloth, wool-dyed, which he offered at low figures; and a small consignment of powdered butter, which he offered for sale at 1s 8d per lb.

W. H. Hansford had, at his stores. Port Chalmers, an assortment of tinned meats and provisions, besides liquid and other solid household requirements.

Morgan Evans, also of Port Chalmers, besides the usual run of domestic articles, had also a large stock of ship chandlery; acted also as shipping agent, and as a specialty offered for sale Indian maize, well adapted for growing in the settlement.

H. Jeffries offered a reward of three guineas for four horses which strayed from his place at Cavers ham.

Samuel Shaw announced himself as painter, glazier, and house decorator.

Sam figured largely for many years as a speaker at political meetings.

W. Underbill, house carpenter and joiner, was ready for contracts, and had, in conjunction with T. Bailey, a house and section for sale.

F. Shirley, boot and shoemaker, Princes street, returned his thanks to the gentry and public of Dunedin and vicinity for the liberal support received since starting.

A quantity of bricks, at £2 per thousand; also Vandykes, and brick pavement at a moderate price. Apply to Williamson & Co.; or, with orders, on the premises, to Ross and Mercer.

Samuel Gibbs, fancy bread and biscuit baker, Princes street, returned thanks for the support received, and announced brides' cakes, wedding, dinner, and tea parties and routs supplied.

To Let.

The Trustees for Religious and Educational Associations, have still to let several town allotments, both in Dunedin and Port Chalmers; also, a large number of suburban and rural allotments. Apply, Dunedin.

The exact name of the settlement and its correct spelling were definitely determined as follows:—

Notice is Hereby Given,

That the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company, by a despatch dated 22nd June last, have determined that the appellation of the settlement is to be Otago, as originally advertised.

WM. CARGILL, Resident Agent.

Dunedin,

7th December, 1848.

The necessity for this official announcement arose from the fact that some contumacious individuals were wont to spell and pronounce it "Otakou," a Maori word, having a meaning which the other had not, being either a corruption or invention, and Otakou being the name of the district at the Heads containing the Kaik, and which was not within the boundaries of the settlement, and the dual title might cause great confusion and lead to expensive proceedings. Otakou means: "Ota," green or uncooked, and "kou," good.

W. H. Cutten, storekeeper and agent, in addition to his trade, was the first to ascend the rostrum and wield the auctioneer's hammer, his mart being on the beach, near where the S.M. Courts are at present held. He was also prepared to contract for the landing of cattle and sheep of first-rate breeds, at moderate prices, acting on behalf of G. McClyment a well-known importer of live stock. Mr Cutten was also appointed Immigration Agent for the settlement, and the barracks placed under his exclusive charge and control.

Another aspirant not for fame but fortune, was James Brown, draper, corner of Princes and Stafford streets (opposite the Manse), where every article legitimate to the trade, from a button or a stay lace, on to a night-cap and bedding, culminating in silk dresses, mantles, and headgear, which only ladies can appreciate.

Like brither Scots, he kent what he was about; got appointed postmaster, which "brocht grist to his mill."

The only business not specially represented appears to have been ironmongery, which was mixed up with groceries and soft goods as an assortment.

The publicans—sinners though they are said to be—were, and always will be, conspicuous. They did not, as a rule, adopt the high phrase, "hotelkeeper," but were content with the minor one used by the Apostle Paul in his travels, as the "Inn, or Three Taverns," where he was hospitably received and entertained—not prohibited. The Royal Hotel, Princes street, was run by Alexander M'Donald, familiarly known as "Surely, Surely"; and the Commereral Inn, High street, by S. G. Watson, unfortunately drowned in the Harbour, with others, in a boat accident. "Doon the watter," Alexander M'Kay kept the Port Chalmers Inn, and the Thistle Inn was kept by James Anderson.

Leaving commercial interests and taking a social view we find announced an

Oddfellows' Dinner.

A public dinner of the Hand and Heart Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, will be held in the Commercial Inn, High street, Dunedin, on Monday, 22nd January, 1849.

Tickets, 5s each, may be obtained on application of the the following stewards:—Dr Manning, Messrs Gibb, Webb, and Shirley, Dunedin.

Dinner on the table at 5 o'clock precisely.

Notice.

The friends of the Established Church of England are hereby informed that public service commences at the Gaol, every Sunday morning, at 11 o'clock.

A very good practical use, there being no prisoners.

A patent mangle was offered to be let on lease at Port Chalmers. Chinamen were not then abounding.

T. S. Watson was induced by friends to offer for lease his large hall at the Commercial, for concerts, balls, &c., on Monday evenings, under the name, "Soiree Musicale,"

Preaching, prayer and praise meetings were not advertised in specials. Contentment was found by the simple announcement, "That on Friday next the anniversary of the arrival of the first settlers in Otago, a thanksgiving meeting would be held in the church, conducted by the Rev. Thomas Burns." He was a man of modest mein, of sincere piety, not given to the attudinising and linguistic display now manifested in the pulpit never occupied by him.

The bench of magistrates, pricked to the heart by the driving of cattle through the town on Sundays, thus disturbing its placitude, issued an imperative edict against the practice, and imposing a penalty. Yet not a single protest was made by the most rabid voluntary against such interference. The Bench had also, like Burns's "timorous mousie, a panic in their breastie," on hearing the report that half a dozen sailors from a Yankee whaler were bent on invading the town, and in their mad frolic somewhat altering its appearance; summoned all the male inhabitants fit to bear arms (of which there were none), to assemble and be sworn in as special constables to maintain the peace. In response a complete rally ensued, numbering about two score, placing themselves under the yoke, but their services were not needed. The sailors landed, jovially enjoyed themselves, and departed in perfect amity. The magistrates, as in duty bound, issued a long address, thanking the males for the alacrity and intrepidity displayed in coming forward in such an emergency.

Dunedin Academy.

Mr Blackie continues to teach the branches of a substantial and comprehensive education in the above Academy. He also proposes opening a class for young ladies on Monday, the 26th inst., at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Branches: Elocution, Grammar, Etymology, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Writing, Latin, Greek, etc.

Some of the sporting element was also in existence, for we find

A Challenge.

The cricket players of Dunedin hereby challenge the cricket players of Wellington to a trial of skill at any place, at equal distance between the port of Otago and Port Nicholson. Due notice of the challenge to appear in the Wellington Independent, or by letter addressed to Mr Watson, Commercial Hotel, Dunedin.

History is silent as to whether the challenge was or was not accepted. The impression is Wellington funkied.

Subscription lists were opened for the establishment of Anniversary sports and met with pretty general support, D. Gamick, Esq., being treasurer, and Mr H. B. Graham, secretary; and all members of committee were ready to receive additions, and public meetings in connection therewith held.

Anniversary Ball.

Just arrived and ready for inspection. A. Mercer respectfully invites the attention of the ladies of Dunedin and vicinity to his new stock of Ball Dresses and Silk and Coloured Gloves, and Drapery Goods.

Not to be lacking in enterprise the crew of the whale boat Zohrab, for a prize of ten guineas, called on any other whale boat crew to pull a race with them on the Koputai water for four miles, and the Port Chalmers Regatta was announced, with Firman Victor Martin, secretary. Who among his old cronies does not remember F. V. M., better appreciated than F. M. of present notoriety.

A careful and minute meteorological table kept by Mr Burns at the Manse, was published regularly in each issue. Postage rates are given as to all parts of New Zealand:—

The rates of wages given are, per day—mechanics, 5s to 7s; labourers, 3s to 4s.

The prices of the principal articles of provisions are quoted ruling in 1848:—

- Beef: Fresh, per lb 7d to 8d; bread, 41b loaf, 10d.
- Butter: Per lb (fresh) 2s; salt, 1s 6d to 1s 8d.
- Cheese: Port Cooper, 1s 6d to 1s 8d per lb.
- Coffee: Roasted, 1s 4d to 1s 6d per lb; eggs, 1s 6d to 2s per dozen.
- Flour: Per 100lb, 16s to 18s; pork, 6d per lb.
- Ham and bacon, 6d to 8d; potatoes (per ton), £4 10s to £6 10s.
- Sugar: Loaf, 7½d to 8½d per lb; raw, 4d to 6d per lb.
- Tea, per lb, 2s to 2s 6d.
- Firewood (per cord), 10s to 16s; iron, per lb, 1½d to 4½d.
- Milk (per quart), 4d; mutton, per lb, 7d to 8d.

Live Stock.

- Fowls, 4s per pair; ducks, 4s; ducks (wild), 3s.
- Geese, 14s; cows (milch), each £14 14s to £18 18s.
- Mares, each £20 to £30; sheep (wethers), 20s to 28s.
- Bullocks, per pair, working, £20 to £35.

It will be amusing to contrast the narrow and simple range of import duties in force then with the elaborate system obtaining now:—

British and Foreign spirits, 5s per gallon; tobacco (manufactured), 1s per lb; tobacco (unmanufactured), 9d per lb; cigars and snuff, 2s per lb; wine, 20 per cent.; malt liquor, 10 per cent.; munitions of war, 30 per cent; British goods and products, 10 per cent.; Foreign goods and products, 12½ per cent.; glass bottles (full), special bulbs and plants, live animals, printed books, duty free.

The number of the Maoris in the settlement was not large, the majority of them intellectual and in a state of semi-civilisation. They are extremely useful in assisting the settlers in building mud houses, fencing, and bringing in firewood. The greater number live on the reserve near the Heads, and cultivate potatoes for the supply of the town. Perfect concord exists, which, it is hoped, will always be the case. The principal chiefs are Taiaroa and Jackey White. On holidays some of the females deck themselves with gaudy pattern dresses, straw bonnets, and veils. Many of the men appear in blue shirts, blouses, frock coats, cloth caps, and trousers.

The editor for a time exercised great discretion in the insertion of letters. Many were rejected; some correspondents were refused because their communications were full of personalities; another because rhyme, rhythm, and sense were wanting in his lines, entitled "Fall of Dunedin." To K. R. Folly: What benefit would accrue from it? To a Citizen: This effusion of misplaced zeal has already ornamented the walls of the Survey Office, and would be stale to our readers. Had equal tact been shown in regard to many others a different sequel would have been recorded. But Jove appears to have determined the fates otherwise. A considerable amount of inconsistency is manifested between the opening announcement of the News and its subsequent conduct. Attempts were made mostly to explain what was unexplainable. Particularly was this so in regard to the climate, soil, and its capabilities. A grievous error had been committed in publishing letters and comments thereon, which should at once have been apologised for, and regretted; warnings and threatenings were alike unheeded. Other letters and articles, offensive to men and to matters, appeared. The Devil had not been exorcised. The paper was hastening to its doom.

As an instance the following notice appeared in the News at the date therein specified:—

Died:

At Otago on Thursday, May 31, 1849,

CLASS SETTLEMENT,

The beloved bantling of Pilgrim Father and Pilgrim Mother;

Aged 14 months.

His parents, with true parental fondness, are about to erect a monumental tombstone to his memory on Cemetery Hill, with the following "touching" inscription:—

"We sorrow as those who have no hope."

This tablet

Is erected by his bereaved parents,

Pilgrim Father and Pilgrim Mother.

To the memory of

Their dearest and first-born child,

CLASS SETTLEMENT,

Who departed this life after a lingering illness at Otago;

Aged one year and two months.

*He was but a ricketty and unhealthy child, inheriting the
Constitutional defects of his mother.*

*The fond hopes of his parents are blasted, and the early promise he gave
of becoming the father of a*

*Great and mighty nation,
Withered in the bud.—Such is Life.*

Now this was sarcastic enough, but at the same time betrayed a feature which it was anxiously desired should be veiled and hid; every effort made to repudiate and deny.

The cry of the News had always been: "We are of no party, allied to no clique; free and independent in all our sayings and doings." Yet here was proof positive of the very opposite. Rejoicing over the defeat and fall of an opponent that never existed—only a thing of their own creation, this small party in the State—partisans of the most pronounced type, known as the Little Enemy—in the sepulchral terms quoted, attempted to celebrate a triumph which they had not achieved, as no change whatever was made in the "Terms of Settlement" or their administration. A community all of one mind would soon become like "the muddy incrustations of the stagnant pool," its surface covered with slime, its waters foetid and poisonous. Party spirit is essential for healthy existence. The waters must be disturbed to keep them sweet and fresh. The more lively and vigorous the parties are the better for the body politic. The same exists in the social system, where public dinners, oyster suppers, select balls, concerts, amusements, and sports are essential to preserve vital energy; and such was the experience in the early days of Otago, although many shook their heads and frowned on them.

These remarks are not made in a vengeful spirit, but honestly. To read the News dispassionately one cannot but admire the pluck and vigour of the style, and at the same time realise the genial spirit of its editor, and wish that it was otherwise to have been. Mr Graham was not of a robust disposition in body, and felt sure himself he was not long for this world, and no doubt the anxieties and worries connected with his paper, and the dire prospect before him, affected him considerably. To use the language of his favourite author Shakespeare, "he shuffled off his mortal coil" on February 28, 1851, only two months after the demise of his paper, and was buried on Cemetery Hill, which he frequently visited and so pathetically described. Once a familiar face and figure in Dunedin, his name is remembered now but by a few, and is inscribed on the obelisk in the first cemetery.

"So mote it be."

VIII.

Fresh Start.

On Saturday, February 8, 1851, the Otago Witness made its first appearance, very much like a Phoenix rising from the ashes of the past. Its policy was to be much different from its predecessor. The News was called the representative of the minority, styled "The Little Enemy"; the Witness assuming the garb of "Defender of the Faith" on behalf of the majority. Into the discussion it is not our place to enter or express direct opinion, only extracting facts and figures of interest, and the first is a record of the launch of the first vessel built in the settlement, name and tonnage not given. The third number gives "a List of Persons Qualified to Serve as Jurors for the District of Otago for the Year 1851," and contains 310 names, the radius not going beyond Saddle Hill.

As population increased the question of disposal of the waste lands and means of communication became more imperative—demanding. Early in 1851 Mr Kettle returned from his second expedition, made for the purpose of exploring the country lying to the westward of the Block, giving a highly favourable account of its grazing capabilities.

A public meeting was also held, presided over by Mr Justice Stephen, to take steps to get the beach road to Port Chalmers made available, and a committee set up to inquire into the cost of placing a small steamer on the harbour, by which regular daily connection between the Town and Port could be established; and also to have the roads to the south pushed on more expeditiously; and in proof of material progress, Mr Valpy held his second harvest home at the Forbury, when he expressed his great satisfaction with the abundant produce of the year; had it been otherwise, agricultural engagements would have been disheartened. All must now be convinced of the capabilities of the soil, which may be effected by diligence and zeal, as had been exemplified by his bailiff (Mr David Howden), and the suitability of the climate. The party at the home was a large one composed of all shades of opinion, who enjoyed themselves heartily, and could be pointed to as an illustration of the most cordial harmony—the kind and happy feeling—which existed among all classes, quite different from the discordancy published regarding us in the newspapers of the other settlements. To afford facilities for

engagements a registry office was opened at the Witness Office, free of charge, to which application could be made.

Reviewing the second year the Witness says:—"Another epoch in the progress of our small settlement has to be marked. The ingathering of the present harvest—the supply of small fruit we have had in the past summer, and the indications of what fruit trees are also to do, by having here and there even as young unsheltered standards begin to drop the matured peach and fig—the improvement also of our dwelling houses ought to be noticed, and at the same time the labours and realities through which these results have been obtained."

The future was pregnant with hope. Onward with renewed diligence animated all. Agricultural and horticultural societies were formed, lime, tanning, and brick-making started energetically at the Kaikorai, and boat-building occupied the attention of a considerable number. A Settlers' Association was formed, and also a Mechanics' Institution in Dunedin, and a fitting crown of all was the announcement of the complete formation of a banking company, and the discovery of gold at Goodwood.

Were all the anticipations realised? By no means. The Banking Company had its notes all ready for issue [see illustration], waiting for a proper charter from the Government, which after some delay was refused, and so the effort came to naught. The gold discovery reported from Goodwood proved a duffer. In some the merits of the production did not warrant a continuance, others did not exhibit the vitality they were supposed to possess and fell into obscurity, happily to come to light again under more favourable conditions and now more conspicuous.

The Supreme Court was duly constituted with its staff of officials, and held its first sitting on March 3, 1851. The expensive process of summoning jurymen gone through, at a great sacrifice of time and money, the edict was obeyed by most, only to find neither civil nor criminal case before the Court. A second sitting on September 2 followed with a similar result. On December 2 a third sitting was held, but as no business was before it, an adjournment was made for a fortnight to adjust matters as to fines of £10 each imposed on non-attending jurors. On March 3, 1852, Mr Justice Stephen and family left Dunedin, and on June 1 a fourth sitting was announced. Thirty-six jurors were summoned and attended. On this occasion there were no cases set down, and had there been any there was no Judge to try them. The farce was rendered more absurd, as a proclamation appeared in the Gazette of May 13 abolishing sittings in Otago.

His Honor was a sprightly fellow, and kept things lively in Dunedin, patronising societies, making racy, humorous speeches at banquets, suggesting improvements in the town, and, above all, he "dearly lo'ed the lassies."

For one escapade in this latter respect he was brought to book by an offended guardian who faced him in his office straight-out blow in the face' was the result, for which assault a summons was issued, and the indignity had to be submitted to of a Supreme Court Judge appearing before a Bench of common Justices of the Peace on such a trivial charge. By a majority of what was said to have been a carefully packed Bench the charge was dismissed. The minority, however, were dissatisfied, and through their spokesman (Dr Purdie) an admonition was being administered on the impropriety of a man in the position he occupied showing such a bad example. His Honor cut the matter short by exclaiming: "Think I was going to wait for the slow and tedious process of the law," and stalked out of the Court. He was not long out when a written challenge from Doctor Manning was handed to his Honor by Manning's second, asking him to name a second, choose his weapon, and fight a duel; time and place to be arranged. The challenge was not accepted. It should also be mentioned that his Honor had caused a writ to be issued against Mansford, the accuser in the assault case, commanding him to appear on a charge of libel. As this indictment was of higher class it could be heard only in the Supreme Court in which his Honor himself presided, but before the eventful day came round the Court was wiped out, and his Honor was ensconced in Wellington, where he died shortly afterwards. What was called by some the manly spirit of the Judge appears largely to have permeated the Magistrates. The people generally were very law-abiding, cannie-going folk, who might enjoy witnessing an occasional row, but disliked to start one. How could the spare time of the justices be occupied under such circumstances. Their deliberations were held in secret, the press excluded, and thus one source from which a tumult of the people might have broken out was hermetically sealed. The slaying of Dr Watt:

Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do,

was amply verified. There was at that time one J.P. for every 20 male inhabitants, so well might they have been kept in bounds. Possibly at one of their conclaves the justices resolved to make out of door disturbances among themselves. As these could not be carried out conveniently in a small chamber, the exhibition would take place in public. So it became common to witness two or four justices engaged in combat with fists or sticks

at the most prominent corners of the streets where there was available room. Whether they cast lots as to who was to get up the spree cannot be determined, that being a secret; probably it was "promiscuous like," as almost the entire batch was composed of frisky fellows fond of fun. The strong body of police, consisting of three able-bodied men, their chief being himself a J.P., had their hands bound, as they dared not touch a Magistrate. However, by some means the rioters were brought before the Bench in due form, and it was an edifying spectacle to see the juniors sitting in judgment on their seniors, not mute and repentant as they should have been, but rather to spout and show game, and as the evidence was generally contradictory, the deliberation was short, and before judgment could be arrived at the chairman put the formal question to his associates, "Anything known against accused," to which no response was given. "Case dismissed, not proven, but don't do it again."

It is not to be supposed little comedies like these were peculiar to Otago; they were regularly played in the older and more civilised centres, Wellington particularly taking a clear lead on the principle, "What is found on the green tree may also be looked for in the dry."

Governor Sir George Grey paid his second visit to the settlement about this time, making himself very affable, inquiring after the welfare of each on presentation at the levee, and familiarly asking one, a shoemaker with a record, "How are you getting along Mr P—?" "Very well, Sir George, but—" "What is the not?" queried his Excellency. "Oh, very well, but—" and stopped short. "I want to know what is the not," said the Governor. Being thus pressed, King Crispin replied: "But we are very hard up for leather." The assurance came with an amused smile: "That will soon be put all right, Mr P—."

The feeling existing between Sir George and those in authority does not seem to have been entirely cordial, and though a burst did not at the time take place, the embers of dissatisfaction smouldered, soon afterwards sending forth smoke and flame. The captivating manners of his Excellency did not ensure success, and some of his actions caused a revulsion of feeling. The following trivial occurrence was looked on as an indignity if not an insult to; the hospitality of the older folks. Mr Valpy had erected a fine new house at the Forbury, built of stone and slated, the best finished in the settlement, elegantly furnished, and in every respect the most suitable as a regal residence, and, accepting the spontaneous offer. Sir George took up his abode there. The distance from town was considered great, keeping his Excellency out of touch with the people with whom he was expected to make himself very familiar, and the superior individuals shook their heads significantly, as much as to say, "We are not good enough for him," and certainly the Witness piled up the agony afterwards. There was bad blood between the rival powers, and it was shown on many occasion.

Sir George had peculiarities, and his methods of action were often misunderstood and misrepresented. The great feature in his noble career was devotion to the interests of New Zealand and efforts to promote them.

IX.

Statistical.

Mr Kettle and his staff deserve the sincere acknowledgments of the Province for retaining the Maori names of the different districts of the settlement in the prosecution of their survey. The large proportion of suburban and rural divisions have the old native name attached to them, and only in the subsequent details do we stumble on an imported title having no local significance whatever, bestowed at the time, pandering to the vanity of some already forgotten aspirer to notoriety. One exception must, however, be made.

The name Molyneux was given to the river by the celebrated discoverer Captain Cook, and on that account it is well it should be perpetuated. The more generally accepted name Clutha was bestowed by the surveyors, and is said to be the Gaelic for Clyde, as is the name recognised and used in all official documents. The exact meaning of Clutha has not been satisfactorily explained; it occurs frequently in old Jacobite songs and history. The Inch (island), a very common one in Scotland, was given at the same time. There is a little difference in opinion regarding the original Maori names, to which reference will be made.

The names of the first purchasers, with the year, are as follows:—

Shipping.

List of ships entered inwards from beyond seas were from opening of Custom House in April, 1848:—
1848 Name From Cargo April 25 John Wickcliffe London Sundries May 5 Philip Laing Greenock June 3 Harlequin Sydney July 6 Fair Tasmanian Port Albert, N.S.W. 81 cattle, 170 sheep 8 Victory London Sundries 20 Sarah Ann Sydney 1,000 sheep August 23 Favorite. U.S.A. Whaling Ground Oil and bone 20 Fair Tasmania

Port Albert, N.S.W. 85 cattle, 170 sheep September 21 Blundell London Sundries 30 Sarah Ann Newcastle, N.S.W. October 19 Eliza Hobart Town General cargo 20 Raymond Twofold Bay 97 cattle, 5 horses, 955 sheep December 1 Glenhuntly Sydney 130 cattle, 800 sheep, 7 horses 23 Pantheon, U.S.A. Whaling Ground Oil and bone 1849 January 6 Barclay do. do. do. do. 8 Ajax London Sundries 20 William Tell Whaling Ground Oil and bone

A total of 6187 tons, representing the shipping arrivals from foreign during the first year of the settlement. The departures aggregated 2035 tons, all in ballast except two for the United Suites with oil and bone.

Coastwise 31 vessels are entered as having arrived from Wellington, Nelson, Akaroa, Campbell Island, Chathams, the Bluff and Wanganui, ranging from 10 to 60 tons.

Records are not available from which to obtain the names of passengers who went by sea from the Tort to Clutha. Custom House documents, as well as those of the shipping agents, have long ago disappeared, and the newspapers are scant in information. The only entries found are:—

1849.—February 18: Cutter. Catherine Johnston, 10 tons, Armstrong, for the Molyneux. Passengers: Mr Ramage, Mrs Hastie, and Mrs shepherd.

Same day: Cutter, Mercury, for the Molyneux. Passengers: Mr Chalmers, Mrs Hay and Family.

In the advertisement announcing her sailing, her agents. Tyser and Martin, Port Chalmers, state

The fine fast sailing cutter, Katherine Johnston, 20 tons burden, has room for a few passengers and goods.

On March 3 the following entry appears:

Cutters Katherine Johnston and Mercury, for the Molyneux. Passengers: Messrs Fuller, Redpath, &c.

The Mercury was registered 15 tons, Carey, master.

There were other craft also trading to the Clutha.

Trading between Dunedin and Port Chalmers appears the Schooner, Scotch Lassie. A. Mercer, agent.

1849.

- April 11—Mary, 533 tons, from London, with sundries
- June 5—Mariner, 687 tons, from London, with sundries
- September 11—Larkins, 770 tons, from London, with sundries
- September 23—Cornwall. 580 tons, from London, with sundries
- November 20—Kelso, 568 tons, from London, with sundries
- December 5—Pekin, 580 tons, from London, with sundries
- December 20—Mooltan, 580 tons, from Greenock, with sundries.

1850.

- March 26—Lady Nugent, 580 tons, from London, with sundries.
- August 6—Mariner, 687 tons, from London, with sundries
- September 4—Poitiers. 600 tons, from London, with sundries
- October 24—Phoebe Dunbar, 704 tons, from London, with sundries.

1851.

- January 17—Titan, schooner. 161 tons, from London, with sundries.
- January 24—Pioneer, brig, 148 tons, from Glasgow, with sundries
- May 6—Cresswell, 547 tons, from London, with sundries
- August 7—Stately, 566 tons, from London, with sundries
- September 28—Dominion, 580 tons, from London, with sundries
- November 16—Clara, 600 tons, from London, with sundries.

In addition to these there were arrivals from Tasmania and Sydney, bringing live stock, together with bran, hay, oats, etc., on which we were depending. Now, to these places we send back out of our abundance.

Strict accuracy or full details of shipping news must not be counted on in the foregoing enumeration, nor is it to be expected in the following.

No regular announcements were made in vital statistics at the times of their occurrence. A statement was, however, made that during the first 12 months of the existence of the settlement the births were 25, marriages 8, deaths 9, thus showing a natural increase of 16 souls, equal perhaps to 40 per cent, of the adult population. A very cheering prosperous state of affairs quite in contrast with the dolorous tale now told that the birth rate in the colony is decreasing.

Following that general summary a collation—cold and dull it may appear now, then warm and affecting—of events which more than once happen in the experience of our existence; and although a smile

should arise at the particularity of the record, or in the use "in" instead of "at," a street, some excuse may be allowed for paternal jubilation.

Vital Statistics.

Births.

1848.

- On December 16, at Port Chalmers, Mrs Alex. McKay, of a son and heir.

1849.

- On Saturday, January 20, the wife of Mr James Fraser, No. 2, Rattray street, of a male infant.
- On Saturday, February 3, the wife of Mr William Stevenson, High street, of an infant daughter.
- On Monday, March 12, the wife of Mr Poppelwell, North-East Valley, of a daughter.
- On June 6, the wife of Mr Robert Chapman, Princes street—a son
- On Wednesday, November 14, in Princes street, the wife of Mr A Anderson, merchant, of a daughter.
- On Sunday, November 18, in Rattray street, the wife of Mr D M'Donald, blacksmith, of a daughter.

1850.

- On January 19 and 20, at Laurel Bush Cottage, the wife of Mr G. Clearwater, of a son and daughter.
- On Monday, January 28, at Wakari Cottage, the wife of H. B. Graham, of a son.
- On February 5, at Prospect Farm, the wife of Mr John Cargill, of a daughter.
- On February 12, at Halfway Bush, the wife of Mr W. Mosley, of a son.
- On March 11, at Anderson's Bay, Mrs Alex. Todd, of a son.
- On April 17, the wife of Mr John Hill, cabinetmaker, Rattray street, of a son.
- On Saturday, May 4, the wife of Mr Samuel Gibbs, baker, Princes street, of a son.
- On September 24, at Princes street, the wife of Mr A. Mercer, of a son.

1851.

- On January 19, the wife of James Cullen, of a son.
- On February 14, the wife of Mr John Hardy, of a son.
- On February 27, at Princes street, Dunedin, the wife of Mr James Bain, clothier, of a daughter.
- On March 4, at Saddle Hill, the wife of Mr William Jaffray, of a son.
- On May 14, at Airlie Bank, the wife of Mr Lewis Edwards, of a son.
- On May 30, at Maungatua, the wife of Mr Francis M'Diarmid, of a daughter.
- On June 19, at Mavis Bank, the wife of Mr Francis Marshall, of a daughter.
- On July 11, at Bellevue, the wife of Mr A. Anderson, of a daughter.
- On July 27, at Princes street, the wife of Mr William White, shoemaker, of a daughter.
- On August 24, at Pelichet Bay, the wife of Mr David Bowers, of a daughter.
- On August 17, at Forbury, the wife of Mr David Howden, of a son.
- On August 20, at Rattray street, the wife of Mr David Willocks, of a son.
- On August 25, at Silverstream sheep station, the wife of Mr William Gibson, of a son.
- On August 31, the wife of Mr Joseph Beale, of a daughter.
- On September 1, at Halfway Bush, the wife of Mr John Salmon, farmer, Tokomairiro Plain, of a daughter.
- On October 3, at Birnam, Halfway Bush, the wife of John Cargill, Esq., of a daughter.
- On September 18, at Riverdale Cottage, North-East Valley, the wife of Mr James Gebbie, gardener, of a son and daughter.
- On September 15, at Kaven, Molyneux, the wife of Mr William Buswell, of a daughter.
- On November 14, at Ambrisbeg, Caversham, the wife of Mr John M'Gibbon, of a son.

Marriages.

1848.

- On December 11, James Bell, formerly of New Abbey, to Mary Ann Carrodus, spinster, formerly of Glasgow.
- On December 15, by the Rev. Mr Burn, Garret Hopper Clearwater, formerly of Sydney, to Ann Stevenson, spinster, formerly of Scotland.

1849.

- On March 14, by the Rev. C. Creed. Mr Frederick Basire to Susanna Sarah, eldest daughter of Thomas Taylor, Esq., of Taylor's Bay, Otago.
- On March 18, by the Rev. C. Creed, Mr James Allan to Jane, eldest daughter of Mr Sutcliff, Rattray street.
- On March 18, by the Rev. C. Creed, at Waikouaiti, Mr Thomas Martin, of Dunedin, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr Thomas Jones, Waikouaiti.
- On March 21, by the Rev. T. Burns, Mr James Smith to Miss Margaret Martin, both of Dunedin.
- On March 23, by the Rev. T. Burns, Mr James Cullen to Miss Jane Stevenson, both of Dunedin.

1849 and 1850 appear to have been in a dull state in the matrimonial market.

1851.

- On March 14, at Halfway Bush, by the Rev. Charles Creed, Alfred Cheltham Strode, Esq., Resident Magistrate, to Emily, second daughter of the late William Borton, Esq., of Collenham House, near Banbury, Oxfordshire.
- On May 1, at Halfway Bush, by the Rev. Thomas Burns, Mr Edward Palmer, stockowner, Taieri, to Beatrice Fowler, Haddington, Scotland.
- On September 3, at Clifton Cottage, by the Rev. Thomas Burns, John Hyde Harris, Esq., late of Doddington, Oxford, to Anne Cunningham, second daughter of Capt. William Cargill.
- On November 28, at Halfway Bush, by the Rev. Thomas Burns, Lewis A. Berneys, Esq., to Mary, eldest daughter of the late William Borton, Esq.

Deaths.

1849.

- On Thursday, March 21. Isabella, the wife of Mr George Chapman, of Dunedin; aged 25 years.
- On September 24, in Rattray street, George Wallace, late of Duns-deer, Dumfriesshire; aged 19 years.

1851.

- On January 28, at his residence, near Port Chalmers. Mr H. B. Graham, late editor and proprietor of the Otago News Deeply regretted by his relatives and friends.
- On July 21. at Maclaggan street, Mary Griffiths, the wife of Mr James Wright; aged 37 years.
- On August 5, at Green Island Bush. James Shand, late of Inverury, Aberdeenshire, Scotland; aged 46 years.

March 18, 1851.—Jury list of this year, 310 names.

December, 1848.

Messrs Mantell and Wills, the Commissioners on the part of the Government and Company, for the purpose of completing the purchase of land from Akaroa to Heyward's Point, arrived at Port Chalmers on the 9th inst., from Waikouaiti, and we are happy to find they have accomplished their task in a manner which cannot fail to prove satisfactory to the Government, the Company, and the settlers. The colonists may now advance carefully and with confidence. Native disputes of any kind never have, and we may assure our readers, never will, affect this settlement. Perfect security exists, and prosperity and concord will henceforth reign paramount. Verily, "There's pippins and cheese to come."—Communicated by Commissioners to the News.

In the News of August 26, 1849. public notice is given that Mr H B. Graham, having been appointed postmaster for Dunedin, in the place of Mr A. Anderson, who has resigned, all letters, newspapers, &c., must be

posted in future at the General Stationery Store, Princes street. A regular list of unclaimed letters is thereafter printed.

On Mr Graham's retirement, Mr James Brown, draper, Princes street, was appointed to the office.

A Deputy-Registrar of Births, Marriages, etc., was appointed at the end of November, 1849, Messrs Robert Chapman and Edward M'Glashan holding the position at different times.

The people generally did not seem to care for such a record, or the Department has been careless in its preservation, the latter not likely. The great Malestrom at Wellington, to quote Macandrew's phrase, swallows up everything from Otago.

Many other incidents in the early history might be recorded from the Otago Journal, published in Edinburgh, contributed by reliable men, such as the late Andrew Mercer, Dunedin, and James Elder Brown, Milton, and one of our veteran settlers, William Duff, now of Waihola. The testimony each accords in praise of soil, climate, and prospects, and all of them reaped the fruits of their faith.

It might also be expected that a fuller history of the origin of that mighty engine, the Otago Witness, should have been given. The period of its existence within our range is too short to be very critical. Its appearance was philanthropic, its policy clearly defined, its safeguards plainly announced, and its editorial chair filled by a committee—the responsibility being too great for the shoulders of an individual. The old proverb proved true, "Too many cooks spoil the broth." Discord speedily ensued. Financially it was a failure, and on the motion of Mr Macandrew, the shareholders made a present of the whole affair to Mr W. H. Cutten, who professedly grudgingly accepted it.

From its first issues the following facts are extracted:—"On 21st January, 1851, a soiree, arranged by the following householders in Dunedin—Messrs John Healy (late of Edinburgh), Henry Clark (late of Edinburgh, originally Dunse), John Proudfoot (late of Edinburgh), James Adam (late of Aberdeen), Charles Robertson (late of Airdrie)—was held in the schoolhouse, presided over by the Rev. Mr Burns. Tea and coffee having been served, and thanks rendered in song by Mr Adam and his choir (accompanied by grand pianoforte), the Chairman introduced Captain Cargill, who gave an address on 'The Aspects of the Colony,' in which he stated in the first place it was necessary to refer to the circumstances under which the Otago settlement was undertaken. Referring I to the disputes which had occurred between the Government and the New Zealand Company, he said a truce was announced in 1842, and had in the following years such an appearance of peace and redress that the scheme of the Otago settlement, then called New Edinburgh, was published. It turned out, however, the main battle had yet to be fought, and it was not till 1847 the ground was cleared to attempt colonisation. The delay caused many to hang back from I the Otago settlement. Eventually, the first despatch of emigrants took place in December, 1848. Three years had now elapsed since their arrival, and the result of experience was highly satisfactory. Looking forward, the Captain remarked, 'What is the character of our settlers and the progress they have made?' They were religious and industrial, and the progress made by them as founders of the settlement beyond dispute. The climate and soil have exceeded our expectations, and from the testimony of visitors from the other settlements we have for the extent of our scheme the most compact, attractive, and profitable site that could have been selected, regard being paid to the combined advantages for tillage, pasturage, and fisheries, together with inland navigation and a useful harbour. In treating on the aspect of the Colony, the Captain assumed it had special reference to Otago, but he must refer to the hopeful movement in Canterbury—to the partially renewed immigration in the old settlements, and to the fact that whatever contributes to the restored popularity of New Zealand colonisation must benefit the whole and every part of the Colony. If we refer to the system of representative institutions, the only pledge that had not been made good to us, but now on its way from the Imperial Parliament, the aspect of the Colony is hopeful to our hearts' content.

"Anthem: 'The Earth is the Lord's.'

"The Chairman refrained from giving his address on Education, the hour being late, submitting the following statistics:—

Thus, there are in the settlement no fewer than 297 children between the ages of 5 and 15 who ought to be in school, whilst the number attending the school of Dunedin is 40, the girls' school of Dunedin 20 and the other three schools 40—in all, 100 children in actual attendance, when there should have been nearly thrice that number—a very staggering statement, more especially if we consider the high national character of our forefathers in point of education."

So said the venerable first minister. Home teaching must have prevailed, as few of the earliest children are deficient in education.

Does compulsory attendance now produce better results?

The pot was boiling, and an overflow threatened. A public meeting was held in the schoolhouse on January 7, 1852, presided over by Mr Macandrew, in the absence of Mr Harris, who had been suddenly called away on professional duties to the country, at which the unanimous resolution of the Settlers' Association—to wit:—

"That the expenditure of this settlement being in excess of the revenue, the Treasurer being unable to meet the demands made on him, and the salaries of the public officers being unpaid—a state of things alike discreditable and unsatisfactory—this society resolves that: a public meeting of the settlers be held for the purpose of reviewing the state of affairs of the settlement, and of petitioning the Queen, the Imperial Parliament, and the Local Government there anent."

The meeting resolved unanimously to adopt the petition to the Queen, Lords, and Commons. That to the Governor proposed by Mr D. J. Napier, seconded by Mr Healy, was opposed, Mr James Adams declaring Governor Grey paid no heed to their requests. He had asked their opinion on Local Government, got it, and paid no heed to it. Mr W Langlands expressed the same views. The petition was on a vote carried, and all in due course sent to their destinations.

That disquiet and disaffection prevailed among the different settlements is a fact beyond dispute. The interest of each, established as they were apparently on different lines was held up as a bogie to frighten the timid, and was used as a powerful lever to foment discord. There were no grounds for such action. Every true settler arrived with the aim and object of making a permanent home for himself and his family. There were no restrictions whets character was good on ingress or egress from one settlement to another, so Otago received valuable additions from different places to the north, and a regular fusion took place. Far from harmonious on many points, for where there are many men there are many minds.

To dilate on this is not my intention, and retiring to records, put the question after the fashion of Sir George:

"Well, Miss Otago, how are you getting along?"

"Brawly, but wid dae muckle better wad you bodies let me alane!"

The list of jurors liable to serve for 1851 had increased to 381, and the cost of compiling and publishing the list was considered useless, as there were neither criminals on Court to try them, and as in duty bound the official had to serve notices on each juror. The cost of this judicial procedure was at the time considered unjust and unnecessary Better far to spend the money in making and mending their ways than their manners.

To meet and provide for this and other large official expenditure ways and means must be devised. The handiest were the Customs duties, as from the simple and easily understood tariff of first year's, covering only a limited number of items, the now responsible clique in 1851 sprang a schedule from the first letter of the alphabet to the last, so that very little could escape.

The enumerated list of articles liable to fixed Customs amounted to about 240. Among these were boots and shoes, 8/- per dozen pair; coffee, 4/8 per cwt.; bar and rod iron, 20/-, and chain, 40/- per ton; oats and barley, 4d per bushel; sugar, 4/8 per cwt.; spirits, cordials and liquers, 6/- per gallon; wines in casks, 1/6 per gallon; ales, beer, &c., 4d.

Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale had not come in vogue, by which it was provided that the higher the value of cereals rose the lower the duty on their import became; but the ad valorem principle was extended, and on this class of goods, numbering 56, and comprising the least necessary, the duties charged were all round 10 per cent. The free list was a very small one, and might well have been passed over, very few important articles being included.

The whole of the revenue thus derived went to pay officials, who were becoming like locusts eating up the produce of the soil, and also that which necessity compelled importation.

The settlers could hardly say a word by way of remonstrance, as there was no representation. An attempt was made to absorb the land sales, shirking all responsibilities, and placing the liabilities on the purchasers. The merest fraction was given for road-making and other improvements. No wonder Miss Otago and her fair sisters became imperative—willing enough to bear an equal share of burden, but refusing to be crushed or borne down.

The condition of affairs was becoming deplorable. Taxed to the uttermost without recompense would not be endured. The nominated local authority had power to enforce the law; expend in improvement, powerless.

One might leave home in the morning for work, well shod, returning in the evening carrying boots in hand, or had left them stuck in the mud in Princes street. The oppression was becoming intolerable. Our newspaper, the Witness, backed by the people, and supported by sister settlements, voiced the complaints very strongly and with effect, as the Imperial Government conferred on New Zealand the first experience of colonial self-government, with its glorious results.

The Land Question was, even in the early days of the settlement, a prominent one, and Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield visited Otago, rousing the settlers by his eloquence to immediate action, as he had been doing at other centres. A definite solution has not even yet been arrived at. Ministers of all shades have tried their prentice hand at it without avail; nor will it be settled until the principles and polity of the ancient Jews be adopted, by which all lands shall periodically revert to the natural and legitimate owner—the State, meaning the people—and so all claims of entail or primogeniture would be abolished, and the proceeds of the inheritance

would lighten or do away with the burden of taxation. But a truce to politics.

The native Maori was gradually disappearing, dying out or mingling with the blood of the Pakeha. They were a noble race. Contact with civilisation mollified or subdued the barbarous instinct, and proved them to be leal-hearted and true. Many legends and stories might be given, tragic and affectionate, but space says forbear. Alas! now they exist as if they had never been.

The news of the granting of the New Constitution was received with great demonstration of rejoicing, and none was more jubilant than one of the first arrivals—William Jaffray, of Saddle Hill, Maori name, Pikiwarra—still hale and hearty, who, anticipating the event had gathered a huge mass of useless timber and clearing on the highest peak of his eyrie for a bonfire; set it ablaze, and by this beacon announced to the few solitary settlers around and beyond him the glad tidings of local self-government. Others were equally enthusiastic, if not so demonstrative. Among them may be named William Duff (Waihola), William Martin (Fairfield), James Adam (Tokomairiro),—the four being shipmates and octogenarians,—and a short notice is given with their portraits: settlers of the right stamp, serving their country faithfully and well. Few survive now to bear witness to the enthusiasm of the now over four-score-year-old veterans, and this testimony of their worth, along with their portraits, is gladly accorded in these pages.

The Constitution Act received the Royal assent on June 20, 1852, and the news thereof reached the Colony in November following. In the meanwhile preparations were going on to set up a locally tinkered Constitution which was very unacceptable, and under it a Roll of Electors was prepared and published containing the names of 85 for the town district and 230 for the county. All these proceedings were brought to nought on receipt of the Imperial Act, and great satisfaction was expressed thereat. Long and exasperating delay occurred in bringing it into operation, and it was not until September, 1853, it had its full effect. Under the Act six provinces were established—three in each island—and the Governor was empowered to subdivide these into districts, fixing the number of representatives for each. Otago was made into two—Town of Dunedin and Country, with three members.

Petty jealousies and dissension would surely now disappear, and peace and goodwill prevail. The main causes of discord and disaffection had been the absence of all real responsible local authority and the want of control financially. No correct statement of revenue and expenditure is available. Quarterly returns were irregularly published, from which it is found that the outlay for judicial and official salaries amounted for each period to over £500; road-making would receive an occasional £50; harbour, £10; Hospital, £100. The balance was locked up.

For the year 1851 and the first quarter of 1852 the number of large vessels arriving at the Port was 29. The Rev. Mr Burns, who was very methodical in all things, furnished a record of the weather, showing daily the condition as to rain, temperature, and wind. He also gives the population of the whole settlement, compiled during his annual visit in November and December, 1851, naming each district, with the religious denomination to which they professed to belong. The results were:—Presbyterians, 1128; Episcopalian, 221; Independents and Baptists, 43; Roman Catholic, 28; Wesleyan, 23; others, 164; total, 1538. Adding oversea arrivals during his absence (107) made the number up to 1675.

Affix.

Farewell.

The Church was instituted on the beach the first Sunday after landing in Dunedin; Rev. Mr Burns preaching in the fore noon, and the Rev. Mr Creed, Wesleyan, in the afternoon. The building, for which plans and material had arrived from London, was opened on Sunday, and at the last service Mr Burns read the following pathetic address:—

The poor old Church! Never was there an honester, a more faithful or a more useful servant. I may say that it was a good servant of all work. It could cleverly turn its hand to anything. Its sacred—its proper—work was on Sunday, but from Monday to Saturday it held itself ready for any service. It was a schoolroom. It was a public lecture room. It was the humble servant of the horticultural society. With patriotic zeal it accommodated the Provincial Council. It lent itself to many a concert, to many a musical party; and then it was without pride, and it had no ambition. From the highest to the lowest it was equally at the command of all.

It was possessed of at least one great quality that should not be left untold—it utterly disdained a mercenary spirit. It never would work for wages, and it was this great quality that hastened its fall. Adversity came, and so soon as its last trials began, they came thick and fast. The first trial was indeed hard to bear—our congregation

turned its back on it for ever. A handsome new church rose under its very nose; and, last of all, it was itself let out for hire. For seventeen long years it had occupied, with the utmost credit to itself, the high and honourable position of the First Church of Otago. In one sad hour it fell from its high estate—the First Church of Otago was converted into a wool shed—it sank down to the level of a common hired drudge of the lowest grade. The poor thing never recovered the blow. It died of a broken heart. It perished like a martyr at the stake. It breathed its last in the midst of devouring fire. Peace be with the ashes of our poor old Church.

To his Excellency, Captain Robert Fitzroy, R.N., etc., etc.

SIR,—On the eve of your departure from the colony, it is no more than just that you should for once be addressed in the language of truth, and however harsh it may appear to you, whose vanity has been hitherto flattered by the fawning sycophants by whom you have been surrounded, it is a duty which is owed to the colonists generally, that before you leave the colony which you have nearly ruined, the wrongs which you have committed on them, and the country, should be made manifest to your eyes, if not to your understanding.

It is now a matter of history that the Bay of Islands was the oldest settlement where Europeans had been located, and was the most flourishing place in the whole colony. To prove this it is only necessary to refer to the statistical account of the shipping that frequented the harbours for the last 10 or 15 years to justify the assertion; and although on your arrival to assume the reins of Government it was not in its pristine rigour, still, a respectable and increasing business was developing the resources of that part of the colony, and its inhabitants were living comfortably and happy, blessed in the possession of moderate means and decent habitations, their relations with the aborigines were marked by a good feeling and forbearance which was worthy the imitation of the other settlements and gave promise ultimately of placing them in the scale of civilised beings; that these relations no longer exist, and that the settlement itself has been annihilated is now also a matter of history—and the suggestion naturally arises—"How has this unfortunate change been effected?"

With the view of carrying out your previous professed principles, imbibed at Exeter Hall, where the doctrine had gained ground, that the aborigines of every country we have become acquainted with have vanished before the eyes of their more civilised brethren, you were led to uphold the character of the natives to the prejudice of your own country-men and endeavoured to trace every fault committed by them, as emanating from the machinations of Europeans; and with a bigotry worthy of a darker age, you have openly slandered a pious and good Bishop, as foremost in such machinations, because, forsooth, his creed differed from your own.

In pursuing your new system, you set English law at defiance, and whenever any aggression or robbery was committed by the natives, you compounded for the crimes they had done! While with Europeans the rigour of the laws were enforced! As a matter of course, the natives were emboldened by the contempt with which you had taught them to regard their more civilised neighbours, and one act of aggression succeeded another, until at last they raised the standard of rebellion and wantonly insulted the Majesty of England in cutting down the flagstaff at Korora-rika. At the spur of the moment you sent to Sydney for troops, and received sufficient force to have crushed the rebellion in its bud; but ere they arrived your infatuation had got the better of your understanding, and after bartering the honour of your country for ten soldiers' muskets—given up by friendly natives and unknown to the rebellious ones—you sent from the colony that support which the honour and dignity of your country demanded you should retain.

You have admitted that this was an experiment, to use your own words, and the result has been the annihilation of a whole settlement, and the properties of 600 inhabitants have been scattered to the four winds of heaven.

In adopting this line of policy you appear, Sir, to overlook the fact that you had no right to try experiments; your business was to govern the colony with energy and justice, for the mutual benefit, of the two races, and to frame such salutary laws as would at once develop the ample resources of the colony and at the same time benefit the Mother Country, in extending the consumption of the manufactures in return for its valuable exports.

Your policy has entailed on the Mother Country an expense of at least £50,000 through this experiment; besides the total destruction of the properties of 600 individuals to the value of at least another £50,000. This absurd and ruinous system, instead of opening your eyes to the proper and legitimate course to be pursued, has only blinded your narrow views, and proposals of a shameful and inglorious peace have been offered by you to her Majesty's rebellious subjects, as if you were treating with sovereign princes; and so low have you fallen in the eyes of the aborigines, and with such contempt do they look on your actions, that your proposals have not been accepted; and a force of 750 bayonets have been obliged to retire from the position they occupied, after being baffled in every attempt that has been made against the enemy, who still triumph over the slaughter they have made among our troops, and who still entertain sanguine hope of ultimately driving them from the Bay of Islands.

All your acts, Sir, have been illegal since this devoted colony came under your care, and you have not hesitated, when it suited your purpose, to add insult to deceit.

The manner in which the Customs were abolished by you was one out of many of your illegal acts; but in this case, the only one of your acts which would ultimately have been a blessing to the colony and have been the means of her prosperity—you again enacted in the whim of the moment, and which now exists as a record of your inconsistency.

You have taken advantage of your position to wantonly insult your equals in the most public manner, and to exercise a tyranny over others which their impoverished means compelled them to brook.

You have not hesitated wilfully to misrepresent your intentions, in order to curry popular applause at the moment, without looking forward to the degradation with which you would afterwards be viewed. Did you not, Sir, at the public meeting at Kororaraika, pledge your word that a permanent force should be left at that place, in order to check any outrage, when you had previously told the aborigines that the military should be sent away; and did you not carry out your latter intention? I blush when I record the fact.

You have screened from public justice a man notorious for his crimes against society, who added forgery to his already long list, and with your own hand you wrote him an ambiguous recommendatory letter, to enable him to prey upon others

You have shown a despotic disposition to encroach upon the liberty of the people; and have imprisoned an individual on false and frivolous charges, such as a grand jury of his country would not entertain.

You have caused an amount of paper money to be issued, exceeding by many thousand pounds, what an indulgent Legislative Council allowed you to do; and have thereby kept up an expensive, lavish, and useless expenditure—ruinous to the future prospects of the colony.

You have been frequently urged to pass an Act to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to the native population, and you have not done so—until the Governor of another colony has prohibited their export to this country, except under certain regulations—a lesson to you as severe as it is just.

You have appointed a Police Magistrate on a salary at the Bay of Islands, where there are no inhabitants but missionaries, and where martial law was, and is still, existing; and by so doing you have wasted public money.

The recollection of these facts, one would imagine, would cause you some parting pangs in leaving the colony which you have embroiled in civil warfare; but the same bland smiles appear upon your countenance as usual, and the same honied words upon your tongue; deceit, insult, and illegal acts appear to please you; and the postscript added wilfully to Colonel Despard's despatch appear not to give you one moment's pain—the inanimate bodies of British officers, wantonly mutilated by a barbarous and rebellious foe, seem as nothing in your eyes, and instead of arousing your just anger, is treated as fabulous. The horrid cries of a poor soldier who was inhumanly tortured by the same ruthless foe, did not meet your ear; but recital of his sufferings has reached you, and yet no groan of indignation has been heard to escape.

Your high birth, Sir,—sprung as you are from the loins of kings,—should have bespoke you of gentle blood; but sympathy with savages has shown your more ignoble nature and the wildest reproach I can bestow is to accuse you of imbecility.

As the descendant of a King, and a captain in the Royal Navy where you had acquired some reputation as a skilful marine surveyor, you were welcomed on your arrival with enthusiasm, and every confidence was at first placed in you; but your earliest acts destroyed all the hope that had been formed, and the prospects of nearly all the subjects of her Gracious Majesty in the colony have been blasted by your imprudence.

A vacillating policy will never cause a colony to prosper, and your course has been hitherto marked by a vacillation in a series of mischievous acts—experimenting upon the patience of a loyal people, who would, if their numbers had been equal to that of your favourite friends, the aborigines, have been also driven to rebellion.

Had you done your duty, the country you found flourishing and in peace would not have been plunged in anarchy and warfare, the lives and properties of your fellow countrymen placed in danger, their energies depressed, and their hopes blighted.

The greatest consolation they now have, Sir, is the knowledge of your early departure from them; and the only good wishes they can bestow is charitably to hope that your past mistaken career will cause you to abandon your public life and never more appear upon the stage of politics, for which you are totally unfitted. Let not the House of Commons be your aim, for there you cannot domineer, and put people down by a frown. Learn, Sir, the common courtesies and civilities of life—you are not yet too old to learn; but, believe me, the political horizon has set upon your career, and will never more rise. Take, therefore, warning from your fall and accept this letter as the only address you will receive from an insulted and deeply injured people.

Junius Zealandi.

Auckland, New Zealand,

3rd Novemebr, 1845.

The print copy of this emphatic document I got from the landlord of the hotel in Wellington where I was staying in 1870. No printer's name is attached, and no certain information received as to the author. It is given as a curiosity, as well as showing that other parts of the colony were 'disaffected as well as Otago.

In concluding, my regret is expressed at the delay that has occurred, arising from various causes, and I apologise for all deficiencies.

I. M. I.

[Finis.]

ANOTHER OLD IDENTITY: Arrived Ship Alpino, 1859. PETER DICK, THE MOST RELIABLE Watchmaker and Jeweller, HAS A CHOICE ASSORTMENT OF WATCHES, CLOCKS AND JEWELLERY. THE LATEST DESIGNS AT MODERATE PRICES. Engagement, Wedding and Keeper Rings—A very fine selection to choose from. Watches thoroughly Cleaned, 5s. Mainsprings, 4s 6d. Old Jewellery Re-made to Newest Patterns. Wedding and Birthday Presents. Spectacles to Suit all Sights, from 2s 6d. Note the Address: 164 MORAY PLACE, DUNEDIN (Opposite the Coffee Palace). N.B.-COUNTRY ORDERS RECEIVE PROMPT ATTENTION.

decorative feature

William Martin.

Mr Martin had a thorough training as a nurseryman in various establishments at Edinburgh and other noted places. Arriving in Otago by the Philip Laing, he at once secured a section at Green Island Bush, which, whilst earning from labour connected with the surveyors he cleared, and began his trade as a gardener. Success attended his persevering efforts and in 1856 he acquired his present sections at Fairfield, where, with poorer soil and under less favourable circumstances, he now possesses nursery gardens unsurpassed in the Colony for the collection of native and introduced plants. In social matters he took an enlightened interest, and was for several years member of the Provincial Council, though not a great talker. On the Road Board and School Committee his practical skill and sage remarks always had good effect, commending him for the position of a J.P. and other responsible situations, which he has honestly filled. He is held in universal esteem.

William Duff.

Born at Torphicen, west from Edinburgh, December, 1821. Mr Duff gained his training as an efficient agriculturist in the neighbouring parish of Kerkliston. Embued with the common desire of Scotsmen to see more of the world and improve his position, he took ship and landed on our shores with the other pioneers, April, 1848. As he would not be an idler, he took his first location at Anderson's Bay, moving shortly afterwards to Green Island. The distinguished ability he possessed led to the proposal that, on commission, he should return to Scotland and purchase a stud of the renowned breed of Clydesdale horses. This position he accepted, successfully returning with a splendid selection, the first introduced in the Colony. Having no ambition for distinction outside his own department, he settled at Waihola, and carries out his favourite pursuit in his old age with a consciousness of rectitude throughout.

decorative features

Donaghy's Rope & Twine Co., Ltd. DUNEDIN, AUCKLAND, INVERCARGILL, MANUFACTURERS OF . . . DONAGHY'S GOLD MEDAL BINDER TWINE, ALSO MANILA ROPE PLOUGH LINES FLAX ROPE COIR ROPE TETHER LINES SEAMING TWINES! PATENT HORSE HALTERS, AND EVERY DESCRIPTION OF CORDAGE. If your Agent says he cannot supply Donaghy's Gold Medal Binder Twine Write to us and we will see that you get a quotation for it. Donaghy's Rope & Twine Co, LIMITED, DUNEDIN.

decorative features

James Adam.

Born at Old Machar, March, 1823. Mr Adam a true Aberdonian, with a will and energy his own, always asserting, seldom compro-[unclear: ising] He arrived by our first ship, and soon made his importance felt. Starting his trade a Ship carpenter, by friendly assistance he [unclear: fit] one or two craft on lines of his own

projec-[unclear: om] Nature had endowed him with political [unclear: clivities] and in the earlier days he made his mark. His musical ability was recognised. His manly appearance added weight to his [unclear: eible] language at meetings, and by dint of [unclear: rn] resolve he attained' to front rank. Elected a member of the Provincial Council, he gained the appointment of first Immigration Agentment to Britain, and the result justified the [unclear: oice] Returning, he bought sections at Toko-[unclear: airiro] where he now resides. His longings the political life were not responded to, and [unclear: r] many years he has been content to live in [unclear: rement] at his residence, Bon Accord.

William Jaffray

Born at Fordoun, Kincardineshire, Scotland, November 12, 1822. Mr Jaffray, with his young wife, arrived in Otago by the ship Philip Laing, April, 1848. Obtaining immediate employment, both took up their abode on Saddle Hill, and on the Provincial Government being formed bought their 50-acre section. Piki-warra has been their continuous home. To them were given 13 children, born and brought up on the same spot; all still living, married, and settled on the Taieri. Their descendants are—35 grandchildren and five great grandchildren; adding the primal pair makes a complement of 55, representing 55 years residence.

decorative features

. . . THE . . . Perpetual Trustees, Estate, and Agency CO. OF NEW ZEALAND, Limited. With which is incorporated the Firms of GILLIES, STREET and HISLOP, and CONNELL and MOODIE. Subscribed Capital £106,250 0 0 Paid-up Capital £8,125 17 6 Directors: WALTER HISLOP, Esq. KEITH RAMSAY, Esq. W. E. REYNOLDS, Esq. Manager - - - WALTER HISLOP, Esq. Offices—Corner of VOGEL & RATTRAY STREETS (immediately opposite Railway Station). Empowered by Special Act of Parliament of New Zealand to act as Trustee, Executor, Attorney, Liquidator, Committee under the Lunacy Statutes, &c. MONEY INVESTED ON FREEHOLD SECURITY. A Pamphlet explanatory of the objects and advantages of the Company, with information likely to prove valuable to intending testators or persons desirous of appointing Attorneys, or investing money in the Colony, may be obtained on application to the Company. (Ask for "The Company? Pamphlet.")

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Maori Leap,

A Native Tradition

Years and years before the white man came to New Zealand, a dense bush surrounded the whole of Waihola Lake, affording shelter to the moa and other gigantic birds which then inhabited our woods; but, alas, they as well as the woods have long since disappeared.

It was a beautiful summer evening, and the declining sun, glancing through the tops of the trees, cast a golden reflection on the smooth waters of the lake, and rested on the form of a young girl by its side, who was reclining on a rude couch of dried grass beneath a large fern-tree, whose noble leaves almost touched a small canoe which was fastened close by.

A various-coloured mat fell in graceful folds to her feet, and was fastened below her shoulder by a large tie of purple flax, while her splendid dark tresses were interwoven with the wild vine and convolvulus. Her dark eyes sparkled with pleasure as the branches were heard to rustle, and a tall handsome young man approached her. He was deeply tattooed, and his spear, the axe at his girdle, and his massive earrings, proclaimed by their curious carving that he was a man of some importance in his tribe.

Sitting down beside her, he conversed familiarly with her; but, alas, they knew not that from a tree close at hand a man who, from the fiendish hate displayed in his face might have been mistaken for a demon, was listening to all they said.

Every now and then he poised his spear as if about to throw it, and, at length, just as the lovers were about to step into the canoe, he threw it with such deadly force as completely transfixed the youth. Springing from his

concealment he laid hold of the girl, and, with a peal of savage laughter, pointing to the bleeding corpse,' with one blow of his tomahawk he left her head; and the flowers which at sunset had bound her hair, the first beams of the rising moon beheld steeped in her life's blood.

Pursued by the vengeance of the tribes, exasperated by the violation of the sacred *tapu* in the murder of their gallant chieftain and the loveliest maiden in the pa, the murderer was hunted from place to place, latterly taking refuge in a hollow tree on the spur that leads to that cliff on the river side. Discovered in this, his last retreat, he was pursued to the top of yonder precipice. His enemies were close behind him; there were no means of escape. He knew that if he were taken the most horrid tortures awaited him: he preferred risking the jump. With a wild, unearthly shriek he sprang from the top, but his head striking the rock in his descent, befell into the water a mangled corpse. From that circumstance the place derives its name.

Leith Bank: Nurseries, FLORISTS' FLOWERS. SAMUEL COUSINS, Horticultural Gardener, DUNDAS ST., DUNEDIN. Has for Sale, and invites Inspection of, his Large and Varied Stock of the Newest and Best PLANTS in Cultivation. A SPECIALTY IS MADE OF Dahlias, Cactus, and Show Roses, Chrysanthemums, Carnations, Tuberous-rooted Begonias. ALL THE LATEST NOVELTIES IMPORTED ANNUALLY.

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FROM AN Express Waggon to the Stylish Landau, SINGLE and DOUBLE BUGGIES being a Specialty. For FIVE YEARS in succession, the period during which Awards were made at our local Exhibitions, Mr. Sinclair gained FIRST PRIZE for the Largest Number of Points in Workmanship and Material. ORDERS FULFILLED WITH GREATEST CARE AND DESPATCH, Having in hand a large Stock of Highest-Class SEASONED TIMBERS and all other Materials of Modern Style and Most Approved Character. The work is carried on under his own personal supervision, some of the men having been over twenty-seven years in his employ.

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On 14th February, 1851, a Horticultural Society, and on 14th April of same year an Agricultural one, both after vicissitudes of fortune, have now attained grand proportions, exercising great influence, and others of kindred character are now spread over the Province.

In 1850 a Teetotal Society was formed. Its birth was premature, drawing only a few breaths then ceasing to exist; again coming to life under various shapes. The following year a Settlers' Association was announced—a very sprightly child. Its objects being attained, by the conferring of Local Government it ceased to be.

A Public Library was opened in the Schoolhouse in June, 1849, and the plan, now so greatly practiced in Britain, adopted of sending parcels of books to the outlying districts for lending out, was much appreciated and proved of great advantage to the settlers.

The Government proposed to consign a batch or two of convicts from the gaols at home to supply the deficiency in the labour market. A public meeting was held, the suggestion denounced outrageous, sternly and resolutely opposed, and forthwith abandoned.

Breadstuff's were very scarce. A company was proposed to import grain and flour from Nelson and Wellington to supply the want. Within a short time the settlers produced from their own soil enough and to spare.

The establishment of a Market day and place were demanded. Cabbages weighing 50lb. each were grown and offered for sale.

Caledonian Society.—The first gathering took place on New Year's Day, 1861, in a paddock kindly granted by J. H. Harris, Esq., the Grange, Cumberland Street; the next in Jones's Horse Bazaar, Stafford Street. A regular Society was then formed in 1862, and the sports held on two opening days each revolving year, not only proving very attractive, but also serve

Should auld acquaintance be forgot
An' the days o' auld lang syne.

It is a powerful Association and holds out every prospect of perpetuity. J. Samson, Esq., President; Win. Reid, Secretary; Office?, Rattray Street.

The Gaelic Society of New Zealand.—The youngest of our offspring celebrated its majority on the 22nd of August last. It forms a gallant band worthy of the "land of the hills, the glens, and the heroes from which they sprung. Highlanders, wherever placed, prove loyal and true to their country and sovereign, and the members of

this Society are no exception. Their objects are to keep alive the language, traditions, and customs of the Highlands, to befriend their fellow countrymen, and promote the prosperity of their adopted land. The Society commands the respect of kindred associations and of the general community. Ordinary meetings on the first Wednesday of every month. Annual meeting about July. Chief, Dugald McPherson; Secretary, William MacLeod.

To the OLD LAIND The HOMELAND. BY THE CANADIAN AUSTRALIAN ROYAL MAIL LINE, SAILING EVERY FOUR WEEKS ACROSS THE PACIFIC ... Yia Sydney, Brisbane, Suva (Fiji), Honolulu, and Victoria (B.C.), to Vancouver; thence by the Canadian Pacific Railway—the most substantially built and perfectly equipped Railway in America to all parts of Canada, United States, and Europe. Grandest Scenery in the World. The Rocky Mountain Ranges, the Great Lakes District, Falls of Niagara, Rivers St, Lawrence & Hudson, &c. THE TRIP AN EDUCATION. See what our fellow-colonists ami kinsmen in America have done and are doing in the great Timber and Mining Districts of British Columbia, the famous Wheat Lands of Manitoba ami the Nor West (the Granary of the Kmpirp) and the Industrial Centres of Canada and the United States. Choice of all the Mail Lines across the Atlantic from Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Portland, Boston, New York, or other ports. Through booking in all Classes—SINGLE, RETURN, OR ROUND THE WORLD, VIA SUEZ OR SOUTH AFRICA—at Lowest Hates. Passengers irom New Zealand have the option of proceeding via Sydney or by lata connection to Suva (Fiji), via Auckland. Pamphlets, Maps, and all Information Free on application to UNION STEAM SHIP CO. OF N.Z., Ltd MANAGING AGENTS.

Front Cover

To the OLD LAND The HOMELAND. BY THE CANADIAN AUSTRALIAN ROYAL MAIL LINE, SAILING EVERY FOUR WEEKS ACROSS THE PACIFIC . . . Via Sydney, Brisbane, Suva (Fiji), Honolulu, and Victoria (B.C.), to Vancouver; thence by the Canadian Pacific Railway—the most substantially built and perfectly equipped Railway in America to all parts of Canada, United States, and Europe. Grandest Scenery in the World. The Rocky Mountain Ranges, the Great Lakes District, Falls of Niagara, Rivers St, Lawrence & Hudson, &c. THE TRIP AN EDUCATION. See what our fellow-colonists and kinsmen in America have done and are doing in the great Timber and Mining Districts of British Columbia, the famous Wheat Lands of Manitoba and the North West (the Granary of the Empire) and the Industrial Centres of Canada and the United States. Choice of all the Mail Lines across the Atlantic from Montreal Quebec, Halifax, Portland, Boston, New York, or other ports. Through booking in all Classes—SINGLE, RETURN, OR ROUND THE WORLD, VIA sUEZ OR SOUTH AFRICA—at Lowest Rates. Passengers from New Zealand have the option of proceeding via Sydney or by later connection to Suva (Fiji), via Auckland. Pamphlets, Maps, and all Information Free on application to UNION STEAM SHIP CO. OF N.Z., Ltd., MANAGING AGENTS.

Church of the Province of New Zealand. Diocese of Auckland.

Primary Charge of the Right Reverend

(Lord Bishop of Auckland)

Delivered at the Second Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Diocese of Auckland, on the Feast of ss.

Simon and June, 1903.

Published by authority of the Standing Committee.

Primary Charge

their freshness and beauty of the life and example of a very polished Christian gentleman, whose gentleness and forbearance have given to this Colony an example of imperishable beauty. The history of Auckland, as well as that of the Colony, is richer and stronger because it has the grave of William Garden Cowie round which to grow. In the years to come, as men stand by the graves of that Bishop and his wife—who were "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death were not divided

2 Sam. i. 23.

—they will remember that those parents, among many other things, set the standard of true Imperial service in holding before their sons the ministry of the Church as the sphere wherein men could do high work for God and this Empire.

And now you have to grow accustomed to other leadership, to methods not familiar, and to a mind trained on other lines.

For us, the change has its own difficulties also. The conditions of a new country are very different to those prevailing at Home; the habits of thought in a population numerically very small are extraordinarily unlike those prevailing among the millions of London; the public mind here is forced, by its environment, to run in channels dissimilar to those one has been familiar with. Of course the Britisher is, at bottom, the same wherever he may be; but, though he aims at the same end, more or less, in every clime, yet his methods necessarily vary

with his environment.

The thing one finds one has to do now is: habituate one's mind to think in other terms. You would not have sent for one trained at Home if you did not desire that the effects of that Home training should be translated into Colonial terms. In order to translate you must know both languages. I know the Home language, and I have studied that of New Zealand fairly hard since I have been in the colony. I have travelled some 4,000 miles in New Zealand since my Consecration; I have read everything about the Colony and Diocese that I could, within necessary time limitations, reasonably hope to master; I have talked with, and tried to learn from, several hundreds of persons of all sections of the community. Whilst, in no sense, pretending to infallibility of judgment, I may fairly claim to have acquired solid grounds upon which to rest the conclusions which I shall proceed to lay before you. In almost my first public utterance in this city, I only asked for time before men pronounced judgment on me, my methods and plans of organisation and work. I now only repeat that claim. Personally, I am content to wait for the verdict of history, and I am equally content, in the meanwhile, to submit to criticism, and, if "a more excellent way" can be pointed out, to accept it as an improvement upon my own methods. But, until I am convinced that the message I teach is unscriptural and unhistoric, and that my system of organisation is faulty, people must be good enough to forgive me if I rely on God's dealing with me personally, the experience of my training, and the powers of my own observation, more than on the schemes of those who have no special knowledge or who are amateurs in the subject that has to be dealt with.

Deaths.

Before going further, I desire to place on record our thankfulness to God for the lives of some who have "departed this life in His faith and fear," as well as our sense of loss of comrades, and of sympathy with those who mourn.

John Kinder, D.D., Trin. Coll., Camb. Priest in this Diocese since 1855; scholar, teacher, and gentleman; a benefactor to S. John's College, and, through it, to this nation. Obiit. Sept. 5, 1903.

Henry Govett, B.A., Worcester Coll., Oxford. Priest in this Diocese since 1847, Archdeacon of Taranaki from 1848 to 1902, Chaplain to the troops during the miserable war of "the sixties," a builder of S. Mary's, New Plymouth, the trusted friend of all who knew him, the generous benefactor of the Church of this Province, a "very gentle knight." Obiit. Oct. 4, 1903.

Theophilus Kissling, Barrister and Solicitor, a member of this Synod, of the Standing Committee, and some of our Diocesan Trust Boards, Solicitor to the Melanesian, S. John's College, and Pension Board Trusts for many years, member of the Standing Commission, one of the most learned authorities on the Canon law and Constitution of the Church of this Province, an honourable man and a true friend. Obiit. Oct. 1, 1903.

John Dickenson Jackson, Secretary of the Diocesan Synod for 26 years, member of Synod for 28 years, Churchwarden of Onehunga Parish Church for 13 years, auditor of the Diocesan Synod. For some years he had been unable to do active work; so long as he could he worked for his Church. Obiit. August 12, 1903.

Arrivals.

If "Valeté" is hard to say, "Avete" is hopeful and encouraging. We welcome to-day among the ranks of the Clergy of this Diocese the following volunteers from Home for Imperial service:—Bevs. W. E. S. Connolly (Vicar of Paparua), A. S. Buckland (Vicar of Waihi), H. Reeve (Vicar of Inglewood), N. Radcliffe (Vicar of Hamilton). We also have added the following men to the fighting line, recruited from the Colony:—Revs. H. W. L. Snow, J. A. Kempthorne, and R. T. Kerehoma.

Moreover, there are many new Laymen in this Synod. In your name, gentlemen, I bid them kindly welcome, and entreat them to join in our deliberations, with the assurance of a ready hearing on our part.

I will now ask you to let me deal with other matters. So that we may think clearly, I will speak of things under separate headings.

The Bishops' Court.

With the concurrence of Synod, I appoint the Ven. the Archdeacon of Taranaki in place of the late Ven. Archdeacon Govett; Rev. Canon Mae-Murray in place of the late Rev. Dr. Kinder; Hugh Campbell, Esq., in place of William Charles Kensington, Esq., resigned; and John Henry Upton, Esq., in place of the late Theophilus Kissling, Esq., to be Assessors in my Court.

Diocese.

The Diocese is wholly undermanned. We are trying to do the impossible with our present number of

Clergy. The men are miserably paid—sometimes not paid at all!—and cannot possibly cover all the work that is expected of them. The consequence is: too much is attempted, and therefore the quality of the work suffers. Men cannot possibly visit as regularly and efficiently as they ought, read as much as they want, and pray as much as they must, if they are spiritually to keep going, under existing conditions. The conditions would be absolutely, intolerable were it not for the noble band of Laymen who, all over the Diocese, are doing such splendid work for God and this Empire in trying to prevent the White Man from relapsing into Paganism. We have got to face facts, and not to fancy that everything is going on beautifully: to do that is to live in "a fool's paradise." The condition of affairs is serious, not sufficiently serious for despair or pessimism, but quite serious enough to attract the best men to grapple with it, keen minds to think about it, loving, faithful hearts to pray about it.

A Lay Reader said to me a short time ago at a conference in a bush district: "The horror before us is: the fear of getting used to doing without God and His grace in the Sacraments." Other Laymen in the country districts have told me the same. There you have the position. Men who care are living under the awful apprehension of learning to do without God, and "if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable."

1 Cor. xv. 19.

But there are hundreds who don't care and never have had the chance of earing; for the State schools inevitably, at present, create an atmosphere wherein it is almost impossible for men to *learn* to care. And yet, *God cares for them so much*, and they—good, strong, honest men and women that they are, with their wholesome, fearless, bonny boys and girls—would be so glad to care if they only had the chance. "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

Isaiah vi. 8.

That is the sort of cry the great God is voicing to His Church both at Home and in the Colonies. The greatness of this Empire has its foundations laid on the Christian Faith. The continuance of this Empire depends on our loyalty to our first principles. "The King's business requireth haste."

1 Sam. xxi. 8.

If we do not face the facts prayerfully, bravely, and with holy resolve, we shall find the opportunity gone.

Again, while we have nothing like enough Clergy or Lay Readers, we have a superabundance of churches and vicarages. Of course it is quite right to acquire sites wherever we can: we must look ahead and prepare for providing Houses of God for our people who shall inhabit this land in the years to come, and also prepare for houses wherein, when the time comes for a resident clergyman, the man and his family may live. Within the boundaries of Auckland and its suburbs we want sites—not for immediate use, but for future—for about six churches. The Laity who own property are quite right in giving sites for churches and vicarages: to offer such to God is their privilege, and the Laity of this Diocese are true and leal men who not only give the site, but also, frequently, the first donation towards the building. God bless them for their gifts to Him! But I am quite satisfied that we have built both churches and vicarages too quickly. Many results have happened: (a) The Clergy have so many places to "serve*" that the quantity of the work interferes with its quality. (b) Mean structures have sometimes been run up, and not always in the place most convenient for the population, (c) Vicarages have been planted in places without due consideration as to the trend of population. (d) Resident Clergy have been put down in great unwieldy districts which cannot afford to keep a man and his wife and family in decency; or, if they can theoretically afford to pay him adequately, the man practically has so much country to cover, and has such hard, pinching poverty at home, that he cannot keep in sufficiently close touch with his scattered flock to enable them to thoroughly appreciate the privilege of enabling those who "preach the Gospel" to "live of the Gospel."

1 Cor. ix. 16.

If the man does not, because he cannot, visit constantly, the personal touch of the people with him grows weak, and, quite normally, his maintenance is too shadowy a thing for the majority to care much about.

But I would not have you think that there is not another side to the picture; there is: the very multiplicity of the buildings and their remote situation is an evidence in some real sense of the keenness of our people, of their love for their Mother Church, and of their desire to worship the Giver of all good things in a House set apart for His honour and glory.

I have mentioned the ill results as well as the good because the thing needs saying, and from mistakes we can learn wisdom. If one were asked: what do you think is the fault that, as a Diocese, our policy suffers from? the answer would be: *Opportunism*. In a new country one is bound to "make shift" from time to time; that is quite clearly a necessity of things as they are in their embryonic stage. But, while recognising the necessary truth, it is not wise to long hold on to an unnecessary heresy, and the phrase, "Anything is better than nothing," can be heretical at certain stages in the development of a country. We shall do well to remember that—to change the illustration—while

*"Helping, when we meet them,
Lame dogs over stiles,"*

is an excellent practice if the lame dog has got anywhere to hobble to after you have got him over the stile; yet his position is not really improved if you have only landed him into an enclosure surrounded with high walls or quick-set, hedges. The homely illustration is apt for my point: very many of the difficulties the Bishop of this Diocese has to solve strike one as having been possible of avoidance had we had a big enough policy. We have not always considered what was on the other side of the stile. I repeat: Probably the thing was forced upon us, at times, by the exigencies of the situation. But, the country is older now. The present position is not what it ought to be. Let us learn from our mistakes. That is the action of wise men.

Turning from the country to the City of Auckland, the story of being undermanned has to be repeated. There is not a Vicar in Auckland to-day who is not facing a task impossible alike spiritually, mentally, and physically. The needs of Auckland this moment are the same as the needs of the country: *men*. I will illustrate my point with instances where it is clearest; but in each Auckland parish the need is, proportionately, the same. The Vicars of the Auckland Parishes are expected to discharge certain Diocesan functions as well as attend to their directly Parochial calls. For a moment, think of the demands, spiritual and physical, on the Vicars of the Cathedral and of All Saints'. Each man ought to have, if his Parish is to be properly visited and daily Service to be regularly offered, two assistant Curates. The Vicar of the Cathedral is single-handed. The Vicar of All Saints' has one assistant Curate. Each of these men, as also other Auckland Vicars, has Diocesan duties to perform: you expect and demand such performance; the Diocese naturally turns to the City of Auckland for men of affairs and of judgment; the Auckland Layman expects, when he goes to church on Sunday, a sermon that will give him food for thought by instructing him in The Faith; the Auckland resident expects the Vicar of the Parish, or one of the Clergy, to call at his house regularly. These are the sort of things the Auckland Clergy are expected, and they themselves want, to do. The same remarks apply, in measure, to New Plymouth and other towns. But the thing is, under existing conditions, impossible. The manual worker is said to be incapable of manual labour for more than a third of the twenty-four hours. The brain worker knows how limitless his hours of labour are. The worker who has to draw upon his spiritual faculties, in addition to his bodily and mental faculties, knows that, sooner or later, the quality of his work must suffer.

Joining town and country together, and viewing them both, there is another fact to be faced. It is connected with the need of the Clergy; for it cannot be remedied without Clergy: *there is no Diocesan centre*. We have a Chaplain to the Public Institutions doing real solid work, a Home Missionary, whose zeal and labours are alike Apostolic, Maori Superintendent Missionaries working against inherited odds with rare faith and pluck; but each man is, practically, alone; there is no central altar whereto he may repair for the live coal, and from which he may get the holy fire; he belongs to no parish heart in any real and true sense—yes, he is alone. The fact is unpleasant, but true. There is no convergent altar for the Diocese; there is no red-hot centre whereat the souls of Priests and Laity can be warmed after the chilling effects of loneliness, of over-work, of the pinch of poverty.

But, one may be saying: there is S. Mary's Parnell; it is our Cathedral at present. Quite true; but the Vicar of the Cathedral Parish—like the Archdeacon of Auckland—is just one of the men upon whom the demands are intensely Diocesan. And, further, as a Diocese the Cathedral Parish does not get, and has never got, one farthing of financial help from the Diocese. Through the loyal friendship, trust, and confidence of the Vicar of that Parish, I am—as your Bishop—in the happy position to-day of being able to have any service at any time that I appoint and with any preacher that I name in the Church of S. Mary, Parnell. But if the Diocese, "quâ" Diocese, uses this church, as it does, for a Cathedral, the Diocese is bound, in some manner, to provide for a staff being maintained at the Cathedral. We are getting, as a Diocese, privileges without responsibility at S. Mary's. That is not good.

The Synodical system in the Colonies is an example of completeness and order to the whole world. We know for a fact that its example played no inconsiderable part in the Federation of the Australian States. It may be, as, the Bishop of Newcastle, N.S.W., says, we are unable "singly or collectively to do more than one thing at a time," and consequently we are faced by a disproportionate development between Synodical and Cathedral work. But in this Diocese we really suffer from the disproportion. The Cathedral and the Synod grew together in the early days of the Church. The men of old saw the vision; they were practical men because they were idealistic in thought. "Synodism and Cathedral-ism are twin forces." The one rectifies the other. The Synod suffers if the Cathedral idea is not real. The Cathedral suffers without a Synod. The Cathedral is "the spiritual equipoise" of the Synod. To-day the need for us is less connected with the site of the Cathedral than with the system of the Cathedral. I have touched upon that system. We shall fail in many ways if we are content to allow ourselves to be deprived very much longer of the practical benefits of the ideal. The Diocese will, for many

years to come, offer an ever-changing variety of problems for solution and needs for remedying. They will best be met by us and our children if on a central altar the Divine fire is ever burning, from a central shrine the Daily Intercession is ever offered to the Most High.

Agencies.

This is probably the most accurate heading under which to group my next remarks.

The Women's Home Committee has been able to secure the services of Miss Hudson, a lady trained under the Order of the Divine Compassion, from London. The Committee is now engaged in building a Home at Otahuhu. Under the guidance and loving care of Miss Hudson and with the character of buildings now being erected, we have every reason to hope that this Diocese will provide the best solution to the problem of Preventive and Rescue Work offered in this Colony.

I have placed the Mission of the Good Shepherd upon strictly Diocesan lines. The Sisters hold my Licence; Probationers are received for six months and then receive, if they are approved, my Permission; after a period of not less than one year they may receive the full Licence. No matter what developments of Women's Work may be found necessary in course of time in the Diocese, the foundations I have now laid are sufficient for carefully planned structures to be erected upon them.

The Children's Home is doing good work. Whether the Orphan Home and the Dilworth Trustees could not equally well do the work of the Children's Home is a matter that is worth considering. I express no opinion upon it beyond saying this: never overlap in organisations.

In all our Homes our hope is that the children are daily taught of the Love of GOD the FATHER, the Grace of GOD the Son, and the Sanctification of GOD the HOLT GHOST.

The Mothers' Union has been organised on a definitely Diocesan basis. Mrs. Neligan and the Diocesan Council will, we hope, be allowed to help the mothers of the Diocese very truly. The Union may perhaps find an entrance into some of our Country Districts. In common with so many organisations for good, the Mothers' Union in New Zealand will be the poorer for the return Home of the Countess of Ranfurly; although it is also the richer for the example. Lady Ranfurly has set of home life, the nobility of motherhood, and the purity of womanhood. May God grant that gentle lady a safe voyage and long years of influence as good at Home as she has been permitted by Him to exercise in our own Colony.

Whether the system, as ordinarily observed, of the Girls' Friendly Society is suited to the Colonies is too technical a question for us to consider here and now. A Conference is to be held on G.F.S. work during Synod week at Bishopscourt, when this and cognate subjects will be discussed. But one thing is quite certain: we sadly want a G.F.S. Lodge in Auckland. The Y.W.C.A. is doing a real good work on its own lines, and we must be grateful to those at the head of such work. There is ample room for a G.F.S. Lodge also, and we ought to have one.

We seem to be curiously deficient in agencies for keeping our young men and lads together. Doubtless, there are many reasons for this apparent deficiency. But, during my tours in the country districts, I have often heard complaints that there is no clean and wholesome place for our young fellows to go to in the evenings. I know there are lots of difficulties in the way of organizing Institutes and the like; but I am quite satisfied, from experience, that they are worth trying to grapple with. There is a good deal of the (so-called) gospel of "Don't" in the air. It is not a very useful text to preach upon: there is a better, it is "Do." That is, do the same things, enjoy the same pleasures, have the same fellowship, under different, because cleaner, surroundings. The average young fellow does not want to "go wrong." He constantly makes bad companionships because he has no chance, consistently offered to him in a wholesome way, of making good ones.

At the Conferences with the Clergy and the Laity I hope to learn if there is any prospect of the Church Lads' Brigade being of practical value here.

It had been my intention to have brought before you the subject of Diocesan Orders for Male and for Female Communicants. I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that this matter had better remain over until the Synod of 1904.

We have seen the opening of the Queen Victoria School for Maori Girls this year. There are now 27 girls in the School, and they are being trained in a thoroughly practical manner and in a religious atmosphere. S. Stephen's School for Maori Boys has 66 boys in it. Several of our Maori Clergy first learned the Faith in S. Stephen's School.

Holy Baptism.

There is, in places, a reluctance to press parents to bring their children to "the Friend for little children" through this Sacrament. I would remind the Laity that Baptism is an integral part of the Divine Commission;

and the Clergy that we are "always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded."

Holy Communion.

It is a matter of no ordinary sorrow to find places where the Clergy do not enjoy their singular privilege of celebrating the Holy Communion, at least, each week. There can be no doubt whatever as to the mind of our Church on this matter. There can be equally little doubt as to the reality of the privilege of the Priesthood. Wherever it can be arranged I entreat my Brethren of the Clergy to exercise their privilege as Celebrants; while, at the same time, entreating our Brethren of the Laity to equally exercise their priestly privilege as Communicants.

Marriage.

I find the rule, initiated by the late Primate, concerning marriages in private houses to be one based on sound experience. The Clergy will kindly continue to act on it. I shall also feel obliged if the Clergy will, in every case of marriage, ascertain if the parties have been baptized. The Clergy are not to celebrate Holy Matrimony, according to the rites of the Anglican Church, between parties either or both of whom are not baptized.

Churching of Women.

I am told that there is a fairly widespread neglect of the Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth. There are causes for this, and they are not unconnected with certain bad features of modern life. I would urge the Clergy to instruct their people upon the meaning of this Service. Its intelligent use is of value to the nation as well as being an act of Thanksgiving to God.

Burials.

It is encouraging to know that the custom of having the body brought into the church for portion of the Service is increasing. It is a good and pious practice where it may be had, and it helps to form that which is of such real importance in national life: the growth of sentiment round a building.

Registers.

In some Parishes I have found that the authorised Offertory Book is not used nor are the Registers kept. The Clergy and Churchwardens will kindly see to it that all Books, ordered to be kept, are so kept.

C.E.T.S.

The Cathedral Chapter and the Standing Committee (without whose valuable help I made no plans for this Synod) and I had hoped to have had a Public Meeting on the subject of Temperance during Synod week. We decided to wait until you had adopted some Resolution upon the subject, and upon that to build the future. The subject is a very important branch of Christian conduct. It is well that we should adopt a policy as comprehensive as our Church, a positive and not merely a negative policy. It is unfortunate that, in some minds, Prohibition and Christianity are convertible terms. Whatever we decide, we must just be careful not to lean in the direction of trying to make a part greater than the whole.

British and Foreign Bible Society.

On the third Sunday in Lent, 1904 (March 6) this Society hopes to complete its Centenary. All Christian people are asked on that day to thank GOD for the blessings conferred upon the world by the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular languages. I shall, at the proper time, invite the Clergy of this Diocese to encourage their people in suitable commemoration of the great work the Bible Society has been permitted to do during the last 100 years. The great Missionary Societies of our Communion have thankfully testified to the work of the Bible Society. Our Church appeals to Holy Scripture for every doctrine she teaches. Our Church prays that the Divine blessing may ever rest upon the teaching of the Bible.

Bishopscourt.

The Trustees of the Bishopric Endowment and Estate have had a task of considerable difficulty to discharge in connection with my coming here. They, with the co-operation of the Diocesan Trustees, have been able to arrange matters satisfactorily for the immediate present. I desire to express to those gentlemen my sense alike of the difficulties they had to face and of the tact and courteous consideration with which they faced them. I do not propose to discuss in any detailed way the Bishopric Endowment or Estate with you at this Synod. When I accepted nomination to the Bishopric I conveyed to you information that, in my judgment, Christianity and debt were contradictory terms. So far as I can see at present, although living is more expensive in this country than at Home, I can live out of debt until, probably, next Synod; and my general impression is: the alternatives then to be faced are, either almost doubling the Episcopal income or, with due regard to historical association and conservation of valuable sentiment, the complete reorganisation of the Bishopric Estate. I do not apprehend immediate difficulty, owing to the action of the Trust Board; but, for the sake of the Faith we believe, I am confident it is far better just simply to state: I will never willingly be in the position of a Diocesan Bishop who cannot, without getting into debt, adequately fulfil those obligations of hospitality and courtesy that a Churchman has a right to expect his Bishop to bear. The Trustees are, to a certain extent, conversant with the facts. Their motion for general powers over the Estate, subject to the Bishop's consent, is a step as wise as it is necessary.

Care of Churches.

I have been struck by the generally high level of the internal arrangements of our buildings. With the small means at our disposal and the scattered character of the population, it is wonderful to see such a generally high level. I venture to make two suggestions:—(a) In this country we have wonderfully beautiful native woods, and also a very active race of moths. It would add to the dignity of our churches and minister to their cleanliness if we had carved wooden fronts to our altars instead of worked frontals which not infrequently harbour moths. (b) The kneeling arrangements are calculated to put a premium on sitting and lounging rather than kneeling—such postures do not encourage Reverence. With a view of meeting the difficulty I have arranged with a firm in Auckland (Tonson Garlick) to have here for your inspection samples of kneelers fitted with ring and supplied with hook for fixing in the bench in front. The prices vary. It ought to be possible to get our people, individually, to contribute the cost of a kneeler, make it a present to the church, and thus secure some general system whereby kneeling in church ceased to be so painful as to interfere with devotion. Everything that tends to Reverence is of value in the life of a country.

Music and Choirs.

There is a really large and enthusiastic band of men, boys, and women, all over the Diocese who do loyal, hearty, and real service as Organists, Choirmasters, and Choristers, and for the most part they do the service voluntarily. There are a few fair-sized organs in the Diocese; but, for considerably the larger number of our churches, the instrument is quite rightly a very small organ or a harmonium. Considering the character of the instruments almost universally in use, and also the great difficulty of getting really trained singers, or people with sufficient leisure to practise constantly, I cannot help thinking that we are a little inclined to be over-ambitious in the music we attempt. What is known as the "Cathedral form of Service" has a very real function; but it is not always wise to adopt that form. Singing the Psalms, Versicles and Responses may be constantly within the powers of a small choir accompanied by a small instrument. But where even these cannot be rendered in tune it would seem to me to be more prudent to content ourselves with a perfectly plain but reverent Service. It is quite certain that many of the anthems and set services attempted are not possible of adequate rendition with the means at our disposal: music written, say, for the organ at Westminster Abbey, or any really large organ, is not capable of being played on a one manual organ or a harmonium. To sing hymns intelligently and well in tune is really a difficult thing, and is work worthy of the highest musical ability. A thoroughly clean, brisk, well-sung, simple Service is far harder to render than to sing an anthem badly or to break down in an elaborate setting of the Canticles. It is in the interests alike of the Public Worship of Almighty God and of His gift of music that I venture to make these general remarks. I know that in thus trying to discourage attempts at too difficult music I shall have the support of the best musicians and most capable organists and choirmasters. Further, my suggestions will have the effect of encouraging those organists and choirs who know how hard it is to do simple things well, and who therefore thus desire to do them. I have spoken these words because I am intensely fond of music myself, and believe that it is a gift of God and is intended for His worship.

Complaints, Etc.

We are likely to be better friends and so to do more solid work for GOD and the Empire, if we quite understand each other.

It is fairly well known now that my practice on getting a letter is: to look for the signature. If there is none, or such false ones as: "A Christian Friend," "A True Well-wisher," and so forth, the letter goes *unread* into the waste paper basket. It is likewise fairly well known now that correspondence in the newspapers does not result in "drawing" the man who is, at present, in the honoured and responsible position of being your Bishop.

But one thing, apparently, is not so well known, *i.e.*, the futility of any person saying to me:—"If you knew what I know about Mr. So-and-so, you would," etc., etc. Then, when I take a pencil and paper and say:—"Yes, I will make a note of it and will use your name as my informant," and am at once met with: "Oh, no, my name must not appear. I don't want to be the one to make a fuss," and so forth.

Well, gentlemen, I decline absolutely to take any action towards any man, Priest or Layman, unless my informant, who poses as a corrector of Righteousness and Morals, has the courage of his own convictions. When any man tells me that I can act on his information, and that he is prepared to back up, as a Christian man, what he says against the character of another man over whom I possess Episcopal authority, then, but not till then, am I prepared to act, and then, further, to act to the full extent of any powers I may possess.

It always saves trouble in the long run, if we quite understand where we are in dealing with each other.

Pension Fund.

I would make a strong appeal to the Laity to see to it that, in every Parish in the Diocese., the Pension Fund contribution is regularly paid. It is of vital importance to the well-being of the Church that proper provision for our aged Clergy be made. All new Clergy are bound to join the Fund. It is only fair that the Laity should be equally bound on their side. Under this heading I desire to express my indebtedness to Dr. Hope Lewis, who has generously accepted the position of my Hon. Medical Referee. All candidates for Holy Orders have to be examined by him before I accept them. The activity of the Church and the soundness of the Pension Fund are thus secured.

Confirmations.

I have to thank the Clergy and Church Wardens for their ready compliance with the "Suggestions" I circulated on this subject. During our Clerical and Lay Conferences we can discuss points that may need elucidation. It would be a good plan if copies of the "Order of Confirmation," authorized for use in the Diocese, were circulated among the people present. Under any circumstances, however, it is the duty of the Church Wardens to defray the cost of copies given to the Candidates. The Church Officers will be good enough to see that the Clergyman does not pay for these out of his own pocket.

With a view of meeting a very real and wholly encour-aging demand, I have arranged to hold two Confirmations each year for *Adults only*. They will be held in the Cathedral about Ascension-tide and S. Andrew-tide each year. Communications as to number of Candidates from any Parish, and so forth, are to be made to the Vicar of the Cathedral not later than one week before the date of each Confirmation. The exact dates of each Adult Confirmation will be published in the *Gazette* in good time for arrangements to be made by the Clergy.

Church Public Opinion.

We suffer considerably from its non-existence. We must do all we can to create a definite Church Public Opinion. I do not, for a moment, mean that we should become a political party: with such we have, as Churchmen, nothing to do. As Christian citizens we have, of course, to see to it that in national and municipal elections we cast our vote for a man whose character is high, whose integrity is unassailable, and to whom the Honour of God and the welfare of our country is far dearer than the triumph of "Party." What I mean by a Church Public Opinion is: the creation of a body of thought thinking out the same big things, concerned with the same big interests, animated by the same big motives, caring about the same big ends. We tend, somehow, to get a bit too limited in our view, to connote by the term "Holy Catholic Church" our own particular Parish or District. It is all quite natural: we have to do so much for our Church in our particular locality; the local question, from the "very nature of the conditions, looms very large on our horizon. But it is worthwhile to let other things come into view also. We belong to a great Catholic Society: the things we do and say and think affect the whole Society generally and the Diocese particularly.

The Standing Committee has, this year as an experiment, ordered the circulation of this Charge throughout the Diocese. The real motive of such action is: the creation of a Church Public Opinion. Church people may agree or disagree with details in the policy their Bishop lays before them. Upon their agreement or

disagreement, in the main, depends the possibility of it being carried into effective operation, within a reasonable number of years. As to it being the right policy, in broad outlines and on general principles, history will ultimately prove.

Meanwhile, the Bishop's charge is, this year, being circulated in the Townships of the Diocese, and the Clergy and Lay Representatives are urged to get the people in their neighbourhoods to read the Charge. We shall thus make efforts towards thinking on the same sort of lines, solving the same sort of problems, talking about the same sort of things, aiming at the same sort of end. If the Clergy and Lay Representatives will gather our Churchfolk together, on their return home, and discuss the Charge and the "Acta" of Synod, there is no doubt whatever that, before we meet again, we shall be far better able to view our position and to discuss our ideals than we can be if Synod ends with the conclusion of its debates. Synod ought never to end: that is, its "Agenda" and its "Acta" ought to be matters of real present interest to every Churchman in the Diocese.

Organisation.

I only know of one plan of organisation whereby force can be so effectively distributed as to produce gradual but permanent result, *i.e.*, departmental.

You will pardon me if I make a remark that appears rude: rightly or wrongly, one has been struck here by a, more or less prevalent, attitude of suspicion between men; a sort of idea that a man must have ulterior motives making for his own aggrandisement if he undertakes a leading part in a movement; a kind of general accusation—"grinding his own axe"—floating about amongst the hundreds of people I have met in the Colony. Supposing my impression is a right one, the standard of public and private life thus created is not beneficial to the nation. And, so far as my experience of organisation goes, that experience runs entirely counter to suspicion of motive and effectiveness of result in work being compatible. For organisation to be sound and personal service to be effective, the utmost emphasis has to be thrown upon belief in a man's honour and singleness of purpose. If a man is fit to be placed in a position of responsibility he is fit to be trusted. If he is not fit to be trusted, the authority that placed him in his position is blameworthy and must remove him. Further, if a man is fit to be placed as the head of a department, he must be absolutely trusted, and must, within certain broad general principles, be left free to impress his department with his own personality and to develop his work on his own lines of intelligence.

This is the standard that the Church, in her organisation, must uphold and set forth. She has a function to discharge—the elevation of the National Conscience. She will best discharge it by keeping her own organization on a high level of trust, honour, attribution of motive.

The ideas in my own mind for the proper organization of the Diocese are on these lines:—The Bishop is responsible for the men and women whom he has the power to place as heads of departments. The Bishop who appoints the people must be answerable for them. The same argument holds good for the Standing Committee. I intend to entrust to each head of departments full power, within clearly defined broad limits, to organize the work within their departments, to impress their own individuality upon it, to develop it along their own lines. I shall hold each head of department responsible for the efficiency, or otherwise, of the work therein. Where I appoint the man or women, I shall appoint him or her on this clear understanding: inefficiency means resignation. Where the appointment is not mine, I hold myself to be entirely free of responsibility.

It is my intention to reorganize the Archidiaconal boundaries, so far as I can, in course of time; to entrust Maori work to men capable of superintending it; to appoint Rural Deans over manageable areas; to have heads for women's and for men's organizations throughout the Diocese, as time goes on; to hold each person responsible for their own work, while exercising a general supervision myself.

I have already taken some steps towards getting the work of the Diocese on to these lines. But I have been met with the difficulty of lack of men and of means. I take as an instance the Archdeacons. Consider the position:—the Archdeacons of Waikato, Waimate, and Auckland have Parishes, with incessant claims, to attend to and little or no Clerical help. To look after their Archdeaconries at all properly must also involve them in expense. What does an Archdeacon receive? A beggarly £10 per annum, not sufficient to cover the cost of his postage and stationery for a year. Think of the Archdeaconry of Taranaki: there, God, in His Goodness, has given the Church a man who is without parochial ties, and who is able and, out of his love, willing to do the Church's work without emolument. But is this system right and honest and good? Can it be allowed to go on? For myself, the answer is absolutely in the negative, and, similarly am I persuaded that, under modern conditions, a Diocese cannot be effectively worked without entrusting work and responsibility and authority, to a considerable extent, to Archdeacons.

The same remarks—"mutatis mutandis"—are pertinent to each department. The work cannot be properly done unless there are heads over each department.

Let me give you one instance of the importance of the system I propose, and of the dangerous position we

are now in for the due carrying out of it. I shall presently lay before you some intensely valuable facts concerning the Maori Mission within the Diocese. Those facts have been gathered for the information of the Church by the Rev. H. A. Hawkins, who has travelled incessantly, under my orders, for several months past, and whose place of residence I have had, for the present, to remove from Waimate North to Auckland. The work he has done, and has yet to do, is quite invaluable. But who pays for the extra expense of removal, travelling, etc.? Not the Church of this Province, nor the Diocese of Auckland, but some friends of my own in London who gave me a small sum of money to spend as I thought best on Maori work. That sum of money could not have been better spent than on this matter; but it is not good that, for an intensely important bit of direct missionary work, we should have been, as a Diocese, dependent on the possession by the Bishop of a charitable contribution from some London Church people.

I mention these things to you in this way because it is of the utmost importance that we should exactly understand what we have to face, and should fairly look at our facts and discuss our future.

After Easter, 1904, my hope is to publish in the Gazette my plan of visitation, and to so arrange that I go to certain parts of the Diocese at a fixed time each year. The present irregular visitations have been unavoidable and need not be repeated. The Clergy, knowing the dates fixed for the different parts of the Diocese, will be able to plan their Confirmation instructions accordingly. During the winter I hope to spend a good deal of time in Auckland. The Bishop is Chairman of the various Trust Boards. He ought to understand the Trusts. In order to study them I shall have to remain in Auckland for the greater part of next winter.

The plans of departmental organization are thus far advanced:—(a) Candidates for Holy Orders, having satisfied me as to their spiritual and moral qualifications, have also to satisfy my Examining Chaplains as to their intellectual qualifications, and my Hon. Medical Referee as to their physical qualifications. We are each responsible for our own departments. (b) Acting under the wise guidance of my Brother, the Bishop of Waiapu—than whom no more competent guide can be found—I have consulted Canon MacMurray on all Maori Mission work, and have now definitely placed him as Head of that department, (c) I have requested my Examining Chaplains to organize Courses of Lectures on Church Doctrine and History, and conduct Bible Readings, according to the opportunities offered to them, in the coming winter. Beginning with Auckland, the idea is: to extend the scheme throughout the Diocese and to appoint Lecturers where the Chaplains cannot undertake the work. By the desire of my Examining Chaplains, the Warden of St. John's is the man with whom communication on this important matter should be made. The Examining Chaplains are Heads of this department. The task they have set before them is of quite incalculable value; it can never be tested by statistics; it will be proved by its results in Christian living on sound Church lines according to Scriptural teaching.

Support of the Clergy.

I have already alluded to this. Now I desire to return to it. The present position is intolerable: it cripples the work and it cripples the worker; it puts the Laity into an unfair position. I know it will take time to remedy, and I hope you will discuss what I now lay before you, in general terms, this Synod; consider it in your Archidiaconal or Ruri-Decanal Conferences; bring it up next Synod and, if necessary, reconsider it in your local gatherings again before taking final action.

There are some things to be remembered at the outset: (i.) According to the Canons of the Church of this Province, the Bishop's influence in the appointment of Incumbents of Parishes is shadowy. The real responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Nominators. Therefore, when the wrong man is appointed, the blame is not entirely to be laid at the door of the Bishop, (ii.) The Bishop alone is responsible for the appointment of a Priest to a Parochial District. Therefore, if "the round peg be put in the square hole," the proper course to pursue is: convince the Bishop he has committed an error of judgment, (iii.) One of two things sometimes happens:—(a) The parishioners "starve a man out." (b) The man "starves himself out." There is a real difference. The producing causes may be various. The Nominators or the Bishop may be primarily responsible, (iv.) There is a good side to the plan of the people paying the man and the man being dependent on the people. There is a bad side also. It is possible to keep the good and eliminate the bad. (v.) The present average payment of our Clergy is wrong, considering what is expected of the man both before and after his ordination. Bearing these things in mind, the prime necessity is, the creation of a SUSTENTATION FUND.

My ideas of a Sustentation Fund are large. Unless you keep the scheme large you had better not attempt it: its whole success depends on its universal adoption in the Diocese, on its bigness.

Here is my idea in outline:—(a) Every penny arising from particular endowment or from parochial annual sources of every sort, for support of Clergy, is paid into the Central Fund. (b) Every Clergyman in the Diocese is paid from that Fund regularly. (c) Where there are Endowments and particular sources of revenue they go to the particular clergyman: no interference can take place with past (or prospective) endowments for particular parishes. (d) The aims of a Sustentation Fund are:—(1.) Separation of the spiritual person from the financial

matters. (2.) Payment of Clergy being regular. (3.) Levelling up of incomes, not levelling down. (4.) In consequence, the gradual rising of "tone" regarding the payment of the Clergy, (e) Annually, I would have each Parish and District assessed, and that amount paid into the Fund. (f) I would press upon every Churchman and Churchwoman through the length and breadth of the Diocese, the absolute claim upon them to be annual subscribers to the Sustentation Fund. As a Clergyman, I would have no hesitation in pressing the Sustentation Fund on my people: it is very different from asking for my own stipend—a thing no Clergyman ought ever be expected to do. (g) It might be wise even to suppress the Home Mission and Country Clergy Funds and replace them by monthly collections in every church in the Diocese for the Sustentation Fund.

Let me repeat: I here only give outlines. Of the spiritual and moral advantages of the scheme I am convinced. Upon the financial aspect of it I am not trained to pronounce a judgment: minds trained to finance must be brought to bear upon the scheme. Before we are much older, you will find the scheme possible of adoption; that is to say, if you go in for a big enough scheme and keep the big idea before you in all your local discussions and, above all, pray that the conclusion may redound to the increase of the spiritual efficiency and force of our work for God.

At this present moment there is a Sustentation Fund for the Diocese of Auckland in existence. It stands in the joint names of myself and the Diocesan Registrar. It has been begun with a cheque for £5 that one of my former Sidesmen in London sent me unasked a few weeks ago for the Diocesan work. *To-day the Sustentation Fund of the Diocese of Auckland exists.* Therefore, the opportunity is now offered to the people of the Diocese to make "the little one a thousand"; to lawyers to suggest the Fund to their clients when making their wills; and to the wealthy, who want to enjoy their wealth in their lifetime, for the speedy creation of a working capital, without which the scheme is impossible. The Sustentation Fund will enable us to do pioneer missionary work among the scattered settlers in new settlements, to really make an effort at gripping our problems both in towns and the country. At present we are hampered at every turn, either by want of funds or by regulations limiting the use of those funds we have. Whilst maintaining necessary legal forms, let us keep the Sustentation Fund as big as possible. I suggest these words for a Trust Deed, when you do make one: "This Fund is for the support of living agents acting on the licence of the Bishop of Auckland."

In some sense I have already been preparing the way for some such big scheme as I now propose. In every country district I have visited I have urged the formation of a Central Vestry upon which seats are allocated for representatives of the out-stations. To the Treasurer of the Central Vestry are paid all contributions towards the Clergyman's stipend; the Treasurer opens an account for the stipend fund at the bank; the stipend is paid by the Treasurer to the Clergyman regularly each month or quarter; if the various contributions are in arrear the overdraft is on the bank and not on the Clergyman, his wife and children; at the Annual Parish Meeting the Vicar leaves the chair while the stipend account is discussed and, if there be at that date a bank overdraft, the Central Vestry brings pressure to bear on the defaulting local Vestries or Committees to discharge their moral obligations. Two things further: (a) I have urged every Vestry to secure annual subscribers to the stipend fund; but the Vicar is not to know either the name of any subscriber or the amount of any subscription. (b) The Standing Committee has already taken in hand the question of arrears of stipends of Clergy receiving grants from the Country Clergy Fund. The action of the Standing Committee has been, even at this early stage, productive of good results.

As a whole, we are lamentably weak in teaching about direct alms-giving in annual subscriptions. We pride ourselves upon the fact that a Priest of our Church is at everyone's call in cases of sickness, sorrow, joy. It is a noble fact of our Imperial history and, thank God! our clergy, as a rule, live up to it. But many of our Laity do not live up to it. They will send for the Clergyman to minister to them in sickness, to baptize their children, to bury their dead, to do all those things that, in one way or another, the Britisher thinks he was born unto as a right; but the said Britisher does not always think of the parson's railway fare, wear and tear of his horse or buggy, and so forth. He would think of it—for he is an honest man—if anyone reminded him of it. The parson does not, cannot, and—please God!—never will. Only two sorts of persons can state the facts:—the Bishop and the Layman on the Vestry or Committee. I have stated the facts wherever I have gone. Now I lay it upon the Laity occupying any Church position to let the facts be known and to get the thing on to right lines. In every Parish and District I urge, as earnestly as I can, the Churchwardens, Vestry, and Committee, to get annual subscribers to the Stipend Fund. Immediately, there will be benefit all round. Ultimately, the Sustentation Fund will come to our people quite naturally, and its claim will be expressed "in a tongue understood of the people."

I have definitely told both Priest and People, where-ever I have Instituted a Vicar, that his duty is not to be "popular" and not to "tout for his stipend." His duty is, to teach The Faith, minister the Sacraments, and be among his people as "him that serveth." The duty of the Laity is, to attend to the carrying out of the teaching that "they who preach the Gospel shall live of the Gospel."

In some cases I have found that a Clergyman is exposed to this sort of thing:—The alms are collected,

placed on the altar, conveyed to the vestry, counted and entered in the book by a Layman, handed across the table to the Clergyman as his pay, and the Clergyman, having taken whatever is thus handed to him, goes away on his 10 or 15 miles drive or ride home again. Well, the continuance of that practice I have absolutely forbidden, and I am determined to withdraw the services of any Clergyman holding my License from any district content to go on in this method; also to withdraw my Licence from any Clergyman countenancing such methods.

[The pioneer work of the Home Missioner necessitates methods not permissible where there is a resident Clergyman.]

But I am persuaded that I shall have the support of every right-thinking man in the community in taking a general line which, no matter what amount of present criticism and unpopularity it may produce, will finally be of lasting good to the cause of true Religion in this our country.

It is for the real welfare of our country to keep the spiritual person attendant upon spiritual things. It is absolutely against the welfare of our country, and it tends to lower the dignity and honour of God in the minds of men to try to discharge financial responsibilities for spiritual services by ping-pong tournaments, progressive euchre socials, dances, and the like—innocent and right as such means may be to attain other ends. God's service means self-sacrifice or it means nothing. In the Name of God let us keep the whole idea high. For the sake of our country let us be thorough in our Religion.

Supply of Clergy.

It seems paradoxical to talk of the inadequate stipends of the Clergy and to say also that we want immediately another 20 men. But it is not so. We want the men. We could find money for their support. The more Clergy you have who are "dead in earnest" and are keen visitors, the more readily will funds for their support be forthcoming. Now, our want is: *unmarried* men, living a common life together, content to remain unmarried for five years or so. I do not care by what name you call them; "Brotherhood" is as good as any other; but the name is nothing, the men are the really important thing.

On July 9 I sketched out a plan and asked the Standing Committee to approve or disapprove of it in principle. The approval was unanimous. By the mail of July 10 I wrote to my Commissary in England to at once endeavour to secure the services of, at least, six Clergy as a beginning to come out within a year for, at least, five years. I took this action with the knowledge and approval of the Standing Committee, whose trust and confidence I here desire publicly to acknowledge very heartily. Before taking any action I had studied maps, travelled over portions of the Diocese, and gleaned information from men of all sorts. Let me now put the plan before you.

I would attach some men to the Cathedral. We simply must have a staff of Clergy there if we are to have anything like a centre whence the daily offering of Praise and Prayer shall arise, and from which trained men can go out to churches, relieve the overworked, lonely, single-handed, Town or Country Clergyman, or conduct Missions and Quiet Days, and, generally, be a spiritual force and bring spiritual refreshment. I would put a group of men at New Plymouth to act as Mission Priests in the Archdeaconry of Taranaki; another group at Hamilton, and another in the North. While preparing this charge the glad news has come from New Plymouth that the Laymen there are already forming an Association to secure the end I am advocating.

Each group would be under a "Primus inter pares." He would plan the journeys of the men under him. Each man would go out from the Clergy House for a given period, and through a certain tract of country. Like every other campaigner, he would "live on the country." When he came at night to a settler's home I have not a doubt the Clergyman and his horse would be made very welcome—even settler I have spoken to has told me of the joy with which the Mission Priest would be welcomed. That night the man would gather the few settlers, or the family alone, to Prayers; next morning he would give the Holy Communion to those desirous of partaking of that great Gift; and then go on again, visiting each house as he came to it. His itinerary would be so planned that he worked towards a centre for the Sunday, where there was a church, school, or hall, wherein he could hold Divine Service and administer the Sacraments. Who would attend? I venture to say that every family for miles round would attend. Why? Because they knew the Clergyman, he had stopped a night or had a meal in their homes.

When the man had been out for two or three weeks he would get back to the Clergy House again; write up his Journal; spend the first day in spiritual refreshment; spend two or three days in human intercourse and exchange of thought and experiences with his fellows; spend another day in laying up spiritual energy; and then go off again.

That is the plan I dream of for our Country Districts and Back Blocks. It will take, anyhow, three, and probably five, years to carry out. Is it a good plan? Well, here are two things to think of before answering:—(a) The present system is not a success. (b) The Brotherhood plan has been proved in other Colonial Dioceses and

has met the needs.

Of course, there will be criticisms. Mainly, they will be of three kinds:—(a) Expense,—that I am not afraid of. (b) Vested interests, in the form of resident married Clergy and vicarages,—that I am prepared to face; some of those Clergy are paid—or not paid—less than a day labourer; some of those places cannot possibly support a resident Clergyman. (c) Celibate Priesthood,—that I am not advocating, nor will I ever advocate it as a rule for the Clergy; but I am advocating, and always will advocate, a man remaining without family ties when he is doing work which, if he does it thoroughly, must interfere with his home duties; when the financial conditions of his calling in life are, at a certain period, such as to forbid him from contemplating matrimony; and when the sacrifice, for some years anyhow, is demanded of him by God for His Work.

For the start, I think you will have to get the men from England. But I believe that, within a very few years, you will find our best, strong, clean-living, whole-some-minded young New Zealanders answering God's call and coming forward to do this sort of work for Him and for the white man. My heart goes out to the young men I have seen all over the Diocese. They are the sort of men that, *if properly trained* under our most experienced Vicars, would do grand Home Mission work; they are the sort of young fellows who would be attracted to this man's life for their God, their fellow-man, and this Empire.

I have just used the words "if properly trained." They are necessary. I would far sooner see a district become definitely Nonconformist—if the Nonconformists can cover the ground—or remain unshepherded altogether than see it shepherded by an untrained or a badly trained Priest. This is a strong statement to make; but I have chosen my words, and I am not speaking out of my own experience only, but have in my mind the words of some of the best of the past and present Colonial Bishops. "Anything is better than nothing" is not capable of universal application.

We cannot be healthy until we man the ranks of our Clergy from the homes of the Colony. For some time in the history of a colony, everything has to come front Homo; but it is better for vigorous life to look forward to and aim at the Church's work being done under native instead of under exotic conditions.

I think the Brotherhood plan will, in course of working out, meet the needs of the Country and provide the Town Parishes with a supply of Assistant Curates.

Before leaving this subject I want to say a word about the work of S. John's College and its Warden. The history of S. John's is, in a sense, national for our Colony. The work being done, under the present Warden, is of such a character that it is hard to speak of without lowering the standard. Mr. Anson's methods are as big as they are simple. Men's characters are being formed under his influence in directions that will be of untold benefit to this nation in years to come. The work he is doing is national, in the best and truest sense. Thank God! the Church of the Province of New Zealand provides a Residential College here for University students of any faculty, under the same sort of auspices and in the same sort of atmosphere that have produced the biggest men in the Old Country. The Rhodes' Scholarship scheme has thrown further emphasis upon the value of a definite religious atmosphere in University training. It was to a definitely Christian University, steeped in religious tradition, that Cecil Rhodes turned as the training-ground for future Imperialists. He knew that man was better than a beast, and capable of something higher than the coarse vulgarity of materialism. The missing link in the work is: the education of boys between leaving school at the ordinary age and going to S. John's College. There is a big gap to be filled. It would be a noble bit of Christian Imperial work if the Heads of the 'big private Boys' Schools in the Diocese could see their way to offer, say, one or two scholarships to boys who purposed taking Holy Orders, and whose parents were not sufficiently well-off to keep them at a boarding or day school longer than they could help. I am quite confident that there is plenty of material in the Diocese for the ranks of the Ministry. The Clergy can often voice the "Call" to a young fellow, especially at the time of preparing him for Confirmation. The Laity can often put before their boys, without undue pressure, the Imperial character of a Colonial Clergyman's life. I know that the life is hard from every point of view; but I also know that the best men choose the hardest life. If we are allowed by God to start the Brotherhood, and if we keep the spiritual standard high enough, depend upon it the Church will not lack men of the right sort, men who know how to be men, men who can tell men of the Perfect Man—the SON of GOD.

Maori Mission.

It would be well if we were to come to some clear understanding during this Session as to what we, as a Synod, think is the best plan for the future working of this Mission. The ultimate decision will, no doubt, rest with General Synod; for the responsibility is Provincial and not Diocesan. Maori work is insistent upon our wholehearted attention, and it will need much Prayer, hard work, and devotion if we are to wipe out the disgrace of neglect under which we live at present, in no inconsiderable degree.

Of course there have been mistakes, errors of judgment, bad methods, faulty policy, carelessness, in the past. In what human organisation are such absent? But, side by side with all these things, there are the lives and

devotion of men like the late Archdeacons Clarke and Maunsell, the present Archdeacon of Hawke's Bay, the present Apostle to the Maoris—the Bishop of Waiapu, whom to know is to reverence and love—our own Priest—H. A. Hawkins—whose devotion and levelheadedness are alike remarkable; as well as countless other men equally good. When men charge us, as within limits they may, with neglect of the Maori Race, it is worth while to remember that GOD has not left Himself without witness all the time.

I cannot hide from you, however, that the present condition of our Evangelistic work among the Maoris is, in certain parts of the Diocese, positively appalling. We, as a Church, do need to pray for forgiveness from Almighty GOD for neglect of the Maoris; just as every Imperialist has cause to be ashamed of the war in "the sixties" and its consequences. But it is no use talking about the past, except to learn lessons from it. For GOD'S sake, for the honour of the Empire, let us face the present, do something, and go towards the future with courage and hope begotten of Prayer and intelligent thought.

It is estimated that, within the Diocese of Auckland, the Maori population numbers 20,000. Of this number about one-third are said to be nominally Christian, and belong, for the greater part, to our own Communion. About two-thirds are said to be Apostate or Heathen. The Roman Church, the Presbyterians and the Wes-leyans, have some Missions among the Maoris. As Mr. Hawkins will tell you, we observe the Comity of Missions: our Clergy do not work "on another man's foundation." I have no doubt that the Bishop of the Roman Communion, and the Heads of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan Bodies and myself will never want to upser one another's "spheres of influence." But, to quote from a conversation with a Minister of the Crown, practically, the Maori Mission is an Anglican Mission. Therefore, upon the Church of this Province lies the burden, for the most part, of providing for the Evangelization of the Heathen, the restoration of the lapsed and apostate, the edifying of the faithful. This burden is increased by the wholly reprehensible methods of people known as Mormons.

Let me allude to the facts in different portions of the Diocese.

(a) *North of Auckland.* The work here is fairly well established: it is the brightest bit of a dark picture. We have no cause for shame in the results of Maori Mission work in the North. The Government Enumerator for the North reported (Census, 1901):—"Drunkenness if undoubtedly decreasing amongst the Natives. The Maori population is probably about equal to the European, yet, during the past five years, there have been only thirty-seven convictions, as against fifty-one Europeans." "Just as drunkenness is decreasing, so is crime, with the Maori more than with the European population in the North." Again, "I cannot conclude this report without stating that the healthier state of the Natives, both young and old, is largely due to the training and assistance of the Native Teachers and the present working Missionaries of all Denominations," and so on. The work in the North is good, blessed be GOD! The Native Clergy, ten in number, have encouragement. They have some 1,350 Communicants and 152 Lay-Readers. The Maori population is about 9,600.

(b) *Waikato.* Here the Maori population numbers about 7,400, all within the district worked by three Native Clergy. The Communicants number 26. The majority' of these are old people who were Confirmed before the war—the way some of the old Maoris have kept true to The Faith amid every discouragement, the sufferings of war, and apostasy all round them is just one of those miracles of the HOLY GHOST that forbid any Christian man ever to be despondent or faithless. When I was at Huntly I Confirmed one Waikato Maori. So far as we can ascertain, only *two other Maoris* have been brought forward in the Waikato for Confirmation during the last forty years! I have, so far, been unsuccessful in getting any facts to upset the conclusion I now draw: before we can hope for Blessing we must pray for For-giveness.

One Waikato Maori was Confirmed when at S. Stephen's School; there are in the Thames and Coromandel Districts 18 Communicants; the Waikato Communicants number 26. Thus the total number of Communicants so far as I have been able to ascertain, out of an estimated Native population of over 7,400 souls (counting only the Waikato) is 44. I know statistics do not prove everything; but I defy any man who believes in his Heavenly FATHER (and who loves this Empire) to rest content with the state of affairs these statistics disclose. And, further, the Waikato Maori is a man capable of high conduct, as you will see from this story: There is growing up a hopeful band of young Maoris, under the Native Priests, anxious and willing to help them to help their race. One of these young fellows works in the bush, felling timber, for a time; having made a little money he returns to the house of the Native Priest and acts as his Lay Reader until the savings are all gone; then he returns to the bush, earns more money, saves all he can, and gets back to his Church work on behalf of his people.

There you have the sunshine and the shadow of the Waikato Maori work. In the Waikato we have two-Native Priests and 33 Native Lay Readers, very unevenly distributed; and during the year under review we have had 101 (infants and adults) brought to the Sacrament of Holy Baptism.

To-day, the Waikato and King Country, offer, practically, an open door. I am honestly and prayerfully trying to face the facts; but I can do little or nothing with- out your prayers and hearty support. I am keeping Mr. Hawkins, for the present, in charge, as Superintendent, of the Northern and Southern Missions, exclusive of

Auckland and Taranaki. I am sending Rev. Charles Marsh into the Waikato to help in the organization of strong Evangelistic work in that district. Canon Mac-Murray is my Head of the Department of Maori Missions, excepting Taranaki.

(c) *Taranaki*. Possibly there are some members of the Synod who do not know this fact:—this Diocese, and therefore the Church of the Province (and the Empire) owe the bit of Maori work we have in the Taranaki Archdeaconry to the munificent liberality of the Archdeacon of Hawke's Bay. It would ill fit me to thank any man for his gifts to God; but it is not ill fitting that I should inform any who know not, and any who may have forgotten, of the fact that, until the work was begun at Bell Block through private liberality, from 1872 to 1894 practically all active Missionary work in Taranaki had ceased. The people of S. Mary's, New Plymouth, have been not unmindful of the Church's responsibility, and they assist the Taranaki Mission considerably. Under the loving care and holy sympathy of the present Archdeacon of Taranaki, the Mission is, to-day, as in the early days under Archdeacon Govett, being supported in the best way, and the Mission Priest receives the guidance and brotherly sympathy that every lonely Mission Priest must have.

The Maori population in this Archdeaconry is estimated at 1,483 souls. There is one Native Clergyman, one Native Lay Evangelist, no Native Sunday School, no Native Church. Considerable hostility to Christianity exists—as the outcome of the war—and there is prevalent a strong prejudice against Education. During the year under review, however, GOD has allowed us the privilege of seeing, practically, the first fruits since 1872 of the Mission. There have been 15 infants and 4 adults brought to Holy Baptism. When I was in Taranaki in August I Confirmed the 4 adults. The Native Clergyman has discovered two aged Communicants who have kept true to The Faith, although without the Means of Grace, since before the war. In his own household there are five Communicants. The total for Taranaki is, therefore, 11 Communicants. Thank GOD, even for those few!

Now, gentlemen, as members of the Church primarily responsible for the Evangelization of the Maori race, can we rest content, in this Diocese, with these facts? I have formed a very erroneous judgment of my fellow-countrymen if we do not do all we can to deserve God's blessing on our Church for the future.

Let me quote two extracts from the Supplement to the *New Zealand Gleaner* (December, 1900).

"In many instances the very suggestion of Christianity stirred up bitter feelings, and reference was generally made to some of the more painful aspects of the Waikato and Taranaki wars. 'Your pakeha missionaries,' they said, 'taught us to keep the Sabbath day sacred. We did so, imagining that the pakeha would do the same; but at the time of wars we found that even during our 'karakia' (worship) on Sunday the pakehas would attack us, and fire their guns at us.

"Painful reference was constantly made to the fact that the pakeha soldiers burnt some of the Maoris alive at Rangiawhia during the Waikato war. These and many other bitter references were made by the old Maoris, indicating a feeling of hostility still existing against, not only the Church, but more especially the Government."

Thus a Native Clergyman writes. What do the extracts prove? This, beyond all question:—Missions are an Imperial matter; the White Man's Burden. I have not been furnished with any explanation or contradiction of the statement in the second extract. If the story is true, for the Honour of GOD let us wipe it out by Prayer and Love. If the story is false, for the honour of this Empire let us have it contradicted in every Maori "whare" in New Zealand.

Well, now as to a constructive policy. Have I one? Yes and No. I know too much already of the history to think, for a moment, that a man who only landed in New Zealand in May can submit to intelligent men a cut and dried policy for the Maori Mission in October. To go thus far were alike to insult your intelligence and to stand convicted of folly on one's own part. But, though I have no intention of proposing a cut and dried policy for your acceptance, I have no hesitation in urging you to do something at this Synod in the way of agreeing upon some big principles to send to General Synod for consideration. As with Education, so with the Maori Mission and other work for GOD, do let us leave empty that seat which any worthless person can fill—"the seat of the scornful"; and do let us avoid the adoption of the miserable "dog in the manger" policy which, however adapted to the canine race, is not dignified for men.

Some broad principles stand out clear. The Maori Mission is a national concern. I make the words to his Synod of my Brother, the Bishop of Christchurch, ray own, and thank him for them:

"Will the Church deal with it boldly, and make it the Church's mission to the Maoris? The General Synod must answer these questions. The spiritual care of the Maoris is the duty of the Church of the whole Province. Whether the Mission be continued on Diocesan lines I cannot tell, but I am sure of this, that unless the three Northern Dioceses make common cause, unite their forces, and take concerted action, the Mission will be no more effective in the future than it has been in the past. After all, it is the man we want. One full of the Holy Ghost and of power will be worth more than all our Synods put together. I am confident that a genuine effort to reach the heathen Maoris will have the hearty support of Churchmen in the South Island."

But I would go further. The Church, in her Provincial capacity, *must* act in this matter. From what I know, it is not likely that the men who have a right to be heard, owing to their experience of the Maori Mission, are

prepared to advocate any less comprehensive policy. It is not beyond the wit of man to erect a "Mission Board of the Church of the Province of New Zealand," duly and canonically constituted. That Provincial Board must have a man to represent it throughout the Province. We want the living voice. Our people do not know the facts. "It takes a man to save a man." Whether the man is to be a Maori-speaking Missionary Bishop, or a Clerical Head Superintendent Missionary, or a Secretary to the Board, General Synod must determine.

These things have all to be faced. They concern you in greater measure than any other men, for there are more Maoris in the Diocese of Auckland than in any other Diocese of the Province. Think big thoughts, pray big prayers, plan big methods, hope big things, then we can do something at this Synod to help towards the solution of the matter on big lines at General Synod.

Relations with Other Bodies.

It afforded me no ordinary encouragement to have had, as your Diocesan, words of welcome on May 23rd from the Nonconformist Bodies. I have had since the privilege of meeting privately the members of the Auckland Ministers' Association, and also of making the acquaintance of several Nonconformist Ministers throughout the Colony. It was particularly kind of the Auckland Ministers' Association to give me the opportunity of meeting them when reporters were not present, and where one could talk as among men of honour, meeting together to freely, "because privately, learn each others' thoughts.

It is pleasant to work in a country like New Zealand, where one can be certain that there is no Nonconformist grievance arising from the Church having connection with the State. The conditions here, in this respect, leave one even freer to pursue the exercise of one's own form of religion than at Home. The Nonconformist, the Roman Catholic, and the Churchman are here equally ignored by the State.

These facts being so, I am looking forward to further meetings with the Auckland Ministers' Association. I have asked them to allow me, later on, the privilege of inviting them to Bishopscourt for private informal "Round Table Conferences." Nothing but good can result from men meeting together discussing, as men of honour and with mutual respect, in a private manner, those questions upon which they hold opinions or convictions. To know one another as men is a sure way to avoid misunderstandings.

It may be well, however, here and now for me to explain to you my own position and convictions. You have a right to know them. I will put the main idea and my own convictions thereon, and the policy I have resolved to pursue as briefly as possible. By what I publish to you I am prepared to stand or fall. I am not prepared to take any notice of verbal reports nor of anonymous attacks.

What is the function of the Christian Church? The answer is:—The Church is the sphere of operation of God the Holy Ghost: He works through the individual; the individual affects the nation, the unit the mass; therefore the function of the Church is: to sanctify, elevate, stimulate, the National Conscience. How does this principle affect Denominations? It first of all lifts thought on to a plane higher than Sectarianism: the work is spiritual and national, it is not arithmetical in producing statistics nor degrading through zeal for proselytising. Secondly, it makes for mutual respect. If we accept this theory of the function of the Christian Church, we are bound to allow for variety of method. The Britisher has certain racial characteristics which make him independent, which indeed are the very possessions that fit him for being a colonist. He carries those racial characteristics into the form and manner whereby he expresses his belief in God. You never can hope to get the Britisher on to a plan of uniformity: it is against his whole nature. Consequently, you will always have High, Low, and Broad Churchmen, and the glory of our own position and the reason why we peculiarly meet the needs of our countrymen is: the Prayer Book supplies each sort of such men with the language of devotion most suitably expressing the man's own feelings.

But there have been men to whom such expressions were of no attraction, and men who, from one cause or another, have separated themselves from the National Church. This fact illustrates two things:—(a) The racial characteristic of the Britisher. (b) The blunders made in the past by the National Church in attempting to repress those racial characteristics.

Now, to a very considerable extent, the existence of Nonconformity is to be accounted for under the foregoing heads. Modern medical science treats diseases by trying to ascertain the "causa causans." If, limiting the view to Protestant Nonconformity, the present disunion is a disease, it will be far better for us to ascertain the causes instead of only considering the symptoms. If Nonconformity is not blameless for producing disunion, neither has been the Church of England. There are pages in the history of our Church that make sad reading. But history is being written again, and when one considers the question of Reunion, anyhow of Protestant Christendom, one cannot help wondering at the causes operating to produce so many varieties of Nonconformity. They do not grow less, they increase. The new ones are not protests against a State Church. Honestly, the Church of England does not seem to be chargeable—anyhow, in this country—with being the producing cause of new sects.

In face of these principles and facts, what is to be our position as Churchmen? In my own mind, the following points are clear:—(i.) The teaching of the Church of England on the Sacrament of Holy Baptism forbids any sectarian limitation of the term, "The Church which is His Body." Through Baptism I am made "a member of Christ." *It follows that every single person, baptized with water and in the Name of the Blessed Trinity, is similarly a "member of Christ" and belongs to His mystical Body.* Thus I exclude none from what I claim as my own privilege herein.

(ii.) It is abundantly clear that episcopacy has been, since the second century, the normal element in the Christian Church.

See Lightfoot on "Philippians"; Bernard on "Pastoral Epistles"; Gore on "The Ministry."

(iii.) It is equally clear that, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in some manner different from that universally obtaining in the second century, God the Holy Ghost has been at work and has owned the ministry of men who do not acknowledge episcopacy to be of the "bene esse" of the Church.

(iv.) Under the foregoing circumstances I am not prepared to "unchurch" or "unpriest" any man.

(v.) The Lambeth Conferences of 1888 and 1897 laid down a certain basis for unity. As a Bishop of the Church of the Province of New Zealand I cannot go behind what the Lambeth Conference has laid down. As an individual, who has had to think out his position many years ago, I hold that the teaching of the Church of England, as voiced in her formularies and Ordinal, is the soundest, sanest, most historical, and most Scriptural, of any teaching in the world.

(vi.) The Church of England is neither a Sect nor a Denomination. She stands for a particular theory, delivers a particular message, and claims that both alike are Catholic and Apostolic. Her claim may be questioned or refused, but, for a Churchman, the duty is clear: loyalty. "We cannot," wrote Dr. Lightfoot. Bishop of Durham, "afford to sacrifice any portion of the faith once delivered to the saints; we cannot surrender for any immediate advantages the threefold ministry which we have inherited from Apostolic times, and which is the historic backbone of the Church."

(vii.) I claim for you and for myself nothing that I am not prepared to give to every Nonconformist in the world, *i.e.*, freedom to worship God according to my own convictions; liberty of conscience to perform my own religious duties and exercises as my Church orders; absence of interference from those who have other convictions.

There is only one form of proselytising that is fit for a decent man to engage in:—the exhibition in his own daily conduct of a character that has its basis firmly laid on the truths of the Christian Faith. *The character* produced by Anglicanism, Romanism, or Nonconformity, is of infinitely greater importance to the welfare of this Empire than any other question imaginable.

(viii.) And this leads me to the subject of United Services in which I have, when consulted, forbidden the Clergy of this Diocese to take part. The reason for such action will have already emerged from what I have said; but I should like to make it a little clearer.

Giving to every man what I claim and know for my-self—the arrival at his religious position after honest thought, and his consequent conviction of the saneness of the Creed he professes, and the reasons why he is what he is—giving all this to every man, it seems to me to be an insult to a man's intelligence to say:—For fifty-one Sundays of the year we cannot worship the same God in the same way and in the words of the same Confession of Faith; but let us play at doing so on the fifty-second Sunday in the year. Gentlemen, I cannot help it: I respect my God and I respect my fellow-man; therefore I cannot undertake "make believe" in the expression of my Faith.

But, again, if Religion is to play any part in National life, it must have some doctrinal basis. Character cannot be built upon sand. Therefore, in my judgment, it is of real importance to the nation that a man should know the area of his belief. Whether he be Anglican, Roman, or Nonconformist is to me not of so much moment as whether he is loyal and faithful to his own convictions within the sphere of his doctrinal belief. That is the fact that is going to touch his conduct, and that is the element of his value to his country. Therefore, I do not believe in Undenominationalism. You and I do not want, I presume, to be undenominationalized; and I am quite satisfied we do not want to undenominationalize any Nonconformist in New Zealand. We are what we are for good reasons, and we believe he is what he is for reasons that appear to him equally good. Well, let us honour one another's convictions, and not commit the unpardonable sin of attributing wrong motives. "Casting out devils through Beelzebub" is a phrase not unknown in so-called religious papers and controversy.

It is, in human judgment, a grievous waste of spiritual force and energy to find, say, in a township of 400 in-habitants, half a dozen different places of worship; but I am quite satisfied that you will only increase the number by watering down convictions, by weakening mutual self-respect, by picking holes in each other, or by pre-tending that we all agree when we do nothing of the kind. We shall help towards Unity by respecting each other, by honour amongst us as men who, anyhow, are serving the same God, by loyalty to our own convictions, by human intercourse with each other and getting to know each other's point of view. We

Church-people cannot cover, and are not covering, all the ground we ought. Neither are the Nonconformists. Let us do our own work in our own way, and "be at peace among yourselves."

See Tucker's "Life of Selwyn," ii., 355, and elsewhere.

Lest there should be any trace of misunderstanding of these principles, and the policy I put before you, I desire to add this remark. There will be, no doubt, occasions in our National history when it will be the imperative duty of all men "who profess and call themselves Christians" to stand shoulder to shoulder on a public platform. Upon such occasions you will not find your Bishop failing to discharge his duty as a Christian citizen, nor will any Churchman be found wanting in zeal for the common cause of the Honour of God. The effect of such united action will be immeasurably increased by the union of men, differing in the form of expressing their belief, but animated by one conviction, paramount above all else, when the Being of God, the sanctity of Holy Marriage, the right of children to learn of their Saviour, the purity of National life, and similar questions, are insistent upon the attention of the community.

Unity.

As a Diocese, thank God! we know nothing of "Party" divisions. The life here is too strenuous and the conditions too hard for us to trouble much as to what particular "school of thought" a man belongs. So long as he is a Christian who tries to serve our King and Redeemer, so long as he is loyal to his Church, we are all fairly content. Agreement upon essentials is of more interest to us in the Colonies than consideration of nonessentials. The minds of the Laymen, with whom I have talked, are far more concerned with the fact that their Clergyman is a man dead in earnest than with the quite unimportant details that, apparently, provoke discussion elsewhere.

And thankful as one is for such general unity in the Diocese [being British, we can never have or expect uni-formity] one notes also with intense joy how the Christian Bodies outside our own Communion are drawing together. The best men, the deepest thinkers, the most faithful hearts, in Protestant Nonconformity all over the world are turning towards the consideration of Union among themselves. If, unhappily, sects increase in number, it is noteworthy that there is a drawing together of the older Denominations. At the Wesleyan Conference at Home a resolution to appoint a committee has been passed to consider how it might be possible to bring about "the closer association of the Methodist Churches of Great Britain." In the United States leading representatives of Denominations have agreed to recommend the formation of a general council with a view to secure, among other things, "a closer fellowship among Christian Bodies thus uniting; to secure, as far as possible, the unification of kindred organisations now existing in the several Bodies; to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of churches, and to unite weak churches of the same neighbourhood wherever practicable; to unite and encourage the affiliation with this council of the Christian Bodies cherishing a kindred faith and purpose." A most valuable contribution towards Unity has been published, in our country, by the Chairman of the Wellington District of the Congregational Union of New Zealand (a man who bears the honoured name of Newman Hall). From a pamphlet, rich in spiritual force and constructive in suggestion, I only dare quote a few words:—"To us all Christ is the soul and centre of revealed religion. His essential Deity, His real Incarnation, His sacrificial work are held as cardinal truths. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the observance of the two Sacraments, the exaltation of the Redeemer as only Head of the Church—these are beliefs held as of priceless value by each of us."

Brethren, Clerical and Lay, if the leaders of Christian Bodies outside our own Communion are thus thinking and speaking, we can hopefully look forward. "He that believeth will not make haste." The day will come, our children may see it even if we do not, when Unity will be possible. Until that day comes our duty is plain. We must not be faithless to it in any way. We must pray for Unity; we must study the history that concerns our own position as Churchmen, and also the history that concerns Protestant Nonconformity; we must, with this historical knowledge at hand, be prepared to understand the position of other people; we must, through knowledge of our own facts and history, be true to our own position and preserve unimpaired the heritage we have received. Let us think big thoughts and we shall be big men. Local sectarian bickerings are annoying and a bit painful; but, after all, it is the men who think big thoughts who will eventually help towards Unity; and it is to the Church of England that, as years roll on, thoughtful men will turn more and more as the home wherein they may find rest, freedom of conscience, liberality without vagueness, dogma without uncharitableness, certainty through growth instead of through the vice of compulsion, Apostolic doctrine, primitive order, the Catholic Faith unimpaired either by addition or subtraction. Let me end this section with words by one who belongs not to our Communion:—

"The Episcopal Church preserves a very high grade of dignity, decency, propriety and permanence in all her public offices. No transient observer can adequately value this treasure of a birth-right Churchman.

"To be using to-day the self-same words that have through the centuries declared the faith or made known

the prayer of that mighty multitude, who being now delivered from the burden of flesh, are in joy and felicity:

"To be baptized in early infancy, and never to know a time when we were not recognized and welcomed among the millions who have entered the same door:

"To be confirmed in due time, in faith that has sustained a noble army of confessors, approving its worth through persecutions and prosperities, a strength to the tried and a chastening to the worldly-minded:

"To be married, by an authority before which kings and peasants bow alike, asking benedictions upon the covenant that without respect of persons binds by the same words of duty, the highest and the lowest:

"To bring our new-born children as we were brought, to begin where we began, and to grow up to fill our places:

"To die in the faith, and almost hear the Gospel words soon to be spoken over one's own grave as over the thousand times ten thousand of them who sleep in Jesus.

"In short, to be a devout and consistent Churchman brings a man through aisles fragrant with holy associations, and accompanied by a long procession of the good, chanting as they march in a unison of piety and hope until they come to the holy place where shining saints sing the new song of the redeemed. And they sing with them."

[Quoted in "S. Andrew's Cross," Sept., 1903.]

Religious Education.

There are two divisions of this subject upon which I desire to speak: Elementary and Secondary.

(1.) *Elementary.* It has been a little alarming to read in the Press and to have said to one that one is expected to be able to offer a solution to the vexed problem of Religious Instruction in the State Schools. It does so happen—and probably this fact is the basis of the expectation—that one does know a good deal about teaching in general and about Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools in particular. For the past twenty years circumstances have been such that, more or less continuously, I have had to teach boys and girls of different ages and of various sections of the community. Except for a comparatively short interval, from the date of my Ordination, I have been regularly teaching children attending Elementary Schools. Having had this priceless privilege for so many years one has, at any rate, had some experience that ought to be useful, and perhaps one may not unduly lay claim to the possession of practical knowledge on the subject of Religious Education beyond the lot of some who are prepared, out of inexperience of teaching, to confidently affirm either the impossibility or the inutility of giving children definite instruction in the essentials of the Christian Faith. One has read some strange arguments both here and at Home against Religious Education. One has sometimes wondered if the advocates of those arguments ever had practical experience of the subject upon which they wrote or spoke.

When the time comes, I am perfectly prepared to place at the disposal of the Colony anything that practical experience has taught me. But the time at present is certainly not one favourable for any course of procedure except that of bringing consistent pressure to bear upon the State so that a definite "Yea" or "Nay" may be ascertained upon the proposals put forward by what is known as "The Bible in Schools Movement."

I find that General Synod in 1901 definitely adopted a motion favouring that movement, appointed a Committee to carry out its intentions under the guidance of that accomplished scholar the Bishop of Wellington, which Committee definitely decided on a certain course of action with which you are all quite familiar. Whether that decision was wise or unwise, whether the policy proposed is possible or impossible, is not a matter for us to discuss now. It is recorded of the late Cecil Rhodes that he once said that the Church of England did not interest him because she seldom seemed to know her own mind. I, for one, will in no way assist in the formation of a cleavage in the deliberately expressed mind of the Church of this Province. If the "Bible in Schools Movement" fails, then the Church will be in the position of reconsidering the matter. One hopes that by January, 1904, when General Synod will be welcomed by us to Auckland, the success or the failure of the movement will have been proved. The sooner the thing is decided the better. In a matter of such immeasurable importance to the welfare of this Empire—for that is a true description of the present need for Religious Instruction—it is quite certain that "delays are dangerous."

The Premier of the Colony has quite plainly said that:.... The matter was one of the greatest importance. They all agreed that no child was equipped for this world, and could not be prepared for the next, without a knowledge of the Bible and religious teaching, and it seemed to him a question as to how that could best be accomplished He (the Premier) was a servant of the people, and he had no right whatever to keep back anything that might be for the good of the people or to be the means of preventing them giving expression to their opinion. To request him to give that opportunity was to request him to do what it was his bounden duty to do.....

If this report is accurate, we know three things: (a) The Premier declares that he has no right, nor we

believe has he any inclination, to keep back anything that might be for the good of the people. (b) He assures the people of this Colony that he regards Religious Instruction as a matter of the greatest importance, (c) Being, as he says, the servant of the people, he will carry out the people's will in this matter of the greatest importance, and without which no child is equipped for this world and cannot be prepared for the next.

The course then is quite clear:—Granted, the present movement is right, then the people of this Colony can speedily give effect to their belief in it; granted, that the present movement is wrong, then the sooner we know it the better. Anyhow, let us force the present attempt at solution of this matter of the greatest importance to a definite issue one way or other. Let us, sinking all minor differences, know where we are by the time General Synod meets. Personally, for the present, I hold myself bound by the decision and policy adopted by General Synod in 1901: a Churchman has to remember he is a member of a Society. That may often mean that, while holding firmly to his convictions, he may have to subordinate his opinions to the judgment of his fellow-members.

It will be worthwhile, however, and I think in accordance with what you have a right to expect, if I make a few remarks upon the general question.

A Churchwarden told me a few weeks ago that, in country district, he heard a boy of ten years of age, who had hurt himself, use the sacred Name of our Redeemer as an exclamation. He quietly asked the child if he knew who Jesus was. The child answered that he had "heard about giants but had never heard about Jesus." Now, I do not, for one moment, build upon this particular instance any argument of the existence of general heathenism among white children. I know London and other big cities too well not to know that—God forgive us!—you might hear similar expressions of ignorance therein. But the argument I build is this:—New Zealand has been called "God's own country"; it is a fair and pleasant land to dwell in; its people are of the same good stock that made the Empire in the past; its population is very small; it is in the splendid position of being able to begin at the beginning, to avoid the evils of big cities, to touch the individual. These facts being so, in the Name of the God Who has called us to be an Empire, let us see to it that no single child throughout the length and breadth of this fair land can ever be placed under such awful conditions as to be ignorant of the fact that Jesus was and is the SON of GOD and gave commandment: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not."

Education without Religion fails in completeness: man is a tripartite being. Education means "drawing forth." Real education must draw forth all, and not only portions, of a man's being.

In order that the spiritual part of a child may be drawn forth and developed, it is absolutely essential that the religious teaching shall be quite as normal as the physical or the mental. The inculcation of Scriptural facts in a child's mind is important; but Religious Education means more than the inculcation of bare facts: it means education given in a Religious way, *i.e.*, allowing for the normal orderly development of the child, bodily, mentally, and spiritually. Because these are facts, known and recognised by every true educationalist, it follows that to leave Religious Instruction to Sunday Schools alone is not an intelligent proceeding. Why? Because, whether you will or will not, the result of such a proceeding must inevitably produce in a child's mind a wrong idea of the reality of spirit. It only needs a moment's thought to convince one that, if for four or five hours for five days every week you are teaching a child things to do with its bodily and mental powers, and that the State regards those powers of such importance that it compels the child to attend school; but you allow the child to go, or not to go, to a Sunday School, where the teaching is given by amateurs, just for one hour on one day in the week, and apart from any compulsion by the State, the child almost cannot help growing up with a dwarfed spiritual development. Such a scheme may produce fully developed materialists—in fact is bound to do so; but it will never produce a race of men who count service a bigger thing than success. It was by men who believed that service was worth more than success that this Empire was built, It can only remain stable on the same principle. That principle is only truly learned at the feet of the Incarnate SON Who lived among men "as Him that serveth."

We must always remember that the State here is not opposed to Christianity. No good cause is ever advanced by wild and extravagant statements. The State here is not niggardly in allowing the school buildings to be used for Public Worship on Sundays. There are not a few settlements where the State School is the only place where the "two or three" can be "gathered together" in the Name of our Heavenly FATHER.

But can the State, *qua* State, undertake to teach Religion? Undoubtedly it cannot. What can it do then? It can and ought to provide that Religious Instruction is given in the State Schools quite as normally as any other form of instruction. The State is a Christian State, and therefore has a Christian responsibility towards the child of every Christian citizen. Under existing circumstances is that responsibility adequately discharged? Unless I am very widely misinformed, the answer is in the negative. But, let us be quite fair all round: the State in 1877—when the present system of schools was introduced—desired and was anxious that Religious Instruction should be daily given to the children attending the State Schools. [See "Hansard," Vols. xxiv.—xxvi.] I am quite certain of my facts: rightly or wrongly the Minister in charge of the Bill of 1877

thought that he could secure regular Religious Instruction for the children by making Government time begin at 9.30 a.m., whereas the Colony was accustomed to school opening at 9 a.m. He and his supporters, as I understand the facts, thought that the Church and all Christian Bodies would say: The State offers the chance of using half-an-hour every day, at a time when the children are used to coming to school, for Religious Instruction; let us take advantage of this opportunity, and, in twenty-five years, it will be recognised throughout the Colony that school begins, as usual, at 9 a.m., and that the first half hour is devoted to Religious Instruction.

Now, looking back over the history, one sees a few things fairly clear:—the Church was not sufficiently on the alert to take advantage of its opportunities, and the Church schools were not altogether what the State, reasonably or unreasonably, expected they should be; the Nonconformist Bodies were not as alive then as they are now to the appalling dangers of schools without Religion; the men who passed the Bill did not understand that, no matter how you bring it to pass, the moment you make Religious Instruction abnormal instead of normal, that moment you produce a disproportion, in ordinary minds, between the relative importance of the functions of body, soul, and spirit. It is produced insensibly. Plenty of people do not recognise the unerring logic of the facts. But there they are, and there is no getting away from them. Religious Instruction, to be of any value in the formation of character, must be quite as normal to a child as physical drill or the multiplication table.

All honour to the Roman Catholics in this country for the brave struggle they are making to maintain their schools. They are doing the State's work with little or no recognition from the State. They are saving the State a certain sum of money every year. Much as I personally, disagree with the system of the Roman Church, I honour the members of that Church very truly for believing so much in their Religion that they make big sacrifices in order that their children may be taught it daily. Would to God the Anglicans had their Schools and the Presbyterians theirs! But we and they have not, and we must do the best we can under the conditions as they exist.

Again, the present condition is one of religious intolerance. The State may not be, if my reading of the history is correct, alone to blame. But the result is: religions intolerance. We say we live in a free country. Well, is this freedom? A man is bound by the law of the land to send his child to school. He can only afford to send his child to the State School. He is a Christian man. Anglican, Roman, Nonconformist, it does not matter which. He believes in the Christian Faith, and also that his child should receive Religious Education. But, to-day, the State says "No" to that reasonable demand of a free man living in a free country. It is no answer to reply concerning "facilities out of school hours"; for the very fact that the facilities are "out of school hours" proves conclusively to any man who understands education in the true meaning of the term, that the thing is an impossibility: "out of school hours" connotes that Religion is abnormal. To an educationist that is quite enough: the reply is worth nothing as a practical answer to a matter of the greatest importance.

One more remark on the general question: the State says, if you do wrong we, the State, will punish you. If you steal, are fraudulent, criminal and so forth, we, the State, will cause you to suffer. But we, the State, though prepared to punish you for wrongdoing, as we conceive wrongdoing, are not prepared to provide you with the educational opportunities whereby you may learn that there is a spiritual part of your being which, properly I developed, will enable you to "withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil." Our concern with you, as a child, is negative, not positive, deterrent, through fear of prison, rather than uplifting through knowledge of your own spiritual powers.

Let me repeat: the State alone is not to blame for the condition of affairs to-day, so far as I can understand history. The Church and the Christian Bodies must all alike bear their fair share of the blame. May God gram that Churchmen, Romans, Nonconformists, and State will "with one mouth and heart confess": we have made a pretty big mistake: but we are honest Christian Imperialists, let us try to rectify the mistake.

I have put before you general principles because (i.) you have a right to know my convictions, (ii.) If the "Bible in Schools Movement" can meet these principles, let us do all we can to support it; anyhow, let us get the thing affirmed or negated on the basis of that movement as speedily as may be. (iii.) I want to secure your support for a scheme of Secondary Education, with its foundations laid on these broad principles of Religious Education.

(2.) *Secondary*. Can we do anything ourselves in this direction? It is futile to go on bemoaning any condition of affairs without endeavouring to remedy them. It is a sign of ineptitude to sit down, sigh, and say "no use." If, as is true, we cannot hope to tackle the question of Anglican Elementary Schools, let "as see if we can tackle the question of an Anglican Secondary School.

When you so generously gave me a Public Reception on May 23rd, I asked for a certain sum of money on the ground that, if it were provided, I was prepared to start a scheme of real lasting benefit to our country. That scheme is Educational—a Diocesan High School for Girls. On May 23rd, naturally, I did not understand New Zealand conditions. Since that date I have tried honestly to understand them, and I have sought advice from men familiar with the Colony and competent to give advice. I asked some of our leading citizens to meet me

privately. We discussed the subject of a High School for Girls. We considered the facts to be faced and the prospects of the future. The result of those discussions I now lay before you. The starting or not starting of a Diocesan High School for Girls rests with you. I can find the woman for your first Head, trained, scholarly, accomplished, fit for the work. Is there a need? You, the Synod of this Diocese, are the men to answer the question one way or other.

Before answering you will want to know certain things, I expect, and they will be mainly these.

(a) The Bishop's whole idea. Well, it is a big one. I want you, as a Diocese, to offer, on sound clear simple Anglican lines, in a Diocesan High School for Girls, the very best Religious Education and the very best scholarship that can be found throughout the length and breadth of the Colony.

(b) Our School shall be both for Boarders and Day Pupils.

(c) Our School, while being quite definitely Anglican, shall have a "Conscience Clause." Compulsion and normal growth are contradictory terms.

(d) Our School shall aim more at the formation of the character, on a religious basis, of our girls attending it than at anything else; although there will be no examination in this country for which we shall not be capable of instructing girls.

(e) We must be prepared to face the possibility of having to expend £5,000, within the next three years, if we are going to make this school what we ought to make of it.

(f) The initial expense, capital outlay, is the thing that has to be faced. God is a God of Intelligence and Order. It is not His work to engage in a task, however good, without bringing intelligence to bear upon it.

(g) If the Synod accepts the scheme, honestly, I believe the money will be forthcoming: no really sound scheme in this country will ever fail through lack of financial support. Of that I am convinced. It is for you to ascertain if my proposals are sound or unsound. To some of our leading citizens they commend themselves as sound. I await, with prayerful hope, your decision.

(h) Would not such a School, started under such auspices, hurt the Schools for Girls now being conducted by private people with, on the whole, good results to the community? No, it would not; unless the community in our country is quite unlike what it is at Home. There the private schools benefit, ultimately, through the public schools. I am fairly confident that a similar result would ensue here. We are, numerically, small in population in this country; but we are, numerically, large enough to accomplish what similar populations do in the Old Country. I am confident that you may eliminate from your minds the perfectly natural thought of hurting other schools, kept by private persons. If you adopt my scheme, you will, in the long run, benefit every Private School for Girls in this Diocese that ought to be benefited.

(i) I hold already about £300 worth of guarantees if the School be started. I have purposely abstained from widely asking for guarantees. I want my own Synod to have the honour of starting the School. If Synod accepts it, I can go, as your representative, to the men and women who care for Religious Education, to the men and women who care for the very best skilled teaching that can be given to their girls, and ask them to help in giving their girls all these things. Once the School is well started, you need have no fear of the future. Only, please do not start it unless you are prepared to start the *best thing that can be offered in the way both of Religions and of Scholarly Education*. We must not be mixed up with originating anything that is second-rate. We can, if we like, originate quite a first-rate School, from every point of view. I beg you, as Churchmen, refuse the scheme altogether or make it such a scheme that we may be proud of and that this country may be glad to possess. I can find you the lady to superintend the scheme. She has, I believe, the requisite gifts, and would be of real value to this country in this connection. Can you, as the Diocesan Synod, undertake the responsibility of launching the scheme, backing it up, finding some of the necessary initial capital, interesting others who really care about our girls having the best possible education, in all the fulness of the term, in the initial outlay?

God guide us all right. It is a big opportunity.

Missions and the Empire.

In common with the majority of Colonial and Missionary Bishops, I have received a letter from the S.P.G.; and in common with every Bishop of the Anglican Communion, I have received a letter from the United Board of Missions of the Provinces of Canterbury and York. Upon the matter of each of those letters I desire to make some remarks in the hope of stimulating your interest in their contents, and with a view of contributing something, however small, towards the formation of public opinion on the Imperial aspect of the Science of Missions. If we can enlarge our vision in this direction we shall do good to the Church of this Province in two ways: (a) We shall better appreciate the oneness of our Church and the magnitude of her activities. This knowledge will help us to keep our own thoughts big and to remember that what we, in this Province, think and do has an effect upon the Church throughout the Empire.

(b) We shall do a great deal to prevent ourselves from falling into the snare of narrow Parochialism or Congregationalism. Such a temptation is common both to Church and State in a colony like ours, where the population is so very small. We want all the help we can get to avoid yielding to the temptation of allowing our vision—either as Churchmen or citizens—to be no bigger than that of the inhabitants of "Little Pedlington."

First, what does S.P.G. ask us to think about? They put it in the form of a Resolution:—

"The Standing Committee, having had brought before them in a special manner of late the urgent calls for workers in many parts of the world, but especially in the great non-Christian fields of India, Burmah, China, Japan, and Siam, believe that the time has come to invite men and women in the Dioceses which they have helped to create in all parts of the world to aid them in supplying such lands with Missionaries."

The C.M.S. have already been given the privilege of sending forth some Communicants from New Zealand to the Mission Field. The S.P.G. exists, primarily, to follow the White Man with the Means of Grace. It has therefore a special claim on the love of every Colonial. But I do not quote the Resolution so much with the direct object of getting Communicants in New Zealand to volunteer for service in India, Burmah, China, Japan, or Siam; glad as I should be to send men or women forth from this Diocese for such work I quote the Resolution in order to lead your thoughts towards the oneness of the work of the Church, the S.P.G. has been permitted by GOD to plant or support Missions in all but fifteen of the one hundred and three Colonial, Indian, and Missionary Bishoprics of the English Church. New Zealand owes a special debt of love to S.P.G.—the possibility of George Augustus Selwyn laying some of the foundations he did. And now this Society writes to 88 Bishops the following words:—

"Many Dioceses are now independent of all aid such as ours, and are themselves centres of Missionary effort. But our burdens grow no less weighty. Not only do our own people still need our aid in new regions of colonisation, but the great non-Christian races and Empires are not yet brought to Christ; and nowhere do we need help so much as among the great races of Asia, in India, China, Japan, Burmah, and Siam, as well as in Borneo."

"We approach you now as those to whom we have been permitted with joy to impart some spiritual gift in the past when you most needed it. We ask you to remember our needs in these days in respect of labourers, both men and women, in the Lord's harvest field."

"We do not forget that many of your Provinces and Dioceses have their own proper Mission fields among races within your own territories, and that you are evangelising them unaided by any Missionary Society. Such Missions are your first duty; we, too, in your behalf, are proud of such work. Nay, we have even ventured to look upon it as our own work as well as yours, since it is being done by those whom we have helped to build up in time past."

"The work is one. Why should not the call be to all alike, whether they belong to the older or to the younger Churches?"

Let me illustrate the oneness of the work:—Lately one of our Missionary Bishops of the Australasian Province sent me a letter enclosing an offer of personal service from a Native Christian in that grand Mission at Nazareth, Tinnevely. That offer of service is now being considered by an experienced Missionary in Fiji. Whether there is the right sort of work there for the man or not, does not affect my point: the work is one.

Again, whether we will or will not, the Colonial Empire, and New Zealand in particular, is bound up with the history of S.P.G. If the roots of the Maori Mission were planted in Salisbury Square, London, E.C., the roots of the Church of the Province of New Zealand were planted in 19, Delahay Street, Westminster, London, S.W. The work is one; for Missions and the Empire are, historically, indissoluble. Let me repeat: my point now is not to get your sons and daughters to volunteer for distant lands. It is to get you, and men like you, to think upon these things.

The work is one. Since I have been in the Colony I have seen, even more than at Home, how the work is hindered and suspicions (often unreasonable) are aroused by self-will in the Church at Home. Although we have no canonical concern with extravagances in any church at Home, we have a very direct concern in such things. They hurt our work here. By things unwise at Home being done, things unwise are said here, and men's sound judgment is hindered. One of the leading citizens of this Colony—a true and loyal son of his Mother Church—said to me one evening, as he read out of the evening paper a cable describing some ritual and doctrinal troubles at Home:—"What a pity that men at Home can't see the harm they do to the Church in the Colonies by this sort of thing." It is sadly and lamentably true. The abnormal is the thing that is cabled to the newspapers out here. The man who does not know the facts thinks the abnormal is the normal. Because the Church is one, our work here is hindered in consequence.

The work is one. I can tell you of a real growing public opinion at Home in this direction. Men are getting hold of the conviction, more and more, of the oneness of Empire—"one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." There is a definite stretching out of the hands of men to grasp the twin facts; that GOD called this Empire into being for His own purposes, that every Clergyman receives Holy Orders for work co-extensive with the world. The only

difference that exists between the work of Bishop, Priest, and Layman, in New Zealand and in London, is:—the methods, because of the country. But the work itself is one. The Message is the same—"The SON of GMOD was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil."

Now, in New Zealand, we have to face the need of men and women for the Maori and Melanesian Missions. Those Missions, quite clearly, are our very first duty to coloured races, and, as I have already shown, we are falling far short of the standard such a duty sets before us.

But there is something upon which our Native Mission depends ultimately:—the Christianity of the White Man. To evangelize the coloured man and to allow the White Man to relapse into Paganism is entirely wrong. The coloured man as a whole, will not long believe in the religion of the White Man if the White Man's conduct is not Christian, if the White Man's Church is careless of her own children.

What we want to-day is:—whole-hearted, wholesome, Missionaries for our own flesh and blood; men with the Love of GOD in their hearts and common-sense in their heads, and good red Christian-Imperial blood coursing through their veins; men who do believe that Service is greater than Success.

Second, the letter from the United Board of Missions of Canterbury and York. The Lambeth Conference will (D.Y.) meet in 1908. It is intended to hold a great Missionary Congress of Churchmen from all over the world in connection with the Lambeth Conference. The general idea is:—between now and then for Churchmen all over the world to consider the great Missionary problems. [By "Missionary" is connoted work among white and coloured races.] Such consideration will be given in Synods, Conferences, Meetings, and the like. Men will talk among themselves. Gradually a volume of public opinion will be put together. Upon that information the Lambeth Conference will be able to take steps in the direction of better co-ordination of the Church's work at Home and Abroad; consolidation of efforts; construction of a great big Imperial policy suited to the change which has taken place in the world since good Thomas Bray was sent forth in 1696 by the then Bishop of London as Ecclesiastical Commissary for Maryland.

As a direct result of this Commission, S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698, and S.P.G. in 1701. See, for whole history of Christian Imperialism, "Two Hundred Years of S.P.G."

When the Congress meets, it is proposed to give a day each to the consideration of problems affecting the five Continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia.

I hardly think that you will have time, this Synod, to do much solid work in the directions aimed at by the Congress. But we might profitably engage in some conversation on the whole matter, and even possibly come to agree upon some sort of plan, either by way of recommendation to General Synod, or by way of organizing local meetings for information and consultation, whereby we, as a Diocese, might take our share in what is going to be an epoch-making Congress. At our Synod in 1904 I hope we shall definitely discuss some Resolution, and go on in subsequent Synods until we have got hold of something clear and sufficiently thought-out for submission, in some way, to that Congress.

But, though we cannot do much at this Synod, owing to pressure of business, we may remember one sort of problem that the Missionary Congress might discuss, and it is one upon which, ere long, the Lambeth Conference must act:—the establishment of Missionary Bishops. The thing is done in altogether too haphazard and "go-as-you-please" way now. We have the case of Tonga as a plain evidence for ourselves. And men are sometimes sent out as Missionary Bishops without the Church, as a whole, caring much about it, and the man is left terribly alone. For instance, how many Churchmen in New Zealand are concerned in the Bishops of Corea, Shan-tung, Lebombo, the division of the enormous Diocese of Perth, W.A., or many others one might name? How many Churchmen in the Province of South Africa are concerned in the Tonga question? In one sense, very few indeed. And yet, in another sense, every single man and woman in communion with the English Church is vitally concerned in all such matters. There ought to be, and must be, some sort of Federal Council of the Church on Imperial lines; some central *authority*, representative of our Communion, which shall be able to say:—this or that place is where you must concentrate your efforts: a Bishop is more wanted here than there; and such like things. Missions are a Science: they have to be studied and problems have to be solved by bringing intelligence to bear on them. Piety and lack of training do not spell competence to do the work of Missions; neither do ignorance and prejudice spell competence to pronounce judgment upon a question of real difficulty requiring technical knowledge. The last Lambeth Conference (1897) in appointing a Consultative Committee has already committed itself to the *principle* of the point I have just touched upon. The demand for federation and representation wants pressing. The wise development of such a demand will permanently guard against the erection of even a Patriarchate of Canterbury, although, as long as this Empire lasts, the Britisher will turn to the See of Canterbury as the centre.

I have written thus, only and entirely, with a view of getting you to think upon a matter that may be discussed at General Synod, and that, anyhow, I hope you will discuss at Synods for the next year or two. I have purposely confined myself to outline ideas.

The Constitution.

I understand that there is some desire to make some changes herein. I have not got sufficient practical knowledge of the everyday working of the Constitution to do more than say: (a.) The men who drew up that Constitution were great men. (b.) Conditions and needs change very quickly, possibly some portions of the Constitution might be considered with a view to revision.

But I am quite certain that no change ought to be made without the fullest discussion and consideration; the rights of our position, as an autonomous Church, must ever be preserved; our relations with the Church at Home must ever be in our thoughts when contemplating alterations; the consent of the Legislature must be obtained to any plan suggested for revision or alteration; "festina lente" must be our watchword in dealing with such a very important matter.

Conclusion.

I have ventured to trespass at this length upon your patience and attention because you are the people to know all that is in my mind; hopes, fears, conclusions; and because, while consistently ignoring gossip, curtailed or incorrect newspaper reports or verbal accounts of one's sayings and doings, and the like, one has always felt that the Churchmen of the Diocese had a right to know, in a manner that might be regarded as authoritative, what one really did intend and what thoughts were in one's mind. I have honestly tried to tell you everything that I think you have a right to know.

After I had prepared the outlines of this Charge, I read again, after an interval of many years, Tucker's "Life of George Augustus Selwyn." Thank GOD! for much of what I have laid before you I can claim the support of that great man and Empire-builder. Conditions in 1903 are better for working on the lines of G. A. Selwyn's ideals than they were from 1841 to 1868. Though the conditions will always be changing, the ideals will ever be the same.

There is a famous phrase of Aristotle which the late Cecil Rhodes confessed had a profound influence upon his life:—"The conscious pursuit of a great purpose." We are in earnest, to a large extent, over the "purpose"; but I cannot help thinking we are not nearly sufficiently "conscious," nor imagine how "great" the "purpose" is.

I have tried to be constructive and not merely critical, positive not negative. Some may think the time premature for speaking of many of the things I have spoken upon. But, right or wrong, I cannot help it. I am neither a Selwyn nor a Cowie. You have sent for me. Well, you have to take me as I am—a man who has had to fight his way to his own faith, and who believes in it because it cost so much to get; a man who intensely believes in the Mission of the English Church; a man who will never try to upset another man's form of expression of *Christian* belief, and who positively refuses the right of anyone to interfere with his own expression thereof; a man who is not afraid of hard work, but who does, and prays he always will, "dream dreams and see visions." Unless you are an idealist you never can be useful as a practical man.

I have put big schemes before you. Now or never is the time for you to join in launching them as carefully planned vessels full of cargo for the Honour of GOD and the welfare of this people. They are:—

- A Cathedral idea, not only a building, consisting of live men round a central altar.
- Gradually, do away with weak centres and make strong ones in the way of Brotherhoods or bands of Mission Clergy.
- Increase the number of Clergy, European and Native, in the Diocese.
- Wait until you see how the "Bible in Schools" movement works out before doing anything else.
- Aim at £5,000 within three years and give the best Religious and Scholarly Education, in a Diocesan High School for Girls, that can be offered anywhere.
- Build up a Sustentation Fund. We cannot get on without it.
- Bravely face the Maori Mission: it is within our powers, it is our glad responsibility.
- Help to form a Church Public Opinion, big, loving, great in spiritual force.

Remember, the Catholic Faith is the foundation of Empire. Keep the structure sound.

When Heine was looking at the Cathedral at Amiens, it is said that he remarked to his friend:—"Convictions can build cathedrals, opinions cannot." It is true. Convictions alone can give what we want in this Diocese. Convictions will give us Clergy, Sustentation Fund, the Girls' High School, everything.

Two things impress a man coming from Home to this Colony: the bigness and the littleness of it all. They are not contradictory. They are the obverse and reverse of the Imperial medal.

The man who has never left England has as limited an idea of the bigness of the English Church as the man, who has never lived among millions of people, is unaware of the exceeding smallness of his own vision. Bigness! Why, it is something not capable of realization without seeing. There is a romance, a splendour, a

courage, a faith, about Colonial Churchmanship that the Home Churchman has no conception of. Littleness! It is so mean, sordid, paltry, unworthy; so un-English sometimes in its miserable pettiness and lack of honour.

Romance and sordid fact, poetry and dull prose, idealism and the cheapest sort of materialism, real honour and unutterable meanness, solid Christian fellowship among all Christians and positively un-understandable jealousy and "sheep stealing"; those are the sort of impressions left upon one's mind. One tries all one knows to hold on to the big and the bright in it all.

And oh! it is a bit of work any true man ought to thank GOD on his knees for being allowed to share in. To follow Tradition needs but little individuality. To make Tradition, of the highest and best kind, is a work that is worthy of strong men, of men who believe in their God, and therefore are able wisely to believe in themselves.

Gentlemen, the Call is Divine, the Call is Imperial. The response can only be evidenced, in human terms, by the prayerful, honest, upright, pure, daily Christian conduct of men who have got the supreme conviction that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by even-word that proceedeth out of the mouth of GOD"; by men who believe that the destiny of mankind is rightly expressed in the words of the Collect for to-day: man is meant to be "an holy temple acceptable unto Thee; through JESUS CHRIST our Lord. Amen."

[NOTE.—The writing of this Charge was, by undesigned coincidence, completed on October 17, 1903, the (52nd Anniversary of the Consecration of George Augustus Selwyn, first Bishop of New Zealand.)

How to Meet the Needs.

- *Pray regularly about them.*
- *Enjoy the privilege of personal self-sacrifice in order to share in meeting them.*
- *Talk about them. Tell men we believe in their reality and In our own purpose. Then everyone will help.*
- *Every single Churchman and Churchwoman ought to contribute, annually, a definite sum to their Church.*
- *The value of financial help is proportionate to a person's convictions, not in proportion to the amount given in actual money.*
- *Service is bigger than success.*

The Bishop of the Diocese will gladly acknowledge Donations to the capital of the Sustentation Fund, and also Donations and Guarantees for the initial outlay on the Diocesan High School for Girls

The Churchwardens or Treasurer, in any District, will gladly receive subscriptions or donations to the Clergyman's Stipend Fund, or to any Diocesan Fund.

Donations and subscriptions, for any Fund, may be paid to the Diocesan Registrar (W. S. Cochrane, Esq. Registry, Shortland Street, Auckland. Ultimately every penny of Diocesan money has to pass through his books.

The True Position of Our New Zealand Railway Investment.

By Samuel Vaile, of Auckland

INVENTOR OF THE STACK OR ZONE SYSTEM OF RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

Loss Last Year, £1,007,095.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.—The following paper is intended to be a continuation and amplification of the one I read on the 4th of February, 1902, before the Congress of New Zealand Chambers of Commerce, held in Wellington.

Note.—The Chairman of the Congress was the Acting-President of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, Mr. D. J. Nathan. This gentleman [*unclear: manded*] of me that I should alter the paper, so as to make it more acceptable to the Government. This, of course, I refused to do, but at the request of friends I [*unclear: ed*] down the strong language used, retaining all the facts. At the banquet, The Premier (Mr. Seddon) offered to print the report of the Congress [*unclear: proceedings*] of charge to the Chambers. This offer was accepted; and thus my paper [*unclear: ll*] into the hands of the Government and their friends, who cut not only my [*unclear: aper*] but my other work out of the report. They printed it as a separate [*unclear: aper*] at the "New Zealand Times" Office, and slipped it into such copies of the report as they thought fit. The paper, as I read it, was accepted by

the [unclear: gress], which thanked me for it, and it was the duty of the President to see that it formed part of the proceedings.

In that paper I endeavoured to tell only so much of the ugly truth as I thought was sufficient to arouse Parliament and the public to a sense of the danger hanging over us. The efforts made to suppress my paper may be accepted as a proof that the Department is unable to reply to it.

The terrible loss made last year, and the dreary prospect for the future, has determined me, in this paper, to go more into [unclear: letail] and to fully expose the ghastly failure of our railway ad[unclear: trators] More than twenty years ago I pointed out that this [unclear: ust] come to pass, and nothing but the vast natural richness of the country, and the general state of prosperity throughout the world has prevented it from coming Jong ago. The smaller the country the sooner the present vicious system makes itself felt. Thus in Australia, Victoria suffers more keenly than New South [unclear: ales] Another condemnation of the present "no-system" is the fact that the more closely it is worked, and the more capital that is invested in it, the worse are the results, as witness the [unclear: Hurun] Bluff Section, as compared with Auckland, remembering that the Hurunui-Bluff revenue has been assisted out of "Additions to [unclear: Oper] Lines" to the extent of 45 per cent, of loan moneys, while Auckland has only had 6 per cent. I may also call attention to the increasing difficulty the English companies find in paying a dividend Some of them are now accused of doing what our Government is doing, paying dividends out of capital instead of out of earnings.

More than a year has passed since the paper referred to was read. It has been made considerable use of by the London financial papers; and a debate on my work took place in Parliament last session, but so far no one, either in Parliament or out of it has been found able to dispute the accuracy of my statements.

When the real position of our railways comes to be understood there is little doubt some will be found, indeed some have already been found, to advocate a return to what is called "non-politics control" under Commissioners, but I ask my fellow citizens to [unclear: pau] and think what would have been our position now, if, during the last six years, our railways had been managed by Commissioner Whom could we call to account? We could not touch the Government. We could not touch the Commissioners. We should have no remedy. Now we can and ought to call the Government to account. What could not be done under Commissioners appointed by a corrupt Government determined to keep in place and power.

All the figures given and deductions drawn are taken solely from the official "Railways Statements."

I complain of the continual misrepresentation as to the; postion of our railway investment, and its earning power. We [unclear: are] told, year by year, our railways earn an increased rate of inters when the Department must have known that year by year [unclear: they] were making a rapidly increasing loss. If the intention has [unclear: been] to give honest information, why was the attempt made to [unclear: suppress] my paper, and why did Sir Joseph Ward (Minister for [unclear: Railways] at the Choral Hall, on the 20th of October last, tell us that [unclear: duri] the first six months of that financial year, as compared with [unclear: the] corresponding period of the previous year, the railway revenue [unclear: have] increased £47,129, when his own official returns state that the [unclear: gr] increase was only £17,978, or considerably less than half his [unclear: statement?]

Again, on the 17th of February last, at a smoke concert, [unclear: the] Right Hon. the Premier, Mr. Seddon, told us that the [unclear: increas] "railway revenue for the first ten months of the current [unclear: year] £124,587. The official returns prove that for the period [unclear: mention] the gross increase was only £49,041, not much more than [unclear: one-third] of what the Premier stated it to be, while the net revenue for [unclear: the] period, according to their own showing, had actually [unclear: decrea] £21,591.

The returns for the full year are now published. They show the gross earnings for the year to have been £99,452 more than during the previous year, or £25,135 less than the I'remier said it was for the ten calendar months only' while the net increase for the whole year was but £8,274, which is all that can go towards his surplus. It surely is a bad thing for a country when its Premier can so seriously misinform it, as to its financial position. The apparent large increase in net revenue during its last twelve weeks of the year is no doubt, due to manipulation of the account. We shall find that a large sum has been carried to revenue account for services said to be rendered to other Departments, and probably amounts due for current expenses have been held over for future payment.

If our railways are being honestly dealt with, what need can there be for this very gross mis-statement of facts by the two leading members of the Ministry? I presume these mis-statements were duly telegraphed to the Old Country as Ministerial utterances.

I have purposely left out of my tables the live stock tonnage, as that is only an estimated amount. During the six years the number of parcels, live stock, etc., increased by 931,639, and their tonnage, including the weight of passengers, increased only 49,718 tons, showing that the increase was mainly in parcels and sheep. Had I included this tonnage, passengers would have been accounted for twice.

I have endeavoured to show fearlessly and faithfully what has happened on our railways during the last six

years, and I have done so without any leaning towards either political party. But as a citizen of New Zealand, I think I am entitled to say this:—That a Government that could so mismanage, and so misrepresent a business concern, having £20,000,000 of capital invested in it, is hardly fit to be entrusted with the management of such business concerns as State Coal Mines, State Fire Insurance, a State Bank, etc. If they made a similar failure of these, in addition, where would they land us?

When generally speaking of the Government, I wish it to be distinctly understood that it is not the present Government only that I blame; that must be shared by previous Governments. While there is no doubt that the results for the last five or six years have been by far the worst on record, it must be remembered that this is largely due to the mistakes of previous administrations. I believe that Sir Joseph Ward really thought that the changes he has made would have a beneficial effect, but I also think that in the light of events he should have seen that a radical change of policy was absolutely necessary, and that his officials were incompetent to give him sound advice; and there is no doubt that the present Government is more to blame than any previous one, but whatever Government had been in power my action would have been precisely the same.

The facts revealed in this paper prove the danger in having a Ministry composed almost wholly of men from one portion of the colony. It should be remembered that the Premier comes from Westland, the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Education from Canterbury, and the Minister for Railways and [unclear: also] the Minister for Lands from Otago. Whatever the intention may have been, the fact is certain that Westland, Canterbury, and Otago have been, and are being, largely favoured at the [unclear: expense] of the rest of the colony, not only in capital expended, but also in the matter of rating, and the fact also remains that five out of the eight Ministers forming the Cabinet represent the favoured districts—five Ministers from the South end of the South Island.

Have we not lost enough by letting the officials persevere in continuing their no-system? Why not try the new system, [unclear: which] has succeeded so well financially in other countries?

We want a simple system that everyone can understand; [unclear: the] present complication is absolutely unnecessary. It is [unclear: designedly] made for the purpose of misleading the public. This is what Mr J. P. Maxwell said in his report of 1884, when asking for power to impose differential rates:—"While retaining publicity by [unclear: gazetting] each rate, were such a principle" (differential rating) "more [unclear: widely] introduced The Public Would not be able to do What It Now, to Some Extent. Essays to do—read and Interpret the Rates [unclear: Geneeally]; But the Practice followed Elsewhere would be, [unclear: necessary]; the customer would appeal to the station each time [unclear: he] Required a Rate Quoted, and, whether the railways were managed by a Minister or a Board, more power and freedom, in respect to rating, would have to be placed in the officers' hands." The small capitals are mine.

THE TABLES appended have been carefully prepared, and are intended to show clearly the downward course of our railway [unclear: investment] during the last six years. The more they are studied [unclear: the] more complete and disastrous the failure will be seen to be. [unclear: I] might have taken a longer period, but thought the last six [unclear: years] sufficient. I direct particular attention to the fact that year [unclear: by] year there has been a continuous and rapidly-increasing loss, [unclear: which] is more particularly manifest during the last three years (see Table A, column 11), notwithstanding the fact that during these years the business and gross revenue of our railways very largely increased There is not one single gleam of success in any part of our railway working. The striking feature of the whole is the fact that, the greater and more apparent is the loss made, the more loudly the Department asserts they have made an increased profit. Is [unclear: It] Possible They do not Know the truth?

OUR RAILWAYS represent nearly one-half of our colonial [unclear: debt] and they are constantly being paraded before this country and the English bond-holder as our most valuable "[unclear: Reproductive]" asset. It is, therefore, very important that we should [unclear: understand] their true position, and the object of my present paper is to [unclear: place] this clearly before the public, in the hope that such action may be taken as will avert further disaster. It is very gratifying to me to find that at last some little attention, not only in this country, but also in Australia, England, and America, is being paid to the all-important question of railway administration. What is wanted is greater attention to the Policy that should govern the administration.

So far in this country our main attention has been concentrated on railway construction, and this has resolved itself into a miserable scramble among the provinces as to which shall grab the most of the expenditure. The tables which follow will prove that no attempt has been made to construct our railways in the positions where they were most required, or where they would pay the whole colony best, but the money for their construction was, I may say, invariably voted for expenditure where it would buy the most political support for the party in power. This statement applies, not only to the present Government, but to most, if not all, of the preceding Governments. It is impossible to imagine that it is in the interest of the whole colony that £53 9s. 2½d. out of every £100 spent in railway construction should have been expended at the south end of the South Island.

What is the Annual Cost of Keeping Our Railways Open is not difficult to ascertain. First, we must provide for interest payable on the loans out of which our railways have been constructed, and if we take this at 4 per cent. we shall be well within the mark. Then we must take all the expenditure necessary to keep the lines open and working. This now consists of the amounts expended under the headings of "Additions to open lines," and "Working Expenses." If these three items added together are less than the gross revenue, the balance will be our profit. If they are more than the gross revenue the balance will be our loss. Take the year 1902 as an example.

In this year the Department claims that they earned £3 8s. 6d. per cent. In order to show this return, this is what they did. They had £1,325,831 locked up in "Unopened Lines." Interest on this at 4 per cent, amounts to £53,033. This they paid out of capital, and thus reduced capital and raised revenue by that amount, but they brought it into the railway account as so much capital expended in railway construction. It is, however, clear that it was not so spent, but was money paid to the English bond-holder, Then they paid out of capital for renewals and repairs, £777,989, which ought to have been paid out of revenue. To this they added a fiction of £71,593 for services said to be rendered to other Departments of the Government, and which they treated as revenue actually earned and paid. Thus we have the sum of no less than £902,615 wrongly used to bolster up the revenue of that one particular year. The balance of interest on our railway loans was, at 4 per cent., £726,829, and "Working Expenses," £1,252,237. This makes the total outgoings for the year, £2,881,681, and if from [unclear: this] we deduct the gross revenue, £1,874,586, we find that the loss for the year 1902 was £1,007,095. Thus not only was every penny of interest lost, but our railways did not pay working expenses.

Every man having the most ordinary knowledge of business will admit that Capital invested in any business ought not to be allowed to fritter away. The main, if not sole, object of business is to increase capital, consequently in all well conducted business interest is first charged on the capital; and every article used in carrying on that business, that is liable to destruction [unclear: by wear] and tear, and the effluxion of time, is always paid for out of [unclear: the] income earned by the business. It may be all at once, or by [unclear: means] of a depreciation account, reducing the cost by so much [unclear: yearly] If this were not done the concern must, sooner or later, come to grief.

Apply this rule to our railways, and what do we find? [unclear: The] rolling stock, and the so-called permanent way, are constantly [unclear: wearing] out and requiring renewals, repairs, and replacements. [unclear: To] meet these demands last year cost us £1,311,557. Of this [unclear: £533,568] was charged against revenue, and £777,989 to capital account.

It seems to me incredible that business men should treat [unclear: such] perishable articles as tarpaulins, fences, repairs to [unclear: buildings] stockyards, respacing—not relaying—sleepers (does this mean [unclear: correcting] blunders?), cushioning cars, etc., etc., etc., as fixed [unclear: capital].

The fiction of having £20,000,000 invested in "reproductive": railways is only maintained by assuming that every rail and sleeper laid, every shed, fence, and platform erected, every [unclear: engine] car, and truck, every cushion, tarpaulin, and lamp bought or [unclear: constructed] since 1870 is still in existence, and in good-working [unclear: order] What an absurdity! Yet this is the assumption on which the [unclear: account] is kept.

My contention is that during the last six years a sum of £1,722,757 for "Additions to Open Lines," and also a sum of £232,859 for interest on money expended on lines under [unclear: construction], which total £1,955,616, was Wrongly Charged to [unclear: Capital] account, instead of against revenue account, and consequently [unclear: that] the capital invested in our railways has been decreased by that amount. In addition to this sum of nearly two millions, a further sum of at least £365,000 has been carried to revenue account [unclear: for] services supposed to be rendered to other Departments. [unclear: In] other words, a sum of not less than £2,320,616 has, during the [unclear: last] six years, been wrongfully used to bolster up the revenue account and thus it has been made to appear that our railways have [unclear: earned] something over 3 per cent. Let me repeat that prior to the [unclear: appointment] of the Railway Commissioners, all these items [unclear: were] charged against revenue earned.

When a new railway is constructed, it is quite right to charge its cost, with its full equipment of rolling stock, to capital, but after that it ought to keep itself going.

Table A, Column 3, will show how continuously and rapidly the charge for "Additions to Open Lines" has increased. It rose from £64,717 in 1897 to £777,989 in 1902. It appears to have been increased just as it was required to make it appear that a certain rate of interest had been earned.

It happens somewhat curiously that five months after read my paper in Wellington, a controversy on the same subject took place in the "London Times." This will be found in their September file of 1902. It commenced by an "American Railway Official" charging the English companies with doing what I accuse our Government of doing, that is, paying dividends out of capital, instead of out of revenue, by charging to capital, items that ought to be paid for out of revenue. He selected the North-Eastern as his example, which he compares with the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railway Company, of the United States of America.

He shows that in 1901 the American Company paid out of revenue, £51,969 for new bridges, £24,341 for interlocking and signal apparatus, £65,867 for sidings, yards, and track, £22,150 for new depots, freight houses, etc., £19,048 for water and fuel stations, £16,934 for new turn-tables, round houses, pits, engine houses, etc., £45,481 for sundry changes and improvements to buildings, new buildings on the line, and yards and sidings in course of construction. (In New Zealand all these things are paid for out of capital.)

The American writer says in reference to the North-Eastern of England:—

"It is evident from what has been stated, its current operating charges were relieved at the expense of capital; that this process has been going on for so many years that the corporation is suffering from over-capitalisation, and what was begun, perhaps as a temporary expedient to pay a large dividend, has become a chronic necessity."

How exactly this tallies with our case. He further says:—

"With a decreased income of £60,875 for the half-year, its managers charged to capital on account of lines and works open for traffic, £284,973, and for working stock (carriages), £96,117: total, £381,090, the equivalent of fully 2½ per cent. of its dividend."

So, according to this writer, the North-Eastern Railway of England, which in 1900 had a capital of £83,876,000, and an income of £9,276,000, required a sum of £381,000 to help up its half-yearly dividend, while our little concern required last year £902,615 of this wrongful application to deceive the public into the belief that our railways paid £3 8s. 6d. per cent. Yes, in this one year, no less than a misappropriation of nine hundred and two thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds. The thing seems so [unclear: incredible] that I do not wonder people think I am speaking without [unclear: knowledge], but I am only telling the sober truth.

Mr. Gibb, the General Manager of the North-Eastern, in [unclear: replying] to the American writer, says:—

"All well-managed English railways with which I am [unclear: acquainted] provide fully out of revenue for all necessary renewals."

Speaking of what was done on the American line, and on [unclear: hi] English line, he remarks that, "It includes" (on the American [unclear: line] "the cost of 79 new engines, at an average cost of £2,530 [unclear: per] engine, but they had to break up or sell 72 worn-out engines, [unclear: s] that the nett result of it all was that they added seven engines [unclear: t] their stock, debiting nothing to capital." But he adds: "The [unclear: North]-Eastern, in the same year, added 21 engines to their stock, at [unclear: as] average cost of £2,693 per engine, in addition to making [unclear: provision] for ordinary renewals, the old engines being replaced in all [unclear: case] by new and more powerful engines, And Also Without [unclear: Debiting] Capital With any part of the Cost."

"THE TIMES" has a leading article on this controversy, in [unclear: which] it says:—

"The management of an ordinary business assumes that it [unclear: is] not sufficient to maintain the buildings and plant in condition [unclear: of] revenue. Sooner or later, plant, even if maintained in first-[unclear: rate] condition, must become useless, either because it is superseded [unclear: by] newer inventions, or because it is, by change in demand, [unclear: made] wholly superfluous. There must, therefore, be in some shape [unclear: or] form a substantial reserve, or the company is likely some day [unclear: to] get into the Bankruptcy Court."

"THE TIMES" also contends that: "A policy of this [unclear: kind] (charging to capital), "if continued indefinitely. . . . must [unclear: ultimately] lead to the extinction of dividends on the ordinary [unclear: stock] Our dividend is already more than extinguished.

"THE TIMES" goes even much further than this, and says:—

"It is not sufficient to maintain the buildings and plant in [unclear: working] order," but that the British Companies OUGHT TO "[UNCLEAR: SUPPLEMENT] OR IMPROVE" THEIR PROPERTY OUT OF REVENUE, AS WELL AS [UNCLEAR: MAINTAINING] IT FROM THAT SOURCE. It is well to bear in mind that [unclear: the] writer of this article is certain to have been one of the best [unclear: authorities] obtainable in the United Kingdom."

MR. ROUS-MARTIN, formerly of Wellington, but now of [unclear: London], and who is a recognised authority on railway matters, [unclear: has] a well-written article on this controversy in Page's Magazine of [unclear: November] last. In it he says:—

"Probably no British railway will dream of disputing [unclear: the] general principle that all expenditure on what is strictly [unclear: the] renewal of permanent way or rolling-stock already constructed [unclear: or] of capital, should be defrayed out of revenue. IF TEN OLD ENGINES BE CONDEMNED, AND TEN NEW ONES BUILT TO REPLACE THEM, THE CHARGE IS, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, ON REVENUE IN THE CASE OF EVERY PROPERLY MANAGED LINE. But Mr. Gibb tells us that not only is this done on the North-Eastern Railway, but also the old locomotives are replaced out of revenue by others of much greater power. Consequently the ten old engines are replaced by new ones with the equivalent power of twelve or perhaps fifteen old ones. So, too, in the case of the road. It is manifestly advisable that when an inferior old permanent way is replaced by a better new one, this expense should come out of revenue."

The "Evening Post," of Wellington, has just published a series of articles on our railways by "Fishplate." This writer is evidently a trained railway man, and knows what he is writing about. He says:—"The financial side of our railways attracts singularly little public attention."... "A recent Parliamentary paper is eulogistic of the results achieved last year, but it discloses that, although the lines contributed revenue to the amount of £1,874,586, they absorbed (Exclusive of interest on cost) £2,030,226, or £155,640" (the exact figure I gave on the 17th February last), "more than they gave." If to this £155,640 we add interest at 4 per cent.. £779,862, and the fiction of £71,593. which seems to have escaped "Fish-plate's" notice, we have the sum of £1,007,095 as his estimate of last year's loss. This also is the exact sum I placed before the public some months ago.

"Fishplate" says:—"The practice that has been indulged in of debiting to capital account cost of renewals, and that of other works, properly chargeable to revenue, is to be deprecated as unsound and highly improper."

He further says that as regards rates "certain individuals and corporations pay less than standard rates—a circumstance suggestive of undue preference."

From what appears above, it will be seen that the manager of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railway Company of the United States of America, the manager of the North-Western of England, the "Times" newspaper of London. Mr. Rous-Martin, of London, and "Fishplate," of Wellington, all support me in my statement that the items now paid for out of capital, under the heading "Additions to Open Lines," ought to be paid for out of revenue. I may also mention that the Manawatu Railway Company have recently built a new steel bridge, which they paid for out of revenue. To me it seems incredible that anyone with an ordinary knowledge of business can take any other view.

We may very safely estimate the amount credited to revenue for services to other Departments, as so much money earned by the railways during the six years, at £285,000, I object to this being so treated.. It was simply an entry made in various books for services said to be rendered to other Departments. Thus if a Minister took a special train from Christchurch to the Bluff this would be charged for at the rate of 5s. per mile for one [unclear: vehicle] and for each additional car 2s. 6d. per mile, and railway [unclear: passenger] revenue would be credited with £96 10s. for one carriage only But who paid this money? Where did it come from? It is [unclear: quite] clear that nobody paid it, and that it was merely, as Sir [unclear: Julius] Vogel would have said, an "adjustment of accounts." and that the cost of this service, whatever it was, was paid by the [unclear: community] out of taxation or loan.

From the first the Department fought hard to have this [unclear: item] included in the revenue account, but this was never done till 1896, or six years ago, when the difficulty in paying a small rate of [unclear: interest] began to be more seriously felt.

Here is another way of proving the downward course of [unclear: our] railway investment. In 1897 the Department says they [unclear: earned] £1,286,158—as a matter of fact, they did not earn this amount by the sum they have taken credit for as services rendered to [unclear: other] Departments—but they say they actually earned this [unclear: £1,286,158], If, therefore, we deduct from this sum the amounts for "[unclear: Additions] to Open Lines" and "Working Expenses," we still have [unclear: left] £432,387 towards payment of interest in that year. If we take the account in precisely the same manner in 1901, we had only [unclear: £274,358] towards payment of interest, and in 1902 not only had we not [unclear: one] penny towards interest, but we were £155,640 to the bad. "[unclear: Fish-plate]," of Wellington, has taken the account in this manner, [unclear: and] has arrived at exactly the same result.

The tables which follow illustrate the history of the whole of our railways during the last six years, and also of the [unclear: Auckland] Hurunui-Bluff sections, and the Wellington-Taranaki and Hawke's Bay section for five years only. This, because these [unclear: last] lines were not joined together till 1898.

Refer to Tables A and B.

These tables show us that during the last six years the [unclear: capital] invested in our railways has apparently increased [unclear: £3,167,589] but out of this sum, as I have shown, £1,955,616 has been [unclear: frittered] away, and consequently capital was only increased £1,201,973.

I shall be told that we have this stock and [unclear: improvements] Possibly we have, but they will soon disappear, and what [unclear: about] the capital then, and what about the stock this expenditure [unclear: has] replaced. Under the heading. "Services to Other [unclear: Departments]," column 5, it will be seen that in only two years is [unclear: the] amount of revenue, supposed to be so earned, stated. We may very safely take the other four years at an average of £40,000 per [unclear: annum], which gives another sum of £283,689 of purely imaginary [unclear: re]venue, which went to swell the rate of interest said to have been earned, and which in previous years had not been brought into the account.

Working expenses increased in 1902 more than half a million over 1897, while the increase in gross

revenue was only £691,545, or, less the fiction of £283,689 mentioned above, only £407,856, and the loss to the public was £747,110 more in 1902 than it was in 1896. The increase in the number of the employees was 2686, and in the cost of earning each £100, £5 9s.

This is the boasted "Successful Administration," the "Phenomenal Results" achieved by the present Government.

These gentlemen say that the Stage System cannot be tried, because of the great loss it would entail upon the country. I ask is it possible that it could have cost what persistence in the present no-system has cost, and if it did we should have had something for it. Our people and their produce would have been carried cheaply, and we should be free of the charge of wrong-doing, which will be now freely cast upon us.

Refer to Tables C, D, And E.

These tables give more in detail the working of our three chief sections of railway. It will be seen that the capital said to be invested in the AUCKLAND SECTION, increased during the six years, £643,659, and the mileage 32 miles, or at the rate of £20,114 per mile. We have the curious statement made that in 1900 the mileage of this section DECREASED 5 MILES. The small percentage figures in columns 5 and 6, show the percentage of the votes for "Additions to Open Lines" which each section received. I must explain that while we are told the amount spent on each section out of this vote on the permanent way, we are not told what each section obtained in rolling stock, but we may make sure that the South got quite as large a percentage of that as she did of the Permanent way expenditure. These percentages are worked out to round figures only.

It will be seen how unfairly Auckland has been treated. The effect, of course, has been to make it appear that this section earned the lowest rate of interest, because she has been made to pay a larger share of her renewals out of revenue, Auckland having only about 6 per cent, of the loan money, and the South from 40 to 55 per cent.

The increase of loss on this section rose from £2,999 in 1897 over 1896 to £39,580 in 1902 over that of 1901, and for the six years £98,267. The increase in the number of employees was 345, and the Government state that the cost of earning each £100 rose from £64 11s. to £64 17s. 2½d.

ON THE WELLINGTON SECTION we have this fact revealed that during the last four years—four years only—its capital was increased £692,800. but not one single mile was added to its length. As a matter of fact, the whole amount was used to help up the revenue, said to be earned, and was treated as so much capital [unclear: invested] in this section. During the five years the increase in capita! [unclear: was] £852,546, and in mileage 25 miles, which is at the rate of [unclear: £33,050] per mile. During the five years the number of employees was [unclear: creased] by 954, and during the last four years 730, although [unclear: not] one single mile was added to the section. What was found for them to do is a puzzle. The increase in working expenses for [unclear: the] five years was £224,898, and the increase of loss rose from [unclear: £91,418] in 1898 to £438,462 in 1902, and the total increased loss—please [unclear: remember] the increase only—not total, for the five years was [unclear: £760,568] and the cost of earning each £100 rose from £68 11s 5d. to [unclear: £7] 16s. 5d.

On the favoured HURUNUI-BLUFF SECTION, the increase of [unclear: capital] was £1,400,130, as compared with £643.659 in Auckland, [unclear: and] £852,546 in Wellington. The increase in the cost of keeping [unclear: the] section open was £1,035,220, as compared with £182,180 in [unclear: Auckland], and £1,037,767 in Wellington. Deducting the increase of gross revenue from these figures leaves the actual Increase [unclear: on] Loss which fell on the public at £98,267 [unclear: in] Auckland, £760,262 Wellington, and £762,049 in Canterbury and Otago.

On this section the increase in working expenses for the [unclear: six] years was £230,609. The increase in mileage was 66 miles, and [unclear: the] increase in the number of employees 1,205. Yes, 1,205 for [unclear: this] section only, which means 4,251 men to work 1,198 miles of [unclear: not] half employed railways. It will be seen that the two least [unclear: progres]sive provinces in the whole colony were largely favoured at [unclear: the] expense of the rest who pay by far the largest portion of [unclear: the] revenue.

Table F will perhaps bring out this unfair expenditure of [unclear: the] public funds a little more clearly. It will be seen that between the censuses of 1897 and 1901, Auckland increased its population [unclear: 5,986] more than the united provinces of Canterbury and Otago did, [unclear: and] within 5,192 of the three provinces of Wellington, Taranaki, [unclear: and] Hawke's Bay. When it is remembered that the Government [unclear: has] made gigantic efforts to attract population to the South by a [unclear: levels] expenditure of public funds, in buying and subdividing large [unclear: estates] there, it is easy to see that Auckland is not only the [unclear: most] progressive district in the colony, but also that it is the [unclear: worst] treated by the Government. Refer to Table F.

I call attention to the charges for the transit of goods [unclear: and] passengers on the various sections. I fail to see why [unclear: Auckland] should be called upon to pay 2s. 0¾d. per ton, and Wellington [unclear: 3d] 10d. per ton more for the transport of their goods than [unclear: Canterbury] and Otago do. I say this is due to gross favouritism to the [unclear: same] districts. When I called attention to this some time ago, I [unclear: was] told that it was due to the fact that goods travelled shorter [unclear: distances] in the South than in Auckland, but if this is so, I want [unclear: a] know how it is that the average passenger fare is higher in [unclear: the] South than it is in Auckland. I am quite sure it is not because the charge per mile is less in Auckland. Goods almost invariably travel longer distances than passengers, and for this reason: In the suburbs of cities very little of the goods traffic is done by rail, it is nearly all done by horse traction; while, on the contrary, the rail carries enormous numbers of suburban passengers at very low fares, which pull down the general average fare paid. I am therefore certain that the difference in charge is due to favouritism. "Fishplate," too, distinctly says:—"Certain individuals and corporations pay less than standard rates—a circumstance suggestive of undue preference." Undue preference is declared illegal all the world over. On the Wellington Section, it is probable that both passengers and goods do travel longer distances than on the other sections, but not sufficient to account for the difference in charge.

It is not alone as to the revenue earned by our railways that the public is being deceived; it is also misled as to the work being done on them. Page IV. of the Railways Statement, 1902, is a new introduction. The more desperate the position of our railway investment, the greater is the blow made, and the louder the boast of "phenomenal results." On this page, in big black type, it is asserted that the "Net Profit on Working" was £622,349, as compared with £599,388 in 1901, an increase of profit according to their statement of £22,961; the fact being that in 1902 our Railways Lost £1,007,095, as against £493,344 in 1901, or an Increase of Loss in this one year of £513,751, instead of an increase of profit of £22,961. To talk about "Profit" earned by our railways is gross deception. They have never paid one penny of profit, not even the interest they cost us, by a very long way.

Return No. 8, in Railway Statement of 1902, is instructive. It is the first of its kind. It shows that a sum of £71,593, for services said to be rendered to other Departments, has been treated as so much revenue actually earned. As I have before said, this was never done until 1896. Of this amount £34,449 was for passenger and £25,933 goods traffic. If the number of passengers and tons carried these sums represent were deducted as they ought to be, it would greatly reduce the boasted "phenomenal development." To me, considering the large increase of population, of capital invested, the new mileage opened, the development appears to have been very small, and nothing like what it might be under proper administration.

I want again to draw forcible attention to the loss inflicted on the New Zealand public, and the wrong done, more particularly to the Auckland, Nelson, and Blenheim provinces, by the unwarrantable favouritism that has been shown to the provinces south of Auckland, and more particularly to Canterbury, Otago, and Westland. The Wellington-Taranaki and Hawke's Bay and Hurunui-Bluff Sections have long since reached what railway men are pleased to term "Paying Points." Wellington has been joined to Napier on the East Coast and to New Plymouth on the [unclear: West] Christchurch has been joined to Dunedin, Invercargill, and [unclear: the] Bluff, and both these sections touch numerous prosperous [unclear: towns] between the "paying points" named. The Auckland [unclear: Section] touches no "paying point," but one town of 4,000 [unclear: inhabitants] (Thames), and another of 1,250, and then a few villages. Yet, [unclear: what] do we find? The loss made on both the Southern Sections [unclear: during] the last six years was more than seven and three-quarter (7¾) [unclear: times] the loss made on the Auckland Section. What becomes of [unclear: the] "paying points," which are to be made use of as a further [unclear: excuse] for squandering more money at the south end of the South [unclear: Island]

What is the cause of this deplorable and rapidly-[unclear: increasing] loss? The tables attached prove conclusively that the more [unclear: capital] we invest, the more miles we open, the more goods and [unclear: passengers] we carry, the more the population and trade of the [unclear: colony] increase, the more disastrous is the loss inflicted on the [unclear: country] by its railways, and I again ask, why?

I reply that the primary cause is the utter rottenness of [unclear: our] railway administration. Surely the wretched old "NO-SYSTEM [UNCLEAR: OF] RAILWAYS" has been long enough upon its trial, and again I [unclear: say] Why not try the new system? It could not by any possibility [unclear: give] worse results than we obtain now.

But why is the result so much worse South of Auckland? [unclear: In] again reply that the more capital there is invested, and the [unclear: most] work there is done, on a vicious system, THE GREATER MUST BE [UNCLEAR: YOUR] LOSS, and the general result of our railway working proves [unclear: that] this is so. As regards Wellington, this section appears to [unclear: me] suffer also from political favouritism. Its mileage is but 110 [unclear: miles] more than Auckland's, yet it has 1,327 more men to work them, [unclear: or] nearly two and a-half times as many as Auckland. The [unclear: Hurunui] Bluff has three and a-half times the mileage

of the Auckland [unclear: Section], and it takes nearly four and three-quarter times as many [unclear: men] to work it. It ought to be apparent to any business man that [unclear: the] further our railways are extended into the thinly-populated [unclear: dis]tricts, the less number of men per mile ought to be required [unclear: to] work them, but the contrary is the case here. For my part I [unclear: am] convinced the railways are overmanned by men who have [unclear: been] taken on to avoid the CRY OF THE UNEMPLOYED, and make it [unclear: appear] that the labour legislation has been a success.

I hope my Canterbury, Otago, and Westland friends [unclear: will] think that. I am seeking to injure them. The day will come [unclear: when] they will recognise that I am one of their best friends. I [unclear: give] them friendly warning, and say without any fear that the [unclear: resa] will belie the prediction; that if some great alteration in [unclear: administration] is not speedily made, the next few years will see the [unclear: Midland], the Otago Central, and many other of their branch [unclear: lines] closed up. This has had to be done on similar lines in [unclear: Victoria] and it will certainly have to be done here. It would have [unclear: been] greatly to the advantage of Canterbury and Otago if the Midland and Otago Central had never been commenced. They are merely a drag on the rest of the Hurunui-Bluff Section. If the counties they are supposed to serve cannot take them over, and work them, they certainly will have to be closed if the present loss is maintained. It is not likely that the rest of the colony will consent to support them.

A reference to Table F, column 14, will show that out of every £100 spent from first to last in railway construction, Auckland received £16 14s 7d., Wellington, Taranaki, and Hawke's Bay £23 14s. 10d., Otago and Canterbury, £51 5s. 5d., and Canterbury, Otago. and Westland, which constitute the south end of the South Island, had between them £53 9s. 2½d., leaving but £46 10s. 9½d. for the whole of the rest of New Zealand. I say that it is impossible to believe that such a distribution of the public expenditure can have been made in the interests of the whole colony, and yet we see that the present Government has largely increased the wrong done, to say nothing of its folly, and they evidently intend to go further still in this direction.

Columns 12 and 13 show the relative proportion of rolling stock to mileage in 1888 and 1902 respectively. During this period of 14 years, according to the official records, we have spent on maintaining and renewing our rolling stock no less than £3,264,245. This is probably £50,000 under the real figure, for during their term of office the Commissioners spent £67,270 on "Additions to Open lines," but did not condescend to tell us how they apportioned it. For this huge outlay what have we obtained? Practically nothing but a somewhat improved type of rolling stock. Of the above amount, £2,002,902 was charged against revenue earned, and, £1,261,343 to capital account.

I have searched the records of India and find that there, as soon as a railway loan is placed, railway revenue is at once charged with interest, on the whole amount, whether it is expended or not. They also provide for all renewals out of revenue.

In Africa they reckon interest on open lines only, but they pay for all renewals out of revenue.

In Victoria, railway revenue is charged with interest, on the whole of the loans. They provide for all renewals and repairs from revenue, and they do not treat services to other Departments, which in 1902 represented £145,000, as revenue earned.

Unfortunately I have none of the latest records of the other Australian States by me, but I can safely say this:—That I know of no other place in the world where the railway account is so dishonestly dealt with as it is in New Zealand. I use the word dishonestly, because I fail to find any other which fittingly describes the way in which the public is systematically deceived as to the earnings and real position of our railways. I am constantly told that my statements cannot be true, because we [unclear: have] the MINISTERIAL ASSURANCE that they earn a PROFIT of £3 8s. [unclear: 6d] per cent.

According to the "Railway Statements," in 1902 the net [unclear: revenue] earned by the Auckland Section increased over that of [unclear: 1960] by £17,172. The net revenue of the Wellington Section [unclear: increased] only £3,991, and the net revenue of the great HURUNUI-[UNCLEAR: BLUFF] SECTION DECREASED, yes, notwithstanding all the money [unclear: lavished] on it, positively decreased £11,765; in other words, gave a [unclear: worst] result by £28,937 for its investment of £9,765,000 than [unclear: Auckland] did for its, investment of only £2,596,000. This, surely, is [unclear: another] convincing proof of the truth of my oft-repeated statement [unclear: that] under the present "no-system" of administration, the greater [unclear: the] capital invested and the larger the trade done, the worse the [unclear: financial] result. What is the use of further pursuing such a system?

When the present Government took office in [unclear: 1893] we had 1881 miles of Working Railways. These with their equipments cost [unclear: on] an average £7,270 per mile. After nine years of their [unclear: administration] we had 2,233 miles, and these cost, an average of £8,130, [unclear: or] £760 per mile added to the cost of the whole 2,235 miles under [unclear: the] present management. This certainly is a "phenomenal [unclear: result] but one on which the Government need not pride themselves, [unclear: and] of which the country will certainly not approve.

The fact that the HUNGARIANS have raised their "ZONE" [*unclear*: fares] has been brought forward by the Department as a proof that [*unclear*: the] Stage System would fail also. I claim that what has occurred [*unclear*: is] Hungary is the best proof that has yet been given of the [*unclear*: soundness] of my views on railway administration. I have no wish to [*unclear*: boast] but it is as well that I should recall what occurred fourteen [*unclear*: years] ago.

In June, 1889, a relative in London sent me a small [*unclear*: clipping] from the London "Standard." This informed me that on the [*unclear*: 1st] of August following the Hungarians would start their Zone [*unclear*: System] and gave a brief description of it. I immediately saw the [*unclear*: wear] spots in their method of arranging the Zones or Stages, and [*unclear*: wrote] thus to the "Herald" (see New Zealand Herald." 20th July, [*unclear*: 1883] After describing the system as it was then stated to be, I said:-"The effect will be to still further concentrate population [*unclear*: and] capital in the chief city, and the social effects will be [*unclear*: disastrous] As to the financial outcome, for some years, probably many, it [*unclear*: will] be a great success, but owing to the concentration in one [*unclear*: centre] it will gradually wear itself out and A BETTER STAGE SYSTEM [*UNCLEAR*: WILL] TAKE ITS PLACE." Please remember that this was published [*unclear*: in] Auckland eleven days before they began work in Hungary. If [*unclear*: is] were written now it could not more accurately describe what has actually taken place as regards the financial and social effects.

Shortly after I received more correct information and [*unclear*: again] wrote (see "New Zealand Herald," 22nd August, 1889):—"In" [*unclear*: as] ranging the fares, there is an evident clinging to old traditions. The great centre of population is favoured. It will be observed that the fares for the 11th, 12th, and 13th zones of 15½ miles each, are exactly double that of the 15½-mile zone round the capital. This I believe to be a serious defect, and one that will militate against financial success and trade development. It should be borne in mind that the sole object aimed at in this arrangement is to "get revenue" and that it does not deal with the vital question of the distribution of population." Please note that this also was published only twenty-two days after the Zone System was running, and long before any results from actual working could be known here.

From first to last I have contended that if railway working is to be a social and financial success the location of population must be part of the basis of rating. That is to say, the distribution of population must be considered in fixing the fares and rates, Instead of the rating being, as it is now, made PERMANENTLY in favour of the great centres, it must be made TEMPORARILY in favour of the smaller and weaker districts. The effect of this would and must be to DISTRIBUTE, not CONCENTRATE, population, and if you distribute population you must create numerous small trading centres, and thus make work for your railways, and also go a long way towards the solution of the great problem—the more equal distribution of wealth. The more population is concentrated the more railway work must fall off, because in the great cities the passenger traffic is more and more performed by tramways, and the goods traffic by horse traction, and now motor traction is coming in, and you have a less proportion of people in the country to trade with. Often I have said that if a railway has any mission it is as a long-distance machine, and this truth is becoming daily more apparent.

Most writers are now agreed that the railways are responsible for the congestion of the great cities, and I say this must go on so long as railways are worked by EVEN STAGES; whether of a mile, or five, or ten, or more miles, the evil will be only different in degree. The STAGE SYSTEM is the exact reverse of the present system and of all other existing systems, and its effects must be the reverse, Under it the stages would be of UNEQUAL LENGTHS, these lengths being determined by the density of the population of the various districts the stages serve. The Hungarians have, to a large extent, failed, and it is because in adapting the New Zealand Stage System they failed to grasp its great underlying principle of fixing the transit charges through the various districts in proportion to the ability of those districts to bear the strain. If this had been done, both the financial and social results would have been greatly better, They, however, avowedly arranged their rating so as to "encourage people to visit the capital." Their ambition was to build up a great city They have had their wish. Years ago the population of Buda Pesth had increased over 50 per cent.; most of [*unclear*: these] people left the country districts, and flocked into the big city, [*unclear*: and] lately they have had great trouble there.

Naturally, I thought that when the Hungarians saw the [*unclear*: good] financial results obtainable from working by stages, they [*unclear*: would] improve on their stage system, but, instead of doing so, they [*unclear*: are] gradually reverting to the old system, and they will find out [*unclear*: that] they are making a serious mistake.

As our railways have so much to do with our financial [*unclear*: position] I should like to call attention to OUR IMAGINARY ANNUAL SURPLUSES of the [*unclear*: colony] a general revenue, as proclaimed by the Premier. [*unclear*: When] the attempt was made in London to float the [*unclear*: last] million loan, our Agent-General, Mr. W. P. Reeves, [*unclear*: published] manifesto in which, among other things, in order to show [*unclear*: they] wealth and prosperity of the colony, he gave a list of the [*unclear*: alleg] surpluses of revenue over expenditure for the 11 years, [*unclear*: 1891]-2 to 1901-2 inclusive, but the following table will show that these [*unclear*: pluses] were to a large extent simply manufactured by [*unclear*: manipulating] the

railway account, and if the railway account, why not the [unclear: La] account, the Education account, the Public Works account, [unclear: and] other accounts?

I have now shown as faithfully as I can the present [unclear: unsat] factory and unsafe position of our railways. The policy [unclear: pursu] seems to me to be so utterly devoid of common sense that I [unclear: son] times ask myself if it is part of a scheme to compel the sale [unclear: of] the national railways to a private company. One thing is quite [unclear: certai] unless some change is made, this must sooner or later be done. What then is THE REMEDY? First, I say Parliament ought to peremptorily insist on the railway account being brought under the control of the Auditor-General. Then Parliament should insist on the cessation of all further expenditure on the unprofitable lines at the south end of the South Island. It is monstrous that large sums should be expended on useless lines like the Midland and Otago Central, while lines like the Whangarei line, which pays the country £4 15s per cent., and the Kaihu line, which pays £6 3s 3d per cent., are utterly neglected.

Then our SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION must be changed. The present no-system has been on its trial in this country for more than thirty years, and it shows a yearly increasing loss. The Hungarian adaptation of the New Zealand Stage System, which the Russians and others have adopted, already shows signs of the failure which must surely come. There remains, therefore, only our Stage System to try; and I again say, why should it not be tried?

In October, 1901, Mr. J. Ronayne, our General Manager—I am tempted to write General Mismanager—informed Parliament that to try the Stage System for one year as applied to every branch of traffic would cost the country £216,723. Whether it was done by carelessness or with a view to damage the Stage System I cannot tell, but in arriving at these figures he over-stated the number of passengers carried in 1901 by ONE MILLION FARES. I accepted Mr. Ronayne's figures in good faith, and it was only a few days ago that I discovered this error, which throws his calculation out by £83,000, and reduces his estimated loss to £133,723. (See Parliamentary Paper I.—6B, page 23). What is this estimated loss, carelessly made by a prejudiced man, compared with the ascertained loss of £2,873,000, which was made under the management of this same man during six years, and to which we must now add about another £1,000,000 for the year just closed. Has Mr. Ronayne shown such skill as would entitle him to be the judge in this important matter.

We want a much simpler system, both of working and accounting which everyone could understand. This the Stage System would give us. It is so exceedingly simple that any ordinary boy or girl of fifteen could easily understand the whole passenger and goods tariff.

I feel quite certain that under the Stage System the present traffic could be carried on for two-thirds if not one-half of the present "Working Expenses," and I am equally certain that the expansion of traffic would be so great that our railways would soon employ a far larger number of men than they do now.

Let me again earnestly impress upon my readers the fact that we can never hope to make our railways a success until we devise some plan whereby we can bring them within the beneficial use of the whole population; some plan whereby we [unclear: can] make them act as distributors and not as concentrators of [unclear: popula]tion and wealth.

I say that there is not the slightest need for the present [unclear: loss] It is absurd to suppose that a virtual monopoly of the [unclear: inha] carrying trade of this country cannot be made to pay even [unclear: working] expenses. I repeat the assertion I made more than eighteen years ago, and I say again after these [unclear: years] of close observation [unclear: and] study of railway working here and elsewhere, that [unclear: another] £1,000,000 per annum could be easily added to our railway [unclear: revenue] and that not only could we pay full interest on our railway [unclear: loan] working expenses, and "Additions to Open Lines" out of [unclear: revenue] but that we could also have a large sum over for constructing [unclear: new] lines.

Let my CLOSING words be these: Successful [unclear: finar] probably ought to be the least important [unclear: object] railway administration. There are far greater [unclear: object] to be gained by their right use. The [unclear: paramount] question of modern civilisation is how to bring about a more [unclear: eqr] distribution of wealth and opportunities. A life study of [unclear: that] question has led me to the conclusion that the only way is [unclear: the] more evenly DISTRIBUTE POPULATION. This I say can be [unclear: done] through our railways, by adopting the Stage System as I have [unclear: laid] it down, but not as altered by the Hungarians and others. It [unclear: is] knowing this that has induced me to spend so much time [unclear: and] money on it. It is for my fellow-citizens to say whether this [unclear: expenditure] is to be lost. Of the complete and miserable failure of [unclear: the] present system there can be no doubt, and it is equally [unclear: certain] that to try the new system on the Auckland section for a [unclear: years] could not possibly cost one-quarter what continuing the old [unclear: system] is now costing the country.

The Avenue, Auckland, N.Z.,

Appendix.

The following are some of the items now CHARGED TO [UNCLEAR: CAPITAL] account under the heading "Additions to Open Lines":—" [unclear: Additions] and improvements to station buildings, platforms, [unclear: and] signals; replacing sleepers, bridge-strengthening, land, [unclear: additional] works, water services, etc., for locomotive department; [unclear: sidin] loading banks, stockyards, approaches, and crossings; [unclear: additional] to dwellings, relaying, fencing, reclamation works; [unclear: interlocking] appliances; additions to workshops, telegraph and [unclear: telephone] facilities, creosoting plant, improvements to recreation [unclear: ground] Upper Hutt; block-working, Departmental offices, [unclear: Wellington] protective works, stonecrusher, weighbridges, replacing [unclear: sleepe] footbridge, stockyards, filling in mud fiat, Nelson; [unclear: viadue] clearing slopes, etc.; store office, diving plant, flood openings, [unclear: alteration] of grades, crane, lightening cuttings on Otago Central railway, painting machine, turntable and engine pit, additional [unclear: coal] accommodation, triangle. Rolleston: shelter-shed and [unclear: signals]; lengthening cuttings Otago Central railway, reconstruction of Rangitikei bridge, wheel drop pits, drainage, asphalt footpath, [unclear: securing] station safes in concrete, making station booking-offices [unclear: private]."

The above items are all charged to the "way and works [unclear: department]." After perusing the comprehensive list, one wonders what [unclear: is] left to be charged to the "maintenance of way" account.

Under the heading "Locomotive Department" we find in [unclear: addition] to all new rolling stock of every kind, "additions to [unclear: signals], conversion of carriages, cranes, altering waggons, lava[unclear: tories] in carriages, fitting cars with cushions, do, gangways to [unclear: carriages], gas lighting for carriages, lighting Petone workshops," [unclear: etc.], etc. In fact, everything that can possibly be charged to [unclear: capital] account.

A. Table shewing the True Position and Working of the 1 2 3 4 5 Years Capital Employed. Interest on do. at 4 per cent, only. Amounts wrongly charged to Capital. "Additions to Open Lines." Working Expenses. Services to otte Departments

C Tables shewing the Capital Outlay and Working of the Auckland the 6 Auckland Section of 341 miles. Population-Cens 1 2 3 4 5 6 Years. Capital Invested in "Open Lines." Capital locked up in "Unopened Lines." Increase in Capital over preceding Year. Increase in Interest charge at 4 per cent. Amount spent on Permanent Way and charged to Capital "Additions to Open Lines." Estimated Outlay on Rolling Stock charged to same account.

The History of One Tree Hill,

The Volcanic Mountain Known to the Maori People as "Maungakiekie."

Maungakiekie rises from the centre of an area of 400 acres, comprising Cornwall Park (the gift of Sir John Logan Campbell) and the One Tree Hill Recreation Reserve, and which together constitute the great Recreation Park of Auckland.

Auckland. Wilson & Horton, Printers, 1903.

Maungakiekie One Tree Hill

The Landscape from Maungakiekie: Cornwall Park in the Foreground. The Gift of Sir John Logan Campbell to the People of New Zealand.

The History of One Tree Hill,

THE VOLCANIC HILL KNOWN TO THE MAORI PEOPLE AS "Maungakiekie," By M. H. Wynyard.

(Maungakiekie rises from the centre of an area of 400 acres, which constitutes the great Recreation Park of Auckland.)

IT was somewhere about the year 1350 that the Maoris, in their canoe Tainui, after their journey across the Pacific from distant Hawaikai, entered the Hauraki Gulf, and little imagination is needed to picture how even their phlegmatic disposition would melt into wonder and exultation at the scene that, as they paddled along its

shores, rose before their eyes. Passing island after island and headland after headland, they opened up new vistas of beauty in all directions, and finally there lay before them a belt of country, clothed in bush and fern, and dotted over with rounded cones in all directions. Their mariner's eye would note how perfect was the harbour that they had entered, while their warrior wit would at once single out the possibilities of these hills for easily-converted pas. And though the major part of the crew of the Tainui did not immediately stop here, they seemingly retained a lingering regard for the country they had passed, and many of them and their descendants finally returned to the isthmus and occupied its hills.

It is reported by students of Maori history that these Maoris, instead of exterminating the original inhabitants, the "tangata whenuas." of the land, intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and gradually assimilated them into their own race, much as the English race is in turn doing with the Maori to-day. These first Maori descendants from the Tainui crew, called by Judge Gudgeon the Ngaoho, and their connections, the Ngaiwi and the Ngatitai (all afterwards combined under the comprehensive name of Wai-o-hua) settled and multiplied on the Auckland isthmus, and built the great pas on Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), and the other mounts around, which remain to-day an eternal monument to their skill and energy. The native names (lost in the main to the present generation in the modern English designations with which they have been shrouded) of the other hill pas were, Maungawhau (Mount Eden). Maungarei (Mount Wellington), Taurarua (Parnell), Te Ton (Hobson Street). Rarotonga (Mount Smart), Te Tatu (Three Kings). Owairaka (Mount .Albert). Remuera, Mangere, Kohimaramara, and Omahu (Little Bangitoto).

In the early days of Maori settlement the natives seem to have been peacefully inclined enough, though that their natural love of war was only dormant was evidenced by the preparations made, in the building of their villages, against attack from other tribes. During this early peaceful period which extended for about three centuries after their landing here, the Maori race must have grown and multiplied to a great extent, as there is ample evidence that they occupied fairly closely all of the northern part of the island. Nowhere however, do they appear to have settled so densely as in the Auckland isthmus—"Tamaki malarau," as they called it ("Tamaki of a hundred lovers")—and when it is remembered that the waters of the Waitemata and Manukau teemed with fish—"matatai" (i.e. "Fruits of the Ocean")—that the warm volcanic soil around the base of the hills was specially favourable to the growth of the kumara and taro, and that both the land and waterway between the northern peninsula and the heart of the island passed through their borders, there is little wonder at the large population that existed there. It is of interest to know that the natives had a great regard for the richness of the volcanic soils around Maungakiekie—so much so, indeed, that it was a common saying that "If you want to see the awgheto (i.e., caterpillars, particularly partial to the kumara), go to the farm of Takuri." which was a backhanded way of saying that the said farm of Takuri a lady of rustic propensities, who owned what is now mainly the One Tree Hill estate, was especially fruitful in kumaras.

During these piping times of peace there are very few incidents that have come down to us. About the year 1500 the nomadic Ngatiawa passed through the isthmus on their journey to the far North, and a century later, tired of their sojourn there, and of their fights with the Ngapuhi, passed south again under the chief Kahununu, he who carried with him the tuatara lizard to scare the people in his path. Some short time after this we hear of that David of Maori history, Hawakau, passing through to Mount Egmont, the "sacred mountain beyond Waitara." as it is called, where he was destined to overthrow the dreaded Goliath, Puarata, he of the wooden head. And, further, about the year 1700 we hear of the romantic elopement of Puhihuia, daughter of the chief of Maungawhau (Mount Eden), with Te Ponfta, chief of Awitu, and their flight together to the Mannkan through the Epsom Valley, hotly but ineffectually pursued by her scandalised papa.

But gradually, as the numbers of the people increased, strife crept into the midst of the growing nation. Tribal relations became strained, and the native doctrine of "utu," the vendetta of the Maori, tended to plunge the race into lengthy and bloody war. And, at the commencement of the 18th century, 200 years ago, fierce war, indeed, became rampant throughout the land. About this time the Ngatiwhatua, driven from the far North, broke over and captured the whole of Kaipara down to the confines of Waiohua, and the latter fearing—and with reason, as the sequel showed—that the Ngatiwhatua would next endeavour to conquer them strengthened their hill pas and made ready for a stormy day. It was about this time that there arose Kiwi Tamaki, chief of the Waiohua, a son of the lady farmer Takuri, whom I have had occasion to mention above. This great rangatira, who appears to have been a most powerful leader and military genius, chose Maungakiekie as his chief pa. It was he who completed its massive fortifications and made it the central pa of his tribe. It was well suited to be such. Situated in the centre of the fertile plain, with a ring of hills around it, fortified into outlying pas, with its massive slopes palisaded and entrenched, forming an abiding place for fully 4000 inhabitants, with the main sea and water-ways passing beside it, it formed an ideal fortification, whence the holders could sweep down upon an attacking host, or withstand, with advantage on their side, a sudden fierce attack.

The conical top of the hill was known to the natives as Te Totara-i-ahua, and has reference to the totara tree which grew there and formed a landmark for miles around. This totara was cut down by some vandal of a

pakeha, and though Sir John Logan Campbell, to whom this district owes so much, improvised a fresh grove of trees to replace it, we cannot but deplore the fact that so historic a relic was wantonly destroyed. This tree was held sacred by the natives. It was originally planted, as was frequently a custom with Maoris, which might with advantage be followed by their more modern successors, to commemorate the birth of a son. The totara tree on One Tree Hill was planted on the auspicious occasion of the birth of one Koroki, the son of a chief of the Ngatiawa, who first saw the light of day on Manngakiekie when his tribe was on its migration back from Hokianga to Taranaki, as previously recorded.

The fortifications on the hill itself were (judged from the standard of the military requirements of the time) massive and complete. The "Tihi," or central fortress, was Te Totara-i-ahua. Due west of that, across the main crater (for Maungakiekie has three craters) is a lower pa, smaller than the Tihi, but the best-preserved of all the fortifications on the hill. On the north and south of the crater are two other small pas, all perfect little forts in themselves, and with ditches and ramparts still plainly observable dividing them from the other defences. To the east of the hill-top a shoulder of the hill has been carved into terraces, and forms a strong outpost on that side. The east and west craters—whose lips were, in some of those enormous convulsions of Nature of long ago, of which the whole countryside gives visual evidence, blown out over the countryside—were cut into gigantic steps, and now look not unlike the auditorium of some noble Colosseum. To the south, beyond the narrow neck that divides these craters, the hill opens out like a fan. Across its centre, east and west, run two parallel lines of earthworks, while every available rise in the ground has been turned to advantage by the native military genius of the past. Everywhere are evidences of skill and energy, and whole days could be spent in interesting examination of this 100 acres of terrace, rampart, ditch, and earthwork. The terraces, besides being of service in fighting, were necessary to give living room on the otherwise steep sides of the hill. They were, in the main, palisaded, with fantastic head-posts at the corners, and the uprights tied together with flax. The defences communicated with one another through small gaps in the palisading, which, in the event of attack, could be readily barred.

The natives kept considerable stores of food, such as dried fish, shellfish, kumara, and taro, on the hill, and the remains of their food-pits are plainly visible to this day. The whares were built on the terraces, and on the summits of the hills. The higher or exposed dwellings had ramparts of earth thrown up near them and these served the double purpose of extra defence and protection from the wind, and it is interesting to note that these ramparts are more pronounced on the south and west of the pas, the positions most exposed to the prevailing winds. Water was caught from rain showers and stored in hollowed tree-trunks. Such a supply would have been insufficient to enable a long siege to be successfully withstood, but in those days of close combat a long siege was an unknown incident.

To return to the history of the hill. It was, as I have said, about the year 1700 that war became prevalent in the land, in fear of the approach of the Ngatiwhatua from the north, and to guard against the Ngatipaoa and Ngatimaru of Coromandel and Thames, the Waitemata tribes banded together in a confederacy, under the general name of Wai-o-hua. Their chief, Kiwi Tamaki, mentioned above, came into notoriety about the year 1730, and under his regime the tribe speedily became one of the most feared and powerful in the land. He was always at war with one tribe or another, and for a time with unbroken success. It is still told that, when desiring to summon his tribesmen to a council of war, or to warn them of immediate danger, he caused to be beaten on the top of Maungakiekie his great "pahu" or gong, which was specially constructed and embellished with the "poenamū," or greenstone, and when sounded from the top of the hill, close beside the sacred totara tree (then about 150 years old), could be heard across the countryside for many miles around.

Though Kiwi was a warlike chief, cruel and relentless to his enemies, he was noted for his hospitality to friendly tribes, for the extent and luxuriance of the ceremonies and entertainments given by him to visiting chiefs and their attendants, and for the feasts, dances, and songs which he prepared for their edification. He appears altogether to have been a somewhat wonderful individual, with varied accomplishments, and was certainly the most notable chief amongst those who held sway over the Auckland isthmus.

Unfortunately, however, the rise of the Waiohua was not more sudden and complete than their fall. Apparently Kiwi put too much faith in his own prowess, for he did not temper valour with discretion. It seems that in their conquest of the Kaipara the Ngatiwhatua had come in contact with and defeated some of the outlying hapus of the Waiohua. Soon after their establishment in Kaipara, one of the principal Ngatiwhatua chiefs, Temu-pakihi—head of Te Taou hapu—died, and, as was customary on similar occasions, surrounding tribes who were in any way related to the deceased were invited to attend the tangi. Among those invited was Kiwi. He came with a number of followers, whose arms were concealed beneath their garments. The Ngatiwhatua outshone themselves in trying to do justice to the visitors, endeavouring to emulate the ceremonies for which the great chief who honoured them was so famous. In consequence, when they retired to rest, they were worn out and weary, and, seeing this, Kiwi and his followers arose and cruelly butchered 200 of their entertainers in their sleep. A large number, however, managed to escape, and before long, under Te

Wahaaki-aki, organised an avenging force to raid the Waiohua country. At the same time the Ngatimaru (from the Thames district), who had suffered somewhat similarly to the Kaipara tribes, rose against the Waiohua, probably in concert with the Ngatiwhatua. At Titirangi the avengers from the North met Kiwi, and after some hard fighting defeated him and drove him back on Maungakiekie. Then, skirting past the hills, the invaders fell upon the outer pas at Tamaki Heads, and a few of the minor forts. But the places were too hot to hold, as the whole isthmus was now in arms against them, and they retreated after several defeats to Kaipara, pursued right up to their homes by the Waiohua under Kiwi. Having, however, obtained reinforcements, and the Waiohua returning to the isthmus, the Kaipara tribes made further attacks on their enemy. This time the army of Ngatiawa contented itself in the first place in attacking the outlying villages of the Waiohua, and occupying the foothills of the Waitakereis—so keeping in direct touch with their own country. Thence by night they crossed the Manukau Harbour, near the Heads, on rafts improvised out of rushes, and stormed and carried Tarataua, the chief fortress of the Waiohua on the Awitu Isthmus.

These pinpricks were more than the impatient Kiwi could stand. The sound of his great gong on Te Totara-i-ahua sounded over the countryside, and, forming on Maungakiekie, he advanced his forces by way of the Whan portage against the Ngatiwhatua, sending a fleet of canoes from Onehunga along the shores of the Manukau with others of his followers. The Ngatiwhatua, under Te Wahaakiaki, were discovered at Paruroa, near Little Muddy Creek. Being taken by surprise, they retreated before Kiwi's army up a steep spur to the crest of the ridge, where, turning suddenly they fell fiercely upon the Waiohua. In the melee that followed, the two chiefs met, and, recognising one another, closed in mortal conflict. Both fell to the ground with the force of the onslaught, but the Ngatiwhatua chief, getting his mere free first, brained his opponent before he could rise.

Upon the death of their leader the Waiohua lost heart, and the fierce Ngatiwhatuas, following up their success, cut them down right and left. Kiwi's brother, Tokowaru, did his best to stop the rout, but he too was overcome and slain, and with his fall the battle was practically over. That this fight of Paruroa was more than a mere skirmish can be readily conceived when it is stated that, according to the victors' calculations, more than 3000 of the enemy were killed, and the streams ran red with the blood of the slain. The remnant of the Waiohua retreated on Maungakiekie. The Ngatiwhatua, after resting and feasting on what they suggestively called "the fish of the war-god," proceeded by canoe to Onehunga, where they landed, and, after a stubborn resistance, took the pas on the hill, and the citadel of Te Totara-i-ahua, driving the fugitives through Otahuhu, out of the isthmus, to Papakura and Waikato. After the defeat of the Waiohua, the Ngati-whatua occupied the land, under their chief, Te Tuperiri. Like his predecessor. Te Tuperiri chose One Tree Hill for his chief pa, and from here he governed the whole of the desolate country—a short year before the fruitful inheritance of mighty Waiohua, who had now ceased to exist as a tribe. Such is the fate of war.

But, though victorious in their conflicts, the Ngatiwhatuas had suffered severely themselves, and the portion who occupied this district—known after-wards as the Ngaoho, the same name as that held by one of the confederated tribes whom they had destroyed evaded as far as possible all conflict with the fierce warriors of Waikato and Thames, until their children had sufficient time to grow into fighting men. Once we hear of Te Tuperiri descending from Maungakiekie to attack a remnant of the Waiohua at Mangere. These latter, suspecting attack, surrounded their pa with pipi shells, so that in case of a night advance: they might be roused by the crunching of the feet of the Ngaoho on the shells. Divining the ruse, however, when he came to the white cordon around the trenches, Te Tuperiri threw his mat over it, and, following his example, the whole war party crossed noiselessly into the pa and massacred the defenders. A few escaped, but a number, who took refuge in a cave, were discovered and smoked or burnt out, insomuch that, as the story goes, the Ngaoho "had nothing to do but to drag them forth and eat them."

With the exception of some minor fights of this kind, apparently undertaken "just to keep their hand in." the Ngaoho dwelt in peace for about 40 years. At the end of this time the Ngatipoa tribe from the Thames raided the district, the Ngaoho retreating, after several defeats, to Waitakerei, where, being joined by others of the Ngatiwhatua, they in turn defeated the invaders and forced them back to their canoes. In retaliation, Ngatipoa made a later raid in 1793, and attacked and overcame the Ngaoho on the Tamaki River, near Panmure.

The Ngaoho now found that this fruitful isthmus, so desirable in many respects, was rather too hot a place to hold, and, save by old Tuperiri, who stuck manfully through all to his citadel of Maungakiekie, the whole countryside became practically deserted, and the minor hill pas fell gradually into decay.

This brings us to the commencement of the present century, and really completes the native history of the hill. It was occupied for some time during the years following 1800 but, with the coming of the pakeha and his Gospel of Peace the necessity of living in fortified villages gradually passed away, and the inhabitants removed to Orakei and Ihuamatae to be near the seashore and the fish, which has, especially since the abolition of cannibalism, been their chief article of food.

But before the beneficial influence of the missionary had time to bear much fruit, the red hand of war once more fell heavily on this isthmus. This time the danger came from the far North, the great Ngapuhi tribe, led by

the redoubtable Hongika. Armed with the white man's musket, the invaders swept right through the island, killing and massacring in all directions. For close on seven years this Napoleon of New Zealand was the terror of the country. His superior arms gave him a great advantage over other tribes, an advantage of which he availed himself to the full. In 1822 he went down once more. The residents of One Tree Hill and the Auckland Isthmus met him at the Mokoia pa at Panmure close above the present bridge, but though the Ngaoho and their allies fought valiantly (one chief, Rangiohenua, of the Ngatipaoa alone slayed 30 of the besiegers), the odds were too great, the pa was taken, and a large majority of its defenders relentlessly slain.

A few of the defeated escaped, and subsequently dwell on the southern slopes of One Tree Hill and at Onehunga, and later on at Mount Hobson, Orakei, and Remuera. But the glory of Maungakiekie had departed. Upon the founding of Auckland in 1840 its appearance, its fortifications, its pipishell banks, its kumara pits, and the bones of its defender among the rocks, told, as they still tell, of its former importance and population. But all was silent as the dead. Not one of the old inhabitants was left upon the hill, and it stood, and still stands, a symbol of a former greatness, and a dumb monument of a people whose bones have long been mingled with its dust.

Such is the history of Maungakiekie and its wonderful Maori people, who in times past battled for its possession. But all things have now changed, and the pakeha of today ascends the mount, not knowing he treads on sacred Maori ground, and one of the most coveted dwelling places of that ancient race, the greatest people in all the islands of Oceania.

One half century has sufficed to change the Maori from a primitive savage to a civilised and educated being, capable of taking his place in the Parliament of New Zealand, with dignity to himself and enlightened assistance to his fellow pakeha members of the British race. Surely the history of the world can show no greater example of Evolution than this, and it is alike a monument to the colonising and ameliorating influence of the Briton, a striking evidence of the great intellectual capacity of the Maori, and a happy augury for the future of this, the most interesting and wonderful of the alien races now embraced within the wide boundaries of the British Empire.

.....
[FOOTNOTE.—The historical information in the foregoing narrative has been collected from numerous sources, among the chief being Mr. Percy Smith's "Peopling of the North," and the famous "Orakei Judgment," of the late Mr. F. D. Fenton, Judge of the Native Land Court. This country owes a debt of gratitude to the works of the gifted archeologist, and the well-stored archives of the Native Land Court, for it is to them alone that the historian of the future will be able to turn for his information on the traditions, characteristics, and lore of the ancient Maori race.]

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Location Map of part of Auckland District - Tamaki-Makarau

Front Cover

Proceedings in the Court of Appeal of New Zealand

With reference to comments made upon that Court by the JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

In the case of Wallis and Others, *Appellants*,

And

His Majesty's Solicitor-General For The Colony of New Zealand, *Respondent*.

Together with the Judgments of the Court of Appeal and the Privy Council in the same Case.

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Proceedings in the Court of Appeal

At an adjourned sitting of the Court of Appeal of New Zealand, held at Wellington on Saturday, the 25th of April, 1903, at which Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Edwards were present, the Chief Justice indicated that he had something to say regarding the recent judgment of the Privy Council in the Porirua Case. What he was about to read had been prepared before he saw the protest on the same subject

prepared by Mr. Justice Williams. His Honour proceeded to read as follows:—

In the judgment in a recent case before the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—Wallis and others

Protest of Chief Justice.

v. the Solicitor-General—a direct attack has been made upon the probity of the Appeal Court of New Zealand. Though it is, I believe, unnecessary to make any reference to the criticisms of their Lordships to those who know the facts, and the Appeal Court, yet there are many who are ignorant of both, and it may therefore be expedient to refer to the attack.

What the Action was About.

In 1848 there had been reserved out of a block of land ceded by certain natives to the Crown, inter alia, a parcel of land called Witireia. This the Ngatitua tribe, by a letter dated the 16th August, 1848, addressed to His Excellency the Governor, consented should be given to the Bishop of New Zealand (Dr Selwyn) for a college. The Lieutenant-Governor accepted this consent, and on the 28th December, 1850, a Crown grant of this land was issued to the Bishop of New Zealand. The main parts of the grant are as follows:—

The recitals are:

"Whereas a school is about to be established at Porirua under the superintendence of the Right Reverend George Augustus, Lord Bishop of New Zealand, for the education of children of our subjects of all races, and of children of other poor and destitute persons being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean: And whereas it would promote the objects of the said institution to set apart a certain piece or parcel of land in the neighbourhood thereof for the use and towards the maintenance and support of the same, which piece or parcel of land has by a deed from the natives been ceded for the support of the same school."

The trust is as follows:—

"To hold onto the said George Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand and his successors in trust nevertheless to and for the use and towards the maintenance of the said school so long as religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat."

An attempt was made to open a school on the land soon after the grant was made, but though a schoolmaster was appointed a school was not maintained.

In 1858 an Act was passed by the General Assembly called the Bishop of New Zealand Trusts Act 1858, which enabled the Bishop to transfer to trustees any land vested in him in trust. In pursuance of this statute Bishop Selwyn, on the 24th August, 1859, transferred the Witireia land to trustees. Since that time it has been under the management of trustees.

In 1898 the trustees had accumulated £6430 from rents and the investment of rents. They asked the Government to approve of the utilisation of these funds and the future rents of the land in founding scholarships or exhibitions at church schools, with preference to Maori children, etc.

The Government refused to agree to such a proposal.

In order to get judicial sanction to the scheme, the trustees began an action in the Supreme Court, making the Solicitor-General the defendant in the action.

The Court of Appeal, before whom the action ultimately came decided that the land had reverted to the Crown, and the Privy Council overruled this decision.

Object of Statement.

It is not my purpose to canvass the decision of the Privy Council. My object is to show that the comments of the Council on, and its criticism of the Appeal Court, were alike unwarranted.

Education in New Zealand.

From some remarks made in their judgment it is plain that their Lordships were unaware of the provisions for education in New Zealand in 1848. They assumed that the Government had a system of schools. The Education Ordinance of 1847 provided that the Government might assist schools by public funds, but the superintendence and management of such schools were placed under (see section 4) (1) The Bishop of New Zealand, (2) the Bishop or other, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, (3) the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, or (4) the head or minister of any other religious body who shall have engaged in the education of youth in the colony of New Zealand. It was provided (section 3) that in every school to be

established or supported by public funds "religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall form a necessary part of the system to be pursued therein."

The Grant Conforms to the Ordinance.

It will be observed that the trust in the grant is identical in language with the words in the ordinance, showing that the grant was to the same class of school that was supported by public funds.

The Privy Council Judgment.

I propose now to show that many of the statements of fact and of law in the judgment of the Privy Council have been made without a knowledge of our legislation.

At page 3 of the judgment it is said:—

1. *"As the law then stood" (that is, in 1848), "under the Treaty of Waitangi the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and the respective families and individuals thereof, were guaranteed in the exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands so long as they desired to possess them, and they were also entitled to dispose of their lands as they pleased, subject only to a right of pre-emption in the Crown."*

It is an incorrect phrase to use to speak of the treaty as a law. The terms of the treaty were no doubt binding on the conscience of the Crown. The Courts of the colony, however, had no jurisdiction or power to give effect to any treaty obligations. These must be fulfilled by the Crown. All lands of the colony belonged to the Crown, and it was for the Crown under letters patent to grant to the parties to the treaty such lands as the Crown had agreed to grant. The root of title being in the Crown, the Court could not recognise native title. This has been ever held to be the law in New Zealand. (See *Regina v. Symond*, decided by their Honours Sir v. the Bishop of Wellington, decided by their Honours Sir J. Prendergast, C.J., and Mr. Justice Chapman, in 1847; *Wi Parata v. Bishop of Wellington* and Mr. Justice Richmond in 1877, and other cases). Nor did the Privy Council in *Tamaki v. Baker* (1901) entirely overrule this view, though it did not approve of all the dicta of the Judges in *Wi Parata's* case. There are three ordinances of the New Zealand Parliament dealing with the subject. These enactments are in accordance with the judgments in the New Zealand cases referred to.

The Land Claims Ordinance, 1841, enacted, inter alia:—

"That all unappropriated lands within the colony of New Zealand, subject, however, to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof by the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are, and remain Crown and domain lands of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors and that the sole and absolute right of pre-emption from the said aboriginal inhabitants vests in, and can only be exercised by Her said Majesty, her heirs, and successors."

The Land Claims Ordinance of 1842 went further. Even if the Maoris had validly sold land the land still remained demesne lands of the Crown. Section 2 says:—

"All lands within the colony which have been validly sold by the aboriginal natives thereof are vested in Her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, as part of the demesne lands of the Crown."

In 1846 the Native Land Purchase Ordinance was passed, and section 1 provides:—

"If any person shall after the passing of this Ordinance, purchase, or by writing or otherwise agree to purchase any estate or interest in land from any person of the native race, or shall by writing or otherwise agree with any such person for the purchase of the right of cutting timber or other trees, or the right of mining, or of the right of pasturing, or for the use or occupation of land; and also if any person who shall not hold a license from the Government for that purpose shall after the passing of this Ordinance, be found using or occupying any land not comprised within a grant from the Crown, either by depasturing any sheep or cattle thereon, or by residing thereon or by erecting any house or building thereon, or by clearing, enclosing, or cultivating any part thereof, or who shall be found without such license as aforesaid to have cut timber or other trees thereon, or to have gotten any mineral therefrom every such person shall upon conviction of any of the offences hereinbefore mentioned forfeit and pay any sum not less than £5 nor more than £100, to be recovered in a summary way," etc.

There were further provisions for a second penalty if the person remained in possession after conviction, and that nothing in the Ordinance was to be construed to take away or to affect any other proceeding that might be taken against persons purchasing or using land not granted by the Crown. The Royal Charter of 1846 and the Instructions issued therewith, which were both authorised by the Imperial Statute, 9 and 10, Vict., Chap. 103, contained provisions similar to these New Zealand Native Lands Ordinances. See section 14 of the Charter, and Section 11, of Chapter 13 of the Instructions.

If their Lordships had known of these New Zealand statutes and Instructions, they would not, I believe, have stated what I have just quoted from their judgment. They would, on the contrary, have said that the natives were not entitled to dispose of lands that had not been granted to them by Crown Grant or Letters Patent.

Their judgment continues:—

"It was not until 1852 that it was made unlawful for any person other than Her Majesty to acquire or accept land from the natives; 15 and 16 Vict., 72, s. 72."

This also has been penned without knowledge of the statutes and instructions already quoted. The wrong section of the Constitution Act is referred to. It was not 15 and 16 Vict. c. 72 s. 72 that prohibited dealings in what were called Maori lands, but sec. 73.

The judgment continues:—

"The founders of the charity therefore were the native donors. All that was of value came from them. The transfer to the Bishop was their doing."

No doubt the Crown had agreed to reserve Witireia for the Ngatittoa tribe, and the letter quoted was a consent of the tribe to give up the occupancy of this reserve. In that sense, and in that sense only, was it the tribe's gift. The fee-simple was in the Crown, and the Crown gave that to the Bishop. The legal title came from the Crown, and in that sense the Crown was the donor.

The judgment continues:—

"When the Government had once sanctioned their gift, nothing remained to be done but to demarcate the land and place on record the fact that the Crown had waived its right of pre-emption. That might have been effected in various ways. The course adopted was to issue a Crown grant. That perhaps was the simplest way, though the Crown had no beneficial interest to pass. After all, it was simply a question of conveyancing as to which the native owners were possibly not consulted."

Here, again, their Lordships are not aware of our statutes dealing with the natives' occupancy of lands. The title, being in the Crown, could not have been conveyed to the Bishop save by the Crown.

The Solicitor-General.

Their Lordships then refer to the Solicitor-General thus:—

"He seems to have thought it not inconsistent with the traditions of his high office to attack a charity which it was prima facie his duty to protect."

This is hardly a fair statement. The position was that the suit was commenced not by the Solicitor-General, but by the trustees of the endowment against him. He led no attack. He defended the suit by saying inter alia—(1) that the trust had ever been impracticable; (2) that the Court could not deal with the trust; (3) that if it could, he submitted a scheme. He put it in a further defence—that the Crown had no power to issue the grant. This last defence was ruled out. It was argued on his behalf that the land reverted to the Crown. Was it not his duty to raise this defence if it had reverted? Their Lordships appear to think not, but they quote no authority for such a statement of law.

The judgment proceeds:—

"The Solicitor-General then appealed to the Court of Appeal upon the following grounds:—1. That the funds and the lands have reverted to the Crown either absolutely or as trustee upon a failure of the objects and purposes of the Crown grant and are not subject to administration by or under direction of the Court cy-pres. 2. That no general charitable purpose existed or is proved either in the native donors or the Crown, but only a purpose of creating a specified school at a specified site, and the funds and lands are therefore not subject to administration by or under the direction of the Court cy-pres. The learned Judges of the Court of Appeal allowed the appeal and entered judgment for the Solicitor-General. They did not, however, adopt or even notice either of the grounds put forward by the Solicitor-General. They were of opinion, they said that the land and money had become the property of the Crown for two reasons. In the first place they thought 'the grant had become void on the ground that it sufficiently appeared from the evidence that Her Majesty was deceived in her grant.' In the second place, assuming that a school satisfying the terms of the grant had been at one time established, they held that the duration of the trust must have come to an end, because the trust was only to last 'so long as religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language should be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat.'"

The ground on which the judgment of the Appeal Court proceeded was involved in the first ground—namely, that the land had reverted to the Crown. Dealing with the question whether the Appeal Court was justified in saying the Crown was deceived, their Lordships say:—

"What evidence is there that the Crown was deceived? Absolutely none. The evidence is entirely the other way. The Governor undertook to complete the arrangement proposed by the native donors as soon as he

received their letter. He did not even wait to communicate with Bishop Selwyn. It is not suggested that he communicated on the subject with anybody else. Now, it would be absurd to found a charge of misrepresentation on the letter of the native donors. But if the native donors were innocent, with whom is the blame to rest? The evidence which the Court of Appeal said was sufficient to prove misrepresentation was discovered by them in the introductory recitals of the Crown grant. But the grant is not a deed inter partes. The statements in it are the statements of the Crown. The statement that a school was 'about to be established at Porirua' is just as consistent with an intention on the part of the Governor to establish the school by the aid of public money or an expectation on his part that the announcement in England of the generosity of the native donors, coupled with the approval of Her Majesty, would bring in ample funds for the object in view, as it is with the supposition of misrepresentation made to the Governor by some unknown persons interested in procuring this grant from the Crown."

The ground on which the Crown acted in granting the land is stated in the grant. The Bishop accepted the grant with that statement. Could he, or the trustees his successors in title, deny the preamble of the grant under which they held? If so, they could deny all the statements in the preamble, and deny that the school was to be "for the education of children of our subjects of all races and of children of other poor and destitute persons being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean." Could the Bishop have ignored this intention? What had been represented to the Crown appears in the grant, and there was no evidence that the preamble in the grant was untrue; and surely it rested on those who said in 1900 that the statements in the grant of 1850 were untrue, to prove it, and not for those who said that the grant was reciting a fact to prove the recital was correct. Further, it was never even hinted in the Appeal Court by the plaintiffs that the preamble was untrue. It was reserved to their Lordships, without the assistance of counsel, and without the slightest evidence, to make such a suggestion.

I have already referred to the Education Ordinance. Its provisions show that the superintendence and management of schools were conferred on the heads of the Churches in New Zealand. The Governor could not therefore intend to establish a school himself. That duty was left to the Churches, and the grant of Witireia is only one of many—in almost identical terms—giving lands to the heads of Churches to help in the establishment and maintenance of schools. (See the two grants set out in the cases of lands near Manihera and Kaikokirikiri.) If the Government had intended to establish a school at Porirua, the land to support! such a school would not have been granted to the Bishop. The suggestion made in the judgment could not have been made by any counsel at the Bar in New Zealand, nor by any one conversant with our history.

Their Lordships continue:—

"If the representative of Her Majesty was unduly sanguine—if he did not think that the hopes and aspirations of the native donors would attain a speedy consummation, that is no ground for suggesting that the Crown was deceived. And, indeed, expectations which may now seem to have been over-sanguine, on even unfounded, might not improbably have been fulfilled if it had not been for the Maori War and the removal of Bishop Selwyn to an English see before the war was finished."

This last suggestion is even more far-fetched than the former one. There has been no war at Porirua, or near Porirua, since 1850. The Ngatitōa tribe have not been at war with the Crown since the grant was issued. It is true that in parts of the colony far distant from Porirua—in Taranaki, in the Waikato, in Wanganui, etc.—there were wars down to 1870; but these could not have prevented the Maori youths near Porirua from receiving the education mentioned in the grant. It might as well be said that a riot in the County of Inverness, or in Yorkshire, would prevent a school being opened in Kent.

The reference to Bishop Selwyn's translation to the Sea of Lichfield is equally unfortunate. The district was not in his diocese after 1858. It was about two hundred miles from the nearest part of his diocese. Porirua was and is in the Wellington Diocese, and Bishop Abraham was Bishop of that diocese in 1858. Further, Bishop Selwyn gave up the trust in 1859, and since then it has been managed by independent trustees. Bishop Selwyn did not leave New Zealand till 1868. What possible relation could his going to Lichfield have with the non-performance of this trust?

If a person were to tell the Crown that he is about to open a school, and got an endowment on that understanding, and no school was ever opened, would the Crown not be deceived? Does it make any difference as to deceit if this person makes no statement, but receives the endowment on the statement in the grant that he is about to establish the school? If the statement in the grant on which the Crown stated it was relying, in making the grant, was not true, would not an honest grantee have so informed the Crown and not have taken the grant till the statement was deleted or amended? I have no doubt that if the Bishop had been asked in 1850 whether he did intend to start the school at once he would have said he did so intend. He would not have accepted the grant with a false recital.

Perhaps if their Lordships had known that this trust is only one amongst many granted to different churches left for generations unutilised for school purposes, they would not have deemed it to be their duty to search for

excuses for its nonfulfilment.

The Reasons for the Court of Appeal Judgment.

Their Lordships say it is too narrow a view of the transaction to say "that there was no general purpose of charity, but only an intention to erect a specific school on a specified site." They add that that view of the transaction "is at variance in their Lordships' opinion with the express terms of the gift, and opposed to principles laid down in recognised authorities such as the Attorney-General v. the Bishop of Chester, 1, B.C.C., 444, and the Incorporated Society v. Price, 1, J. and H., 498."

The two grounds on which the Court of Appeal relied were (1) the Crown was deceived, and the following quotation from the judgment of the Court of Appeal will show how it dealt with that branch of the case:—

"The Crown is informed that something is going to be done, and that a grant of land will assist what is going to be done. A grant is made in anticipation of this something being done, and because it is going to be done. Then the thing is not done. The Crown is thus deceived in the consideration for the grant. The law is thus stated in Barwick's case, 5 co., 94, Bacon's Abridgement F.: 'It is a maxim that if the consideration which is for the benefit of the Queen, be it executed or executory, or be it on record or not on record, be it not true or not only performed, or if prejudice may accrue to the Queen by reason of nonperformance of it, the letters patent are void,'" etc.

Their Lordships get rid of this branch of the judgment by denying that the Crown was deceived. They do not state that the law laid down by the Court of Appeal is wrong. (2) The other branch of the judgment is founded on the use of the words in small capitals in the following extract from the grant:—

"In trust nevertheless and for the use and towards the maintenance of the said school so LONG AS religion education, industrial training and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat."

Were the words so LONG AS words of limitation, and did the grant lapse if its purpose were not fulfilled? The case of Attorney-General v. Pyle, 1 Alk., 435, was a somewhat similar case. It was there held the gift was only given "quousque," and when it ceased, the gift returned to the owner or his heir. This branch of the case is not dealt with in the judgment of their Lordships further than by saying:—

"Now as it is common ground that no school was ever established at or in the neighborhood of Porirtua, it would seem to follow that the occasion on which the trust according to the construction placed on the grant of the Court of Appeal was to cease and determine never arose, and never could have arisen."

I must assume, coming as it does from the highest judicial tribunal of our country, that this is the law. The results are somewhat peculiar. If the Bishop had established the school in 1851 and continued it up till 1858, the land might have reverted to the Crown, but as he never did establish the school, it never could asvert.

Charges Against the Court.

Their Lordships say:—

"So far their Lordships have treated the case as if the order under appeal had been made on a proper application and in a suit properly constituted. In fact however, the application was entirely irregular, and the suit was not one in which such an order as this obtained by the Solicitor-General ought to have been made. It is contrary to the established practice of the Court to permit a defendant to an action for the administration of the trusts of a settlement not void on the face of it to impeach the settlement in his defence to that action. If he thinks he has a case for setting aside the settlement or having it declared null and void, he must attack it openly and directly in an action or counter-claim in which he comes forward as plaintiff. Any other course would be inconvenient, embarrassing, and unfair."

There are no rules of procedure in our Courts that prevent a defendant raising any defence to the claim of a plaintiff, though adequate relief may be denied him unless he begins a suit. If, as the Solicitor-General contended, the land had reverted to the Crown, then the jurisdiction of the Court to act as if it was a general charity and to apply the cy-pres doctrine was ousted. And he had a right to raise this contention. No rule of our Supreme Court or of our Appeal Court is quoted in defence of the decision of their Lordships, and it is by the rules of the New Zealand Courts that such a question must be determined.

I may further add that both in the Appeal Court and in the Privy Council this point was not raised by the appellant counsel. If the defence pleaded had been no defence in law to the plaintiff's claim, that point should

have been specially raised in accordance with our code of procedure. The shorthand notes of the argument in the Privy Council show that what was argued there was not that the Solicitor-General could not rely on the defence he raised, but that the gift was a general charity; that the Crown was not deceived; and the gift was not to a school on a specified site, and for the education of children therein.

The point of practice referred to—for it does not touch the merits of the controversy between the parties—was not relied on by the appellants' counsel either before the Appeal Court, or before their Lordships; and it would seem that the rights of the Crown in such a case could have been discussed in a suit instituted to obtain judicial sanction to a scheme. (*Attorney-General v. the Ironmongers' Company*, 2, M. and Keen, 576. Note on p. 578).

But if the suit was not properly constituted, to raise the legal questions argued by both parties (and on that matter, I need express no opinion), was it expedient for their Lordships to deal with merits which were not, on this assumption, properly before them?

Their Lordships further comment on the defence:—

"Then on the hearing of the appeal the Solicitor-General applied for and obtained leave to amend his defence. A formal order for the amendment was necessary 'to more clearly define the grounds of defence of the Crown.' But the amendment only made the confusion worse. It was a medley of allegations its capable of proof and statements derogatory to the Court."

Their Lordships seem to have overlooked that the amendment referred to was made "by consent." The plaintiffs had no object to the further statement of defence. And it is unusual in New Zealand for a Court to refuse an amendment of a pleading to which both litigants agree.

This new defence is declared to be a "medley of allegations is capable of proof and statements derogatory to the Court." It is better to set out this so-called "medley." The further defence was as follows:—

"The defendant by Hugh Gully, Crown Solicitor for the Wellington District, further amends his statement of defence filed herein by adding thereto the following paragraph:—That the terms of cession to the Crown by the aboriginal natives of the lands comprised in the grants were such as to preclude the Crown from consenting to the application of the said lands and rents and profits thereof to any other purposes or objects than those expressly mentioned in the grant. And that the Crown has a duty to observe the terms of the session to itself and the trust thereby confided by the aboriginal natives in the Crown. And that the Executive Government has determined, so far as the matter is one for the determination of the Crown, that any departure from the precise terms of the grant by the application cy-pres of the said lands and funds without the consent of the Parliament of the colony would contravene the terms of the said cession and be a breach of the trust thereby confided in the Crown."

Whether the defence was well or ill founded, it did not was in lucidity. It sets up, first, that the terms of the session by the natives precluded the Crown consenting to the funds going in support of a school in Wairarapa; second, that the Crown was bound to observe the terms of the cession; third, that the Executive Government so far as it could determine it, and so far as it was for the Crown to determine it, declared that any depart from the terms of the cession must be made by Parliament.

I do not understand what the allegations are that were "incapable of proof." The first two defences are statements rathe of law than of fact, and the third—a statement of fact—could not be disputed. What, then, were the "allegations that were in capable of proof"? Such disparaging phrases as their Lordships have used do not, it appears to me, tend to the elucidation of the important questions they were called upon to decide.

Their Lordships in still critising the defence say:—

"But the Court accepted it and treated it with extreme deference. The learned Judges intimate pretty plainly that if they had not been able to find satisfactory reasons for deciding in favour of the Crown, the amendment would of itself have prevented their making an order in favor of the trustees. The amendment divided itself into two parts. In the first place it asserts that the Crown has come under some undefined and undisclosed obligations to the natives. The Court seems to think that this assertion must place the Court in a considerable difficulty. Why? Why should a Court which acts on evidence, and not on surmise or loose suggestions, pay any attention to an assertion which, if true, could not have been proved at that stage of the proceedings, and which evidence the cause shows to have been purely imaginary? According to the evidence, the only obligation which the Crown undertook was to waive its right of pre-emption."

These sentences do not correctly describe the attitude of the Court. The Court said:—

"If the true construction of the grant is that the land included is to be held by the Bishop and his successors in perpetuity for charitable purposes, notwithstanding that the particular school has ceased to exist, then in the absence of any special circum-stances we think the Court has jurisdiction to approve of a scheme for the management of the trust property, notwithstanding the grant is from the Crown." Etc., etc. ...

And again—

"The Court by virtue of its general jurisdiction over property held by trustees for charitable purposes can

give the trustees authority by approving of a scheme."

The question then was, Were there special circumstances which made the question of exercising the jurisdiction difficult? The Court held there were.

It is to be noted no representatives of the natives were before the Court, and it was therefore the duty of the Solicitor-General to guard any rights they might possess. The Crown stated that the terms of cession prevented the cy-pres doctrine being applied, any that it had duties toward the natives. The Court held that the session was an act of State, and that it was difficult, if not impossible, in 1900 to enquire—if it had jurisdiction to do so—into act of State in 1850. How is this contention of the Court [unclear: met] their Lordships? By asserting that the only obligation the [unclear: Cou] undertook was to waive its right of pre-emption. The assertion as I have shown, based on a fallacy. I repeat the Crown [unclear: stood] quite a different position. It had the occupancy or [unclear: possess] rights of the Maoris ceded to it that it might endow a school, said it was in a sense a trustee to give effect to that cession. [unclear: Furth] it gave up its title—the title in fee-simple—to the Bishop.

It was not the Appeal Court that was acting on loose [unclear: sugg]tions or in ignorance of the Statute law of the country. [unclear: Th] Lordships reiterate their inaccurate statements about the [unclear: Tre] of Waitangi. They say:—"At the date of the session to [unclear: Bis] Selwyn the rights of the natives in their reserves depended [unclear: sal] on the Treaty of Waitangi." This has been written through was of knowledge of our Statutes and the uniform practice of the Court in dealing with the demesne lands of the Crown in the [unclear: colo] (See the charters and Royal Instructions before referred to), They continue:—"There is not in the evidence the slightest trace any cession to the Crown or of any bargain between the Court and the native owners."

My remark just made applies to this sentence also. [unclear: What] Maoris did was deemed a cession, otherwise the Crown [unclear: grant] not have been issued, as the land had been reserved for the [unclear: Ma] What the bargain was and what took place were not [unclear: proved], the Court so held. These questions were not in issue in [unclear: the] and the Appeal Court doubted its power to enquire into this of State, namely, the cession of Witireia.

Just before the conclusion of their judgment, their Lordship say:—

"We see great difficulty,' say the learned Judges holding that in such circumstances the [unclear: Court] or ought to interfere.' The proposition advanced of behalf of the Crown is certainly not flattering [unclear: to] dignity or the independence of the highest Court in New Zealand, or even to the intelligence of the parliament. What has the Court to do with the [unclear: Ers]tive? Where there is a suit properly [unclear: constituted] ripe for decision, why should justice be denied [unclear: or] layed at the bidding of the Executive? Why [unclear: sha] the Executive Government take upon itself to [unclear: inst] the Court in the discharge of its proper functions"

The passage quoted from the judgment of the Appeal Court was a statement made after the Court had determined the lands had reverted to the Crown, and was in answer to the question argued at length as to what the Court could or would do if there was no reverter. The Court had not declined jurisdiction. It had decided the main question that had been argued, and was involved in the suit adversely to the plaintiffs. And the remarks quoted were meeting arguments that were only relevant to a state of things the Court found did not exist. Any person reading their Lordships' remarks and being unacquainted with the judgment of the Court of Appeal, would assume that this Court had declined jurisdiction, had denied justice, and had lost its dignity and independence through dread of the Executive Government. These imputations are baseless, and I hardly think it is becoming in the highest tribunal in the Empire, to make such charges against any Court, unless they are conclusively proved.

I have already explained the attitude of the Appeal Court. Their Lordships, when they made the imputations I have quoted, knew the position the Appeal Court took up, for in the judgment of the Court there is this passage:—

"The position appears to be somewhat as follows: The Crown, as parens patriae, through the instrumentality of this Court, sees that property devoted to charity shall be applied for the purposes of charity, and that where no purposes are specified the Court as representing the Crown is to define the purposes. The Crown also as parens patriae is under a solemn obligation to protect the rights of native owners of the soil. When, therefore, the Crown as parens patriae asserts that in that capacity it is under an obligation to natives in respect of a property, can this Court representing the Crown as parens patriae, say to the Crown, 'You shall not carry out this obligation, but the property you have created shall be devoted to charitable purposes to be determined by the Court irrespective of your obligations?' We see great difficulty in holding that in such circumstances the Court could or ought to interfere."

It will be noticed that this last sentence, as quoted in the Privy Council judgment from the Appeal Court judgment, is dissociated from its context. Any one reading the Privy Council judgment, and not knowing the

Appeal Court judgment, must inevitably be misled by the way the quotations are made. Their Lordships do not attempt to answer the pertinent question the Court of Appeal asked, or to meet the arguments used, but [unclear: ind] in language that is happily rare in judicial judgments [unclear: pron] in this colony.

The Privy Council's Aspersions.

Whether it is a fitting thing for the highest Imperial [unclear: tri] to make such unfounded aspersions, it is not for me to say. [unclear: I] the aspersions under the circumstances in which they have been made are a greater reflection on the Privy Council than on the Appeal Court of New Zealand.

I have not ventured to say that this grant was not one of general charity. That is a legal question that may yet come [unclear: bef] the Courts. I have dealt only with the attacks made on the New Zealand Appeal Court by the Privy Council when over-[unclear: ruling] decision of that Court.

A Personal Statement.

I may add that I was no party to the judgment of the Appeal Court. The Court was dealing with an appeal from the late Court Justice, and from Mr Justice Edwards and myself, and the [unclear: attit] I took up when the matter was before Mr Justice [unclear: Edwards] myself was approved of by their Lordships in their [unclear: judgment] feel, however, that when the Court of which I have the [unclear: hon] be President, is attacked by such a body as the Privy [unclear: Coun] is my duty to explain the position to my fellow colonists.

Other Privy Council Judgments.

Unfortunately this is not the only judgment of the [unclear: Pri] Council that has been pronounced under a misapprehension or ignorance of our local laws. I may briefly refer to three in which personally I was not in any way concerned.

In the case of *Plimmer v. the Corporation of Wellington* (L.F 9, A.C., 699), the judgment of the Council was mainly based on following statement:—

"It is not necessary to follow minutely the legal title the land. It is sufficient to say that, under [unclear: what] form, it has been continuously vested in Government for public purposes, that the use made of [unclear: it] Plimmer was consistent with these purposes, and [unclear: ti] Plimmer 'might by contract with the Government have acquired a perpetual interest in it for such [unclear: pe]poses.' "(See 9 A.C., pp. 705-706).

The Privy Council did not refer to, and were [unclear: appare] ignorant of the fact, that the Superintendent, in whom the [unclear: reser] was vested, could neither sell, nor mortgage, nor lease the [unclear: res] for more than three years unless an Act or Ordinance of the Provincial Council authorised him to do so. (See the Public Reserves Act 1854, sections 5, 6, and 7.) The reserve was granted under this Act. Section 7 says:—"No lands so ... granted ... shall be alienated by way of sale or mortgage or by lease for any longer term than three years, except by the authority of some Act or Ordinance of the Provincial Council of such province to be passed in that behalf, nor except by deed signed and sealed with the proper seal of the province," etc.

No such Act or Ordinance was passed, and it was therefore inaccurate to say that Plimmer could have acquired by contract a perpetual interest in the reserve. All he could have got was a lease for a term not exceeding three years. Had the Privy Council been acquainted with the Public Reserves Act of 1854, there is, I think, no doubt the judgment of the New Zealand Appeal Court would not have been reversed.

In *Eccles v. Mills* (L.R., 1898, App. cases, 360), it was plain that the Privy Council did not understand the system of conveyancing in New Zealand, for their Lordships did not know what was meant by the usual declaration in New Zealand transfers, conveyances, and leases, regarding "implied covenants." If they had understood what "implied covenants" meant in New Zealand, I believe their judgment would have been different.

And in *Tamaki v. Baker* (L.R., 1901, A.C., 561), the Council was ignorant of the date when we became a self-governing colony, and of the Ordinances, Acts, and Charters regarding native lands." If the dicta in that case were given effect to, no land title in the colony would be safe.

The Outlook.

The matter is really a serious one. A great Imperial judicial tribunal sitting in the capital of the Empire, dispensing justice even to the meanest of British subjects in the uttermost parts of the earth, is a great and noble ideal. But if that tribunal is not acquainted with the laws it is called upon to interpret or administer, it may unconsciously become the worker of injustice. And if such should unfortunately happen, that Imperial spirit that is the true bond of union amongst His Majesty's subjects must be weakened. At present we in New Zealand are, so far as the Privy Council is concerned, in an unfortunate position. It has shown that it knows not our statutes, or our conveyancing terms, or our history. What the remedy may be, or can be, for such a state of things, it is not at present within my province to suggest.

The Chief Justice then read the following protest [*unclear: receiv*] from Mr Justice Williams:—

FOR an inferior Court to criticise the judgment of a superior Court which reversed its decision would be in general able

Protesti of Mr. Justice Williams.

unprofitable, and unseemly. But where the [*unclear: decis*] of the inferior Court has been not only [*unclear: reversed*] has been reversed with contumely—where the [*unclear: infer*] Court has been taunted with want of independence and subservience to the Executive Government—it is right that the members of the Court who pronounced the decision in question should come forward and defend the honour of the Court they represent. In order that they may do so, it would become necessary [*unclear: f*] them to refer to their own decision, and also to criticise to [*unclear: so*] extent the decision of the superior Court. They would do [*unclear: this*] so much with a view of justifying their decision as to show that the aspersions cast upon them by the superior Court were [*unclear: unjustifiab*]. Arguments which might fall far short of showing that the [*unclear: decis*] of the superior Court was wrong might well be sufficient to show that the comments it made on the inferior tribunal were [*unclear: unjust*] unreasonable. The decision of the Court of Appeal of New Zealand in the case of the Solicitor-General v. Wallis (19, N.Z., 665) be recently been reversed by the Judicial Committee of the [*unclear: Pri*] Council. Their Lordships have thought proper, in the course of their judgment, to use language with reference to the Court of Appeal of a kind which has never been used by a superior Court with reference to an inferior Court in modern times. The [*unclear: judgm*] of their Lordships has been published and circulated throughout [*unclear: ti*] colony. The natural tendency of that judgment, emanating [*unclear: as*] does from so high a tribunal, is to create a distrust of this court and to weaken its authority among those who are subject to its jurisdiction. The Judges of the Court of Appeal of New Zealand who decided the case in question, have therefore thought it right that I, who was the Judge who presided on that occasion, should on their behalf protest publicly against the attack made on the [*unclear: hon*] of the Court they represent, and should endeavour to show whether their judgment was right or wrong there is no ground whatever for the attack their Lordships have thought fit to [*unclear: make*]. that end I propose to refer to and comment on both the judgment at the Court of Appeal and the judgment of their Lordships. To [*unclear: pro*]perly appreciate these remarks, it would, however, be desirable from those who hear or read them to read carefully both of these judgments. The judgments start with a fundamental disagreement Their Lordships' judgment asserts that the Maoris were the [*unclear: doo*] of the land and the founders of the colony. Our judgment [*unclear: aser*] that the Crown was the donor and founder. Their Lordships say (speaking of the year 1848): "As the law then stood, under [*unclear: image not readable*] Treaty of Waitangi the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, [*unclear: and*] respective families and individuals thereof, were guaranteed in the exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands so long as they desired to possess them, AND THEY WERE ALSO ENTITLED TO DISPOSE OF THEIR LANDS AS THEY PLEASED, SUBJECT ONLY TO A RIGHT OF PREEMPTION IN THE CROWN. It was not until 1852 that it was made unlawful for any person other than Her Majesty to acquire or accept land from the natives (15 and 16, Vict., c. 72, s. 72). The founders of the colony, therefore, were the native donors. All that was of value came from them." This statement of the law is a surprise, I think, and is, moreover, incorrect. It was certainly not the case that if the Crown did not wish to buy, the Maoris could sell their land to whom they pleased. Section 1 of the Native Land Purchase Ordinance, 1846, which was in force until 1865, is as follows: "If any person shall, after the passing of this Ordinance, purchase, or by writing or otherwise agree to purchase, any estate or interest in land from any person of the native race, or shall by writing or otherwise agree with any such person for the purchase of the right of cutting timber or other trees, or of the right of mining, or of the right of pasturage, or for the use and occupation of land; and also if any person who shall not hold a license from the Government for that purpose shall, after the passing of this Ordinance, be found using or occupying any land not comprised within a grant from the Crown either by depasturing any cattle thereon or by residing thereon, or by erecting any; house or "building thereon, or by clearing, enclosing, or cultivating any part thereof, or who shall be found, without such license as aforesaid, to have cut timber or other trees thereon, or to have gotten any mineral therefrom—every such person shall, upon conviction of any of the offences hereinbefore mentioned, forfeit and pay any sum not less than £5 nor more than £100, to be recovered in a summary way; provided that no person shall be convicted of any of the offences aforesaid, except on the information or complaint of the

Surveyor-General or of some other officer duly authorised in that behalf by His Excellency the Governor." This Ordinance has evidently been overlooked by their Lordships. So also have they overlooked the Royal Instructions of 1846. Paragraph 11 of chapter 13 (Domett's Ordinances, page 62) is as follows:—"No conveyance, or agreement for the conveyance, of any of the lands of or belonging to any of the aboriginal natives, in common as tribes or as communities, whether in perpetuity or for any definite period, whether absolutely or conditionally, whether in property or by way of lease or occupancy which may be henceforth made, shall be of any validity or effect, unless the same be so made to or entered into with Us, our heirs, and successors." In the case (*Nireaha Tamaki v. Baker*, 1891, A.C., p. 567) their Lordships say: "In the year 1852 New Zealand, which up to that time had been a part of New South Wales, received a Constitution as a self-governing colony." The statute 15 and 16, Vict. c. 72, was the Constitution Act. It was probably the erroneous impression that New Zealand remained a part of New South Wales till 1852, when a Constitution was granted that led to the omission to consider New Zealand legislation prior to that date. In fact New Zealand became a separate colony in 1840. Their Lordships in the present case go on to say: "When the Government had [unclear: con] sanctioned their gift nothing remained to be done but to demarcate the land, and place on record the fact that the Crown had waived its right of pre-emption. That might have been effected in [unclear: vario] ways. The course adopted was to issue a Crown grant. That perhaps, was the simplest way, although the Crown had no [unclear: benefic] interest to pass. After all it was only a question of conveyancing as to which the native owners were possibly not consulted.' A part altogether from the above quoted Ordinance and Instructions of 1846, all these statements are at variance with the law as hither understood in New Zealand. Furthermore, they seem at [unclear: varian] with the law as laid down by their Lordships in the case of [unclear: Nireab] *Tamaki v. Baker*. Their Lordships there say (1901, A.C., p. 567) that the Lands Claims Ordinance of 1841 was a legislative recognition of the "rightful and necessary occupation of land by the [unclear: aborigi] inhabitants, confirmed and guaranteed by the Crown by the Treaty of Waitangi." They go on to say: "It would not of itself, however be sufficient to create a right in the native occupiers cognisable in a court of law." At the time of the transactions in question there was nothing else to create such a right. There were no statutes regulating the extinction of native title. The Native Rights An referred to in the case of *Nireaha Tamaki v. Baker* was not passed till 1865. If the native occupiers had no right cognisable in a Court of law, it is difficult to see how they could transfer such a right to the bishop. A man cannot give what he has not got. The case of *Nireaha Tamaki v. Baker* was decided by their Lordships shortly before our decision in the present case, but the judgment had not then reached the colony. In their judgment in that case their Lordships comment on the case of *Wi Parata v. the Bishop of Wellington* (3 N.Z. Jur., N.S.S.C., 72), and disagree with certain of the dicta contained in it. Their Lordships, however, go on to refer to it as follows:—"As applied to the case then before the Court, however their Lordships see no reason to doubt the correctness of the conclusion arrived at by the learned Judges." Now, the case of *Wi Parata v. the Bishop of Wellington* was decided in 1877 by Sir James Prendergast and the late Mr. Justice Richmond. It was an action brought by the chief of the Ngatittoa tribe to impeach the Crown grant to the bishop of this same land as being a fraud upon the native [unclear: don] and in contravention of the arrangement between the bishop and the natives. The case was decided against the plaintiff on [unclear: demurr] The learned Judges, in concluding their judgment, say: "Lastly we are of opinion that in law the Crown is to be regarded as the donor, and not the Ngatittoa tribe." The same view was taken by this Court in a case decided last year, after our decision in the present case. In *Hopepa Wi Neera v. the Bishop of Wellington* (21. N.Z., 655), a native again attempted to impeach the bishop's title. The present Chief Justice, in a judgment concurred in by Mr. Justice Edwards, gave a lucid historical exposition of the law as to the relations of the Crown and the natives, in respect to native lands, and the Court followed the decision in *Wi Parata v. the Bishop of Wellington*. Further, the trustees in their statement of claim in the present action rest their title as trustees not on any gift from the natives but on the Crown grant only. Whether, however, we were right or wrong, there was certainly an unbroken current of authority. First, that the native occupiers had no right to their land cognisable in a court of law, and that having no such right themselves they could not transfer any right to others. Secondly, that the Crown grant was not a mere piece of conveyancing, but was essential to create any right at all of which this Court could take notice, and that any such right was derived from the Crown grant, and by virtue of the grant, and from the grant alone. Thirdly, that as the natives never had any rights cognisable in a court of law they had no locus standi to impeach the grant, and were neither necessary nor proper parties in any proceedings between the Crown and its grantee in relation to the subject matter of the grant. We therefore held that the charity owed its existence to, and that the bishop derived his title to the land from the Crown grant alone, and that the intention of the Crown in making the grant, and the conditions on which the land was held by the grantee, were to be determined by the language of the grant without any reference to anything that had taken place between the grantee and the former native occupiers. Had we not so held we should not only have had to over-rule all previous decisions, but should have differed in opinion from every Judge who has ever sat in this court. Their Lordships, however, have taken the view that the natives were the donors of the land, and

the founders of the charity, and that the Crown grant was merely used for conveyancing purposes, and might have been altogether dispensed with. Their Lordships' judgment seems to have been based in the main on this opinion. This Court, having come to the conclusion that the Crown grant was the foundation of the title, proceeded to endeavour to ascertain its meaning from the words used in it. The grant was dated the 28th of December, 1850, more than two years after the original transactions between the natives and Bishop Selwyn. It is important to observe that the terms of the grant show that the land was not given as a site for a school or to establish a school. The grant states that a school was about to be established at Porirua. This land, which is described as being in the neighborhood of the proposed school, was given for its maintenance and support. This Court came to the conclusion for the reasons given at length in our judgment (19, N.Z., p. 675). First, that the grant was made upon the representation and in anticipation that an institution was to be founded and for the sole purpose of assisting such institution, and that as no such institution had been founded the Crown had been misled, [unclear: or] legal language, deceived in its grant, although there was, of [unclear: cour] no suggestion of any intention to deceive or mislead. Secondly that as the grant was upon trust for the use and maintenance of the school so LONG AS religious education, industrial training, and forth should be given thereat, and as no education at all had been given, because no school had ever been established, the trust by its very terms had ceased to exist. Their Lordships suggest that the recital in the grant that a school is about to be established a Porirua under the superintendence of the Bishop of New Zealand is consistent with an intention on the part of the [unclear: Governor] establish the school by the aid of public money, or with an expectation on his part that the announcement in England of the generosity of the native donors would bring in ample funds for that object. The suggestion that there might have been an intension on the part of the Governor to establish the school by [unclear: the] of public money is strange and novel. The evidence shows the it was intended to be established by the bishop. In interpreting the grant we did not consider it material to inquire into what was passing in the mind of the person who happened to be the Government of the colony at the time it was issued. We looked at the grant and found a statement in it that a school was about to be established under the [unclear: sup]intendence of the grantee. The statement, no doubt, was the statement of the Crown, but the Crown must have made the statement on the information of somebody, and it certainly did not seem open to the grantee to question the truth of the statement in the recitals to the grant. We thought that the words that the school was "about to be established "had their ordinary meaning viz., that it was going to be established in the near future-and we considered that the establishment of the school was in [unclear: eff] the consideration for the grant, and that the consideration had [unclear: had] been duly performed. Their Lordships suggest that the school might have been established if it had not been for the Maori [unclear: W] and the removal of Bishop Selwyn to an English See. This district was not affected by the Maori War, and Bishop Selwyn, an appears by the record, ceased to have anything to do with the trust in 1859. If we are to take judicial notice of movement of Bishop Selwyn of which there is no evidence on the record it will be found that the land ceased to be in his diocese in about 1851 and that he did not proceed to England till some ten years later If intentions are to be discovered from acts, the intention of establishing the school was completely abandoned. In our vise however, it was immaterial to consider why the school was not established. The material fact was that it had not been established. Further, if we could go behind the grant and take account of what took place between the bishop and the natives, and could treat the natives as donors, it is abundantly clear that the land was given by them on the faith that a college would be established on or near it. That is shown by Bishop Hadfield's affidavit. As their Lordships say, "no fixed or definite period of time" was mentioned either in the grant or in the transactions with the natives within which the college was to be established. But surely it would be implied that it was to be established within a reasonable time, and that the establishment was not to be deferred until after all the native donors had died and their children's children had come to maturity. A church obtains a gift of land from a semi-savage tribe on the understanding that the church will within some reasonable time, out of other funds, establish a college on or near the land for the education of the youth of the tribe. Fifty years pass, and the church has not established the college. A plain man would say that in such circumstances the church should hand back the land to the tribe. And the Crown represents the tribe for all legal purposes, and stands in its place. Their Lordships seem to make light of this lapse of time. But fifty years in New Zealand mean much more than fifty years in England. The changes political, social, and material that have taken place in New Zealand during the latter half of the nineteenth century are greater than those that have taken place in England from the time of the Tudors to the present day. All the cases cited where a fund was administered cy-pres seemed inapplicable. The gift was a gift "inter vivos." Whether the natives or the Crown were the donors, the gift was not to establish a charity, or simply to a charity. It was a gift in aid of a charity which was to be established from other sources by the donee. The intended establishment of that charity was the sole reason and consideration for the gift. If no such intention had ton stated, the gift would never have been made. The mode of the gift was of the substance of the gift. If a man gives a subscription towards the support of a school which the person to whom he gives it is going to establish, and that person never established the school, surely the giver can recover back his money

from the person to whom he paid it. Is there any difference in substance between that case and the present? The second ground of our decision does not seem to have been pressed upon their Lordships in argument. Their Lordships observe that, as no school was ever established, the occasion on which we held the trust was to determine (viz., on education of the kinds mentioned in the grant ceasing to be given there) never arose. But it might be suggested that if the trust would have been determined if a school had been established, and the education specified had ceased to be given there, a fortiori it would determine if no school were established at all. Further, if the grant was in trust for the support of a particular school, not generally, but only so long as education of a specified kind was given there, the original contention of the Solicitor-General that the language of the grant negatives any intention on the part of the Crown to give the land in perpetuity for charitable purposes receives considerable support. We therefore declined to sanction any scheme for the administration of the trust, as we considered the trust had come to an end, and the trust property had reverted to the Crown, the donor. That was the extent of our decision. Their Lordships say that that decision would have been wrong even if the suit had been properly constituted, but that the suit was not properly constituted. The suit was by the trustees for the administration of the trust property cy-pres, and they suggested a scheme. The statement of [unclear: defen] alleged reasons why the property should not be administered cy-pres. According to our procedure, that could be done without it being necessary for the defendant to counter-claim. No objection was taken before us that the question as to whether the trust property ought to be administered cy-pres was not properly raised on the pleadings. We decided, on the admitted facts, that it ought not and therefore declined to sanction any scheme. The legal result of our judgment was to dismiss the suit of the trustees asking for administration cy-pres. Their Lordships say: "It is contrary to the established practice of the Court to admit a defendant to an action for the administration of the trusts of a settlement not void on the face of it to impeach the settlement in his defence to that action." Here the grant is the settlement. But if it is shown upon any ground or for any reason that the trusts declared by the settlement have lapsed or been abandoned, and there is no general intention of charity, there is no need to impeach the settlement. The trust then to be administered under the settlement is the resulting trust in favor of the settlor. We attempted to solve what appeared to us to be a somewhat complex legal problem. We are told not only that we solved it wrongly, but to our amazement it is broadly hinted that we determined it at the instance of the Executive to confiscate the property of a charity. The question seemed to us to be a purely legal one. Has the trust determined or has it not? We thought, for the reasons we have given, that it had. If it has, the trustees would have, of course, a claim on the fund for money expended in connection with the land. No private right would be disturbed. Their Lordships have thought fit to censure the Solicitor-General in no measured terms. It is not for us to defend the Solicitor-General except so far as the censure of him implies a censure on ourselves for not having kept him to his duty. No doubt it is the duty of the Solicitor-General to protect a charity. But if there is a charitable trust created by the [unclear: cm] which the Solicitor-General honestly believes has determined, is it a departure from the "traditions of his high office" for him as an officer of the Crown to assert the rights of the Crown as against the trust? Has any case ever been known to have arisen where there was such a conflict of duties? If not, how can any "traditions" apply to it. After we had given our decision on the grounds above-mentioned, we made some remarks which were altogether independent of what we had decided. We indicated that there appeared to us in any case, and apart from our decision, to be some difficulty in administering the trust cy-pres, as the Crown by its counsel had asserted that it had duties towards the natives who ceded the land which could not be performed if the Court so administered it. We gave at length our reasons for the apparent difficulty, but expressly refrained from giving any decision on the question. It has always been held that any transactions between the Crown and the natives relating to their title by occupancy were a matter for the Executive Government, and one into which the Court had no jurisdiction to inquire. As was laid down in *Wi Parata v. the Bishop of Wellington*: "Transactions with the natives for the cession of their title to the Crown are to be regarded as acts of State, and therefore are not examinable in any Court." Our remarks did not in the least affect our judgment or the reasons for it. We were considering with hesitancy how far the above principle would have been applicable to the case before us. We considered, as every authority justified us in considering, that the root of all title was in the Crown. What the rights of any prior native occupiers might be, or whether they had any rights, was a matter entirely for the conscience of the Crown. In any case they had no rights cognisable in this Court. Nor could this Court examine in any way what their rights were. If the Crown by its representative asserted the existence of any duty to the natives, it seemed to us that the above principles might require the acceptance by the Court of the assertion, and so have placed us in the difficulty suggested.

After our judgment had been delivered an amendment was made by a Court consisting of His Honour the Chief Justice and Mr Justice Edwards, and with the consent of the parties, for the purpose of raising the point, if necessary, before their Lordships on appeal. Their Lordships criticise the amendment severely. It is "derogatory to the Court." One of its propositions "is not flattering to the dignity or independence of the highest Court in New Zealand." Then their Lordships ask: "What has the Court to do with the Executive? When there is a suit

properly constituted and ripe for decision, why should justice be denied or delayed at the bidding of the Executive? Why should the Executive Government take upon itself to instruct the Court in the discharge of its proper functions?" All this with reference to a matter which had nothing to do with the reasons for the judgment of the Court, and about which the Court expressly refrained from deciding. Their Lordships say that we intimate pretty plainly that if we had not been able to find satisfactory reasons for deciding in favor of the Crown the amendment would of itself have prevented on making an order in favor of the trustees. We were, it appears, so determined to find against the trustees that if we could find no good reason for doing so we were prepared to sacrifice the dignity and independence of the Court, and, acting at the bidding of the Executive, find against the trustees without reason. I have had the honor of being a Judge of this Court for more than twenty-eight years. I have seen Governments come and go, but never have I know any Government attempt in the slightest degree to interfere with the independence of the Court. Nor have I ever heard it suggested that this Court, in the exercise of its judicial functions, has shown a want of independence or a subservience to the Executive Government. Judges in New Zealand are exposed to a public opinion as vigilant, and to a criticism as keen, as Judges in England. There exists an active and independent Press, which is certainly not tied to Executive chariot wheels. If the Court had displayed subserviency or want of independent of the Executive it would have been loudly condemned by a unanimous public opinion. No suggestion of the kind has ever been made here. It has been reserved for four strangers sitting 14,000 miles away to make it. It is to our fellow-citizens in this colony that we are responsible for our judicial conduct. If the Court retains the confidence of the people of the colony it is sufficient. One of the duties of the Judges of this Court is to review the decisions of inferior tribunals. It has happened sometimes that we have met with decisions which we considered wrong and even unreasonable. But we have always given the District Judge or Magistrate whose decision we overruled credit for as honest desire to do his duty, and have said as little as possible to shako public confidence in him. Had we ever spoken of a Judge of an inferior court in the terms their Lordships have spoken of the Judges of this Court, it would be ourselves and not the Judge who would have stood condemned. We repeat that we have made these observations solely in order to vindicate the honor of the Court. It is to that end only that we have appeared to justify our decision. Whether the Court has or has not arrived at a correct legal conclusion is beyond the question. It is sufficient be show that our reasons for our conclusion were honest. That for decisions of this Court should continue to be subject to review by a higher Court is of the utmost importance. The knowledge that a decision can be reviewed is good alike for Judges and litigants. Whether, however, they should be reviewed by the Judicial Committee as at present constituted is a question worthy of consideration. That Court, by its imputations in the present case, by the ignorance it has shown in this and other cases of our history of our legislation, and of our practice, and by its long-delayed judgments, has displayed every characteristic of an alien tribunal. If we have spoken strongly it is because we feel deeply. And we speak under grievous and unexampled provocation.

Mr Justice Edwards then read the following protest:—

I have read and carefully considered the protest made by Mr Justice Williams, on behalf

Protest of Mr. Justice Edwards.

of the Judges of the Court of Appeal who decided the case of Wallis v. the Solicitor-General, against the remarks made by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in their judgment allowing the appeal in this case, and I desire to express by entire concurrence in that protest.

It would be easy by reference to numerous decisions of the Court of Appeal and of the Supreme Court of this colony, and to statutes which, passed after such decisions, recognising their validity, have virtually confirmed them, to show still further that the interpretation which their Lordships have put upon the laws relating to Native Lands in this colony is subversive of the law which has prevailed from its foundation; and that if that interpretation were acted upon, and carried to its legitimate conclusion in future cases, the titles to real estates in this colony would be thrown into irretrievable doubt and confusion.

This, however, is not the purpose of the remarks which I [*unclear*: desirs] now to make.

The occasion upon which it has become necessary that the Judges of this Court should declare themselves in defence of their own honour, and, it may be said, of their own independence, is without a precedent.

Never before has it happened that the ultimate appellate tribunal of the Empire has charged the Judges of any colonial Court, as their Lordships have now charged the Judges of this Court, with want of dignity, and with denying or delaying justice at the bidding of the Executive.

If there were any foundation in charges so grave, then the learned Judges against whom they are levelled ought to be removed from the high office which they would have shown them selves unworthy to occupy.

It might well be supposed that the Judicial Committee, sitting as the ultimate Appellate Court from the Courts of this colony and itself for this purpose a New Zealand Court, would hesitate long before making such charges, and would make them only up on such evidence as would justify His Majesty, upon the address of both Houses of the Colonial Parliament, in removing from office the Judges against whom they are made.

Yet such charges have been made by the Judicial Committee against the Judges of the Appellate Court of this colony; and they have been made without the slightest foundation in fact, and based only upon assumptions of law which to every trained lawyer in the colony must appear, at the least, astonishing and absurd.

To the people of the colony these charges carry in themselves their own refutation. The people of New Zealand are people of British race, no less fearless and tenacious of their liberties than their progenitors of the Motherland—the land which they still call Home which they delight to honor, and with whose sons they have stood shoulder to shoulder in the hour of need. There is no colonist, I dare to say, who does not look upon the independence of the Bench as the one thing of supreme importance to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people. No Government has ever attempted to influence—no Government, while the people of New Zealand are of their present temper, and that will be as long as British blood flows in their veins, ever will attempt to influence—the Judges in the discharge of their duties.

The Judges hold the same high office, they discharge the same duties, and they respect the same traditions, as the Judges of the Mother Country. In a smaller community they live in the fierce light that beats upon public men in an even greater degree than their brethren in England.

If any Government were so base as to endeavor to pervert the course of justice—if any Judge were so base as to lend himself to such designs—retribution, swift and condign, would fall upon Government and Judge alike.

Those strike a blow at the unity of the Empire who, without any excuse whatever save such an entirely new reading of the law affords them, level such charges against the highest judicial tribunal of a great self-governing colony, and against those to whom its people have entrusted its destinies.

But these charges have been made, and have been published wherever the English language is spoken. So far as concerns their reputation in this colony, the Judges of this Court might well pass the matter by with silent contempt.

But the inhabitants of New Zealand are but one small community out of many kindred communities, members of the same great race, and their respect we desire to retain. These, knowing the gravity of such charges, might well believe that such a tribunal as the Judicial Committee, the importance of whose duties, and whose very remoteness make it look so large in their eyes, would not make such charges except upon proof conclusive, and as a grave part of its own high duty.

The Judges of this Court are not unaccustomed to have their decisions upon the statute laws of the colony reversed by their Lordships with something akin to contempt, although their Lordships might well reflect that trained lawyers who have spent their lives in the colony, who know and understand its genius, its laws and its customs, as they cannot hope to know and understand them; who have spent anxious days and much thought and reflection in the elucidation of the laws of their country, to which their Lordships themselves can give but a brief and hurried consideration; who have the assistance of an able and zealous Bar (many of whose members are members of the English Bar), well versed in the laws of the colony, while their Lordships themselves must depend as a rule upon such assistance as they can get from members of the English Bar, who know nothing of such laws their Lordships might well reflect, I say, that the Judges of this Court are under these circumstances at least as likely to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the meaning of the statute law of the Colony as they are themselves. And, if they feel compelled to differ from the Judges of this Court as to the meaning of the statute law of the colony, they might well do so with the same courtesy and respect that the Judges of this Court invariably extend to Judges and Magistrates of inferior Courts whose decision they are called upon to review.

These things the Judges of this Court have borne in patience. But when their Lordships charge the members of this Court with want of dignity, and with denying or delaying justice at the bidding of the Executive, patience persisted in would cease to be patience and become pusillanimity.

I do not happen to be one of the Judges against whom these imputations have been levelled; but the honour of the Court is the honour of every member of the Court; I feel that the protest against such imputations should be unanimous and unequivocal; and in the interest of justice, liberty and decency, and of the unity of that great Empire which can only be held together by the mutual respect of its kindred communities, I do protest against them.

When Mr Justice Edwards had concluded there followed a unique, impressive incident, made more impressive by reason of the fact that it was quite unrehearsed and unexpected. Mr W. L. Travers, the doyen of the local Bar, rose and said:—"I think I am justified, without having had the opportunity of any conference with other members of the Bar" (here the large number of solicitors in court all rose, and remained standing throughout the speaker's remaining remarks), "in stating our conviction that the feeling always entertained by the Bar of New Zealand as regards the superior tribunals before which they have the honor to practice, is not likely to be, and certainly has not in any degree been, shaken as to the integrity of the Bench. They feel that the judgements of the Supreme Court or Court of Appeal, propounded individually or collectively, have been characterised by the utmost integrity, and by that knowledge of law and with regard to the fact which are

necessary in dealing with questions that come before them. Humanum est errare is common to every institution in the world, and the acts and dealings of all classes of persons, and it was not surprising if some of the decisions had not been upheld. We are quite willing that your Honours should treat the protest made by the Judges of the Court of Appeal as though it were supported in every point by members of the Bar."

The Chief Justice, on behalf of the Court of Appeal, thanked Mr Travers and the members of the Bar for their expression of opinion, and remarked that Mr Travers was probably the oldest barrister in the colony, and was a member of the first Executive Ministry in New Zealand. His Honor knew of no other member of the Bar who has had Mr Travers's long experience, or his high reputation at the Bar since he entered it.

Judgment of the Court of Appeal.

Present: Williams, Denniston, Conolly, and Cooper, J.J.

The Respondents by virtue of a conveyance under the [*unclear*: Bishop] New Zealand Trusts Act 1858 and by divers appointments under the provisions of the Religious Charitable and Educational Trusts Act 1856, have become trustees of a parcel of land containing 500 [*unclear*: acra] at Porirua Harbour originally granted by the Crown to [*unclear*: Geor] Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand and his successors upon the trust therein mentioned.

The grant in question is dated the 28th of December 1850 and is under the seal of the province of New Munster and the hand of the Governor Sir George Grey. The grant is as follows:—

"To all to whom these presents shall come.

"Greeting.

*"Whereas, a school is about to be established at Porirua in the province of New Munster New Zealand, under the superintendent of The Right Reverend George Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand, for the education of children of our subjects of all races and of children of other poor and destitute persons being [*unclear*: inhabitan] of island in the Pacific Ocean, and whereas it would promote the objects of the said institution to set apart a certain piece or parcel of land in the neighborhood thereof, for the use and towards the maintenance and support of the same, which piece or parcel of land has by a deed from the natives been ceded for the support of the said school. Now know ye that we for us, our heirs and successions Zealand all that piece or parcel of land situate and being at the do hereby grant unto the said George Augustus Bishop of New entrance of Porirua Harbor in the province of New Munster New Zealand, and bounded on the southern side by a line running from Rocky Bay near Teti Bay, at an angle of ninety-nine degrees (99deg with the Magnetic Meridian till it intersects the base of the hills on the south side of the One Poto Creek, the foot of the hills forming the boundary from thence to the head of the creek; or the east by Porirua Harbour, and on the north and west by the sea, the contents being five hundred acres or thereabouts, and the boundaries being more particularly delineated on the plan drawn in the margin of these presents. Together with the rents issues and proceeds thereof. To HOLD unto the said George Augustus Lord Bishop of New Zealand and his successors IN TRUST nevertheless, and for the use and towards the maintenance of the said school, so long as religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat."*

The grant is punctuated as above and not as in the priante case.

The Respondents commenced an action in the Supreme Court against the Solicitor-General. In their Statement of Claim they set out their title to the above-mentioned land. They allege that the Bishop of New Zealand expended money on the land for the purpose of improving it and rendering it fit for occupation and reproductive that the land has been let and that the Trustees have now in their hands about £6,480 the proceeds of rents accumulated. They allege however that they have not been able to cany out the trusts. First because the funds have never been sufficient to permit of their erecting the necessary school buildings and at the same time to have enough from interest on investments and rents to maintain the school as contemplated. Secondly because the Juvenile Maori population at Porirua has almost ceased to exist. They further allege that in consequence of their inability to carry out the trusts they approached the General Synod of the Church of England and that the Synod resolved that the trustees be authorised to apply to the Supreme Court for leave to apply the income of the fund and the rents in manner in the resolution specified. The Plaintiffs then alleged that they have embodied the terms of the resolution in a scheme filed in Court and ask that the rents and profits be applied in accordance with it.

There is no suggestion in the statement of claim that the school contemplated by the grant was ever established.

The Solicitor-General in his statement of defence alleges that after the issue of the grant it was found impracticable to give effect to the trusts that no school was ever established at Porirua that none of the trusts

mentioned in the grant have been performed and that it has been long since and now is impossible to carry out the original trusts prescribed by the grant. He goes on to allege further that the Executive Government are desirous that a scheme should be adopted to enable the land and the accumulations to be administered for educational purposes but that they were advised that by reason of the failure of the trusts the land and moneys have reverted to the Crown without any trust being attached to them and submits accordingly that the question should be dealt with by Parliament and that the Court has no jurisdiction. If however the Court has jurisdiction and the Court considers it expedient to adopt a scheme he objects to the scheme proposed by the Plaintiffs and proposes an alternative scheme. The case was heard before the late Chief Justice, Sir James Prendergast on affidavits. There is practically no dispute as to the circumstances which led up to the issue of the Crown grant nor as to what had been done under the Crown grant. Any circumstances which led up to the issue of the Crown grant are manifestly inadmissible as evidence to contradict or vary the terms of the Crown grant although they may be relevant on the enquiry as to what scheme should be adopted. The affidavits filed in the Court below; and here are concerned mainly with the merits of the rival [unclear: schema] no facts otherwise material to the action are in [unclear: contest]. Honour considered that there was a general intention of [unclear: cha] shown in the grant that it did not revert to the Crown but that the trust could be administered by the Court cy-pres. He [unclear: decli] however to adopt either scheme and reserved the matter for [unclear: furth] consideration. An amended scheme supported by further affidavits was accordingly filed by the Plaintiffs and was submitted to the Court. After hearing an argument before His Honour the [unclear: pre] Chief Justice and Mr Justice Edwards this scheme with [unclear: certa] modifications was adopted by the Court. It is from the judgment of Sir James Prendergast and from the scheme adopted in [unclear: p]suance of it that the Solicitor-General appeals. We are of [unclear: opini] that the land and money have become the property of the [unclear: Cro] for two reasons.

In the first place we think the grant has become void on the ground that it sufficiently appears from the evidence that Her Majesty was deceived in her grant. The grant does not state [unclear: in] many words what the consideration for it was but it [unclear: sufficie] appears from the grant itself that the grant was made in consideration of the facts set out in the recitals. The [unclear: recitals] that a school is about to be established at Porirua under the [unclear: sup] intendance of the Bishop of New Zealand "for the education of children of our subjects of all races and of children of [unclear: other] and destitute persons being inhabitants of islands in the [unclear: Pac] Ocean." The recitals further state "that it would [unclear: promote] object of the said institution to set apart a piece of land in the neighbourhood thereof for the use and towards the maintenance of support of the same" and that this parcel of land has been [unclear: cel] by the natives for the support of the school.

The recitals and limitations leave no doubt that the [unclear: land] granted by the Crown by reason of the representation that a school was about to be established at Porirua for the above-mentioned purposes and in consequence of the intended establishment of such school. The contemplated establishment of the school was the cause and the sole cause of the Crown making the grant. It is to be observed that the grant is not made for the purpose of [unclear: foun] a school but for the purpose "of assisting" a school which is about to be established apart from the grant and which would of over require funds to be provided for its establishment other than the arising from the rents and profits of the land granted. [unclear: More] fifty years have elapsed since the date of the grant and no school of any kind has been established. All that has ever been done in the direction of the establishment of a school appears from the eighth, tenth, and twelfth paragraphs of Bishop Hadfield's [unclear: affi] In paragraph 8 he says "Bishop Selwyn expended on the land much more money than the then value. Money was paid to a Mr Servantes who occupied a house on it as compensation for the house and there were improvements effected on the land in clearing and fencing from the Porirua Harbour to the sea coast.'

In paragraph 10 he says "a schoolmaster was sent on to the land to make a beginning but the children attended so irregularly that he resigned. I was not at that time a trustee of the land but Bishop Selwyn consulted me as to the appointment of the schoolmaster and the commencement of the school."

In paragraph 12 he says "At the time of the gift land on the west side of Porirua Harbor was of small value and the 500 acres was not worth more than the money expended on it by Bishop Selwyn for the purpose of a building clearing the land and carrying a good fence across from the harbour to the sea coast and without making this expenditure the trustees could not have accumulated the funds now in their hands."

The late Chief Justice in his judgment in the Court below was doubtful whether the sending the schoolmaster took place before or after the grant and no date is fixed by Bishop Hadfield. We should say that it was probably after the date of the grant. It must have been however before the 24th of August 1859 the date Bishop Hadfield first became a trustee. But can it reasonably be said that merely to send a schoolmaster for a short time and then on his resignation to take no further steps amounted to the establishment of such a school as the recital in the grant contemplated was to be established or to the establishment of a school at all. The sending the schoolmaster was but a step towards establishing the school. It was evidently an experiment to ascertain whether it was worth while to establish a school there. The experiment failed and all notion of establishing the

contemplated school was henceforth abandoned. This appears to us to bring the case within the principle that a grant by the Crown is void if the King be deceived in his grant.

The Crown is informed that something is going to be done and that a grant of land will assist what is going to be done. A grant is made in anticipation of this something being done and because it is going to be done. Then the thing is not done. The Crown is thus deceived in the consideration for the grant. The law is thus Bated in Berwick's Case 5 Co. 94 Bacon's Abridgement Prerogative F "It is a maxim that if the consideration which is for the benefit of the Queen be it executed or executory or be it on record or not on record be it not true or not duly performed or if prejudice may accrue to the Queen by reason of non-performance of it the letters patent are void." Again in Harris and Wing's case 3 Leonard at page 248 it is said "And in some cases, a consideration personal, if it be false shall destroy the patent, if it be future and executory as if the King grants land to J. S. ea intentione that he shall pay to J. D. £10. Now if he do not pay it the patent is void and the estate given by it void also."

In the present case the benefit that the Crown that is the State was to derive from the grant was the establishment of a school for the education of the Queen's subjects of all races. There is a distinction between considerations past and future the former may be erroneously stated and not necessarily avoid the patent but if the consideration is future and is not performed the patent will be avoided. (Viner's Abridgement Prerogative M.c. 89.) An apparent exception is where there is a lease from the Crown in consideration of a sum down and of a covenant to do certain things In such a case if the lessee does not do the things the lease is not void because the Crown had an action of covenant. Under the present grant if the school were not established the Crown would have no remedy either at law for damages or in equity to compel the establishment. Shortly the grant here was made upon the representation and in anticipation that an institution was to be founded and for the sole purpose of assisting such institution. No such institution has ever been founded. The Crown was therefore misled or to use the legal term "deceived" though of course there is not the slightest suggestion that there was any intention to deceive or mislead.

In the second place if a school was at one time established to satisfy the terms of the grant it is admitted that it has long since ceased to exist. In such circumstances we think the estate granted has ceased to exist and that the Crown is entitled because upon the true construction of the Crown grant the estate in fee granted to the Bishop of New Zealand and his successors was in the nature of a conditional limitation determinable when religious education industrial training and instruction in the English language ceased to be given in the school. When therefore such education has actually ceased to be given the estate of the bishop and his successors was determined. The law on the subject of limitations of this kind is to be found in Shepherd's Touchstone, Bacon's [unclear: Abri]ment, Fearn's on Executory Devices, and Blackstone's Commentaries Sheppard page 125, says:—"The most apt and proper words to make a limitation of an estate are *quamdiu*, *dummodo*, [unclear: dun] *quousque*, *si*, and the like. And therefore if A grant lands to B to have and to hold to him and his heirs, until B go to Rome; or until he be promoted to a benefice, or until B pay to A or A pay to B £20 these examples by reason of the word heirs give determinable fees." So in Bacon's Abridgement Conditions H: "Proper words of limitation are *dum*, *dummodo*, *quamdiu*, *donec*, *quousque* *ubicunque*, *usque ad*, *tamdiu*, or *so long as* he shall pay such rent or be abbot or parson, etc.; and in these cases the law vests the estate in the party (i.e., the party entitled over) without entry or claim." Fearn's (S. 34) says, "A special limitation is a qualification serving to mark out the bounds of an estate, so as to determine it, ipso facto, in a given event, without action, entry, or claim, before it would or might otherwise expire by force of or according to the general limitation." And again (S. 41), "A direct limitation is a restriction couched in words which directly express a limit to the quantity of the interest created; as, to A, during etc., or till etc., or whilst etc., or *so long as* etc." Blackstone (vol. 2, p. 155) says, "When an estate is so expressly confined by the words of its creation, that it cannot endure for any longer time than till the contingency happens upon which the estate is to fail this is denominated a limitation, as when land is granted to a man *so long as* he is parson of Dale, or *while* he continues unmarried, or *until* out of the rents and profits he shall have made £500 and the like. In such case the estate determines as soon as the contingency happens (when he ceases to be parson, marries a wife, or has received the £500), and the next subsequent estate, which depends upon such determination, becomes immediately vested without any act to be done by him who is next in expectancy." There is sufficient authority to show that there may be such a limitation where the gift is to trustees for charitable purposes although the period of limitation may possibly be so remote that no remainder executory devise or springing use could be limited after its expiration without being void as a perpetuity. In the case of the Attorney-General v. Pyle I. Atk 435. A testator devised a freehold messuage at Rumford to the charity school there and directed that the rents and profits should be applied for the benefit of the said school "*so long as* it shall continue to be endowed with charity." Lord Chancellor Hardwicke said, "Where a sum of money is given to a charity *so long as* it shall continue to be endowed with charity, it is only given *quousque*, and when it ceases, if it is gift of real estate, it shall fall into the inheritance for the benefit of the heir, if personal, into the residuum." The Attorney-General v. Pyle was not cited in the two

cases hereafter mentioned but they each rest upon the assumption that the law is as was laid down in that case by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. In *re Randell: Randell v. Dixon* 38 C.D. 213 a testatrix bequeathed £14,000 to trustees upon trust to invest and to pay the interest to the present and future incumbents of a church *so long as* he and they permitted all the sittings to be occupied free. If, however, any incumbent demanded and received any payment for pew rents the trust moneys and interest were to fall into and be dealt with as part of the residuary estate. North, J. said "that there was a definite, particular, special charitable bequest which must have effect given to it so long as it lasts, and no longer, and that when it comes to an end there is no devotion to general charitable purposes at all, the intention of the testatrix being completely the opposite. On the construction of the will, it is for a particular limited purpose, and nothing beyond what is declared; as soon as that particular purpose come to an end, the fund which was subjected to that particular trust falls into the residue of the estate." It does not do so however by virtue of the limitation over directing it to fall into the residue. The learned judge says it would fall into the residue just as much as if there were no such limitation in the will. The limitation is harmless and does not fail for perpetuity because it simply directs that the fund is to go in the way in which the law would make it go in the absence of any such direction. If there had been a direction that the fund should over in any other way the gift over would fail for perpetuity, In that case as well as in the case of there being no gift over at all the fund would fall into the residue. The residuary legatees would take as part of the estate of the testatrix. The authority in *re Randell* (38 C.D. 213) is recognised by Stirling J. in *re Bowen* 93, 2 ch.491 to 494. The learned judge there says: "As property may be given for a charity in perpetuity it may be given for any shorter period however long;" and the interest undisposed of, even if it cannot be the subject of a direct executory gift, may be left to devolve as they law prescribes." For this proposition he cites at length in *Randell*. In the case before him the learned judge has as he [*unclear: s*] to decide whether on the true construction of the testator's will the testator had given the property to charity in perpetuity subject to an executory gift in favor of the residuary legatee or whether he had given it for a limited period leaving the undisposed of interest to fall into residue. The question in the present case is whether upon the true construction of the grant the intention of the Crown were to give the property to charity in perpetuity or to give it for a [*unclear: peri*] limited by the terms of the grant. In the latter event the case [*unclear: image not readable*] *Attorney-General v. Pyle* in *re Randell*, and in *re Bowen* show they effect will be given to such an intention. We think that [*unclear: where*] a grant from the Crown apt words are used for limiting the [*unclear: durati*] of a charitable trust the intention of the Crown must be that they shall have their ordinary legal effect. Here the grant is to the Bishop of New Zealand and his successors "in trust nevertheless and for the use and towards the maintenance of the said school of *long as* religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein maintained thereat." The words "so long as" are recognised by every legal authority as words which are ordinarily used for limiting the duration of an estate and which have the effect of limiting it. We can see no reason whatever why they should not have these ordinary meaning applied to them in the present case. The grant is from the Crown and was made upon the faith that a particular school was about to be established and for the purpose of assisting in the support of that school. There is nothing unreasonable in such circumstances in the Crown limiting the trust created by the grant, for such period as the school carried out the purposes for which it was established. The question is whether the Crown has used apt words to limit the duration of the trust. The answer is that the Crown has used the exact words which, if it has been intended to limit the duration of the trust, would have been used. The alternate construction is that the Crown although as appears by the grant the possibility of the school ceasing to exist was contemplated at the time the grant was made, intended that in such an event the land should continue to be held by the Bishop and his successors in perpetuity for general and undefined charitable purposes. We think looking at the terms of the grant that no such intention can be presumed as against the Crown and further that any such intention is expressly negated.

From the view we have taken that the Court has no jurisdiction because the property is now vested in the Crown it is unnecessary to decide whether the Court would have had jurisdiction if the property had remained vested in the trustees upon trust for charitable purposes generally. As however the question was argued at length we think it well to express an opinion. If the true construction of the grant is that the land included is to be held by the Bishop and his successors in perpetuity for charitable purposes notwithstanding that the particular school has ceased to exist then in the absence of any special circumstances we think the Court has jurisdiction to approve of a scheme for the management of the trust property notwithstanding the grant is from the Crown.

The case of *Wilson v. Barnes* 38 C.D. 507 shows that where there was a grant from the Crown for a public charitable purpose—viz., the reparation of a sea dyke and in the course of time owing to the sea having receded there was no necessity to apply the fund to the particular object the Court directed a scheme. The authorities cited by Mr Bell on this point show only that the Court will not interfere with trustees acting under a charter which gives the trustees discretionary power. In the present case if the particular trust fails and there remains a

trust for charitable purposes generally the trustees are bare trustees of the fund and of the land, and have no power to apply the rents and profits for any purpose whatever till they get a sufficient authority to do so. The Court by virtue of its general jurisdiction over property held by trustees for charitable purposes can give the trustees authority by approving of a scheme. Short of an Act of Parliament the Court is the only source from which the trustees can obtain authority. In the present case there are however circumstances which make the question of exercising the jurisdiction more difficult. The land as appears from the grant was ceded by natives to the Crown. Mr "Bell who appeared for the Solicitor-General the representative of the Crown made a statement at the Bar as from the Crown that the terms of the session by the natives were such as to preclude the administration of the gift otherwise than in the direct terms the grant and asked that such an allegation should be added to the fifth paragraph of the statement of defence. The Crown therefore asserts that it has duties towards the natives who ceded the land which could not be performed if the Court administered the trail cy-pres. This would place the Court in a considerable difficulty What the original rights of the native owners were what the bargain was between the natives and the Crown when the natives ceded the land it would be difficult if not impossible for this Court to inquire into even if it were clear that it had jurisdiction to do so.

The position appears to be somewhat as follows:—The Crown as *parens patriae* through the instrumentality of this Court sees that property devoted to charity shall be applied for the purposes of charity and that where no purposes are specified the Court as representing the Crown is to define the purposes. The Crown also as *parens patriae* is under a solemn obligation to protect the rights of native owners of the soil. When therefore the Crown as *parens patriae* asserts that in that capacity it is under an obligation to natives in respect of a property can this Court representing the Crown as *parens patriae* say to the Crown you shall not carry out this obligation but the property you have granted shall be devoted to charitable purposes to be determined by the Court irrespective of your obligations? We see great difficulty in holding that in such circumstances the Court could or ought to interfere. The now interference of the Court would not disturb any private rights The trustees, except so far as they have a claim on the fund for money expended, are bare trustees only. In the above circumstances it seems more appropriate that the matter should be dealt with by the Legislature than by this Court. This point however it is not necessary finally to decide. For the reasons we have given above we are of opinion that the funds and land have become the property of the Crown subject of course to any rights of the trustees against the fund in respect of moneys expended by themselves or their predecessors in title and that in consequence the Court has no jurisdiction to adept a scheme. The appeal must be therefore allowed and judgment be entered for the Defendants The costs of all parties here and in the Court below as between solicitor and client will be paid out of the funds in the hands of the trustees.

Judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Present at the Hearing:

LORD MACNACHTEN.

LORD LINDLEY.

SIR FORD NORTH.

SIR ARTHUR WILSON

[Delivered by Lord Macnaghten.]

This is an Appeal by persons claiming to be Trustees of a certain charitable endowment in New Zealand against an Order of the Court of Appeal of that Colony. The Order appealed from was made at the instance of the Crown on the occasion of an application by the Trustees asking for the approval of a scheme for the administration of the Charity.

The effect of the Order was to pronounce the endowment null and void from its very commencement and to discharge the Trustees from all active duties in connection with it, declaring the Charity property to have become the property of the Crown but leaving it still in the hands of the Trustees and for the time being at least apparently derelict.

So far as the evidence goes there can be no dispute about the facts. The documents relating to the foundation of the Charity are on record. The earliest of those documents in point of date and the most important is an instrument not under seal which in accordance with the legal phraseology in use in the Colony is described in a subsequent. Crown grant as a "deed" of cession. It is in fact a letter addressed to Sir George Grey, the Governor of New Zealand, by certain native chiefs and leading men among the Maoris who were then in possession of lands called Witireia in the District of Porirua near the south-western extremity of the northern island. The body of the letter is in the following terms:—

Otaki,

16th August, 1848.

"Friend Governor Grey,

"Greeting—It is a perfect consenting on our part that "Witireia shall be given up to the Bishop for a "College. We give it up not merely as a place for the "Bishop for the time being but in continuation for "those Bishops who shall follow and fill up his place "to the end that religion or faith in Christ may grow "and that it may be as it were a shelter against "uncertain storms—that is against the evils of this "world. This is the full and final giving up of that "place as a college for the Bishops of the Church of "England."

It is in evidence that some of the donors and those the leading men amongst them were converts to Christianity who had been educated under the superintendence of the Right Reverend George Augustus Selwyn, then Bishop of New Zealand, at St. John's College, Auckland. That College, founded by the Bishop and named after his own College at Cambridge, was established for the purpose of providing religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language for Her late Majesty's subjects of all races and of children of poor and destitute persons being inhabitants of islands in the South Pacific. It was a flourishing institution and regarded as a powerful factor in the civilisation of the country. The Bishop, as is well known, had acquired an extraordinary influence in New Zealand. His striking personality, his devotion to his Master's service and his zeal for the welfare of the Maori race had produced a profound impression on the native mind. It cannot be doubted that it was the object of the donors so far as in them lay to imitate the Bishop's example and to make some provision towards the establishment of an institution like the Auckland College near their own homes in the south of the island. The cession is in terms an absolute, unqualified, and unconditional dedication to charity the general purpose or end of which is declared to be "that religion or faith in Christ may grow."

The Government at the time warmly commended the action of the native donors. The answer to their letter has not been put in evidence but its tenor may be gathered from the following minute dated the 7th of October 1848, and signed by the Lieutenant-Governor which is printed in the Record:—

"Acknowledge this and say that I shall have much "pleasure in sanctioning this giving up a portion of "their reserves at Porirua for the benevolent and "useful purpose of founding a College and that I will "communicate their offer to the Lord Bishop. Such "laudable and generous conduct will be made known "in England and cannot fail of insuring the common "dation of all good men and the Queen will rejoice in "seeing her Maori subjects setting so good an example "to the Europeans.

"When they wish I will send over a surveyor that they "may indicate the quantity and boundaries of the "land they wish to transfer to the Bishop that a "plan may be made and the arrangement complete.

E. EYRE, "Lieutenant-Governor."

The Governor, it will be observed, sanctioned the proposed cession and undertook to give effect to it without attempting to make any stipulation condition or reservation of any sort or kind. As the law then stood under the treaty of Waitangi the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and the respective families and individuals thereof were guaranteed in the exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands so long as they desired to possess them, and they were also entitled to dispose of their lands as they pleased subject only to a right of pre-emption in the Crown. It was not until 1852 that it was made lawful for any person other than Her Majesty to acquire or accept land from the natives, 15 and 16 Vict. 72, s. 72. The founders of the charity therefore were the native donors. All that was of value came from them. The transfer to the Bishop was their doing. When the Government had once sanctioned their gift, nothing remained to be done but to demarcate the land and place on record the fact that the Crown had waived its right of pre-emption. That might have been effected in various ways. The course adopted was to issue a Crown grant. That perhaps was the simplest way, though the Crown had no beneficial interest to pass. After all it was only a question of conveyancing as to which the native owners were very possibly not consulted.

In accordance with the Governor's suggestion the land intended to be included in the session was marked out and surveyed. It was found to comprise about 500 acres. On the 28th of December 1850 the arrangement was completed by the issue of a Crown grant with a plan annexed. The Crown grant contained the following introductory recitals:—

*"Whereas a school is about to be established at Porirua "under the superintendence of the * * * Bishop "of New Zealand for the education of children of our "our subjects of all races and of children of other "poor and destitute persons being inhabitants of "islands in the Pacific Ocean. And whereas it would "promote the objects of the said Institution to set "apart a certain piece or parcel of land in the "neighborhood thereof for the use and towards the "maintenance and support of the same which piece or "parcel of land has by a Deed from the natives been "ceded for the support of the said school."*

The grant was expressed to be made to Bishop Selwyn to hold to him and his successors "in trust nevertheless to and for the use and towards the maintenance of the said school so long as religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat."

In the year 1859 under the provisions of the Bishop of New Zealand Trusts Act, 1858, Bishop Selwyn conveyed the charity land to certain Trustees nominated by the General Synod of the Church in New Zealand in communion with the established Church of England. The present Appellants are their successors in the trust.

The land at the date of the session was rough land covered with scrub and apparently difficult of access. In order to impose it and make it available for pastoral purposes (the only use to which it could have been put at the time) Bishop Selwyn spent out of his own moneys a sum of about £200, which is said to have been more than the then value of the land.

No school or college has as yet been erected on the land or in the neighborhood of it. The land has been let from time to time as grazing land and the Trustees have invested and accumulated the rents and profits.

In 1897 the accumulations amounted to a sum exceeding £6,000. The land had increased in value but owing to the falling off of the native population the neighbourhood had become unsuited for the purpose of a school or college such as that contemplated by the original donors. In these circumstances the General [unclear: Sy] of the Church resolved that, an application should be made to the Court for directions as to the administration of the charity. In the first instance the Trustees communicated with the Law Office of the Crown sending them a copy of a proposed statement of claim and draft scheme. The office of Attorney-General was then vacant. The matter came before the Solicitor-General. After a delay of three months he returned an unsatisfactory answer. He said that Ministers desired to consult Parliament on the general subject of such trusts during the coming Session and that he was therefore precluded from approving the proposed scheme. He suggested that the Trustees should defer proceeding further for the present, adding by way of encouragement or warning that "the position now taken by the Government" was "not necessary hostile" to the interests which the Trustees represented.

In deference to the suggestions of the Solicitor-General the Trustees waited until the end of the Session and then, as nothing had been done in Parliament, they applied to the Court for the approval of the proposed scheme.

The Solicitor-General in the absence of the Attorney General was made a party. He put in a defence. In his defence he took a line which must seem somewhat strange to those who are [unclear: famili] with the administration of charitable trusts in this country. It is the province of the Crown as *parens patriae* to enforce the execution of charitable trusts and it has always been recognised as the duty of the Law Officers of the Crown to intervene for the purpose of protecting charities and affording advice and assistance to the Court in the administration of charitable trusts. The Solicitor-General however adopted a very different course. He seems to have thought it not inconsistent with the traditions of his high office to attack a charity which it was *prima facie* his duty to protect. He suggested that the Crown was or might be entitled to the property. In the event of his failing on that point, which was the principal ground of his defence, he submitted a scheme in which the original trusts of the charity were apparently ignored altogether.

The case came on to be heard before the late Chief Justice, Sir James Prendergast. That learned Judge rejected the Solicitor-General's contention that the endowment had reverted to the Crown and declined to allow an amendment proposed at the hearing by which it was sought to impeach the validity of the Crown grant. He decided with more hesitation than the case seems to have required, that the general purpose of the foundation was charity and that the doctrine of *cy-pres* was applicable. He did not, however, approve the scheme proposed by the Trustees, as he thought it was not shewn by the evidence before him that it was impossible for them to establish a useful school in the neighborhood with the funds at their disposal. At the same time he thought it clear that the Trustees were right in their objection to the scheme proposed by the Solicitor-General. In these circumstances he reserved the matter for further consideration.

The case was afterwards brought up on further consideration before the present Chief Justice, Sir Robert Stout and Edwards J. Evidence was adduced which satisfied the Court that it would be a waste of the trust moneys to erect a school at Porirua. A fresh scheme was proposed and adopted with some modifications to which the Trustees assented. The Solicitor-General renewed his objections but the Court held that it was bound by the decree made on the original hearing

The Solicitor-General then appealed to the Court of Appeal upon the following grounds:—

- *That the funds and lands have reverted to the Crown "either absolutely or as trustee upon a failure of the "objects and purposes of the Crown grant and are "not subject to administration by or under direction "of the Court cy-pres.*
- *That no general charitable purpose existed or is "proved either in the native donors or the Crown but "only a purpose of creating a specific school at a speci "fied site and the funds and lands are therefore*

not "subject to administration by or under direction of "the Court cy-pres."

The learned Judges of the Court of Appeal allowed the Appeal and entered judgment for the Solicitor-General. They did not however adopt or even notice either of the grounds put forward by the Solicitor-General. They were of opinion they said that the land and money had become the property of the Crown for two reasons. In the first place they thought "the grant had become void on the ground that it sufficiently appeared from the evidence that Her Majesty was deceived in Her grant." In the second place, assuming that a school satisfying the terms of the grant had been at one time established, they held that the duration of the [unclear: tra] must have come to an end because the trust was only by last "so long as religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language should be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat." Now as it is common ground that no school was ever established at or in the neighborhood of Porirua, it would seem to follow that the [unclear: occasi] on which the trust, according to the construction placed on the grant by the Court of Appeal was to cease and determine never arose and never could have arisen. It appears therefore hardly necessary to consider the second ground on which the Court of Appeal determined the case in favour of the Crown. It was not pressed at their Lordships' Bar.

The learned Counsel for the Respondent were in much the same difficulty in attempting to support the first ground upon which the Court of Appeal relied. There too the Court had in course to an assumption which has no basis in fact. What [unclear: evide] is there that the Crown was deceived? Absolutely none. The evidence is entirely the other way. The Governor undertook [unclear: image not readable] complete the arrangement proposed by the native donors as [unclear: image not readable] as he received their letter. He did not even wait to [unclear: communic] with Bishop Selwyn. It is not suggested that he communicate on the subject with anybody else. Now it would be absurd to [unclear: fora] a charge of misrepresentation on the letter of the [unclear: nat] donors. But if the native donors were [unclear: innoce] with whom is the blame to rest? The evidence which the Court of Appeal said was sufficient to prove misrepresentation was the covered by them in the introductory recitals of the Crown [unclear: image not readable] But the grant is not a deed inter partes. The statements in it [unclear: an] the statements of the Crown. The statement that a school [unclear: image not readable] "was about to be established at Porirua "is just as consistent with [unclear: image not readable] intention on the part of the Governor to establish the school by the aid of public money, or an expectation on his part that the [unclear: annou]ment in England of the generosity of the native donors [unclear: coup] with the approval of Her Majesty, would bring in ample funds for the object in view, as it is with the supposition of representation made to the Governor by some unknown persons interested in [unclear: image not readable] curing this grant from the Crown. If the representative [unclear: of] Majesty was unduly sanguine—if he did think that the hopes and Mirations of the native donors would attain a speedy consummation—that is no ground for suggesting that the Crown was deceived. And indeed expectations which may now seem to have been over-sanguine or even unfounded might not improbably have been fulfilled if it had not been for the Maori war and the removal of Bishop Selwyn to an English See before the war was finished.

After all what does the statement in question come to? The Crown grant says that "a school is about to be established at Porirua." That does not imply that the school was to be established within any fixed and definite period of time. The Governor must have known the circumstances as well as anybody. He knew that so far nothing whatever had been contributed towards the establishment of this school but a piece or parcel of land for the present wholly unprofitable. How could he have been deceived into thinking that the school was to be established in the immediate future. Suppose someone at his elbow with more sense and foresight than he seems to be credited with had pointed out with effect, that many hindrances might arise—that there might be a native Ear—that the Bishop might be removed and that the school might not be established for 50 or even 100 years—would that have altered the action of the Governor? It might have modified the language of the Grant. It might perhaps have led to the omission of the word "about" or to the substitution of the expression "intended to be" for the words "about to be" or to the adoption of some other phrase not obnoxious to hypercriticism. But the substance of the transaction would not have been altered The attitude of the Governor would have remained just the same. What the Governor was looking to when he welcomed the offer of the native donors was not the immediate establishment of a school hut the effect that the action of the natives would produce in the Colony and above all in England. Why should the Court attribute to a Government of the past more than childlike simplicity in order that the Government of today may confiscate and appropriate property which never belonged to the Crown and which the Crown encouraged the rightful possessors to dedicate to charity?

The learned Counsel for the Respondent feeling that they could not support the Judgment of the Court of Appeal on either of the reasons assigned fell back on the argument suggested by the Solicitor-General that there was no general purpose of charity but only an intention to erect "a specific school on a specified site." But that is a very narrow view of the transaction at variance in their Lordships' opinion with the express terms of the gift and opposed to principles laid down in recognised authorities such as *The Attorney-General v. The Bishop of Chester*, 1 B. C. C., 444, and *The Incorporated Society v. Price*, 1 J. and L., 498. [unclear: Coun] also dwelt on

the length of time which has elapsed since the [unclear: da] of the original gift without anything having been done in the [unclear: va] of establishing the proposed school. But it is well settled, as state in Tudor's Charitable Trusts, 3rd ed., p. 53, that where there is any immediate gift for charitable purposes the gift is not [unclear: rende] invalid by the fact that the particular application directed cannot immediately take effect or will not of necessity take effect [unclear: with] any definite limit of time and may never take effect at all. [unclear: In] support of this proposition the learned writer cites a number at authorities, the latest of which is Chamberlayne v. Brockett (8 [unclear: image not readable] 206) before Lord Selborne, L.C.

So far their Lordships have treated the case as if the [unclear: Ord] under appeal had been made on a proper application and in a [unclear: su] properly constituted. In fact however the application was entirely irregular and the suit was not one in which such as Order as that obtained by the Solicitor-General ought to have been made. It is contrary to the established practice of the Court to permit a Defendant to an action for the administration of the trusts of a settlement not void on the face of it to impeach the settlement in his defence to that action. If he thinks he has a [unclear: cas] for setting aside the settlement or having it declared null and [unclear: vo] he must attack it openly and directly in an action or [unclear: count] claim in which he comes forward as Plaintiff. Any other [unclear: co] would be inconvenient, embarrassing, and unfair The [unclear: prese] case affords a good illustration of the propriety of the rule. The Solicitor-General declined his proper duty and refused to bring an information. The Trustees were compelled to come forward a Plaintiffs. The Solicitor-General put in a defence. He submittal that the Crown might be entitled. The case of the Crown was launched in a half-hearted fashion. The point was suggested rather as a difficulty in the way of administration than as a [unclear: cla] to property. In argument before the late Chief Justice the Solicitor-General seems to have become rather bolder, but his contention was disregarded. Then he appealed to the Court of Append asserting that property of which the Crown was never possessed [unclear: ha] "reverted" to the Crown. But the validity of the charitable trust was not in issue in the suit. There could be no issue in that suit between the Crown and the Charity. There was no [unclear: eviden] adduced on behalf of the Crown. There was no one put [unclear: forwa] by the Crown who could be cross-examined on behalf of the Charity. The native donors whose claim would at any rate be superior to that of the Crown and whose interest is [unclear: alternat] magnified and ignored by the Solicitor-General were not [unclear: represe] either directly or indirectly. Then on the hearing of the Append the Solicitor-General applied for and obtained leave to [unclear: amend] defence. A formal order for the amendment was [unclear: afterwards] tained on the ground that such amendment was necessary "to more clearly define the grounds of defence of the Crown.' But the amendment only made the confusion worse. It was a medley of allegations incapable of proof and statements derogatory to the Court. But the Court, accepted it and treated it with extreme deference. The learned Judges intimate pretty plainly that if they had not been able to find satisfactory reasons for deciding in favour of the Crown, the amendment would of itself have prevented their making an order in favour of the Trustees. The amendment divides itself into two parts. In the first place it asserts that the Crown has come tinder some undefined and undisclosed obligations to the natives. The Court seems to think that this assertion must place the Court "in a considerable difficulty." Why? Why should Court which acts on evidence and not on surmise or loose suggestions pay any attention to an assertion which, if true, could not have been proved at that stage of the proceedings and which the evidence in the cause shows to have been purely imaginary. According to the evidence the only obligation which the Crown undertook was to waive its right of pre-emption. The view of the Court of Appeal is to be found in a passage towards the end of their judgment which runs thus: "What the original rights of the "native owners were, what the bargain was between the natives "and the Crown when the natives ceded the land, it would be "difficult if not impossible for this Court to inquire into, even if it "were clear that it had jurisdiction to do so." Their Lordships are: unable to follow this observation. The land was part of the Native Reserves as appeal's from the Government Minute of the 7th of October 1848. At the date of the cession to Bishop Selwyn the rights of the Natives in their Reserves depended solely on the Treaty of Waitangi. There is not in the evidence the slightest trace of any cession to the Crown or of any bargain between the Crown and the Native donors. Of course if the Crown comes forward as Plaintiff, the transaction may assume a very different complexion. There may be in existence evidence which has not yet been disclosed. But if the Crown seeks to recover property and to oust the present possessors, it must make out its case just like any other litigant. All material allegations must be proved or admitted Allegations unsupported go for nothing. Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by the Court of Appeal it is perfectly clear that the Court has jurisdiction to deal with a claim to property made on behalf of the Crown when properly brought forward It has no right to decline jurisdiction. Still less has it a right to stay its hand at the instance of a claimant who may present a case into which it may be difficult, if not impossible, for the Court to enquire, even though that claimaint be the Crown. The second part of the amendment to which also the Court seemed disposed to yield is more extraordinary still. It asserts that "the "executive Government has determined * * * that any [unclear: dep] "ture from the precise terms of the grant by the application [unclear: cy-pa] of the * * * land paid funds without the assent of the "Parliament of the Colony would contravene the

terms of the "cession and be a breach of the trust thereby confided "in the Crown." "We see great difficulty," say the [unclear: learn] Judges, "in holding that in such circumstances the Court [unclear: coul] "or ought to interfere." The proposition advanced on behalf of the Crown is certainly not flattering to the dignity or the [unclear: ind]pendence of the highest Court in New Zealand or even to the intelligence of the Parliament. What has the Court to do with the Executive? Where there is a suit properly constituted and [unclear: rip] for decision, why should justice be denied or delayed at [unclear: the] ding of the Executive? Why should the Executive Government take upon itself to instruct the Court in the discharge of its [unclear: propa] functions? Surely it is for the Court, not for the [unclear: Executive], determine what is a breach of trust. Then again what has that Court to do with the prospective action of Parliament as [unclear: shadow] forth by the Executive? No one disputes the paramount [unclear: author] of the Legislature. Within certain limits it is omnipotent. But why should it be suggested that Parliament will act better if [unclear: it] in the dark and without allowing the Court to [unclear: decla] and define the rights with which it may be asked to deal? [unclear: Th] present Chief Justice, who was not a party to the judgment of the Court of Appeal, took a truer view of the situation when he said that the approval of a scheme could not "in any way [unclear: hamp] "either the Government or the Parliament in dealing with their "trust."

In the opinion of their Lordships the Respondent has been wrong in every step from first to last. Their Lordships will therefore humbly advise His Majesty that the Order of the Court of Appeal should be discharged except as to the direction [unclear: there] contained for payment of the costs of the Trustees; that any costs paid under that Order to the Solicitor-General should be returned; that this Appeal should be allowed with costs to be paid by the Respondent, and that the Trustees should be at [unclear: libert] to retain any extra costs incurred by them as between solicitor and client out of the trust fund in their hands.

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Front Cover

Trade and Empire.

Trade and Empire.

A Pamphlet for the Times.

By John B. C. Kershaw, F.I.C., F.S.S.

Illustrated by many Trade Diagrams, and containing official figures for British, Foreign, and Colonial Trade, over a long series of years.

LONDON: P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster. 1903.

Preface.

THE four articles reprinted in this pamphlet have been written in recent years, and have been published in the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Monthly Review*, and in *Feilden's Magazine*, in the period 1897—1903. The Author's thanks are due to the Editors and Publishers of these three Reviews, for their permission to make this use of the original articles.

No apology is needed for the republication of these articles in' pamphlet form at the present moment. They deal in an exhaustive manner with the subject that is uppermost in the public mind, and represent the result of five years' study of trade figures. The articles have been reprinted in chronological order, so that they may exhibit the gradual growth of opinion brought about by a study of the official figures relating to British and Foreign trade.

The Author commenced this inquiry in 1897 as a Liberal Free Trader. He ended it in 1901, with opinions that are fully set forth in the third and fourth articles of the series.

It is possible that a careful examination of the facts and figures presented in this pamphlet, may lead others through the same gradual change of opinion, regarding the best means of promoting Trade and Empire.

The attention of readers is especially directed to the figures given on pages 20, 21, and 51—53, since these prove the fallacy of one of the strongest arguments for a policy of non-interference with our present system of so-called "Free Trade."

An Appendix has been added, giving details of the following:

- Values of British Imports and Exports for 100 years.
- Values of the Exports of Foreign Countries for 27 years.
- Values of the Colonial Exports of Food Stuffs and Imports of Manufactured Goods for 13 years.
- British Population Returns for 100 years.

These figures are all presented in the articles chiefly in diagrammatic form, but it is not in many cases easy to ascertain the values for individual years from these trade diagrams.

The Author has therefore thought that the collection of the official figures for these returns in an Appendix,

would be of great service to all engaged in the study of the question, and would be especially valuable to those engaged in educating popular opinion on this subject.

John B. C. Kershaw.

WATERLOO, LIVERPOOL,

July 22nd, 1903.

Contents.

Trade and Empire.

The Future of British Trade.

(*The Fortnightly Review*, November, 1897.)

GREAT attention has been directed in recent years to the subject of foreign competition, especially in regard to its effects upon our manufacturing industries; and the extent to which the manufactured products of the United Kingdom are being displaced in the home and export markets of the world has been investigated and reported upon by many observers—official and otherwise. In November, 1895, Mr. Chamberlain sent to the Governors of all the British Colonies a Despatch requesting information upon the subject of the alleged displacement of British-made goods in colonial markets. Early in 1896 the publication of a small book entitled "Made in Germany" served to still further disturb the public mind in reference to this subject, and led to the preparation of a special Report by the Board of Trade. This Report, compiled by Sir Robert Giffen and Sir Courtenay Boyle, and entitled "Memorandum on the Comparative Statistics of Population, Industry, and Commerce in the United Kingdom and! some leading Foreign Countries," was laid upon the table of I both Houses of Parliament in January, 1897. It contains a great amount of information relating to the trade and populations of the four leading commercial countries—Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States; and both the statistics, and the cautious conclusions with which Sir Courtenay Boyle closes the "Memorandum," deserve the attention of all interested in the maintenance and expansion of British commerce. An equally important official publication has quite recently appeared in the form of a Blue-Book of nearly six hundred pages, containing the replies of the Colonial Governors to Mr. Chamberlain's Despatch of November, 1895.

Armed with the facts and figures contained in these official publications, and supplementing them by some drawn from the Year-Books of the Imperial Institute for 1892 and 1894, it is proposed to discuss in the following pages the present position of British trade, and the probable future that awaits it under the effects of the various proposals that have from time to time been made, for rendering our position as a commercial nation more secure.

The subject may with advantage be dealt with under the following heads—

- The present position of the export trade of the United Kingdom as revealed by the official figures.
- The probable future of this trade under a continuance of the existing conditions.
- The probable future of this trade under non-fiscal reforms.
- The probable future of this trade under an Imperial Customs Union.

I. Mr. Ritchie's action in arranging for a Board of Trade inquiry in August, 1896, was without doubt chiefly due to the attention excited by Mr. E. E. Williams' book, "Made in Germany"; and therefore it is natural that Sir Courtenay Boyle, in the "Memorandum," should give special attention to the export and import trade between Germany and the United Kingdom. The statements contained in this book, and repeated in many of the daily and weekly trade journals, to the effect that in recent years there had been an enormous displacement of British goods in the home market by those of German manufacture, are not borne out by Sir Courtenay Boyle's figures. There has been no such recent "deluge" of German goods as the prevalence of the ubiquitous label "Made in Germany" upon their purchases had led many to believe. The Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 had merely revealed a state of affairs that had long existed. In 1880 our imports from Germany were valued at £24,355,000;

in 1888 they had advanced in value to £26,724,000; in 1895 they were only very slightly beyond the value of 1888, being £26,993,000. In considering this question of imports from Germany, two points, however, require attention. In the first place, there is an indirect export from Germany to the United Kingdom, through Holland, in addition to the direct export trade. Secondly, the periodic booms and depressions in international trade cause the comparisons of figures for single years to be wholly untrustworthy as an indication of the general tendency of trade. The fluctuations in the value of the export and import trade of all countries, but especially of that of the United Kingdom and of the United States during the last twenty-five years, have been so great, that one might safely undertake to prove anything one desired, if free to make a careful selection of the figures for single years. The errors caused by this latter difficulty are, of course, eliminated by taking averages over definite periods; the errors caused by the former can be partially eliminated by taking the aggregate value of imports from Germany and Holland, when making comparisons of the nature of those under consideration.

Following this method we find that, whilst in 1882 our average aggregate imports from Germany and Holland amounted in value to £50,070,000, in 1893 their value had increased to £54,797,000.

Since the value of the imports from Holland had not decreased in the interval, it is perfectly safe to conclude that the increase in the value of our imports from Germany during the eleven years was under £4,750,000. This is undeniably an increase, but hardly one to justify some of the exaggerated statements as to the recent "deluge" of German-made goods. The alarming fact is not the *increase*, but the *total*. Already in 1882 we were importing £50,000,000 worth of goods from Germany and Holland, but the majority of our people did not know it. The Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 revealed the fact to them, and has certainly done good service in directing public attention to a very serious state of affairs, however much it may have failed in other directions.

With regard to our general export trade, as compared with that of other countries, the figures given in the "Memorandum" show that when the figures for the years 1882 and 1893 are compared (taking five years' averages), only one country—the United States—shows an increase; whereas the three leading European countries each show a decrease. The increase in the case of the United States is equal to 10.2 per cent, on its export trade; the decrease in the case of the United Kingdom is equal to 3 per cent. The figures for the total exports of domestic produce

These totals refer only to goods produced within the country named; goods imported for export purposes are not included.

of the five European countries and of the United States, have been reduced to diagrammatic form for purposes of comparison, and these diagrams are given on the opposite page. The irregularities of the curves prove how necessary it is to take averages over long periods for purposes of comparison between the figures of different years. The rapid fall in values of all articles of consumption no doubt explains the comparative steadiness of these averages for the European countries in the period 1882—1893; but though the fall in prices may explain this, it does not lessen the fatal significance of this want of elasticity in the value of our export trade. Germany and the United Kingdom both possess rapidly growing populations, and on this account are bound to increase their export trade not only in volume, but in value, if a retrograde movement in the wages and the comfort of the workers is to be avoided.

Sir Courtenay Boyle is evidently inclined to draw comfort from the fact that when the imports and the exports are calculated for the different countries, per head of their population, the United Kingdom stands far ahead of its rivals in trade.

See also "Essays in Finance." Giffen. 1885.

Thus, in the quinquennial

Comparative Values of Total Exports of special, (i. e. Domestic) Produce, for the 15 Years 1880-1895.

period 1890—1894, the average value of the exports per head in the United Kingdom was about double that of the exports per head of our three chief competitors; whilst the value of our imports per head was double that of the imports per head in France and Germany, and more than three times the value of the imports per head in the United States. This superiority in the value of exports and imports per head does not signify that we are more prosperous than other countries, and is rather a misleading return. The United States and Germany both produce a very large proportion of their own food-supply, whilst Germany has for some years practically supplied the whole of her home demand for manufactured goods, and the United States is following in her

footsteps in this respect. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, produces a very small proportion of its food requirements, and has ceased, in these modern days, to supply the whole of the home demand for manufactured goods. The values of the imports and exports per head for the latter country are, therefore, necessarily much greater than the corresponding figures for the two former; and the difference is not a measure of greater commercial prosperity, but *of our greater dependence upon foreign trade*. A country with the values of its imports and exports per head at a vanishing point, might, under certain accompanying conditions, be wholly prosperous; whilst another country, with the same at a level even higher than that of our own, might be on the verge of industrial ruin. Summarised briefly, the results: of Sir Courtenay Boyle's investigations are as follows.

In the period 1880—1895 the United Kingdom and Germany have increased their populations by 4.6 and 7.0 million respectively; their export trade shows no corresponding expansion, but an absolute decline. The United States in the same period has added the enormous number of 19.4 million to its population, equal to a gain in the, fifteen years of 38 per cent., and has increased its export trade in value by seventeen millions, or 10.2 per cent.

The present position of British Trade is, therefore, not satisfactory; and the fact that in neither Germany, France, nor the United States is the progress of trade adequate for the needs of the growing populations does not make our own position the less serious or disturbing.

II. If the United Kingdom is to maintain even its present level of prosperity under the present conditions of population and of manufacture, it is absolutely necessary that its export trade should increase in value by about £2.6 million annually. The population is increasing at the rate of 1 per cent, per annum, and there is no hope that agricultural pursuits can absorb any marked proportion of this increase under the existing conditions of land tenure, and in the absence of protective duties on food or grain. We must continue to export manufactures in exchange for food-stuffs. With a larger number each year to feed, it is, therefore, absolutely necessary to increase the value of our exports. Taking the value touched in the year 1890, as the base of calculation, it is found that an *average* increase of £2.6 million annually in the value of our export trade requires that the present upward movement shall continue until the year 1899, and that our export trade shall amount in value to £285,000,000 in that year. Can we venture to hope that such an expansion will be realised? The cautious tone of the conclusions at which Sir Courtenay Boyle has arrived, by a study of the figures contained in the "Memorandum," is not very reassuring in this respect. On pages 28 and 29 of his Report are to be found the following remarks—

- The increase of population in Germany and the United States has recently been greater than the increase in the United Kingdom, and those countries, enjoying as they have a period of peace which has lasted for nearly a quarter of a century, have rapidly developed manufacturing and industrial power.
- As with ourselves, so with those countries, the set of population has been to the towns; necessarily, therefore, there has been a more vigorous search than formerly for an outlet for the power above referred to.
- We are still greatly ahead of either country in our power of manufacture for export, so much so that up to the present the gains of either in this respect have had no very serious effect upon our trade

This is certainly a questionable conclusion.

but beginning from a lower level, each country is for the moment travelling upwards more rapidly than we are, who occupy a much higher eminence.

- If peace is maintained both Germany and the United States, and (to some extent) France also, are certain to increase their rate of upward movement.
- Their competition with us in neutral markets, and even in our home markets, will probably, unless we ourselves are active, become increasingly serious. Every year will add to their acquired capital and skill, and they will have larger and larger additions to their population to draw upon.
- It is necessary, therefore, more than ever, that attention should be given, in the United Kingdom, to the business of manufacturing for export. It is a mistake to suppose that the increase in wealth, in foreign countries, is, on the whole, unfavourable to us. The richer neighbouring nations are, the better for us, and for the rest of the world, in the long run. But the change of conditions must be recognised, and we can scarcely expect to maintain our past undoubted pre-eminence, at any rate without strenuous effort, and careful and energetic improvement in method."

This continued growth of populations dependent upon manufactures is the serious feature of the situation. Both Germany and the United States now possess urban populations nearly equal to our own. The numbers for the United States are most startling. In 1880, the urban population was estimated at eleven and a quarter million; in 1890 it had grown to eighteen and a quarter million; at the present date (1897) it cannot be far short of twenty-five millions. Such a rapid increase of population dependent for livelihood upon manufactures, necessarily demands new outlets for trade, and the exploitation of new markets. The United States is a rival in our trade, to be feared even more than Germany; for her rate of growth far surpasses that of the latter country,

and her total population at the present date (1897) is certainly near, if not over, seventy million in number. Sir Courtenay Boyle in the "Memorandum" fully realises the significance of this change; but one cannot see very clearly how the recommendation to our manufacturers to become more "active" (§ 5) can reduce the *seriousness* of the increased competition they will be called upon to face. The industrial competition must inevitably slowly increase; no increased activity on the part of our home manufacturers can prevent it. There are other facts, in addition to those already alluded to, which increase the seriousness of the present outlook. There is no mention of these in the "Memorandum"; but they must certainly be taken into account, in attempting to forecast the future.

The nations of the East are commencing to manufacture articles and commodities for which they have hitherto been wholly dependent upon the nations of the West. Russia, India, China, and Japan are now aspiring to become manufacturing countries; and though, excepting in the case of Japan, we may expect the development of manufactures to be slow, still this double pressure of competition from the East and from the West must increase our future difficulties.

"In the future we have to fear, not German competition, but that of our colonists beyond the seas, and perhaps that of our American cousins most of all, besides that of the cheap labour of the vast populations of climes where Europeans cannot work with advantage. It is folly to suppose that Lancashire can continue much longer to spin cotton for the world; but America, Egypt, India, Japan, and sooner or later China also, will deprive us of the trade—not Germany—for she will suffer proportionately with ourselves."—Professor Armstrong in *Nature*, March 4th, 1897.

It is hardly necessary to quote facts or figures in support of this statement regarding the development of manufactures in the East; but to prevent any misapprehension as to its reality or importance, the following facts are given—

- In 1876, England supplied 82 per cent, of the total cotton yarn imported into Hong Kong, China, and Japan. In 1894 the percentage had fallen to 14½, the producer of the Indian and Japanese cotton mills having entirely displaced the Lancashire spun cotton.
Cf. Article in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Mr. Grundy, 1895, Vol. LVIII., p. 612; also "The Trade of the Empire," Blue-Book, 1897, p. 323.
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Cf. Article in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Mr. Grundy, 1895, Vol. LVIII., p. 612; also "The Trade of the Empire," Blue-Book, 1897, p. 323.
- In 1875, Japan commenced to spin cotton for the home market. In 1894, the whole of the home consumption in the lower counts of yarn was supplied by the native mills, an export trade with China had been commenced, and attention was being turned to the manufacture of the finer counts for another branch of the home demand.
Ibid.
- One of the largest and best-known Lancashire engineering works in recent years has been occupied in turning out complete machinery equipments for *new* cotton-mills in the East.

In view of these facts, which prove not only past success, but rapid development of the cotton-spinning industry in the East, it is interesting to note the total imports of this quarter of the world, and the proportion of this total which this country has supplied. In the years 1893—1895, the annual average was as follows—

Our export trade with the East is shown by these figures to amount in aggregate value to £83,000,000. It is, therefore, a most important division of our export trade, and the growth of manufactures in the East cannot be regarded with equanimity. Nor will this competition from the East be confined to one or two industries. Though up to the present date (1897) it has been chiefly confined, as regards our own country, to the cotton and jute manufacturing industries, there cannot be the slightest doubt that it will extend to others. The raw materials of manufacture are much more widely scattered than was supposed earlier in the last century. Coal and iron have been found in many countries of the globe where their occurrence was unsuspected twenty-five years ago. There is no necessity for long periods of training or education to intervene before new industries, demanding skilled labour, can be successfully carried on in these countries. Half a dozen trained Europeans, as managers and foremen, could, in twelve months, teach any industry to willing Orientals; and England and Germany contain many hundreds of such men, ready to go to any country or into any climate, if sufficient inducement be offered in the form of pay. The writer is quite aware that differences of opinion exist as to the results that may be expected in the future from this development of manufacturing industry in the East. The view held by the older school of political economists was, that growth of industry in *any country* in the world must ultimately benefit our own, and this view finds expression in paragraph 6 of Sir Courtenay Boyle's "Conclusions" (see

page 8). In the particular case under consideration it will be pointed out that we gain in three directions. (1) The production of machinery for these mills in the East is a direct gain to our engineering industry. (2) The increased prosperity of the cotton-workers in the East, drawn from field labour or other less remunerative occupation, adds to their purchasing power, and increases the demand for "other" goods. (3) Capital and workers are set free at home, to "flow" into new industries. On examining these "gains," carefully and in detail, they are found to be much less real than they appear. The demand for machinery for these new mills can necessarily only be a transitory gain to our engineering industry. The works that have so recently been occupied in completing these orders for the East can turn out one complete mill equipment per week. This gain, therefore, to our export trade is one that will quickly pass away. Further, this supply of machinery for the mills of the far East is a "gain" that could only happen at the present date. In ten years' time Japan will certainly be in a position to supply the East with machinery more cheaply than ourselves. With regard to the second gain, that of an increased market for "other" goods, it is necessary to remember that the whole *raison d'être* for the establishment and growth of the cotton industry in these Eastern lands is—cheaper production. For a given output of yarn, less is paid in wages, therefore, than would have been paid for the same production of yarn at home. There is consequently a smaller sum to commence with. This sum is distributed to a larger number of operatives, for the Bombay mill-hand is not so efficient as his Lancashire rival. A larger proportion is therefore spent on necessaries of life—food and shelter; that is, upon expenditure which benefits local industries, and not those of the United Kingdom. The surplus that remains for purchase of those "other" goods is therefore smaller than would have been the case if English operatives had spent the same wages at home; and with the growing development of manufactures in the East, the proportion of this surplus which is spent upon English-made manufactures is certain to diminish. It is, then, difficult to see how this expenditure is to balance the loss we suffer by the transfer of the industry from this country to the East.

The third "gain" is no less illusory. Capital sunk in machinery or plant for any particular industry, does not "flow" into another without great loss. Taking the particular case under consideration, it is evident that a cotton-mill, and the machinery it contains, is of slight value except for spinning cotton. It would no doubt be pleasant for all parties if it could be used for producing—say, cycles or motor cars, and if the factory hands could all instantly adapt themselves to the requirements of these new industries. Such industrial transformations do not happen, however—except on paper. What does take place is the following: The capital sunk in the decaying industry is almost entirely lost. Of the operatives, some emigrate to the United States or to one of the other countries where cotton-mills exist, and resume their old occupation. In most cases this means their loss as consumers of British-made goods. Others drift into casual labour at home, and even if they do not become an absolute burden to the community, their purchasing power is seriously diminished. A few of the hardier ones emigrate to British Colonies, and attempt to earn their livelihood by some out-door occupation. If sufficiently strong and healthy they develop into sturdy settlers; but cotton-spinning is not a good preparation for such a life, and many no doubt ultimately succumb to its physical hardships.

This inquiry into the alleged "gains" that follow the development of industries in other countries, proves that in this particular case we shall lose much more than we gain. The whole tendency of the present industrial developments in the East is in a similar manner detrimental to our interests as a manufacturing nation, since these not only retard the expansion of our export trade, but influence adversely the home trade, by reducing the number of consumers in this country.

The two hindrances to the expansion of our export trade which have been considered, namely, the increasingly fierce competition of the Western nations, and the rapid industrial development in the East, are external ones.

A third one, now to be considered, is an internal hindrance, and is caused by the strength and number of our Trades Union organisations. These have gained, in this country, a position of the greatest importance and authority, and they have undoubtedly helped the workers in nearly all our skilled industries, and in some of our unskilled ones, to attain a level of comfort higher than that obtaining in any other European country. This improvement in the rewards of labour, and in its collective power, might be wholly advantageous were there no such thing as foreign competition, and were Trades Union officials more alive to the dangers of driving industries into foreign hands. In some few manufacturing industries, where great skill and deftness or great physical strength are necessary, it is no doubt true that high wages and short hours are most economical; and in these industries we need not fear competition from the less well-fed and over-worked artisans of Germany or Belgium. But in the majority of our industries this is not so true, and in these the better conditions of labour obtaining in this country only serve to increase the cost of production, and to handicap us in competing with the foreign-made goods in the home or neutral markets of the world.

"It is abundantly shown by all the returns that throughout the Empire the cause which principally operates to let in foreign goods is their greater cheapness."—"Trade of the Empire," Blue-Book, 1897, p.8.

Unfortunately the development of Trades Unionism abroad is slow, and that equalisation of the conditions

of labour in different countries which an International Trades Unionism would make possible, is very far, at present, from realisation. This check upon the expansion of manufacturing industries is not felt by Germany or Belgium; but the difficulty arising from unequal conditions of labour will become a European question when the Eastern nations have entered upon the second stage of their industrial development, and have commenced to sell, in outside markets, the products of their mills and factories. How can the European worker who regards 2s. 6d. per day as an irreducible minimum compete with the Eastern labourer who is content with one-fifth, or less, of this amount?

In India, unskilled labourers receive from 3¼d. to 7½d. per day.

The outlook, as regards the future of our export trade under the existing conditions, is the reverse of promising. Briefly summarised, our difficulties are an increasingly keen competition from Germany and the United States; the gradual loss of our trade with the East by the development of local industries; and a blind and obstinate Trades Unionism at home that refuses to recognise our dependence upon foreign markets for our continued prosperity.

III. It is not surprising that the present position of the industries of our country, handicapped as they are in so many various ways, should have led to the suggestion of remedies for the evils from which they suffer. There are only two proposals made by advocates of non-fiscal reforms that claim our attention. On page 29 of the "Memorandum," Sir Courtenay Boyle gives, in paragraphs 6 to 9, what may be regarded as the official prescription for effecting a relief of the present situation.

Paragraphs 8 and 9 are the most important, and are given in full below.

"(8) The solution of the question of how best to develop and increase our competing power, is one to which the State can only give limited assistance. The commercial position of the United Kingdom has been attained, and must be kept up in the future, by the untiring zeal and energy of the industrial community. The work of seeking out new customers, providing commodities that customers will buy, exploiting new markets, and elaborating new methods, rests with the individual. The State can only afford encouragement and help.

"(9) What the Government can do is to facilitate the supply of accurate and carefully collected information; and in the discharge of this duty I venture to think we are somewhat behindhand."

In face of the exceedingly great difficulties enumerated in the earlier part of this Chapter, these recommendations certainly seem insufficient to restore to our industries and export trade their earlier prosperity, or to maintain that annual expansion of the latter, which has been shown to be necessary. New markets cannot continually be found as we are driven from the old ones. The natural limits of the inhabited parts of the earth bar unlimited expansion in this direction. Further, some of the markets that still remain to be opened up to commerce will be under foreign control, and will be guarded by hostile tariffs—tariffs directed against goods of our own country. Under the most favouring conditions, that is, when the market is one under British influence, our fiscal policy—obliges us to allow its trade to be diverted largely to other countries; and the difficulties treated of in detail in Part II. of this Chapter, operate to prevent the greatest possible benefit resulting to our own country from its development. With regard to the question of customers and their wants, it may be admitted that our competitors, especially the Germans, are at present more pushing, and are showing a greater readiness to please customers than we ourselves; but to suppose that an equal energy on the part of our manufacturers would entirely redress the balance of trade, and counteract the whole of the disadvantages under which our export trade labours, is an optimistic belief that can only be held by refusing to recognise the seriousness of the growing pressure from competing nations, less heavily handicapped for this industrial struggle than our own.

The second non-fiscal remedy proposed, is that of a more thorough organisation of our Technical schools and colleges, and the introduction of a systematic scheme of secondary education. It is obviously impossible, within the limits of this Chapter, to enter upon any full discussion of this question; but while recognising clearly that we have not in the past paid as much attention as we ought to the scientific principles upon which our industries are based, and that the Germans have benefited by our neglect it is the writer's opinion that the beneficial effects upon our trade, which the supporters of this reform expect to see follow in its wake, are probably much over-estimated. The United States, which, in this respect, is not very differently situated to our own country, is quite as formidable a competitor as Germany; and if these two nations and our own had proceeded *pari passu* in this matter of technical education, it is very questionable whether the present relative proportions of the world's trade would have been greatly different. The determining factor in the case of the three countries named is quite as much that of population as of educational advantages. While fully admitting, therefore, that a greater attention to this subject by English manufacturers will tend to improve our position, the opinion must nevertheless be expressed that this reform alone, or these two non-fiscal reforms together, will not completely balance the increasing difficulties of the United Kingdom as a manufacturing country.

IV. Turning now to those suggested reforms which involve a change in the fiscal policy of this or other countries, it is necessary to first mention the proposals of those who believe that Free Trade principles are still

likely to be accepted, at some future date, by the other nations of the earth; and who consider that the only reform for which we can hope or work, is that of the complete abolition of Protective Duties in all the markets of the world.

Sir G. Baden Powell, in an article on "Imperial Free Trade," in the June 1897, issue of the *Fortnightly Review*, professes to see in Canada's recent adoption of a Preferential Tariff for goods coming from Free Trade countries a step towards the realisation of this ideal. If he seriously believes that this action on the part of Canada will lead Germany, France, or the United States to change their present Protective Policy for one based on Free Trade principles, he is certainly much more hopeful than the writer.

The discussion of the probable effects of Free Trade all round, would, however, be exceedingly academic at the present juncture; for not one of the leading manufacturing nations shows the slightest inclination to change its present fiscal policy. After fifty years of argument and practical example by the United Kingdom, the only two other countries in which the people govern—France and the United States—have decided by larger majorities than ever, not only to maintain, but to increase their Protective Duties on goods of foreign origin. One may regret the fact, but it is an unmistakable proof that Free Trade principles are making no headway amongst our nearer neighbours. Free Trade all round is, therefore, a policy that it is wholly beyond our power to hasten forward, and one which we shall probably never see realised.

The remaining two fiscal reforms are more within the range of practical politics, for they only require the consent of a majority of our own countrymen in order that they should be carried into effect. These two proposals have been received with an uncompromising hostility by the present-day exponents of the old Free Trade doctrines; for they each require the imposition of Protective Duties upon some classes of imports into the United Kingdom. The "Fair Traders" would impose such duties in favour of the home producers only; those who support a scheme of commercial federation of the Empire would impose them in the interest of all the producers within its bounds. Since the second proposal is the only one of the two that is receiving serious consideration at the present time, and since the objections to be urged against it are largely common to both schemes, the discussion of the probable effects of such a change in our fiscal policy will be confined to those that might be expected to follow the establishment of an Imperial Customs Union for the Empire, that is, of Free Trade within the Empire. In the first place it is well to point out that the adoption of such a scheme would lead to a trial of Free Trade principles within a perfectly definite area of the earth's surface, yet one embracing countries of such wide area and varied climate, and people of such diverse race and character, that the conditions under which this trial of Free Trade principles would be made would be fairly representative of those which would obtain if all the countries of the world were to adopt a Free Trade policy. Since the establishment of an Imperial Customs Union would thus be, not a retrograde, but a forward movement in the application of Free Trade principles, it is certainly surprising that it has been so ruthlessly condemned by Free Traders. If it be true that a world-wide Free Trade policy would benefit all who shared in it, then it must be equally true that lesser benefits will result from the initiation of such a policy over smaller areas, if these areas be sufficiently representative of the whole.

Turning now to a consideration of the economic objections which are urged against the proposal, the most important is undoubtedly that based upon the relationship between the value of our exports and the imports of our Colonies and dependencies. If the United Kingdom at present is producing manufactured goods for export in value much exceeding that of the total imports of these classes of goods in the various portions of the Empire, it is evident that the time is not yet ripe for the establishment of an Imperial Customs Union. There must exist a fairly adequate market for our goods within the Empire, before we can afford to sacrifice many of our present markets outside it. In order to enable a judgment to be formed upon this question, it is necessary to obtain figures showing the total value of the manufactured goods *exported* from the United Kingdom over a period of years, and corresponding figures for the value of the total *imports* of the same class of goods for the United Kingdom and other countries forming the Empire. The United Kingdom imports of manufactured goods

In 1892, their value was £65,440,000; in 1888, £57,793,000.

are included in this estimate, because one of the chief gains that would result for us, from a scheme of commercial federation, would be that we should supply the whole of the home market with our own manufactures, and that we should no longer import goods that we can make ourselves. The figures relating to the values of the exports and imports of manufactured goods for the United Kingdom have been taken from the "Memorandum," and may be regarded as trustworthy. Those relating to the values of the imports of manufactured goods for our chief colonial possessions and for India, have been obtained by an analysis of the returns from official sources, published in the Imperial Institute Year Book. The countries whose imports are included in the totals given below are the United Kingdom, India, Canada, Cape Colony, Natal, Australasia, New Zealand, and the West Indies. No claim is made for the absolute correctness of these figures, but it is believed they are sufficiently accurate to enable a judgment to be formed upon the question under discussion.

These figures prove that although the Empire is not yet in a position of equilibrium, as regards the exports

and imports of manufactured goods, it is not very far distant from such a point; and, since we might reasonably hope to retain some portion of the present external export trade, the deficiency shown above would be supplied from this source of trade. The proposed change is therefore not fraught with very great risks to our manufactures.

The second objection urged against the proposal is a similar one with regard to the relation between the value of the imports of food-stuffs into the United Kingdom and the value of the exports of these by our Colonies and dependencies. Here, again, it is claimed that a balance in value of exports and imports must exist, before the proposed change can be regarded as one free from economic danger.

The results of an investigation similar to that undertaken in the case of manufactures and covering the same eight countries are given below.

These figures prove that the Empire is very far distant from a position of self-dependence in regard to its food-supply. No one can doubt, however, its ability to produce sufficient food to feed its peoples. Canada and New Zealand, to say nothing of the home country, possess excellent corn-growing districts, and Professor James Long

Nineteenth Century, 1896, p. 21.

has calculated that 55,000 farmers, settled on 100-acre farms in Canada, could supply the present deficiency in wheat. Nor would it be absolutely essential to the success of a scheme of commercial federation for the Empire, that before the inauguration of the change, the food-supply should be wholly produced within it. An excessive production of any commodity within its bounds might lead to economic difficulties; but a deficiency in production could always be supplemented from without by purchases from other countries.

Turning now to a consideration of the objections of lesser importance, the first that claims notice is the plea that the change would cause an increase in the price of both food-stuffs and manufactured goods. This may probably be accepted as a true statement, since it is cheapness alone that causes food-stuffs of non-colonial origin to find a market in this country; and it is cheapness, again, that causes manufactured goods of foreign make

"Trade of the Empire," Blue-Book, 1897, p. 8.

to supplant British-made goods in the home and colonial markets.

But the importance of this objection depends chiefly upon the extent of this rise in prices; and those who regard it as a fatal one to any scheme of commercial federation, seem to forget that the margin between the costs of British-made goods and those of foreign manufacture, or between the costs of colonial produce and that of countries external to the Empire, is only great in comparatively few instances.

In these cases, of course, it might be necessary to impose no duty.

In the majority of cases the difference in the cost of production is small; and yet such slight differences are sufficient to turn trade into foreign channels, and to hamper the development of some home or colonial industry. The trade competition between producers scattered over such a world-wide Empire would certainly tend to keep the prices of food-stuffs and manufactured goods within reasonable limits; and, if necessary, a law prohibiting the formation of gigantic trusts or monopolies in the more important industries, would still further guard against any undue inflation of prices.

Nor must it be forgotten, in considering this question of a possible rise in price, that many of the foreign articles which displace those of home or colonial origin in the United Kingdom are produced under conditions of labour which we forbid; and that the difference in price is, in many cases, chiefly due to this difference in conditions of labour.

By our continued purchase of such goods we are thus assisting to maintain, in other lands, conditions which we have condemned as bad at home. The inconsistency is obvious. Under equal conditions of labour and equal laws, there are few articles of food, or dress, or luxury, that could not be produced as cheaply within the British Empire as without it. The price, then, that we should be called upon to pay for these, after a scheme of commercial federation for the Empire had been inaugurated, would only be a fair one, and in accordance with the standard of living which had received the general sanction for our labouring classes. That being so, no true lover of his country could cavil at the slightly higher price he might be obliged to pay.

Another objection that may be urged against the scheme is that such a safe-guarded commerce would lead to stereotyped methods of production and of manufacture; and that the spur which, under the present conditions of international commerce, is always acting to keep producers and manufacturers up to the highest level of efficiency and ready to adopt the latest inventions, would be abolished. The answer given to the previous objection contains the answer to this one. The competition between producers and manufacturers scattered over such an enormous Empire would certainly suffice to keep methods of production at a high level of efficiency, if a law against trusts and monopolies were in existence. Competition would still exist; competition from those possessing unfair advantages as regards labour conditions or State bounties would alone be destroyed.

The third and final objection which will be considered is that based upon the present fiscal policy of our

Colonies. It has been argued that Free Trade within the Empire is impossible, because most of our Colonies raise their revenue chiefly from Customs duties on imports, and to exempt imports of British origin would leave them with a very large deficit in their Budget accounts. But commercial federation demands only preferential treatment of goods produced within the Empire, and it is a matter of indifference whether this is obtained by admitting British goods free and imposing a small duty on those of foreign origin, or by imposing a large duty on the latter and a small one on the former. The effect in the latter case is that while the revenue is maintained at the required level, a preferential treatment is also accorded to goods of certain origin, and this is the plan which has been adopted by Canada, as regards the United Kingdom and New South Wales. If a colony desired to collect its revenue in this way, it would be free to do so under a scheme of commercial federation.

Having considered the objections that are usually urged against the proposal under discussion in detail, a few of the advantages which it offers may be briefly noticed.

The first and most important is, that it would appear to promise that steady increase in the demand for our manufactured goods which was shown in the earlier part of this Chapter to be essential to our continued prosperity! as a manufacturing nation. The Empire is largely made up of countries and lands very partially occupied and developed. The growth of population in such countries is always more rapid than in the overcrowded European countries; and therefore there is every prospect that, had we the monopoly of the market for manufactured goods that these countries offer, the necessities of the more slowly increasing manufacturing population at home would be fully met. The second advantage is, that it would remove the danger which now threatens some of our industries, of extermination by State-subsidised foreign ones (*e.g.*, our colonial sugar industry) or by foreign industries carried on under much less onerous conditions of life and labour.

Since this was written, this danger has greatly increased, owing to the "dumping" policy of huge Trust Companies in the United States and of the "Cartels" in Germany.

With regard to the latter there is, it is true, an alternative to extermination:—The reduction of the workers' standard of wages and comfort to the foreign level, at present that of Germany, later on that of Japan, Russia, or China. Our workers appear to regard the latter as the greater evil of the two; and so far have shown little disposition to accommodate themselves to the exigencies of international trade competition. This change in our fiscal policy, which is so often described as one which will benefit the capitalist alone, is, in reality, one that will chiefly benefit the worker. The capitalist will still suffer competition from his brother capitalist, whereas the worker will be protected from the competition of foreign workers, whose standard of wages and comfort is lower than his own.

The final gain which will be mentioned is, that this change would tend to strengthen the bonds between the Mother Country and her Colonies, and would prepare the way for that later political federation of the Empire which all Britons proud of their name and race hope someday to see established. Commercial federation must either precede political federation or accompany it, and there are many reasons why its occurrence first would be the more desirable. A mother country producing manufactured goods chiefly for use at home or in her colonies, and colonies producing food-supplies and raw materials for the mother country, would be obliged by the necessities of this interchange in goods to study and take the deepest interest in each other's welfare. Such a study and interest would be an immense assistance in developing the resources of the Empire, and would produce that deeper knowledge of the needs and claims of each portion of it upon which a scheme of political federation might be safely based.

In closing the consideration of this proposal, it may be well to remark that the commercial federation of the Empire, involving, as it will, alteration in our fiscal relations with other countries, can only occur when a very decisive majority in the United Kingdom has been won over to its support. The extension of the franchise has placed the final decision upon questions of this character in the hands of the working classes. Their education on this subject will be a matter of time, and it is perfectly clear that their support will only be won for the change by convincing them that it is one which will benefit not only the Empire, but themselves. Some may assert that this fact will prove an insuperable obstacle to the realisation of this dream of an Imperial Unity. Time will show. The conversion of the working classes to the imperial idea may, after all, happen with startling rapidity.

"I am convinced that there are thousands—and perhaps millions—of Englishmen who, while shrinking from sacrificing the integrity of our Free Trade policy to bolster up weak industries or in support of private interests, would yet willingly and gladly see it modified to promote the great cause of Imperial Unity."—Extract from article entitled "England's Opportunity," by Henry Birchenough, *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1897.

The conclusion to which this discussion of the future of our trade has thus led, is, therefore, that the creation of an Imperial Customs Union appears to offer the most promising means of escape from our present and future difficulties.

It may indeed be questioned whether such a self-dependent Empire is possible, and whether the increased

speed of production of all the commodities of exchange, now possible owing to the use of new sources of power, improved methods of manufacture, and machines of wonderful ingenuity, has not made the supply of wider and wider areas of the earth, and greater and greater numbers of its population, an absolute necessity of commercial existence. If this view be correct, and if the present industrial organisation of society is such that no nation, however wide the area of earth which it may cover, nor however great the number of its people, can exist by merely supplying with the necessaries and luxuries of life those who live under its flag, then there would seem to be only two possible paths of future development.

The first—that leading to a reorganisation of society upon a socialistic basis—demands for its ultimate success vast numbers of utterly unselfish individuals. The evolution of these, under modern conditions of life, is slow, and it is the writer's opinion that the average man is becoming daily more selfish and less inclined to sacrifice himself in any way for the general welfare of the race. The number of those who give an intellectual assent to the principles of State-socialism may possibly be increasing (in Germany this is certainly the case), but there is no corresponding growth of that spirit of self-sacrifice which is essential to the success of the Socialist's ideal.

The second path of industrial development is that upon which we are at present travelling. It leads to an international industrial warfare of the most savage intensity. This warfare, if it be permitted to proceed to its logical issue, can have but one result—the reduction of the standard of life and comfort in all countries to the lowest level at which human beings in any part of the world are willing to exist.

The Trade of the Century: A Retrospect and a Forecast.

(*Feilden's Magazine*, January, 1901.)

And yet we are nearing an epoch of no common kind, short indeed in the lives of nations, but longer than the life of man, when we may well pause to take stock. Within six weeks we shall have closed the nineteenth century, and have entered on a new one for better or for worse. It is, of course, only an imaginary division of time, though it seems solemn enough, for we are on a pinnacle of the world's: temple where we can look forward or look back.—LORD ROSEBERY at GLASGOW, November 16th, 1900.

But the question still remained: Are we holding our own? In answering that question we found ourselves confronted by two new factors, the emergency of which was the cardinal point in the history of national trade during the last half century. I refer to the stepping out from the rear to the front ranks of Germany and of the United States of America. So far from enjoying the undisputed hegemony which was so confidently predicted for British trade fifty years ago, there is not now an inch of ground in any one of the international! markets for which we are not fighting with all our available strength.—Mr. ASQUITH at LEEDS, November 23rd, 1900.

I. Introduction.

FOR the majority of the English-speaking race, midnight on the 31st of December, 1900, marked the close of the nineteenth and the dawn of the twentieth century. The German Emperor, with that true imperial instinct which has ever distinguished him, has decided that the nineteenth century ended on December 31st, 1899. Those who read the heated correspondence in the *Times* on this subject in December, 1899, will appreciate the significance of this action, and will be ready to agree that it is at times useful to possess an Emperor able and willing to settle off-hand questions so disturbing to the mental balance of the average man and woman. This decision, as a witty German lady pointed out to the writer, has placed Germany twelve months ahead of all her industrial competitors in the new century, and may be regarded as but another instance of the care and forethought of the Emperor for our Teutonic cousins' welfare.

But whether the twentieth century be held to have commenced upon the 1st of January, 1900, or upon the 1st of January, 1901, the decision is without weight for the purposes of this Chapter. Either date will suit equally well as the standing point from which to review the industrial progress of the century which has just closed, and the industrial prospects of our country in the century upon the threshold of which we stand.

To the future historian the nineteenth century will be known as the century of coal and steam. Steam-power has revolutionised all industrial operations, and has led to the substitution of the factory system of manufacture for home and cottage industries. The possession of extensive and cheaply-worked coal-beds has been the chief factor in this industrial change, and to the early development of her coal resources England owes her present position at the head of the manufacturing nations of the world.

In the year 1801 the total import and export trade of the United Kingdom was valued at £55,000,000. In

1899 this total had grown to £740,000,000, or thirteen-fold; although the population is estimated to have only increased from 16,345,000 to 40,800,000 in the same period of time. No other country in the world can show such a growth in industrial wealth and importance in the nineteenth century.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to trace this growth through its various stages: to analyse some of the causes which have led to severe fluctuations in the value and volume of our trade: and finally to estimate the extent and strength of the forces which are operating to retard our industrial progress as a nation in the century upon which we have just entered.

For the purposes of this Chapter all the figures have been thrown into diagrammatic form, and the results are presented in Diagrams I., II., III. and IV. This is the most scientific method of using series of numbers that show marked variations from year to year, and it is the only one which enables the real extent and significance of these variations to be grasped.

II. The Growth of the Trade of the United Kingdom during the First Half of the Century, 1801—1853. (See Diagram I.)

Diagram I. is based upon the official returns for the first half of the century, the figures for population, imports, and exports being shown as three curves, in the one diagram.

It may be explained here that up to the year 1853 the authorities used what were known as "official values" in calculating the totals for the "import" and "export" trade. These "official values" were fixed in 1694, and their relation to the "real" value of the commodities imported or exported of course varied from year to year.

The following table shows the relation between the "real" and "official" values of the exports for the five decennial periods between 1801 and 1850:—

On this account the two curves in Diagram I. really represent the progress in the volume of our import and export trade during the first half of the century.

Examining these curves in detail, we see that until 1831 there was little expansion in the external trade of the United Kingdom. The aggregate value of the import and export trade in that year was only £109,000,000, the population at this date being 24,392,000.

DIAGRAM I.-SHOWING THE EXPORT AND IMPORT (OFFICIAL) VALUES FOR EACH YEAR OF THE PERIOD 1801-1853. THE STRAIGHT LINE SHOWS THE INCREASE OF POPULATION DURING THE SAME PERIOD. EACH VERTICAL DIVISION EQUALS TEN MILLIONS STERLING; EACH LATERAL DIVISION ONE YEAR.

From 1831 onwards both imports and exports show considerable increase; but the latter grow the more rapidly, and from 1842 onwards show a most striking upward movement. This is the period of our real rise as an industrial nation; and this expansion of our export trade marks the improvement of the steam-engine as a power generator, and the dawn of the factory system of manufacture.

It is true that the steam-engine had been greatly improved by James Watt between 1769 and 1782, and had at the latter date been successfully employed for pumping purposes. In 1800, also, a further step in advance was made by the application of steam-power for driving the looms in the textile industries of the North. But it was not until the middle years of the century that the steam-engine had been generally adopted for generating the power required in our staple industries, and that the great expansion of our foreign trade commenced.

It was perhaps natural and inevitable that those who had been foremost in their efforts to remove all Protectionist duties from food-stuffs and raw materials entering the United Kingdom, should have regarded this wonderfully rapid growth as the direct consequence of these changes in our fiscal system, or that they should have prophesied uninterrupted prosperity for our country so long as these principles were upheld. The enthusiasm with which Free Trade principles and the doctrines of the Manchester school of political economists were regarded in the fifties and sixties, is, however, now extinct, and most of the younger students of this question are pre-pared to admit that our Free Trade policy was only *one amongst many causes* which operated to give British manufacturers the leading place in the world of industry in the years of which we are speaking.

In 1853, the last year of the period covered by Diagram I, the aggregate (official) value of our external trade had grown to £337,000,000, of which nearly two-thirds (£214,000,000) was accounted for by our exports, and only slightly over one-third by our imports.

One of the chief features of Diagram I. is the position of the curve showing the volume of the imports. From 1814 onwards this curve is below that representing the volume of our exports, and the gap between the

two increases as we approach the closing year of the period.

The volume of our export trade was, in fact, growing much more rapidly than that of our import trade, and it is only in the second half of the century that this has been changed, and that our imports have increased more rapidly than our exports. The check in the increase of population between 1841 and 1851 is noticeable, and was due to the potato famine in Ireland, and to the consequent decrease in the population of that division of the United Kingdom. There were also great losses from a cholera epidemic in 1848—1849 which helped to check the increase of population.

III. *The Growth in the Trade of the United Kingdom during the Second Half of the Century, 1852—1899. (See Diagram II.)*

The figures upon which the curves in Diagram II. are based, represent "real" values, and comparisons between the two diagrams, or between specific years before and after the year 1853, are therefore impossible. Further changes were introduced by the authorities into the method of estimating the values of export and import commodities in 1870, and comparisons before and after this latter date are also untrustworthy. Studying Diagram II. with these two cautions in one's mind, we see that its chief feature is the gap between the export and import curves. The aggregate value of the imports has shown a more steady expansion than that of the exports; and for the whole period covered by the diagram the growth of our import trade has shown a tendency to keep pace with the increase of population, while that of our export trade has not been so satisfactory.

Up to 1872 the value of our export trade showed steady progress. Since that year the value of this trade has fluctuated about one level, viz., £230,000,000, and not until 1899—1900 has any marked progress been manifested. If expansion similar to that evident in the value of our import trade had taken place, the value of our export trade in 1900 would have been nearly £400,000,000.

The chief causes of this non-expansion in the value of our export trade during the closing quarter of the century are, a great fall in values of manufactured goods, and increased foreign competition. The latter will be discussed more fully in the last section of this article.

IV. *The Fluctuations in the Value and Volume of our Export Trade during the Latter Half of the Century. (See Diagrams II. and III.)*

A closer study of the export curve in Diagram II. reveals several periods of depression, the two most marked of these occurring in 1872—1879 and in 1891—1894. Taking the whole curve and examining it in detail, one finds similar depressions of shorter duration in 1858, 1861—1862, 1867—1868, 1883—1886, and in 1897—1898.

Many ingenious theories have been elaborated in order to account for the regularity with which these periods of trade depression recur, but none of these has yet received general acceptance. It is not possible to discuss within the limits of a short chapter these theories at any length, and a mere enumeration of the causes advanced will have to suffice.

The currency, the money market, sun spots, famines, Protection, Free Trade, bad harvests, trades unions, wars, and Radical Governments, have all been put forward at one time or another as chief causes of these unwelcome fluctuations in our trade. Those interested in the subject will find each of these exhaustively dealt with in past

DIAGRAM II.—SHOWING EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (REAL) VALUES FOR EACH YEAR OF THE PERIOD 1854—1899. THE STRAIGHT LINE SHOWS THE INCREASE OF POPULATION DURING THE SAME PERIOD. EACH VERTICAL DIVISION IS EQUAL TO TWENTY MILLIONS STERLING; EACH LATERAL DIVISION ONE YEAR.

DIAGRAM III.—SHOWING THE VALUES OF THE EXPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR FORTY-THREE YEARS (1856—1898) IN

ILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING, AT THE PRICES OF 1881. THE TOTALS THUS OBTAINED THEREFORE REPRESENT THE FLUCTUATIONS OF THE VOLUME OF OUR EXPORT TRADE.

volumes of the Proceedings of the Royal Statistical Society, and of the British Association. It may, however, be remarked that if the curve showing the fluctuations in our export trade during the second half of the century be based upon figures representing its volume, many of these depressions disappear, and checks in progress are only to be found in the years 1860—1862, 1885, 1891—1893, and in 1897—1898. Diagram III. has been based upon such a series of figures; index numbers having been used to reduce the total exports value in each year of the period, to the prices ruling in 1881. The severe depression of 1873—1879, when allowance is made for the fall in values, is seen to have been only a period of *non-expansion in the volume* of our trade; and it is curious to note that the depressions of 1860—1863 and of 1891—1893 were really the more important when the volume of our export trade is considered.

Taking the volume of our export trade for the whole century, we find the following periods of depression—1811, 1816—1819, 1826, 1837, 1841—1842, 1846—1847, 1860—1862, 1885, 1891—1893, and 1897—1898.

In an article published in 1900

"Journal of the British Economic Association," December, 1900.

the writer submitted the theory (first advanced by Sir William Herschell), that there is a connection between these periodic trade depressions and bad harvests, to a detailed examination, and stated his belief that there is some degree of truth underlying this theory.

It is probably true that many causes combine to produce these periodic fluctuations in our external trade, and no one theory of their origin can be accepted as a full explanation of their recurrence. Of these causes, bad harvests, weakened credit, and foreign tariff changes, are the more important. As the vagaries of the weather, and the mental mood of bankers and capitalists, are both beyond Government control, the prospects of our ever being able to prevent the occurrence of trade depressions are remote. However, if prevention is an impossible policy, prevision is not; and the writer believes that much more might be accomplished by the Board of Trade than at present, in warning and preparing the trading and manufacturing public for these periods of bad trade.

V. The Future of our Country as a Manufacturing Nation.

An impartial review of the figures presented in diagrammatic form in this Chapter shows that the wonderful expansion and progress which characterised the middle portion of the century have not been continued to its closing years. The writer has already alluded to the practically stationary position of our export trade during the last twenty-five years. The following table, showing the annual values of the imports and exports per head of the population, in the successive years of census, is worthy of careful study.

The values per head before and after 1853 (above and below the line) cannot be directly compared for the reason given on page 30; but otherwise the figures show the relative annual values of our imports and exports per head at the various decennial periods. Up to 1851 our exports grew much more rapidly than our population, and the values of the exports per head increased fourfold between 1811 and 1851. In the second half of the century it is the imports which show the greater expansion, the values of imports per head of the population having advanced from £7.38 in 1861 to £11.96 in 1899. The exports show no such satisfactory increase. They advanced, it is true, from £4.52 to £7.07 per head between 1861 and 1871; but since the latter year there has been a steady fall, and in 1881, and again in 1891, the value of the exports per head of the population shows a marked decline.

These figures can only be understood by a study of the industrial progress of Germany and the United States, for it is chiefly due to the competition of these two countries that our progress has suffered such a severe check in the closing years of the century.

In 1898, for the first time in her industrial history, the United Kingdom had to relinquish the first place to the United States as regards the value of the export trade, and the figures for 1902 repeat this phenomenon. For the purpose of showing the relative changes in the position of the six chief exporting countries during the last quarter of the century, Diagram IV. has been prepared. A study of this diagram is recommended to those whose faith in worn-out dogmas has led them to the comforting belief that our position as a manufacturing nation was permanently secured.

In 1875 the value of the export trade of the United Kingdom was double that of its chief rivals, Germany and the United States; and France stood second in the list of exporting countries. In 1899 the United States

heads the list, with the United Kingdom second, and Germany closely in her rear. In the intervening years what do we see? The export trade of three countries increasing by irregular movements—namely, that of Holland, Germany, and the United States: and the export trade of Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom practically stationary or declining.

It is therefore certain that it was to a combination of causes, of which the adoption of a Free Trade policy was only one, that we owed the wonderful expansion and

DIAGRAM IV.—SHOWING EXPORT VALUES FOR THE CHIEF EUROPEAN EXPORTING COUNTRIES AND FOR THE UNITED STATES DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF THE CENTURY. EACH VERTICAL DIVISION EQUALS TEN MILLIONS STERLING; EACH LATERAL DIVISION ONE YEAR.

progress of the middle years of the last century; and now that some of these causes have ceased to operate, our industrial supremacy is being successfully assailed. The opinion frequently expressed by leading political economists twenty or thirty years ago, that no Protectionist country could hope to compete with us in the open markets of the world, is proving fallacious. Opinions founded on insufficient data usually are fallacious. Our most dreaded and successful rivals are both Protectionist countries. That the competition which we now have to meet in all the markets of the world will increase in severity is also certain. In a Report prepared by Sir Courtenay Boyle in 1896,

"Memorandum upon the Export Trade of the United Kingdom, United States, France, and Germany."—*Board of Trade Papers*. 1896.

It was shown that the manufacturing populations of Germany and of the United States were growing more rapidly than our own. As a natural consequence of this it follows that the supplies of manufactured goods to be disposed of in the outside markets of the world must increase. We have already lost the first place to the United States, and many believe that it will not be long before we have to relinquish the place which we now occupy in the ranks of the exporting countries, to Germany. But while admitting that this change of position is a result of natural law, and is therefore inevitable, we must guard against taking a too gloomy view of our country's position. While our coal lasts and can be worked at a reasonable cost, we possess an asset of inestimable value. The fear that the waterfalls of France, Switzerland, and Norway will render this asset of little value is due to lack of knowledge. The nineteenth century has been the century of steam-power. Electricity, not steam, will be the universal power-agent of the century just born. But electricity can be generated from coal—with modern plant and machinery—almost as cheaply as from any of the larger waterfalls in Europe and America. In Norway, it is true, electrical power can be generated at a very low cost. But the economic advantages of a waterfall in Norway, as compared with a coal-pit in South Lancashire, are largely discounted by its distance from the markets of the world for the raw materials and for the manufactured products.

The possibilities of utilising the energy stored up in coal in new ways are also great. The problem of power generation from the waste gases of blast furnaces has been solved in a practical manner in Germany and in Belgium; and a new form of gas producer in Germany has nearly doubled the thermal energy which can be extracted from 1 lb. of coal.

If our manufacturers will but make use of every advantage that applied science can offer to them for increasing the efficiency of their works or factories; and if our workers will second these efforts of their employers by doing all in their power to obtain the maximum of output at the minimum of cost, we may hope to maintain, so long as our coal lasts, our position as one of the leading manufacturing nations of the world. And before our coalfields are exhausted we may have realised the dream of a federated Empire. The waterfalls of Canada and the coalfields of South Africa and of Australasia, developed by British capital and by British labour, may then win for the Empire in the present century a place equal to that held by the Mother Country in the century which has just closed.

Should our prosperity be further checked, and this natural development of the resources of the Empire be hindered, by a fiscal policy adopted half a century ago, under circumstances widely different from those of the present time, it will be necessary to reconsider that policy, and to inform each of our chief competitors in trade, that we can no longer grant to them the privilege of free entry to all our markets, except as a return for similar privileges in all countries under their flag.

The Promotion of Trade Within the Empire.

(*The Monthly Review*, June, 1902.)

SYDNEY, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2nd.

Mr. Barton, the Federal Premier, has declared in the course of an interview that he has always favoured attempts to foster trade between the different parts of the Empire, but that the difficulty was to avoid coming into contact with other nations.—REUTER (*Daily Mail*), February 3rd, 1902.

OTTAWA, MARCH 11th.

In connection with the proposed conference between the representatives of the Mother Country and of the Colonies to be held after the Coronation, His Majesty's Government has been advised that the Canadian Government regards the question of commercial relations between the various sections of the Empire as the only one which gives promise of useful discussion.—*Times*, March 12th, 1902.

WELLINGTON, MARCH 11th.

Mr. Seddon stated that at the conference of Colonial Premiers in London he would promise for New Zealand a Customs rebate on British goods carried in British ships.—*Times*, March 12th, 1902.

IN ANSWER TO SIR H. VINCENT (SHEFFIELD, CENTRAL).

Mr. Chamberlain said: I have no official information as to the feeling of the Government and people of Canada in regard to the results of the preferential tariff accorded to British goods. My attention has been called to the declaration of the New Zealand Premier, and it is proposed to discuss the commercial relations of the Empire with the representatives of the self-governing Colonies when they come here for the Coronation.—*Times*, March 4th, 1902.

THE above extracts prove that the promotion of trade within the confines of the British Empire has ceased to be a question of academic interest, and has entered the domain of practical politics. The discussion of this subject by the Colonial Premiers gathered in London in 1897 produced, it is true, no immediate result, but this must not be taken as an indication that the conference proposed for the present year, 1902, will be equally barren. There has undoubtedly been a growth of opinion in favour of the movement, not only in the Colonies but also in the Mother Country, during the years that have intervened. The protective policy of our chief rivals in trade—Germany and the United States—is undoubtedly hampering the expansion of our commerce, and the figures given on page 47 show that our export trade has ceased to keep pace with the growth of our population. The enormous increase in the national expenditure, largely due to the growth of the permanent annual charges for the army and navy, has shown the need for widening the basis of revenue, and has prepared the popular mind for a reimposition of the taxes and duties upon imports, discarded during the middle years of the last century. The letters of Sir Robert Giffen to the *Times* and the paper by the same author, entitled "A Financial Retrospect," read before the Royal Statistical Society on March 18th, 1902, may be cited in proof of this change of public opinion.

Times, January 7th, 9th, and 10th, 1902.

Finally, the war in South Africa has awakened the imperial sentiment in all parts of the British Empire, and has paved the way for a closer commercial and political relationship between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Many far-seeing statesmen have declared in the past, that this bonding together of the scattered Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire ought to be the aim of our Colonial and foreign policy; but few realised that the Boer War would prove such a remarkable stimulus to the imperial idea.

The subject of the trade relationships of the British Empire is a large one, and it is impossible to deal with it, in all its aspects, within the limits of this Chapter. In the following pages the writer has therefore confined his attention to one of these, and has dealt alone with the influence that a change in our fiscal policy might exert upon the commerce of the Mother Country. He is aware that the effects upon the commerce of our Colonies and dependencies are equally deserving of attention. The commerce of the United Kingdom, however, far outweighs in value and importance that of the separate Colonies and dependencies of the Empire, and it is therefore fully deserving of the first place in any careful study of the means to be adopted for promoting trade within the Empire.

I. The Present Position of the United Kingdom as an Exporting Country.

The United Kingdom, as a manufacturing country', no longer occupies the position of commanding

importance won during the middle years of the nineteenth century. This loss of position is to some extent due to natural causes. The long period of peaceful development enjoyed by the nations of Europe after 1870; the growth of populations in Germany and America; and the spread of scientific and technical knowledge, have produced the only result possible. In most highly civilised countries the people are forsaking agricultural for manufacturing pursuits, and are flocking from the country districts into the towns. No country can now be called the workshop of the world, for all have workshops at home. The equipment of the factories and works of our chief rivals is equal to, and in some instances better than, our own. But artificial aids have been employed to assist the development of industries and manufactures in foreign countries, and to some extent the loss of position by the United Kingdom is due to the bounty and protective systems of our manufacturing rivals. That these have favoured our competitors rather than ourselves is proved by the official figures for the value of the export trade of the leading manufacturing countries in the period 1881—1900. These figures are reproduced in a diagrammatic form on the following page. The curves clearly indicate that, while all countries have suffered from periods of boom and depression, Germany and America have shown greater

COMPARATIVE EXPORTS OF THE LEADING MANUFACTURING COUNTRIES FOR THE PERIOD 1881—1900.

relative and actual progress than the United Kingdom. In the latter case there has been retrogression rather than progress, when the actual increase in population is considered. Comparisons for individual years, owing to the periodic character of trade depressions, are untrustworthy. Many carefully compiled statistical articles relating to trade have been made the basis of wholly fallacious conclusions, owing to the neglect of their authors to use quinquennial or decennial averages in place of the figures for single years. The addition of ships to the export returns in 1899 is also causing many to fall into error when comparing export values before and after the year 1898. Taking quinquennial averages, and deducting the values for new ships in the export returns for 1899, 1900, and 1901, we find that while in 1871 our exports amounted in value to £7.07 per head of the population, in 1899 they amounted only to £6.21 per head. In the same period our chief rivals, Germany and the United States, can show an actual gain in the value of exports per head of the population. The following are the figures by which the value of British exports per head have been calculated for the years of 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1899 respectively—

The study of the figures of our foreign trade for the last thirty years, therefore, emphasises the need for improving our trade relations with our Colonies, and with other countries willing to consider the advantages of reciprocal duties. Had the last twenty-five years witnessed a decline in the protective policy of foreign nations, it is possible that the agitation for closer trade relations between the Mother Country and her Colonies would not have resulted in such a definite call for action. Protection as a system of fiscal policy has, however, triumphed, and the rapid growth of the United States and of Germany, as manufacturing countries, is a decisive proof of the fallacy of certain arguments used by the Manchester school of economists.

See Farrer's "Free Trade v. Fair Trade" (1885), p. 196; also Bowley's "England's Foreign Trade" (1892), p. 144.

Protection and decaying industries are not necessarily allied.

The area of the world's surface open to our manufacturers and traders having been reduced by this action of foreign Governments, many consider that the time has arrived when the British Empire might with every justification copy the protective policy of her rivals. A consideration of those reforms which involve a change in the fiscal policy of our own, or of other nations, makes it, however, first necessary to refer to the ideal of that small remnant of orthodox Free Traders, who still believe that the conversion of the industrial nations of the earth to Free Trade will occur by means of example and of moral suasion. The futility of this ideal is, however, becoming each year more apparent. After fifty years of effort to convince our industrial neighbours of the advantages of Free Trade, not one of the leading manufacturing nations shows the slightest inclination to change its present fiscal policy. There are indications that even the most staunch Free Traders are beginning to recognise the hopelessness of modifying the fiscal policy of our neighbours by argument for example. When we find the Cobden Club admitting that "It will be our duty to maintain valuable trade rights already acquired in territories which other Powers may annex—and we freely recognise the necessity of being prepared to do this"

Times, January 5th, 1899. See also letter from Sir Bernhard Samuelson to the *Times*, November 6th, 1901.

—it is evident that the era of moral suasion is over. Being *prepared to maintain* trade rights can have no meaning unless it indicates the use of force.

The conversion of the world to Free Trade principles by moral suasion is, therefore, an exploded policy; and the vision of the leading manufacturing countries of the earth voluntarily levelling their protective barriers, and throwing open their markets to the goods of all rivals, is fading from our eyes. But Free Trade within more limited areas of the world's surface is not such an impracticable ideal; and in the following pages the writer will

discuss the arguments for and against, the only two proposals of a fiscal character which seem to offer relief from our present difficulties. The; one—the adoption of a preferential tariff for the Empire—has for its aim the promotion of trade within the British Empire; the second—the adoption of an international tariff based on reciprocal duties—has for its aim the promotion of trade irrespective of flag. The second proposal is thus seen to have the same aim as that before the free traders of the last generation; but the methods used would probably be more effective and convincing than those which: have left the chief markets of the world more strictly guarded and hedged in by protective tariffs to-day, than a quarter of a century ago.

II. A Preferential Tariff System for the Empire, and its probable Influence upon British Trade.

The establishment of a system of preferential tariffs for the British Empire will be regarded by many as necessitating a step backwards in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom. Much depends, however, upon the point of view, and many prefer to regard such a system as a step towards that world-wide Free Trade which all desire to see inaugurated. The British Empire embraces countries of wide area and every variety of climate, peopled by races of the most diverse character and attainments. If the contention of orthodox Free Traders be true, that the adoption of a free trade policy by the nations of the earth would benefit all who shared it, then it must be equally true that lesser benefits will follow when such a policy is followed by the scattered group of countries and peoples known as the British Empire.

At present, tariff barriers exist at various points within the Empire. The removal, or reduction in height, of these barriers to trade, is the aim of those who support the principle of preferential tariffs for the Mother Country and her Colonies.

The most important of the objections urged against any change in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom, is that based upon the relationship between the value of our exports of manufactured goods and the imports of the same by our Colonies and dependencies. If this country is at present exporting goods far in excess of the imports of these classes of domestic produce by the various portions of the Empire, it is evident that we might lose more than we gained by the establishment of a system of preferential trading. There must exist an adequate market for our goods within the Empire before we can risk the loss of markets outside it.

A judgment upon the reality of this danger can only be formed after a study of figures, showing the values of the *imports* of manufactured goods by the various component portions of the Empire; and the values of the *exports* of similar classes of goods, by the United Kingdom, during the same period of time. This comparison must be carried over a series of years, since, for the reasons already touched upon, trade comparisons for single years are never conclusive, and may lead to untrustworthy results.

The totals given in Table II. are based upon the official figures published by the Board of Trade in the "Statistical Abstract for the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom." These totals have been compiled with the expenditure of much time and energy, for the classification adopted in this Blue-Book does not facilitate any separation of food-stuffs and manufactured goods.

The countries included in this summary of the imports of the Empire are the following: The United Kingdom, India, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Natal, Australasia, New Zealand, and the West Indies.

It may surprise many to learn that the United Kingdom itself imported manufactured goods, valued at £98,700,000, in 1900. A market might, therefore, be found at home for 43 per cent, of our total exports of this class of goods. The values of the imports of manufactured articles by the United Kingdom have been rapidly increasing. In 1893 these imports amounted to £72,100,000 in value; each year since that date shows an increase. A growth of 36 per cent, in eight years is striking proof of the activity of our trade rivals in the home market. There is at present no sign that this activity is decreasing, and the admitted policy of the American industrial financiers is to manufacture on a huge scale, and to utilise the United Kingdom and her Colonies as the "dumping-ground" for the surplus goods that remain after satisfying the home demand. To check this charitable design of our American cousins, and to save the home market and manufacturers from this unfair competition,

Tariffs that are practically prohibitive prevent our manufacturer from competing in the United States. would be one of the beneficial effects of the change we are discussing. The figures given in Table II. show that there already exists *within the Empire* an adequate market for the whole of the manufactured goods produced in the Mother Country. Should the proposed change in our fiscal policy cause a total loss of our export trade in manufactured goods to countries external to the Empire (a result which is by no means certain), this loss can, therefore, be faced with equanimity.

Turning now to the results of a similar investigation concerning food-stuffs, the position of the United Kingdom is not so satisfactory. The Empire may be regarded as self-dependent as regards manufactured goods, but it is not yet self-dependent as regards foods. The figures represent the value of the food imports of the

United Kingdom, and the value of the exports of the Colonies and dependencies of the Empire, for the years 1893—1900. They have been compiled from the Board of Trade publication already referred to.

An examination of the detailed figures

See Appendix.

shows, however, that the exports of food-stuffs by certain portions of the Empire are rapidly increasing in value; Canada and New Zealand lead the way in this development of their agricultural resources. There is little doubt that under favourable conditions these two Colonies might become the granary for the remainder of the Empire. Those who are incredulous upon this point are referred to an article by Professor James Long, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* six years ago. In considering this question of food-supply, it must also be borne in mind that the inauguration of a system of preferential tariffs for the Empire would not require as an *essential* preliminary that the food-supply should be wholly produced within it. A deficiency in production could always be overcome by purchase of food-stuffs grown in other countries. The fact that the Empire is not yet self-dependent as regards food-supply, while, therefore, an undoubted disadvantage, is not an absolute bar to the practical inauguration of the change in our fiscal system.

Objections of minor importance to the adoption of a system of preferential tariffs for the products of the British Empire are that this change in our fiscal policy would lead to an increase of price for articles of large consumption, and that it would facilitate the formation of rings and monopolies, designed to keep prices at an exorbitant level.

The first of these is probably true. It is cheapness alone that causes food-stuffs of non-colonial origin to find a market in this country, and it is cheapness again that causes foreign-manufactured goods to supplant British-made goods in the home and colonial markets. Those who regard this probable rise in prices as a fatal objection to any system of preferential trading within the Empire, however, ignore two facts that influence a right decision in this matter. The margin between the costs of British goods and those of foreign manufacture is only great in comparatively few instances, and the same remark applies to the difference in price of food-stuffs grown within and without the Empire. In such cases, where the article or product is one of large consumption, it might be wise to place it on the free list. In the majority of instances, however, the difference in price to the consumer is small. Under the present system of trading, such slight differences in price are sufficient to turn trade into foreign channels, and to hamper the development and expansion of home and colonial industries.

In considering this question of rise of price, it should also be remembered that many of the foreign articles which displace those of British and colonial origin, are produced under conditions of labour which we forbid, and that the difference in price in certain cases is chiefly due to this fact. By our continued purchase of such goods we are thus assisting to maintain in other lands conditions which we have condemned, and by our laws have made impossible, at home. The inconsistency is obvious.

As regards the danger arising from the formation of monopolist rings and trusts under any system of preferential trading within the Empire, the writer admits that this would exist, and might lead to extortion of unfair prices from the consumer. The danger could, however, be easily removed by the passing of anti-trust laws by the Parliaments of the Mother Country and of her self-governing Colonies. Under such laws the competition between producers scattered over our world-wide Empire would keep the prices of manufactured goods and of food-stuffs within reasonable limits. This competition would also be necessary to prevent manufacturers and producers from falling into ruts, and from using out-of-date methods of production, and stereotyped plant or machinery. The reality of this danger has been proved by facts published in a recent article.

"Industrial Trusts and National Prosperity," *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1902.

Anti-trust legislation would, therefore, be a necessary accompaniment of any system of preferential trading within the Empire.

The fourth and final objection that demands consideration is one based upon the present fiscal policy of our Colonies. It has been urged that preferential trading within the Empire is impossible, because our Colonies raise their revenue chiefly by import duties, and to exempt goods of British origin would result in large deficits in their Budget accounts. But preferential trading does not necessarily involve the admission of British goods duty free. It can be attained by granting a rebate on goods of home or colonial origin; and the Government of Canada, which has led the way in this matter, has shown that there are no real difficulties in the practical operation of the system. The revenues of our Colonies could, in fact, be as easily collected under a system of preferential trading as is now the case; and no serious falling off in receipts from Customs duties need be associated with the inauguration of such a system for the Empire.

Having considered in detail the objections to any system of preferential tariffs, the advantages offered by the adoption of such tariffs may be briefly noticed. The first and most important of these is, that it would check the decline in our export trade of manufactured goods, revealed by the figures given in Table I. This falling off in our export trade, if it continues, will have most disastrous consequences for the credit and prosperity of the Mother Country. Several of our staple industries are already seriously undermined, and a continuance of the

present system of so-called "free trade" is likely to bring about their final ruin.

The British Empire is largely made up of countries and territories only partially occupied and developed. The growth of population in such districts, *under favourable conditions as regards markets for the agricultural and dairy produce*, will be more rapid than in the overcrowded town populations. Were this market reserved by a system of preferential trading for goods produced within the Empire, it is probable that the decline of certain of our manufacturing industries would be checked. The figures given in Table II. show that already there exists in countries under our flag a demand more than sufficient to balance our export trade in manufacturing goods. As our Colonies develop this demand will increase; and the growth shown in the period 1894—1900 is of good augury for the future.

The second gain from the point of view adopted in this Chapter, namely, that of the Mother Country, is, that the adoption of a preferential tariff system for the Empire would prepare the way for the later political federation, which all parties in the State now believe to be inevitable at some future date. Commercial federation must either precede political federation or accompany it, and there are many reasons which render its precedence the more desirable. A mother country producing manufactured goods chiefly for use at home or in the dependencies and colonies of the empire, and colonies producing food-stuffs and raw materials for consumption in the mother country, would be obliged by the necessities of this interchange of products to take a deep interest in each other's welfare. Such a study and interest would be of great service in developing the resources of the outlying portion of the Empire, and would lead to that thorough knowledge of the needs and claims of each portion of it, which must precede the inauguration of any scheme of political federation. The consideration of the advantages that would accrue to the Colonies themselves, is outside the scope of this Chapter. Otherwise the protection and development of colonial industries, now threatened with extinction (*e.g.*, the West Indian sugar industry), the provision of an adequate market in the United Kingdom for the surplus colonial agricultural and dairy produce, and the creation and maintenance of a healthy and strong agricultural population, trained to live in the open air, might be commented upon. The latter is, in fact, an advantage that would be of immense help to the Mother Country. The agricultural population of the United Kingdom is rapidly declining in numbers, owing to the conversion of land formerly used for root or other crops to grazing purposes. Large areas of land in certain districts have also been allowed to fall entirely out of cultivation. The town populations are unfitted by training and physique for military service. The War Office statistics of recent years show a lamentable decline in height and chest measurement of the average recruit, especially in the Northern and Midland industrial districts. The South African War has proved that, in the future, our best fighting material will be drawn from our Colonies and over-sea dependencies. To assist in the development of agricultural pursuits in these countries, and thus to provide the reserves upon which we may draw for the *personnel* of our army and navy in years to come, is the duty of our home Government. A preferential tariff system for the Empire would assist in the removal of a danger that is the more serious, because it is at yet so inadequately recognised by the majority of the British public. A change in our fiscal policy, which would provide the Empire with *both food-stuffs and men* in time of war, is not to be dismissed as futile because it might involve the addition of a few shillings per quarter to the price of wheat.

III. An International Tariff System based on Reciprocity.

In discussing the objections that have been put forward as a bar to the establishment of a preferential tariff system for the Empire, the consideration of the greatest of these has been purposely left untouched. Its discussion will form a fitting introduction to the subject of this final section.

We English have been for a long series of years the best hated nation in Europe, chiefly on account of the extent and success of our colonial and other over-sea possessions. To a heritage already great we have been compelled in recent years to add immense tracts of territory in Africa; and the South African War has not made us more loved abroad. These additions to the Empire have been forced upon us by the action of our rivals; and they have been dictated solely by the necessity for preserving that open door for trade, which has been for some time past the guiding star of our foreign and colonial policy. If we, acting purely under selfish motives, now reverse a fiscal policy which has been followed for half a century, and has been the excuse for bringing vast tracts of territory under the British flag, and establish a close system of preferential tariffs throughout the Empire, there is strong ground for the belief that the hostility of Europe would no longer find relief in words, but would demand an outlet in war. There would have to be exceedingly strong reasons for the deliberate adoption of a policy which would drive European nations, and possibly America, into a hostile combination against us. The differences which now divide Europe into two passively hostile camps might be expected to disappear, when confronted with a greater cause of offence, shared in common by all the nations of Europe, against ourselves. The adoption of a preferential tariff system by all countries under the British flag might be regarded in this light; for it would certainly inflict serious injury on many of our industrial competitors, and

they might prefer the risks of war to internal troubles with their manufacturing populations. They would also be able to point to a distinct breach of good faith on our part, since, in recent years, every addition to the Empire has been justified to our neighbours and to ourselves, by the plea that we were preserving the open door for the trade of all nations.

But while the strict reservation of British territory for British traders would thus awaken strong passions, and probably lead to a European war, the same result could not be expected to follow if we offered to our rivals in trade privileges equal to our own. At present they possess *greater privileges than we ourselves, and by the help of these they are slowly strangling certain of our home and colonial industries*. The freedom which they now have to sell their goods in every part of the British Empire, and yet to exclude by hostile tariffs our goods from their own territories, operates to our disadvantage in two ways. It prevents our manufacturers from finding adequate outlet for their goods in foreign countries, or in Colonies under a foreign flag; and it exposes our products in the United Kingdom and in our Colonies to the competition of goods offered *below the actual cost of production*. The foreign manufacturer is enabled to achieve this latter result, in some cases, through the aid of State bounties;

E.g., the sugar industry.

and in other cases, by the adoption of that manufacturing policy which demands for its success—large production, high prices in the home country, and a "dumping-ground" for the surplus output.

The continental iron and steel industry; the United States electrical industry.

There is reason to believe that the British Empire forms such "dumping-ground" for a very large quantity of foreign manufactures, and the United Kingdom especially is inundated with goods of this character. The writer has already referred to the rapid growth of the import trade in manufactured goods. The value for the year 1901 amounts to £99,739,000, or close upon £100,000,000. A very large proportion of these goods would have been produced in this country under other tariff regulations. The unfairness of such a system is obvious, and it has only been tolerated so long because new markets have been plentiful, and the stress of competition has not been very keenly felt by our manufacturers. Now that these conditions are changing, owing to the appropriation of all the habitable portions of the earth, and to the appearance of new competitors for the trade of the neutral markets of the world, this one-sided system of trade—miscalled free trade—ought to give place to one in which the advantages are more equally shared. The change can be brought about by the gradual evolution of an international tariff system based on reciprocity. Canada, as is well known, maintains a duty upon nearly every class of imported goods, chiefly for revenue purposes. The modification of this system, under which goods from free trade countries obtain a rebate of 25 per cent, upon the ordinary duty, has already been mentioned in Part II. of this Chapter. At present only the United Kingdom and New South Wales can benefit by this policy, for they are the only two free trade countries in the world.

The Cobden Club was formed in 1866, and has been preaching the benefits of free trade exactly thirty-seven years.

The preferential treatment offered by the Canadian tariff can, however, be claimed by other countries, when they are ready to accord equal treatment to Canadian produce. The action of Canada, the value of whose import trade is small,

The average annual value of the manufactured goods imported into Canada during the period 1897—1900 was £23,800,000.

has not, of course, led to any conversions to the doctrine of Free Trade; the inducement offered is too small. But were the example of Canada followed by every country under the British flag the inducement would be enormously increased, and would, without doubt, lead to the reduction in height of many of the tariff barriers which now hinder trade development.

The change can, of course, only occur slowly. It is possible that, in the case of self-governing Colonies, it will come about without any external pressure, since the prosperity of Canada, if it continues, will be an object-lesson of the benefits resulting from the adoption of a preferential tariff.

In the Mother Country the change will be more difficult to effect, for it will involve the re-creation of the machinery and officials for collecting duties on imports of various kinds. The writer has pointed out, however, in the opening portion of this Chapter, that many forces are preparing public opinion for the necessary changes in our fiscal policy. The agreement recently signed at Brussels, relating to the treatment of the bounty-aided sugar industry, is a forward step for this country, for we have bound ourselves by this treaty to shut out such bounty-fed sugar after 1903. The agreement will, therefore, oblige us to provide the necessary officials and machinery for checking the country of origin and quantity of our imports of sugar. From this action to similar treatment of other products, for which this country is the "dumping-ground," is not a very long step in advance. The clause relating to preferential trading is the weak feature of the Brussels agreement, and, in view of the 1902 conference of Colonial Premiers in London, it is surprising that the Government allowed it to be included without modification. However, Governments change, and although the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is

not likely to initiate the proposed reform of our fiscal policy, it is not improbable that the next general election in this country will be fought out upon the respective advantages of preferential trading and so-called *free* trade.

This paragraph was written early in 1902, and has proved prophetic.

Cobden and Bright and the Manchester School of Economists, Lord Farrer and the Cobden Club, have laboured in vain to convince the business communities in the trading countries of the world that a policy of unrestricted exchange of goods is best, both for themselves and for others. To-day, to whatever quarter of the world one directs a glance, one finds tariff barriers erected, for the sole purpose of excluding British goods.

The writer is of opinion that the time has arrived when the Government of this country is justified in using methods for propagating Free Trade principles that promise to be more effective than arguments and moral force. The adoption of the preferential tariff system, now in force in Canada, by the other countries of the British Empire, is the means whereby the necessary compulsion towards free trade may be given. Our European neighbours are not likely to find a justifiable occasion for war in a change of our fiscal policy, which will still leave them in possession of advantages equal to our own; and free traders ought not to raise objections to a policy which is likely to hasten forward the realisation of their aims, and to tend towards that free exchange of goods and commodities the world over, for which they have been struggling, without success, for more than half a century.

The Colonial Office Conference and Preferential Trade within the Empire.

(*Feilden's Magazine*, February, 1903.)

Introduction.

THERE is a disposition in some quarters to regard the conference between Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Premiers, held in August, 1902, as a failure in so far as it related to the promotion of trade within the Empire. The contents of the recently-published Blue-Book dealing with the subject do not lend support, however, to the views of those who hold this opinion. It is true that no changes in the fiscal system of this country or of the individual Colonies were definitively settled upon, but the tone of the Conference was distinctly in favour of the promotion of closer commercial relations between the Mother Country and her offspring. Mr. Chamberlain's opening speech contained the following striking paragraphs on this point—

"The first salient fact is this: that if we chose—that is to say, if those whom we represent chose—the Empire might be made self-sustaining. It is so wide, its products are so various, its climates so different, that there is absolutely nothing which is necessary to our existence, hardly anything which is desirable as a luxury, which cannot be produced within the borders of the Empire itself. And the second salient fact is: that the Empire at the present time, and especially the United Kingdom, which is the great market of the world, derives the greater part of its necessaries from foreign countries, and that it exports the largest part of its available produce, surplus produce, also to foreign countries. This trade might be the trade, the inter-imperial trade, of the Empire...."

"Our first object, as I say, is free trade within the Empire. We feel confident—we think it is a matter which demands no evidence or proof—that if such a result were feasible it would enormously increase inter-imperial trade; that it would hasten the development of our Colonies; that it would fill up the spare places in our lands with an active, intelligent, and industrious, and, above all, a British population; and that it would make the Mother Country entirely independent of foreign food and raw material."

The conference ended with the understanding that the Colonial Premiers should obtain the consent of their respective Governments to systems of preferential duties designed to promote inter-imperial trade on the lines suggested; and Mr. Chamberlain was careful to point out that something more than the Canadian 33 per cent, reduction on duties, initially much too high, will be required if useful results are to follow. The Colonial Secretary also intimated that, when the trade in manufactured goods between the home country and the Colonies had been developed along these lines, then, and not until then, it would be necessary to discuss the question of imposing reciprocal duties in favour of colonial produce in this country.

Since the principle of preferential trade has been thus endorsed by those taking part in the Colonial Office Conference, it will be of interest to examine some of the recent trade figures bearing on the subject.

The figures used in preparing this Chapter are official. They have been taken from the "Annual Navigation and Trade Returns of the United Kingdom," and from the "Statistical Abstract for the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom," for the year 1901. These are both Board of Trade publications. The

figures given in the latter cover the period 1886—1900. The three questions which demand answers are the following—

- Is the trade of the United Kingdom in goods of home manufacture advancing or declining?
- Does the British Empire produce at present sufficient food for its population; and, if not, can it be made self-supporting in this respect?
- Does the British Empire provide at present a sufficient market for the surplus manufactured goods of the United Kingdom?

I. Is the Trade of the United Kingdom in Goods of Home Manufacture Advancing or Declining?

The only figures which can be usefully employed in an attempt to answer this question are those representing the

Diagram I.—Annual Export Values for the Chief Manufacturing Countries During the Last Quarter of a Century.

Each vertical division equals ten million sterling; each lateral division one year.

values of the imports and exports of manufactured goods for the United Kingdom.

There is no accurate means of determining the internal trade of the country. Bankers' Clearing House returns, bank deposits, and income tax yields have often been used to prove that the country is still wonderfully prosperous. None of these furnish, however, an exact criterion of the value and volume of the internal trade of the United Kingdom. The figures for the external trade, on the other hand, are easily available. Their accuracy is often challenged, but the system of collection and valuation of exports and imports now undergoes few variations, and the *relative progress or retrogression in any series of years* can be proved by use of these figures, even though they may not be absolutely correct.

The values of the imports and exports of *manufactured* goods by the United Kingdom for the period 1893—1900 are presented in tabular form below.

At the first glance these figures may be held to justify the contention of those who claim that our manufacturers are more than holding their own. Our imports of manufactured goods have increased in value by twenty-six and a half million in seven years, but in the same interval of time the value of our exports of similar goods has gone up by thirty-six and a half millions. Comparisons of trade returns for single years are, however, never trustworthy, owing to the alternate periods of boom and depression which are experienced in all countries. The year 1900 was the culminating year of a well-marked boom, and the comparison of the trade returns for this year with returns for previous years leads to much too favourable conclusions. The only safe course with figures for trade returns is to employ averages covering three, five, or ten year periods; and if the shorter periods be selected, to see that years of boom and depression are not compared together.

Taking quinquennial averages for our total export trade, and extending our inquiry back to 1870, we obtain the following figures for the years 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1899—all years of comparatively booming trade.

The enthusiast for the maintenance of our Free Trade policy may still find comfort of a moderate kind in these figures, for they undoubtedly show growth—even though that growth be slow.

When these returns are worked out as values per head of the population, the Free Trader who has not allowed his belief in Free Trade to warp his judgment must admit that ground for satisfaction no longer exists. The population of the British Islands at the 1871 Census was 31,845,000. It has steadily grown since that year, and in 1899 the estimated population (based on the 1901 Census returns) was 41,100,000. Using these figures we find that the value of our export trade in £ sterling per head of the population has actually *fallen* in the last thirty years from 7.07 to 6.21, and the assertion of those who claim that our position as a manufacturing nation is being successfully undermined by our rivals is fully proved.

If further proof that we are losing our industrial position be required, it may be found in the figures presented by Sir Alfred Bateman in the recently published "Memorandum upon the Comparative Trade Returns of the United Kingdom and some leading Foreign Countries" (Board of Trade publication, 1902).

DIAGRAM II.—ANNUAL EXPORT AND IMPORT (REAL) VALUES FOR THE

PERIOD 1854—1899.

The straight line shows the increase of population during the same period. Each vertical division is equal to twenty million sterling; each lateral division to one year.

On page 20 of this "Memorandum" a tabular statement is given, showing the average annual value of the imports of thirty neutral countries from the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States, for the two periods 1893—1895 and 1898—1900; these values being expressed as percentages of the total trade.

Although the year 1900 was a year of booming trade in the United Kingdom, the figures show that the trade of this country is declining when compared with that of its chief rivals. Expressed in percentages of the total trade for each importing country, we find that the changes in the value of the British trade in the periods named involved gains equal to 26 points in the case of nine of the importing countries, *and losses equal to 83 points in the case of seventeen countries*, while our trade with the remaining five countries remained in a stationary position. *The net loss was therefore 57 points*. In other words, between the years 1893 and 1900 our chief rivals have been increasing their export trade with neutral markets more quickly than we ourselves. Sir Alfred Bateman is pleased to regard the position reassuring, because we still retain a preponderating position. Would he be equally pleased with the situation where we trading under a protective tariff? One can imagine the striking use that would be made of these figures by Sir Alfred Bateman and the Cobden Club under such circumstances. If these losses continue, how long shall we retain the largest share of the trade with neutral markets?

The facts given above may be summarised in the following statement:—

The United Kingdom in 1871 reached the zenith of its growth as a manufacturing country under Free Trade conditions, and since that year there has been a slow but steady decline in its productive power relative to its population. There is consequently every reason for giving serious consideration to the question whether the time for some change in our fiscal policy has not now arrived.

II. Does the British Empire produce at present sufficient Food for its Population; and, if not, can it be made self-supporting in this respect?

The figures which have been utilised for answering these questions are based upon the official returns given in the two Board of Trade publications already quoted. It is customary for writers on this subject to confine their attention to the figures representing the present export of food-stuffs from the Colonies to the Mother Country. This method is incorrect. A certain proportion of the food produced in the Mother Country and her Colonies is at present diverted to markets outside the Empire. Under more favourable tariff and freight conditions this would be consumed within it.

In order to judge of the present and future possibilities of feeding the populations under the British flag by products of the Empire, it is therefore necessary to take into account the value of the food-stuffs exported at present to foreign countries. The following totals are based on the values of the *Total Food Exports* of the United Kingdom and of the various Colonies and dependencies of the Empire. The figures cover the eight years 1893—1900. They show that, whereas in the year 1893, 34 per cent, of the food imported into the United Kingdom could have been obtained within the Empire, in 1900 the proportion had slightly improved, the percentage being 35.4 per cent.

The answer to the question is therefore in the negative—*the British Empire does not at present produce sufficient food to feed its population*. This at once leads us to ask—must this position of dependence upon foreign countries for food continue? Personally, the writer does not think so. There is no doubt that, under more favourable conditions as regards freights and tariffs, the trade between the Mother Country and her Colonies in food-stuffs could be enormously increased. Canada and New Zealand possess some of the finest wheat-growing land in the whole world, and Professor James Long has estimated that 55,000 farmers, settled on 100-acre farms in Canada alone, could supply our deficiencies in this respect. This settlement of the best wheat-growing lands in the North-West provinces of Canada is already taking place by emigration from the States, but it would have been more satisfactory if the new-comers had been of home, instead of American, origin. The following figures, showing the value of the total food exports of Canada for the eight years 1893—1900, are of interest, as they

prove the rapid agricultural development which is even now occurring in that portion of His Majesty's dominions—

An increase of over 50 per cent, in eight years is a startling indication of the agricultural possibilities of Canada. Should a preferential tariff system be inaugurated for British products, the growth of Canada as a food-producing country will be still more rapid in the future.

Australia and New Zealand likewise show considerable growth in recent years in the value of their food exports, and the figures given below are highly instructive as to the influence that more favourable tariff and freight regulations might have upon the agricultural production of this quarter of the Empire.

The increase in eight years is nearly 62 per cent., and is still greater than that shown by Canada.

While, therefore, the United Kingdom is still dependent upon foreign countries for nearly two-thirds of its food supply, the figures show that a rapid agricultural development is occurring in two quarters of the Empire. This development only waits the adoption of a preferential tariff system in order to be still more marked.

There is little doubt, were such a system once inaugurated, that the population of the United Kingdom by 1915 could be supplied with a sufficient quantity of food, grown within the Empire, at a cost little in excess of that at present ruling.

III. Does the British Empire provide at present a sufficient market for the surplus manufactured goods of the United Kingdom?

The total values of the exports of manufactured goods by the United Kingdom have been obtained from the Trade and Navigation Returns of the Board of Trade. The figures of the past eight years are as follows—

The values of *new ships* have been deducted in 1899 and 1900, because not included in the earlier returns.

The above figures show an increase of £36,600,000 in the eight years, equal to a gain of 19 per cent.; but the value of our export trade varies greatly in successive years, and comparisons of individual years are never trustworthy.

Turning now to the figures representing the value of the total imports of manufactured goods by our Colonies and dependencies, we find that if the *imports* of similar goods by the United Kingdom be included, the answer to our inquiry is in the affirmative—*the Empire does at present provide an adequate market for the surplus manufactures of the United Kingdom.* The detailed figures are given below—for the reasons already given, totals covering a series of years being employed.

The figures for the latest year for which returns are available (1900) show that the Empire, as a whole,

DIAGRAM III.—ANNUAL VALUES OF THE EXPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR THE PERIOD 1856-1900, AT THE PRICES OF 1881.

The curve thus represents the fluctuation in the volume of our export trade. Each vertical division equals ten million sterling; each lateral division one year.

imported £40,000,000 *worth more goods* of this description than were exported by the United Kingdom, the exact totals being £266,088,000 and £226,465,000 respectively. The increase in the eight years has been over £76,000,000, and there is consequently little doubt that the present demand for manufactured goods by the British Empire is in excess of its producing power.

The visions of those who see this country filled with deserted mills and factories and starving operatives, as a result of any attempt to restrict British trade to British channels of supply are therefore wholly false. Such visions are the result, not of a serious study of the figures bearing on the subject, but of preconceived ideas as to the value of the colonial trade.

Were not one pound's worth of our goods sold outside the countries over which the British flag is flying, our manufacturers would still have a larger trade than is theirs to-day.

The inauguration of a preferential tariff system for the Empire is therefore a change in our fiscal policy which would tend to benefit, rather than to endanger, our home industries.

IV. Conclusions.

The writer may claim to have proved by the figures given in this Chapter that the assertions made by Free Traders regarding the security of our present position as a manufacturing nation, and the appalling dangers that are involved in tariff changes, are wholly fictitious.

Our present position is not secure: it is highly insecure. Our exports per head of the population have declined steadily in value since 1870, and are still declining. In 1900 and 1901 we imported nearly £100,000,000 of foreign manufactured goods, and the United Kingdom is becoming each year more of a "dumping-ground" for the surplus products of Germany and America. Only those who have made Free Trade into a fetish can assert, in face of these facts, that all is well.

The appalling dangers that are involved in any change in our fiscal policy are likewise the creation of the disordered mental vision of Free Traders.

There is an adequate market at the present moment within the Empire for the whole of its output of manufactured goods. The demands of this market are rapidly growing. Should the whole of our present export trade to foreign countries be lost, our manufacturers would still have to increase their production by £40,000,000 worth of goods to meet the present demands of the home country, and of the Colonies and dependencies of the Empire.

As regards the food-supply of the population of the Empire, the figures show that we can at present produce one-third of this under the British flag, and that the proportion is slowly increasing. Here, again, the Empire provides an adequate market for all the food produced within it; and it will be years before the agriculturists of Canada and New Zealand have overtaken the demand for meat and grain. A preferential-tariff system would but accelerate this development of the food resources of the Empire.

Free Traders, in their slavish adherence to the underlying dogma of their policy—cheap food and cheap manufactured goods—forget that one must be a producer before one can be a consumer; and are also disposed to ignore the danger that under the present conditions of international trade (miscalled by them Free Trade) our home and colonial industries may be undermined and destroyed by protected industries in other lands.

In the opinion of many the time has arrived when this danger must be recognised, and when steps must be taken by the Home and Colonial Legislatures to relieve the threatened industries from such unfair competition. Will the Colonial Premiers be able to induce their respective Governments to take action on this momentous question; and will the Home Government support them by introducing a system of preferential duties on colonial products?

The following extract from Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham on May 16th, 1902, proves that there is one member of the present Government who is alive to the dangers of our present position, and is prepared to take the steps necessary for increasing the over-sea trade with our Colonies—

"At the present moment the Empire is being attacked on all sides, and in our isolation we must look to ourselves. We must draw closer our internal relations, the ties of sentiment, the ties of sympathy, yes, and the ties of interest. If by adherence to economic pedantry, to old shibboleths, we are to lose opportunities of closer union which are offered us by our Colonies, if we are to put aside occasions now within our grasp, if we do not take every chance in our power to keep British trade in British hands, I am certain that we shall deserve the disasters which will infallibly come upon us."

Appendix.

Containing the Following Figures:

- —VALUES OF BRITISH IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR 100 YEARS (1801—1900).
- —COMPARATIVE VALUES OF DOMESTIC EXPORTS BY THE UNITED KINGDOM AND BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR 27 YEARS (1874—1900).
- —VALUES OF THE FOOD EXPORTS AND MANUFACTURED GOODS IMPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND OF THE BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES FOR 13 YEARS (1888—1900).
- —POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT THE DECENNIAL CENSUS FOR 100 YEARS.

General Prefatory Note.

ALL annual trade figures, especially those of manufacturing countries, are subject to wide fluctuations, owing to recurring periods of trade depression of longer or shorter duration.

Consequently, statements of trade progress or decline, based on the comparison of the totals for single years, however carefully chosen, are most untrustworthy, and general conclusions based on such statements are wholly fallacious. A true estimate of relative trade progress or decline can only be obtained by plotting the figures for a series of years in curve diagrams, or by *comparing figures for 5 or 10 year trade averages.*

I.—VALUES OF BRITISH IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR 100 YEARS (1801—1900).

The figures are all based on the official returns, and are drawn from the following sources:—
1800—1853. Porter's "Progress of the Nation" (1851), and Darton's "Statistical Tables" (1854).

The "official" values are arbitrary values, fixed in 1694. The totals under this head thus represent volumes, and not "real" values. From 1837 onwards, Porter's figures differ from Darton's for both imports and exports, and Porter's have been used as the more reliable. As regards the relation of "official" to declared values of the exports, Darton gives the following table:—

1854—1870. Leoni Levi's "History of British Commerce" (1872).

(In 1870 further changes in the method of estimating the import and export values were made by the Customs officials.)

1871—1885. "Free Trade v. Fair Trade" (1885), Farrer; and Paper on "Excess of Imports" (1899), Giffen.

1886—1900. From Government Blue-Books and Board of Trade Reports.

II.—COMPARATIVE VALUES OF DOMESTIC EXPORTS BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BY THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR 27 YEARS (1874—1900).

These figures are drawn chiefly from the Board of Trade "Memorandum" (C. 8322), published in January, 1897; the remaining totals being obtained from various sources.

III.—VALUES OF THE FOOD EXPORTS AND MANUFACTURED GOODS IMPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND OF THE BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES FOR 13 YEARS (1888—1900).

Food Exports.—The values for the United Kingdom have been taken from the Board of Trade publications; the values for the Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire are from the Imperial Institute Year-Books and from the "Statistical Abstract," published in 1901 by the Board of Trade for the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom.

Manufactured Goods Imports.—These figures have been obtained from the same sources of information as the figures for the Food Exports.

NOTE.—The figures in the "Statistical Abstract" are given under an alphabetical list of articles imported and exported, and an immense amount of labour has been required to obtain the totals given in the following tables. It would be advisable in future issues of this "Abstract" to enter the products not in alphabetical order, but under the main heading, namely—Food Stuffs; Raw Materials; and Manufactured Goods.

IV.—POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT THE DECENNIAL CENSUS FOR 100 YEARS.

References—Darton's "Statistical Tables" (1854) and the "Statesman's Year-Book."
Bradburv, Agnew, & Co ld., Printers, London and Tonbridge.

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In Memoriam JOHN WESLEY JAGO John Wesley Jago

Born Gloucestershire (England), March 15th, 1830

Died Dunedin (New Zealand), November 18th, 1904

Aged 74.

"*But thou, O man of God.*"—I Tim., VI., II.

The Late John Wesley Jago.

A Good and Faithful Servant.

'Evening Star,' Dunedin, New Zealand, November 19, 1904.

It is with profound regret—with a feeling of dejection which not even the knowledge that a good man has gone to his rest and reward can immediately lift—that we announce the death of Mr John Wesley Jago, for more than thirty years the manager of this paper. We are somewhat at a loss in trying to write of the sad event,

for we have not quite realised it as yet. On Thursday he was in his accustomed chair at this office; that afternoon we heard him conversing on public affairs with all his wonted vigor and shrewdness; and quite recently we watched him as he strode along Bond street with the alertness of a middle-aged man, and silently predicted for him octogenarian longevity. It was often said—so young was he in heart and manner—that he was not unlikely to attain the years of his old friend and chief, Mr George Bell, whose memory is still green and fragrant in this City and in this house. Futile dreams!—and to-day we only know that one of the warmest hearts has ceased to beat—realising but dimly that the familiar cheery voice will be heard no more, and that a staunch friend and true philanthropist has gone home and left us much poorer.

*"His mute dust
We honor and his living worth";*

and we may add, with but little conscious exaggeration,

*"A man more pure and bold and just
Was never born into the earth."*

Very sudden was the call that came yesterday; Death was full urgent with our friend, but (with reverent confidence be it conjectured) he had small need of time in which to make his spiritual dispositions and cast the slough of earth. "Even as he trod that day to God, so walked he from his birth." Our praise is large and emphatic; to those whose acquaintance with Mr Jago was slight and casual it will doubtless appear extravagant; but not a will be aware that we write conscientiously and according to knowledge.

Large-hearted charity, social zeal, and an almost passionate philanthropic devotion are the qualities which are primarily pictured in the mind as we think of Mr Jago's character, but it must not be forgotten that his intellectual abilities were also of no inconsiderable calibre. In his best days he was a public speaker of much force and impressiveness, with great command of language and argumentative grip; and to the very end he wielded the pen of something better than a ready writer. He could be very trenchant on occasion, and the controversialist who measured swords with him had to keep all his wits alert. His unceasing energies were given to the Temperance cause, which he championed at a time when total abstinence was regarded as an eccentricity and when the doctrine of Prohibition brought scant popularity to the preacher. We are not writing from the Prohibitionist standpoint, and it goes without saying that Mr Jago's views on this subject were not the views editorially enounced in this paper; but we are acutely conscious to-day that he would have thanked us little for any tribute which should seem to slur over his life-long activity in the fight against the liquor traffic. It will be generally admitted that he was a fair fighter and a scrupulous controversialist. He had a kindly feeling for his opponents, even while frankly regarding their cause as an odious one. He treated the Temperance argument from many standpoints, but the essentially Poisonous nature of alcohol was the consideration which (especially of late years) he was most insistent in presenting. His whole soul was in this work, but he was very far from being "a man of one idea." He had largeness of mind as well as of heart, a shrewd relish for good books (including fiction), and a thoroughly genial interest in the current events of the world, great and small, universal and local. He loved a "crack" and a joke, and a cheerier, more sympathetic companion it would have been difficult to find. How we shall miss those frequent, brisk conversations!

Much more might be written concerning him who has journeyed so swiftly to the Land of Light. "Large was his bounty and his soul sincere"—but of his incessant bounty it is fitting to say little. He would have preferred silence on this score, and posthumous praise does well not to linger too particularly over

"That best portion of a good man's life—His little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love."

Not unremembered, however, by many and many a grateful soul. Be it added that Mr Jago's benevolence knew no restriction in regard to creed or shibboleth of any kind. He was a man of deep religious feeling, but religious toleration was almost a passion with him. Much might be said, too, regarding the value of his work in this office and his intelligent devotion to the interests of the 'Evening Star'; but here again there is little need of eulogistic words. We have lost a dear friend and comrade and helper. Dunedin has lost a high-souled citizen and philanthropist. To have known him well, to have enjoyed his companionship, to have admired his rare unselfishness and self-sacrificing love of his kind—this is "part of our life's unalterable good."

Appreciations.

For though from out our bourne of time and space
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face,
When I have crossed the bar.

Whilst there is something inexpressibly sad in the suddenness with which the news was brought home to us of the passing away of our dear and beloved friend, that fuller consideration which comes after the first poignant touch has passed enables us to feel that had it been given to him who was with us but yesterday in the fullest of mental vigor and almost unshaken physical health to decide, he would not have chosen any other form of putting aside the burden and duty of life. Nor is there any imperious call, apart from the personal one for excessive demonstrations of sorrow. Into the grief of that inner circle and of that home now rendered sacred by the anguish of the bereaved and the still presence of the loved one we dare not enter. Our sorrow is of a different, less permanent, more general character. But knowing him, as we have done for many, many years, meet in; him at every hour of the day, conversing with him on men and things, and at time? catching glimpses of that unobtrusive, whole-souled, genuinely practical Christianity which was the foundation of his life's work, and inwoven with the very fabric of his being—knowing these things, we can, in all truth and sincerity, stand forth and say "This was a man."

There was in him an absolute absence of even the shadow of an approach to affectation; his comings and goings were as void of assumption as it is possible for those of any mere mortals to be; he was a friend, companion, adviser, not a superior, a critic, or fault-finder. Nor was there a day in his life but what someone did not wait on him for counsel or help, and we know—few better—that none went empty away. To him the lines, written a century and a-half ago may be applied with singular appropriateness:

His virtues walked their narrow round,
Nor made a pause, nor left a void;
And sure the Eternal Master found
The single talent well employed.
The busy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by;
His frame was firm, his powers were bright.
Though now his eightieth year was nigh.
Then, with no fiery, throbbing pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way.

To such men the world owes much. Their life's record is an unconscious but perpetual rebuke to the selfish and ignoble. They clarify the atmosphere, and make those whose privilege it was to be in intimate relationship with them feel that it is good to have known them. "Life is worth living," declared our friend on the occasion of his golden wedding, and the words, coming as they did from such a source, made some of the younger pessimists among us feel small and ashamed. Well will it be for us if when our day comes we shall be able to look back upon over seventy years of life so well employed in the service of God and our fellow-men. For ourselves, words ail us—we know not yet the extent of our loss; we can only utter these few broken thoughts by way of tribute, knowing how feeble and impotent they are, though redeemed from sterility by the depth of our sorrow and the consecration of our tears.

This week, in the early part of it, Mr Jago was going about his business as usual, complaining now and again of shortness of breath, but showing no sign of being seriously ill. As late as Thursday he went through his customary routine at the office That evening he consulted Dr O'Neill about the difficulty of breathing which resulted from any slight exertion, and though, as the result of the medical advice, he resolved to take a rest, he felt in no way apprehensive, being inclined to the idea that a touch of indigestion had something to do with his bother about breath. Thus it come about that Mr Jago took a holiday yesterday afternoon. He spent the day at home. In the afternoon the Rev. W. Saunders called at the house, having heard that Mr Jago was not very well, and was pleased to find him not in bed but sitting at his desk finishing a letter. He read the letter to Mr Saunders, and the two old friends sat for a while chatting on general topics, after which they took a turn in the garden and then walked over with Mrs Jago to look at the scene of the neighboring fire. They stayed there a few

minutes and then shook hands, Mr and Mrs Jago sauntering home. During the whole of the afternoon Mr Jago was particularly cheerful and bright. About a quarter past six o'clock he went to bed so that Dr O'Neill could make a thorough examination. The doctor did so, and recommended him to take a week's rest in bed. To this he replied that he would not stop in bed but would get up and lie on the sofa. About a quarter past eight his son James commenced to read the 'Star' to him, and in a few minutes heard a strange sound and found his father gasping for breath. Rubbing over the region of the heart did not seem to relieve him and though he got up twice he could find no relief, but kept saying "Breath, breath." His son finally got him to bed again and called the family, and while Mrs Jago was fetching him a drink of hot water that he had asked for he fell back and died in the arms of Mr G. C. Israel and Mr R. Greig the death taking place at 9.45 p.m. Drs Closs and O'Neill were hastily summoned, but the case was beyond their relief. The cause of death was valvular disease of the heart. All the members of the family excepting Mr Alfred Jago (who lives near Ashburton) attended a simple service conducted about midnight by the Rev. W. Saunders.

Of Mr Jago's career as a temperance advocate many columns might be written. He signed the pledge when but six or seven years of age, and the world cannot produce any person who can prove that he ever violated the undertaking. He delivered his first temperance speech when fifteen years old, as Chief Ruler of the Phoenix Hope Tent of the Juvenile Order of Rechabites at Alloa. His last public appearance was when he presided at the presentation to Mr A. S. Adams on the 26th October of last year. In the lengthy interval of nearly sixty years he kept hammering away at the sin of intemperance, and who can tell how many persons he was the means of rescuing? The record is not kept on the earth. Whilst residing in Glasgow he superintended the work of one of the most active temperance missions there, and his services as a platform speaker were freely acknowledged. On coming to New Zealand he became a co-worker with Sir Wm. Fox and other temperance leaders. It may be interesting to mention that of the Committee of the society to which Mr Jago came out only Messrs Frank Graham, A. Stewart (of the Union street School), and James Stewart (Manor place) are now alive. Mr Graham and Mr Jago used to preach every Sunday close to the bush where the Gardens now stand. Mr Jago took part in the introduction of the Order of the Sons of Temperance to New Zealand; he became the Grand Worthy Patriarch of that body; he was chosen as Chief Templar of the first Good Templar Lodge opened in Dunedin, in 1872—the *Lodge Pioneer*; he was in 1877 made G.W.C.T. at the annual session of the Grand Lodge held in Christchurch; in 1880, at the annual session of the Grand Lodge held in Wellington, he was presented with a gold watch, with a tea and coffee service for Mrs Jago—the only such presentation ever made; he edited the 'Temperance Advocate' and its successor, the 'Temperance Herald'; he was made president of the New Zealand "Alliance in 1898-99; and on more than one occasion he has contributed articles to temperance conferences in Great Britain. Dr Roseby, his former pastor and co-worker, now residing at Marrickville, near Sydney, once wrote this: "Mr Jago is an earnest, well-read, intelligent and most enthusiastic advocate of the cause. He is the best-equipped, the best-informed temperance speaker, and, at times, one of the most eloquent have known. He is a perfect encyclopedia of information on the subject." Sir Robert Stout's appreciation may also be recalled: "It would have been a good thing for the colony if Mr Jago had been enabled to have taken a more prominent part in our social and political life. He has, however, done much for righteousness." These remarks, be it noted, are by men of Mr Jago's own type—unpurchasably-independent.

Of Mr Jago as a churchman and Christian worker the Rev. W. Saunders writes: It is only a few hours since Mr Jago was talking to me about church and other matters neither of us dreaming that death was near. The influence of his living presence is still so strong upon me that I cannot yet write of him as of one whose Christian work on earth is done. The short appreciation from the standpoint of the church which is asked for I must, however, give; but I cannot yet free myself from the thought that my greatly-valued friend and colleague will read what I say. It is too soon to realise that the hour has come to speak of him and his abundant labors as belonging to the past. I knew him best, naturally, in his church relations, as a member and officer of the Moray place Congregational Church. We have worked side by side for nearly fifteen years, and no minister ever had a more thoughtful and reliable friend. It is not too much to say that he loved the very bricks of the Moray place Church. He was one of the most influential of its founders. In the early days, before there was a building or a minister, he was active in gathering the Congregationalists into a temporary hall, and was always willing to conduct the Sunday services. The passing years but strengthened his interest. Difficulties served to bring out his unswerving loyalty and splendid courage. He served from the founding of the church until now either as secretary or treasurer. It is not long since he retired from the choir. In the absence of the minister he was an ever-ready and most-acceptable preacher. There was no scheme for improvement that he did not liberally support. And every institution of the church found its place in his sympathy. His joy in the recent payment of all debt on the buildings was intense. He so completely identified himself with his "religious home" that he unfeignedly rejoiced in every sign of its prosperity. As a Congregationalist, he was deeply interested in all the New Zealand churches of the Congregational order. Until recent years he attended whenever possible the annual meetings of the Council; and as a mark of the high esteem in which he was held by his coreligionists

throughout the colony he was elected chairman of the Congregational Union of New Zealand for 1889. He was the tried friend of our ministers, and his home was always open to receive them as welcome guests. Though devoted to his own church and denomination, he was very far from being a narrow sectarian. He was too large of mind and heart for that. He was always ready to give help both in personal service and money to every church. His interest in the Salvation Army, especially in its social work, was deep and lasting. As a theologian one might describe him as a broad evangelical. Perhaps in his last years there was an increasing emphasis placed by him on the Person and Work of Jesus Christ, but he was always ready to follow the truth wherever it led. Always to be relied on for assistance in church prayer meetings and mission services, yet no minister needed ever to fear that charges of heterodoxy would come from him. His love for his Saviour never became narrowness to his fellows. He was himself a thinker. He could not live on untried creeds. His faith was an experience and not a tradition. It was the tragedy of life that seemed to perplex him most. A sermon touching on this always led to a most fruitful conversation, and then he would fall back on a favorite quotation from Tennyson's 'In Memoriam'—

*". . . Life is not an idle ore,
But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears.
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And batter'd with the shocks of doom,
To shape and use."*

In preaching, as in all public speaking, he showed himself to be master of a full vocabulary. He expressed himself perfectly. His style was dignified and weighty. This was a natural gift that remained with him to the end. In concluding these hurried sentences, let me say very emphatically that Mr Jago's Christianity was of a very practical kind. He lived his creed. He translated his faith into conduct. None appealed for help to him in vain. I never brought a case of distress to his notice without receiving the aid I sought. And of this I am fully persuaded: that no one knew how many and large were his gifts. The sum of all that I would say is this: that he whom we have lost awhile was a Christian in deed and in truth. With Spenser's words I might fittingly end this short appreciation:

*"He was (woe worth the word) to each well-thinking mind,
A spotless friend, a matchless man, whose virtue ever shined,
Declaring in his thoughts, his life, and that he writ,
Highest conceits, longest foresights, and deepest works of wit."*

John Wesley Jago was born at Nails-worth, Gloucestershire, on the 15th March, 1830. In 1838 he was taken by his parents to Glasgow. From Glasgow the family moved to Alloa, where Mr Jago served four years' apprenticeship to the brassfounding. After that he returned to Glasgow and joined the employ of the 'North British Railway and Shipping Journal,' owned by Mr Mills. From that office Mr Jago went to the 'Examiner' office. It was while in the latter employ that he married. His next move was to the service of the Caledonian Railway Company, and later on he accepted a situation with the firm of Wm. Baird and Co. at the Garlsterrie Ironworks. In a little while he was transferred to the company's works at Lugar, in Ayrshire, and here he had to put up with dismissal because, being a Radical, he would not help to secure the return of the Conservative candidate at an election for Ayrshire Borough. Mr Jago then returned to Glasgow and found employment with the firm of Schrader and Mitchell, who dealt in leather, bark, and hides. Shortly after the finding of gold in Otago the Dunedin Total Abstinence Society resolved to bring a man from Scotland to act as agent for the Society, and the selectors (Mr John Marr, the Rev. W. Arnott, and Dr Miller) chose Mr Jago for the appointment. He there-upon resigned his situation in Glasgow and came out with his wife and four children by the ship Cheviot, Captain Orkney, arriving in Otago in October of 1862. They were met and welcomed by a number of old settlers, including Dr Purdie, Mr and Mrs John Logan, Mr A. R. Livingston, Captain Stewart, Mr Jas. Stevenson, Mr A. Rennie, and Mr A. Galt. The arrangement with the Total Abstinence Society was not long sustained, and Mr Jago had to enter business again. He went into the timber trade, and for a time carried on business in conjunction with Mr Allan Gait in the Octagon; he after-wards carried on business as a flax ex-porter in premises opposite the present Law Courts, where he had a disastrous fire, and later was proprietor of a bonded warehouse in Stuart street. In 1872 he took the position of manager of the 'Evening Star' in succession to Mr J. B. White-way, and held that office until the day of his death, enjoying the full confidence of

Mr George Bell, sen., and his successors, and being regarded by the employees as their firm friend as well as their manager In June of 1902, when Mr and Mrs Jago celebrated their golden wedding, between 400 and 500 citizens mustered in the largest hall in Dunedin, the Mayor (Mr Park) presiding, to do honor to the worthy couple. The speeches made on that occasion and the messages sent from all parts of the colony made the gathering quite unique. It was a tribute of respect that a prince might have coveted. The surviving members of the family are Mrs Jago, Mrs J. F. Peake, Mrs G. C. Israel, Mrs Joshua Strange Williams. Mrs P. Kahlenberg, Mrs J. W. Smith, Mr J. Jago, Mr A. JAGO, and Mr F. Jago.

It will be of interest to many of Mr Jago's friends to peruse the letter which he wrote yesterday—the last of many hundreds on the same subject from his pen. It read thus:—

A Word to Boys.

To the Editor.

Sir,—In the interests of our schoolboys and for the encouragement of Band of Hope workers, will you permit the publication of the following extract from an address recently delivered by Surgeon-general Evatt, C.B., as chairman of the thirty-second annual meeting of the Royal Hospital Schools Band of Hope:—

"General Evatt laid the strongest emphasis on the importance of absolute abstinence for every clime. Whether on the stormy Channel, or the broad Atlantic, in the burning Red Sea, or the trying, terrible, exhausting Persian Gulf; whether in the heat of the tropics or in the piercing cold of the Behring Strait, he charged them never to give way to anything in the nature of in toxicants, whatever the custom might be. Let them bear in mind that the man who might chaff them on this point was an enemy to the navy, for in many of those trying climes, where the air was so rarefied, and where it was so difficult to breath at all there was nothing which rendered them more susceptible to disease, made them more unfit and likely to perish, than alcohol He had been twenty-five years in the tropics, and his experience had shown him that men did not perish in the heat of the day, but in the night, after their return from the canteen."

The question of total abstinence, urged the general, was the great national question of efficiency. He pointed out how that alcohol weakened the brain and the power of observation, and significantly brought home to the boys the fact that for the sake of the Empire the sharpness and clearness of the brain was as important as the cleanness of their guns.

"This school," said General Evatt, "has on its shoulders an enormous responsibility, and there is no more important lesson to be thoroughly taught to the boys, who one day are going to fill perhaps highly-responsible posts in the British Navy, than the tremendous value of total abstinence.

—I am etc.,

AN ABSTAINER.

November 18.

Apart from his office work and his labors in the Temperance cause, Mr Jago was an active colonist, taking a very keen interest in social and political life. He was one year chairman of the Congregational Union of New Zealand. In the old provincial days he warmly supported Mr Donald Reid when that gentleman contested the Superintendence against Mr Macandrew. In the Interest of the views represented by Mr Reid, Mr Jago put up for the Port Chalmers seat in the House of Representatives, but was defeated by Mr Macadrew after a good run and an exciting canvass. He also stood on one occasion for the representation of Dunedin in the Provincial Council, but was not successful. Amongst other offices, Mr Jago was a member of the Otago Education Board in 1890. and he for several years held the office of chairman of the George street School Committee.

The editorial and business departments of this journal to-day received messages from every part of the colony tendering condolence" with the deceased's family, and expressive of the senders' sense of the loss that the newspaper Press have sustained by his death.

(*Evening Star,* November 21, 1904.)

The following resolution was passed by the Executive of the New Zealand Alliance:—"The Executive have heard with the deepest regret of the decease of Mr J. W. Jago, of Dunedin. a former president of the Alliance, and for seventeen years a vice-president. For many years Mr Jago was the standard-bearer of the temperance army in the South. He was a most eloquent speaker, and a forcible and convincing writer. His articles tracts, and booklets were numerous and widely circulated, many of them, such as 'The Economics of Drink.' remaining valuable works of reference to the present time. Mr Jago enjoyed the hearty respect of his fellow-citizens, the loyal and enthusiastic esteem of the temperance workers everywhere, and had the happiness of living to see the cause he loved in great prosperity. The deep sympathy of the Executive with Mr Jago's family in their bereavement is hereby tendered to them, and no doubt expresses the feelings of tens of thousands of their

comrades in New Zealand."

At the meeting of Lily of the Valley Lodge, I.O.G.T., Bro. M'Kinlay, C.T., presiding, a motion was carried that a minute be recorded expressing regret at the loss the Order had sustained through the death of Bro. Jago. Bros. Merry, M'Kinlay, and D. C. Cameron spoke of the many excellent qualities of the late Bro. Jago.

The memorial service at Moray place Congregational Church will be held on Sunday, the 27th. in accordance with the wishes of the bereaved family. When the congregation met on Sunday, the 20th. it was evident that the heavy black drapings on choir rails and pulpit fittingly symbolised the gloom in every heart. Mr D. Cooke played as an introit Mendelssohn's 'Funeral March,' and the lessons and hymns, though not of a memorial character, were in harmony with the thoughts and feelings of the congregation. Mr Saunders took no text, but chose for his subject 'The Last Words of St. Paul.' Asking "And what is the verdict of the old man upon his message and labors as an apostle of Jesus Christ?" the answer was found chiefly in the autobiographical verses in the fourth chapter of the Second Epistle to Timothy. Though Mr Jago was not mentioned, it was evident that the preacher was all the time thinking of the consistency of his aged friend's life and work. During the offertory Mr Cooke played Co wen's 'Better Land,' and for the outgoing voluntary Chopin's 'Funeral March,' though the congregation, visibly affected, remained seated to the end. The evening service differed little in general effect from that of the morning. The intromit was Dr Monk's 'In Memoriam: Even-side,' the voluntary during the offertory Guilman's 'Chant Seraphique,' and the outgoing voluntary Beethoven's 'Funeral March in B Flat Minor.' Mr Saunders preached from Revelation xxi., 1: "There shall be no more sea," his subject being, very appropriately, the Gospel for those who suffer separation from their loved ones, especially through death.

Reference was made on the same day to the life, character, and work of the late Mr Jago by the Rev. Dr Waddell at St. Andrew's Church, by the Rev. Canon King at St. Peter's, by Mr A. S. Adams and Mr-Bedford, M.H.R., at King street Congregational Church, by the Rev. W. Hay at Hanover street Baptist Church, and by the Rev. W. A. Sinclair at the Garrison Hall.

At a largely-attended meeting of the leaders of the Templar Order in Dunedin, held on Saturday evening in the Choral Hall, the District Chief Templar (Mr Sandilands) made feeling reference to the late Mr J. W. Jago, who had for so many years been the leader of the Temperance party, when the cause was not so popular as it is to-day. It was carried by standing vote, on the motion of Mr D. C. Cameron, seconded by Mr D. Gain (who each gave testimony to the sterling qualities and self-denying energies of their late brother)—"That the District Chief Temp- lar be requested, on behalf of the Order, to convey their sympathy and condolence to the widow and family of the late Bro Jago, and thankfulness for the great work he so cheerfully and with such conspicuous ability performed."

"Our Own" at Christchurch wires:—At the evening service at the Lin wood Congregational Church yesterday the Rev. I. Sarginson referred to the death of Mr J. W. Jago, of Dunedin, speaking of his work as a Christian. The anthem 'What are These?' was sung by the choir, and the organist played the Dead March in Saul.'

At the meeting of the Port Chalmers Borough Council His Worship the Mayor briefly alluded to the death of Mr J. W. Jago, and moved the following resolution:—"That a letter of condolence be sent from the Council to the widow and family of the late Mr J. W. Jago," which was carried unanimously.

The Burial.

'Evening Star,' November 22, 1904.)

A very large number of citizens of all ranks and conditions attended Mr Jago's funeral on Monday, 21st November. Before the procession started the Rev. W. Saunders conducted a short service on the green at the Leith street residence, Mrs J. W. Jago and the whole of the family who are in town standing beside the coffin, on which were placed wreaths from the directors of the Evening Star' Company, the employees, Mrs Ewen, and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association. Thereafter the mourners took their assigned places in the procession. The relatives who immediately followed the hearse were the deceased's three sons, James, Alfred, and Frederick, also the sons-in-law—Mr J. F. Peake, Mr G. C. Israel, Mr Justice Williams, Mr P. Kahlenberg, and Mr J. Waddell Smith, as well as several stalwart grandsons, followed by three of Mr Jago's oldest friends, Messrs R. Greig, Jas. Robin, and A. Sligo. The clergymen present included the Rev. W. Saunders, Rev. R. R. M. Sutherland, Dr Salmond, Dr Waddell, Rev. C. H. Laws. Rev. F. Nichol, Rev. W. A. Sinclair, Rev. E. Taylor, Rev. J. Ward, Rev. D. Dutton, Rev. A. T. Chodowski, Major Cumming, Adjutant Davis, the Rev. A. Hodge, Rev. W. Laycock, Mr J. A. Torrance (prison and hospital chaplain), Mr E. A. Axesen (his assistant), and Mr Duncan Wright (city missionary). Colonel Robin, Inspector O'Brien, the Mayor (Mr T. R. Christie), and the town clerk (Mr T. B. Fairbairn), with Crs Gore and Braithwaite, and Mr G. A. King (registrar of the Supreme Court), were amongst the officials who for the occasion came to the citizen level. Of the members of the

Legislature present we noticed the Hon. W. M. Bolt, the Hon. A. Lee Smith, the Hon. Hugh Gourley, Mr H. D. Bedford, and Mr J. F. Arnold. The legal profession was represented by Mr J. F. M. Fraser (Crown Solicitor), Mr W. A. Sim, Mr J. A. D. Adams. Mr A. S. Adams. Mr H. Webb, Mr F. J. Stilling, Mr F. Calvert, Mr J. M. Gallaway, Mr A. R. Barclay, Mr W. G. Riddell. and others, and the medical profession by Dr Stenhouse, Dr Evans, and Dr Hunter. Mr D. Cooke and many members of the Moray place Congregational choir were also of the party, and the large throng of citizens included Professor Gilray, Captain Stewart, Signor Squarise, and Messrs E Ackroyd, R. Aitken, J. Alexander, P. Barr, W. Barron, John Blaney, T. Brown, A. C. Begg, Allan Broad A. E. Bone, A. J. C. Brown, A. Burt, A Bremner, A. C. Broad, S. S. Bannister, A C. Bell. G. M. Burlinson, F. D. Bamfield, A. H. Bridger, F. Bennett, R. Chisholm, D. C. Cameron, W. Coull, A. Chiaroni, G. L. Denniston, W. Davidson, G. B. Dall, T Dick, J. Ellis, T. R. Fisher, F. Graham, A. Given, A. Gillies, D. Gain, A. Hunter. O. J. Hodge, John Hercus, A. H. Hey-cock, J. Hatton, J. M. Jamieson, A. Judge, A. Lees, L. Laurenson, J. M'Gill, T. Moodie John Mitchell, W. J. Moore, W Melville, P. Mason, R. Millis, K. L. Macassey, T. Morris, A. W. Macarthur, F Mallard, B. Newman, J. A. Park, S. C. Phillips, C. S. Reeves, R, Rae, E. Rosevear, W. Ridley, W. Reid, C. Samson, S. G. Smith, J. B. Shacklock, A. Stewart, H. Skey, I. Selby, J. B. Thomson, J. Taylor C. J. Thorn, H. L. Tapley, T. Tomlinson, G. M. Thomson. W. Thomson, John Thom-son (Port), Andrew Thomson (Port), Andrew Thomson (Dunedin), E. R. Ussher, A Vallis. W. Wills, D. R. White, Leslie Wilson, J. Wardell, H. E. Williams, J. Wren. The 'Otago Daily Times' was represented by Mr G. Fenwick, Mr C. Fraser, Mr J. Hutchison, Mr H. E. Muir, and Mr E. C. Huie. And as to the 'Evening Star,' with which the deceased had been connected for about thirty-three years, Mr F. Clapperton, Mr Stanley Smith, and Mr R. P. Bell represented the directors while Mr Mark Cohen, Mr Gilbert Buchanan, Mr J. G. Moody. Mr C. Otto, Mr A. Sinclair, and other heads of departments were accompanied by practically the whole of the employees, not one wilfully neglecting to take the opportunity of paying respect to the memory of the man who was not only their manager but their friend. The service at the grave was conducted by the Rev. W. Saunders, and then the burial ceremony prescribed by the temperance bodies was read by Bro. D. C. Cameron (Grand Secretary I.O.G.T.). Mr A. S. Adams (President of the New Zealand Alliance), and Mr King (Worthy Patriarch of the Sons and Daughters of Temperance), after which the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. W A. Sinclair. The grave in which Mr Jago was laid is on the westernmost avenue overlooking the roadway and the north end of the town.

Memorial Service.

('Evening Star,' November 28, 1904.)

At the Congregational Church. Moray place, on Sunday, November 27. the Rev W. Saunders conducted a service in memory of the late Mr John Wesley Jago, who had been a member of the church since its foundation in Dunedin. There was a large congregation, the majority of whom Were in mourning, and the service throughout whilst never approaching the morbid or depressing, was characterised by simplicity and sympathy and an appreciable manifestation of genuine regret that testified more deeply, perhaps, than aught else could to the affection and honor in which the departed friend was held. The platform and pulpit were draped in black, the sombre-ness of which was relieved by a bunch of large white lilies on either side of the minister.

The service opened with the playing of the 'Vital Spark' by Mr D. Cooke, the piece being given in response to a desire from those who knew it to have been a favorite with the deceased. The first hymn was that commencing—

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home.

The story of Martha and Mary's grief for their brother, and the comforting words of Jesus, as well as the opening verses of the fourteenth chapter of John, were read. 'For ever with the Lord' was next sung, followed by a brief, earnest prayer for the widow and children who had been bereft of husband and father, the whole congregation at its close reciting the Lord's Prayer. "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep" was chanted.

This portion of the service was ended *by* the singing of one of the best-loved hymns of the late Mr Jago:

When wilt Thou save Thy people?
O God of mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men!
God save the people, Thine they are,
Thy children, as Thine angels fair,
From vice, oppression, and despair,
God save the people!

The Rev. Mr Saunders, who based his address on the words (1st Tim., vi, 11) "But thou, man of God," said that this was a title that could not be bestowed by any king. It was not within their gift. It had no relation to an earthly sovereign. This title carries no coronet with it, secures no place in the council chambers of the nation, opens no doors to the society of those in high positions; but the incorruptible crown that fadeth not away is attached to it, and the fellowship of its wearers is the innumerable company of angels, the spirits of just men made perfect. Man of God! There is no higher title than this. It gathers up the noblest privileges and fairest promises. This indeed constitutes its peculiar worth. While it is esteemed on earth it is held in greater esteem in Heaven. The gloom of death cannot destroy its beauties. It is an imperishable title, written on no parchment, but emblazoned on the soul to which God gives everlasting life. He that goes down having this emerges into the life of the eternal city bearing the title still. Man of God! Not a title reserved for a few; it is within the reach of all! It is not a title that belongs to members of a sacred profession only. It belongs to everyone who is God's man, and all are God's men who are eager to bear his likeness and to serve him in love with heart and mind and strength. Such an one have we lost in him who has passed from us. To review his life as that of a man of business, a good workman, a politician, a religious man, a loving father, we feel that, while some of these would partly describe our brother, that none of them fit him so well as "man of God." He was exemplary in all other relations of life because he always sought to remember that he was but a servant of the Most High. The chief end of man is to glorify God. That was placed before him while he was yet young by his father, and in this purpose we find the keynote of his whole life. I speak advisedly, said the speaker, of his life's purpose. I do not think he had ever experienced any sudden religious change. Though brought up a Methodist and bearing the name of John Wesley, he had never passed through what is called conversion. His life was of one piece throughout. As far back as 1852 the editor of the 'Examiner' (Glasgow) gave him a high testimonial as to his zeal, thoroughness, and ability. Even at that early age he had distinguished himself in church and temperance work, and his religion showed itself in his fidelity to his employer. He carried it into his daily life and work; he had no notion of its showing itself in special places and in special seasons only. And the youth was father to the man. His religion was a force quickening, clearing, and controlling his thoughts, words, and deeds. His enthusiasm for church and temperance work in the early days was very great. From the beginning he was a man of God. His minister in 1857 said of him that in the church of which he was pastor Mr Jago was held in high esteem for his ability, his great experience in Sabbath school work, and his power in addressing public audiences. When quite young he would stand on the steps of the various public buildings in the city to preach the cause that he throughout his life made peculiarly his own. His Sunday school superintendent said of him at that time: "I have known him for sixteen years as an efficient teacher, consistent in his profession, an excellent speaker, a good gift in prayer, and able to keep large numbers of children in order—few, in fact, can equal him in this regard." Not many of us, said the preacher, knew these things. It is the first indication that we have had that our late brother was trained in the Sunday school. The details give us just a brief glimpse of what he was. He came to Dunedin a man of God, and as such he exercised a great influence upon this City and colony. He proved himself to be one of our best possessions. We are all, in some measure, benefited by his activities, and we acknowledge it to-day with grateful thanks. As a speaker and writer and organiser his work for temperance was wide-reaching. He gave to it what, perhaps, it had not always had—dignity. The enthusiasm of humanity shone on the work for which he was engaged. He knew how to labor without thought of rewards, and how to stand aside without murmuring. We thank God to-day that he lived to see that cause greatly prospering. He lived to see the younger generation inarching forward to victory. In the matter of temperance his labors were fruitful indeed. In that work which is usually described as Christian—misleadingly, perhaps—his energies were spent in this church. This building is largely a monument to his zeal. From beginning to departure he stood by it in fair weather and in stormy. He took a pride in it. From every point of view the Church to him was beautiful. As far back as 1865 the members of this church felt constrained to acknowledge his work. Nothing ever weakened his zeal, his faith never flagged, and though his physical strength grew less and less, we remember with joy that he spoke as treasurer from their platform less than a month ago, and attended the evening services

three weeks back. Look, speak, or touch, there is nothing that does not remind us of him. He lives in the church, and his influence pervades it as the sweet, lingering smell of lavender. Well, it is well that we cannot forget him; well that it should be borne in upon our hearts that now and always the man of God is dwelling by our side.

I was always, Mr Saunders said, impressed with his magnificent charity—a charity that thinks no ill, that certainly works no ill, and that with reluctance listened to it. I felt this phase of his character more even than his temperance or church work. I never heard him, in all the years I knew him, speak an un-kindly word. When he could not defend he was silent, and his silence ever suggested that if we only knew more there would be cause to change the adverse judgment. His willingness to efface himself was evidenced by his quiet withdrawal when the editorship of the temperance papers underwent a change. No one felt regret at the severance so keenly as himself. It was a hard wrench from work that he loved. It was congenial, and he missed it, yet never was there a murmur, and always the most loyal support to the new order of things. His last words when handing over the reins to other and younger hands are worthy to be remembered. He had had no personal end to serve, no selfish object in view, but had endeavored in that way to serve his day and generation. And thus it was that he left the work that was so dear to him, preferring to drop into obscurity if this were the price of success to that cause for which he had strenuously worked for a lifetime. A beautiful and inspiring life. Truly a man of God. He went in and out among us for many years, he was appreciated by us, and he knew that we appreciated him. We did not keep our sense of his work silent until to-day. He learned, in a way that came as an abiding and great joy to him, on the occasion of his golden wedding, that he had not labored among us in vain. It was the life of the man of God and his righteousness that laid hold of the heart of this community. It is not for us to speak of the loss that has befallen his near and dear ones. But his end was enviable. Very peacefully did he enter into his rest. There was no moaning on the bier. He was taken in charge by the beloved Pilot and the end was as he would have wished. His earthly remains are in the City he so much loved, and they are one of our precious possessions, but the man of God is with his God. There we must leave him, for is he not in peace and in joy? Leave him but for a little while in that light that knows no darkness. Brother and comrade, farewell!

After the hymn

Now the laborer's task is o'er,
Now the battle day is past;

had been sung, the entire congregation stood whilst the Dead March from 'Saul' was played. Then followed the Benediction. During the offertory Chopin's Funeral March was played, and as the outgoing voluntary Beethoven's Funeral March.

A Tribute from Dr Roseby.

The following letter was read by the Rev. W. Saunders to the congregation of Moray place Congregational Church

Marrickville, N.S.W., November 30.

At our deacons' meeting held last evening—on the very day the sad news reached me—it was resolved that a letter should be sent to our sister church at Dunedin, under your happy and kindly pastorate, to express our deep and sincere condolence with you and the church in the great loss you have just sustained by the death of Mr J. W. Jago.

We had a gathering of a number of our friends here at the manse during the short stay of Mr and Mrs Jago in this city a few years ago, and they have not forgotten it.

We unite in the earnest prayer that God may comfort her, parted thus from one who shared for more than fifty years his toil and love, with all the members of the family; and that we all may the more earnestly seek to "follow those who through faith and patience," such as his, "now inherit the promises."

But I must not allow myself to close this letter—which I should be glad for the congregation to hear—without laying a special tribute on the grave of my old comrade and beloved friend. Associated as I was with himself and other worthy and good men for so many happy years in Dunedin in the service of the Master, one cannot but feel keenly the pain of such a separation. Your own beautiful memorial notice of Mr Jago in the 'Evening Star' I followed with deep interest and sympathy. It was pleasant to find that one like yourself, who knew him as I did, could speak of him—as I should do—in terms of such appreciation and tenderness. "His works do follow him. There can be no doubt whatever that the present advanced temperance sentiment in New Zealand—"bonnie New Zealand"—is in large measure due to the devoted labors of our friend. And his

memory—recalling as it will never cease to do, that rare union of independence with toleration for others and that equally rare union of deep, strenuous earnestness with a bright sunniness of temper—will be, to all of us who keep it dear and helpful.

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Presidential Address

By Dr. W. E. Collins.

Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand Branch of the British Medical Association.

Extract from the *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 30th April, 1904.

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Presidential Address

BY DR. W. E. COLLINS.

[Extract from the *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 30th April, 1904.]

[Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand Branch of the British Medical Association.]

BEFORE proceeding to deliver my address I desire to thank my fellow-members of the New Zealand Branch of the British Medical Association for the very high compliment they have paid me by electing me their President for the coming year, an honour which I very greatly appreciate. I also wish, on behalf of the members of the Wellington Section, to extend a hearty and cordial welcome to all our visitors. I regret to say that since our last annual meeting death has taken from our midst several of our members, men whom we could ill-afford to lose. I refer to the Hon. M. S. Grace, of the Legislative Council, a man who for forty years carried on the practice of his profession in Wellington, and won the affection, esteem, and regard not only of the members of the profession, but also of the large section of the community to whom he was known; Dr. Connolly, of Wanganui; Dr. Barnard, of Wanganui; Dr. Morice, of Greymouth; and Dr. Saunders, of Wanganui. On behalf of the Branch your Council has sent to the widows and families their deep sympathy and condolences.

You will see by the programme that we have a large number of papers for discussion—papers of considerable interest not only to the profession, but also to the public. Amongst them is a paper by Dr. Gow upon "Responsibility in Crime," which will be read on Thursday morning at 9.30; and, as a paper on such a subject would appear to have as much interest for the legal profession as for the medical, I do, on behalf of this branch of the British Medical Association, invite His Honour the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court, Dr. McArthur, and any members of the legal profession who will honour us with their presence to take part in the discussion of that paper.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

We have the good fortune to live in a country the physical condition and climate of which conduces to the maintenance of a high standard of health and strength. That New Zealand is favourably situated as compared with other countries in this respect is shown by our low death-rate, which in 1903 stood at 10.40 per 1,000 of population, and by the fact that the mental and physical development of the people of New Zealand is second to that of no other country. If it is possible in any country to hold out the hope that by public measures they may approach what is called physiological old age and normal death that happy condition should be most nearly attained in a country so favourably situated as New Zealand.

Now, in order to reduce the death-rate to the lowest possible medium, and to maintain a high standard of physical development among the people, it appears to me that three factors are necessary. First, you should have a Government which is alive to all that concerns the health of the people. Secondly, it is necessary to have a highly educated and intelligent public who will adopt measures for the benefit of the public health by reason of their own conviction rather than by the compulsion of law. When the public recognise a truth in regard to public health they are quite willing to accept any inconveniences which the adaptation of that fact entails. This, I think, has been lately clearly shown by the ready manner in which the people were willing to be vaccinated when small-pox threatened the community. The third essential is a well-trained and scientifically educated medical profession. In New Zealand at the present time we have a Government which has always taken an active part in the public health of the colony, a Government which during its term of office has inaugurated a Public Health Department and a Pathological Laboratory, and I should here like to congratulate the Government and the Public Health Department upon the prompt and effective manner in which they have resisted the invasion of this colony by those two enemies to public health which so recently menaced our shores—namely, the plague and the small-pox. They are also to be congratulated upon having established at Cambridge a Sanatorium for the Treatment of Consumptives, and upon having determined to make provision for

consumptive patients by means of annexes to various hospitals in different parts of the colony where the climatic conditions are favourable for the treatment of that disease. The Government has also instituted the very needful precaution of inspection of dairies and slaughterhouses, and through the Bacteriological and Agricultural Departments the inspection of dairying-cattle. More-over, to those who have spent the greater part of their lives in helping on the development and progress of the country, but who in their old age find themselves without the means of support, a pension has been provided for their declining days. It is gratifying to know that the Government has already done so much in the interests of the public health, and it is to be hoped that before very long it will be able to see its way towards establishing a much-needed institution, and that is a Home for Epileptics. Such a home, I feel sure, would confer a very great benefit on the community.

To enable one to arrive at a fair estimate of the average intelligence of the public it is necessary to consider the quality of the education that is being imparted to the children at the public schools, and it may be taken that the standard of intelligence of this colony is that which is reached by the majority of the children at the time of their leaving school. It may be conceded that a large proportion of the pupils before leaving school have reached Standard VII. As you know, Standard VII. of our public-school curriculum, outside the ordinary compulsory subjects, which includes military drill, makes provision for the study of such subjects as geometry, algebra, elementary mechanics, physics, chemistry, botany, book-keeping, shorthand, agriculture, physiology, geology, handwork, and mechanical drawing, as well as Latin, French, and German. This standard, I maintain, includes a very high quality of general education. I take it that the object of a high standard of education is to enable the individual to appreciate his responsibility to the State, and to perform in the completest manner his duties of citizenship.

Speaking from a medical point of view, I say it thus becomes a duty of every citizen to endeavour to maintain in himself—not for his own sake only, but also for the sake of his fellow-citizens—the best condition of personal health. Further, if an individual becomes affected by a contagious disease—it does not matter what the nature of that disease may be, whether it be syphilis—that scourge of civilised countries which not only has a serious effect on the individual, but may become transmitted to his offspring—a disease which I fear can only be diminished by the general enforcement of the Contagious Diseases Act—whether it be phthisis or one of this exanthemata—it is a part of his duty to assist in preventing by every means in his power the spread of the disease to others.

In order that, the young men and women of the colony may on leaving school be given some idea of their public duties in this connection I would suggest that there be added to their final course of study a simple treatise which might be drawn up by the Chief Medical Officer of Health for the colony, a treatise which would place them in possession of a few of the fundamental laws of public health and elementary hygiene, a treatise in which the names of the diseases which cause the greatest mortality in New Zealand might be mentioned.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

Then, as to the third factor of which I have spoken, a highly qualified medical profession: To enable one to judge of the proficiency of a profession it is necessary to look to the quality of the education the students and members of that profession receive at their own University. The Otago University provides for a five-years course for the M.B. degree, and, if we may judge by the high position taken by the graduates of the Otago University when they visit the Old Country in order to take degrees in different examining centres, it is safe to say that the standard aimed at and attained is a high one. But, in order to obtain a high standard of proficiency throughout the profession in New Zealand, it is essential that no graduates of a foreign school whose standard of education falls below our own—those, for instance, which only have a three or four-years course—should be permitted to practice the profession of medicine in New Zealand without first passing the final examination which is held every year at the Otago University. And I consider, moreover, that, although it may be seeking protection for the medical profession in New Zealand, medical men from those countries in which New Zealand graduates are debarred from practising should not be allowed to practice in New Zealand without first passing the Otago University examination.

I have briefly endeavoured to show that in New Zealand at the present time we have a strong partnership, consisting of the Government, a highly educated public, and a profession willing to do all that lies in its power to bring about such a condition of things as would conduce to a still lower death-rate and the making of an improved physical condition of the people. In order to bring about a diminution of the death-rate not only is it necessary to make a careful study of diseases in the living subject, but it is necessary also that fullest opportunities should be afforded of acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the results of disease after death.

In all large hospitals and kindred institutions for the teaching of the medical profession there are appointed pathologists whose duty it is to study and report upon the results of disease in the dead, and students are given ample opportunity of studying these same results at the hospital, but as soon as a student has taken his

qualifications and leaves the hospital to start in private practice his opportunities of studying after death the effects of disease become very limited. For my own part, I believe it would be to the interests of public health if a *post mortem* could be made after every case, or almost every case, of fatal sickness. To allow of such a proposition being carried out it would be necessary to appoint one or more pathologists in each city, whose duty it would be to make a special study of those diseases which are affecting most largely the public health of the colony. Under such a system an individual who had the misfortune to succumb to a particular disease would be handing down to the rest of the community valuable material for an accurate knowledge of the effects of the disease of which he died—a knowledge which might and probably would have a decided effect on the earlier recognition and treatment of the disease in future generations. Moreover, this would also enable medical men to systematically gauge the importance of the symptoms which were present during life, and would be the means of forearming the profession to combat that form of disease in its earlier stages in the future. They would become familiar with the changes produced in the different organs during the course of the malady. A regular system of *post-mortem* examinations would also do away with the slur which is sometimes cast upon medical men that their mistakes are buried with their patients, and it certainly would lead to greater care and attention to the patient if that were possible. To the general practitioner, often when opportunity offers and a *post-mortem* examination appears advisable it is impossible for him to make it owing to the risk involved of afterwards attending sick persons, more especially confinement cases. A *post-mortem* examination in every case would act as a deterrent to crime, and more particularly the crime of poisoning. The poisoner would know that before the body of his victim would be disposed of there would be a careful examination. An examination after death would also protect the helpless infant and young child from the sufferings: of starvation and neglect. It would also act as a deterrent against the crime of abortion.

I have said before that one of the most ennobling effects of education is to induce people to give their best energies to the State, and if we carry that argument to its logical conclusion it may be assumed that the same education will remove from them any objections to conferring such a benefit upon the community as a more accurate knowledge of the disease from which they died. It would be a part of the duty of the pathologist to certify the cause of death to the Registrar-General. By this means there would be an absolutely certain and accurate compilation of the death statistics. There would be no such class as ill-defined and non-specified causes. If, then, a person has during life exercised his educated intelligence for the benefit of the commonweal—speaking from a public-health point of view—by preserving in himself the highest standard of health that he is capable of, by preventing the spread from himself to others of any contagious disease from which he may have suffered; if by his death he has given up what knowledge the study of the disease to which he has succumbed may reveal for the sake of his fellow-creatures, then I believe he will have exercised his duty of citizenship as far as public health is concerned to its fullest extent.

CONTAGION AND INFECTION.

A very large number of the diseases which affect our death-rate are due to some infective germ or bacillus which, by contagion, causes the spread of the disease from one to another, and I may state as examples scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, influenza, typhoid fever, epidemic pneumonia, phthisis, &c., and our duty as medical men is to prevent as far as our knowledge allows a spreading of the disease. We are careful to isolate the patients in hospitals or private houses; to have them nursed by trained women who thoroughly understand the laws of infection, and we use all kinds of methods of treatment which have as their object the destruction of the germs of the disease and the restoration of the patient to health. Sometimes it happens that the dose of the disease—if I may so term it—which is introduced into the blood is too virulent, and in spite of all our efforts the patient succumbs.

Some of the diseases which affect our death-rate are caused by morbid growths, such as cancers, &c. Our present method of disposing of that mass of disease—germ-infected tissue or cancerous infiltrated tissue—is inconsistent with the methods of germ-destruction which we adopt during life. Our present method is to coffin the body with its diseased structures and the germs of disease, and to bury it a considerable depth in the ground. Probably to all of us during the course of our experience in practice cases where the dead and even the buried dead have affected the health of the living are not uncommon. To cite an example, not long ago a patient died of a form of pneumonia. He was put into the coffin, which was closed. His brother, aged forty-one, came down just before burial and wished to see the face of his dead brother. The coffin was opened. This happened on a Tuesday; the healthy brother, apparently in the best of health on the Tuesday, died of the same disease on the Friday. That mass of germs, whose period of active life is unknown to us, is put into a closed coffin (which in the course of a few years must decay) and is buried in the earth. To cite another case, a body was buried, and through excavations being made was brought within a few inches of the surface. A depression took place immediately above the body, and this became filled with water. A person wishing to fill up this depression

attempted to remove the water, which was foul-smelling, but he had to desist after ten minutes' work. He became infected with a disease which seriously affected his health for a period of some months. This body had been buried for fifty years. Of what disease he died is unknown. I believe that a virulent epidemic of yellow fever was traced to the opening-up of an old cemetery in Rio.

If, however, the body is examined after death by a skilled pathologist, and the exact cause of death is certified to by him—it being a part of his duty in all cases of suspicion to examine the contents of the stomach and other tissues for poison—then this method of the disposal of the dead might give way to a method more in keeping with our action in treating disease during life, and the dead body with its germs of disease cremated. Even after cremation, if there happen to be any suspicion of death having been caused by arsenical poisoning, the arsenic can be detected in the ashes of the cremated bodies. I fear, however, that this more complete and cleanly method of disposing of our dead will not become universally adopted for many years to come.

To illustrate how the uneducated mind views cremation I will recite you a story which I have heard told: A dignitary of the Church had several parishes under his control to which he appointed vicars. To one of these he appointed a clergyman who became extremely popular. After a few years he removed this parson to another parish, much to the disapprobation of the people with whom he had been living for so many years. Shortly afterwards the dignitary died, and by the desire stated in his will was cremated. When one of the old parishioners, who had been annoyed at the removal from his parish of his favourite pastor, heard of it he exclaimed. "Well, it served him right for taking Mr. So-and-so from us."

THREE SERIOUS DISEASES.

I wish now to consider briefly three classes of disease the study of which would help to diminish our death-rate. I refer to puerperal fever, phthisis, and cancer. It ought to be possible to reduce the mortality from puerperal fever to a minimum. The number of deaths which resulted from puerperal fever in 1902 was registered as twenty-five in number. Although this does not seem to be very high, it does not in any way indicate the number of women who have been invalided more or less for life as the result of disease brought about by septic infection. In order to minimise as far as possible the amount of disease to which women are liable at childbirth, it is necessary that every woman about to be confined should be given the opportunity of placing herself under the care of a duly qualified and registered nurse. It is, unfortunately, at the present time in New Zealand impossible for any woman to qualify as an obstetrical nurse; she has to go either to Melbourne or Sydney or to Great Britain to obtain the necessary certificates. This entails a much greater expense than most women can afford. An effort should therefore be made to establish either in one or in all the four principal centres of the colony a school for the instruction of women in obstetrical nursing. For such a purpose it would be necessary either to build a special hospital for the benefit of the poor, or to convert such a home as we have now in Wellington—namely, the Alexandra Home—into an obstetrical hospital. The maintenance of such a hospital might be borne partly by fees paid by the patients, by the fees charged to the nurses for the course of instruction, by public subscription, and possibly the addition of a subsidy from the Government. The period of instruction should be at least twelve months. There should be weekly lectures given by medical men, and daily lectures by a qualified matron. These nurses, before receiving a certificate, should attend at least ten cases in the hospital, and ten cases under medical supervision in private houses. They should also be taught the care of infants, especially relating to the causes and treatment of infantile diarrhoea. The examination of these nurses might very well be held at the same time as the examination of the ordinary medical and surgical nurses, which is held yearly under the Government Nurses' Registration Act. By having thoroughly trained obstetrical nurses, who would have been taught all the more recent methods of guarding against the possibility of septic infection, the dangers immediate and remote attendant upon childbirth would be very materially lessened, and the mortality of new-born infants markedly decreased.

At this point I would like to call attention to the practice among women of artificially feeding their infants, and I feel it my duty as a medical practitioner to state that the natural feeding of the child by the mother does undoubtedly conduce to the health of both. Nor can I abstain from referring incidentally to the subject which at the present time is occupying the attention of all thinking people—that is, the decreasing birth-rate of the Australasian Colonies. The birth-rate in New Zealand in 1903 was 20.61 per 1,000 of population, which shows that in New Zealand there is a very good margin over the death-rate. An ex-haustive report has within the last week been prepared by a Commission specially set up in New South Wales to inquire into the subject, and there seems to be no doubt that if an effort is not made to divert the inclinations of the people from unwholesome channels the sacredness of the marriage-tie will be jeopardized and the very existence of the race threatened. It is a matter which requires the earnest consideration of both the men and women of our race. So soon as a people begin to consider their own selfish ends to the exclusion of the well-being of the community as a whole it follows that in the end the race must surely suffer; and, moreover, interference with functions that are natural

to the body must produce deterioration and disease, and such dreaded diseases as melancholia and other forms of mental disease and cancer.

SPREAD OF PHTHISIS.

The disease which causes the heaviest mortality in New Zealand is undoubtedly phthisis. Very great interest is now being taken in all parts of the civilised world in the subject of the prevention and cure of this too common disease, and it is important to note that His Majesty the King is taking an active interest in the research which has for its object "the prevention and curative treatment of consumption." It seems to me that, in the lesson on the elementary laws of health which I have suggested should be impressed upon the children of the Seventh Standard before leaving school, one of the things to be explained would be the cause of this disease. They would be informed that a chronic cough is a source of danger, that the frequent catching of colds is very often a predisposing cause of consumption by rendering respiratory tracts less able to resist the disease, and that the germs of the disease are in the breath and phlegm of persons suffering from pulmonary phthisis.

I would suggest also, in addition to imparting such knowledge as I have above stated, that there should be a periodical examination of the weakly children in our public schools. By such an examination the family predisposition to any disease might be discovered, and, at any rate, the signs of early phthisis might be detected and arrested. I would recommend that at the commencement of each year the height and weight of each child and its age should be taken. By this means of periodical examination the Government would obtain a valuable report upon the health and physical condition of the young in the country.

I would like here for the benefit of the public to assess the infectivity of pulmonary phthisis, because it is possible, in the eagerness which we may display to arrest the disease, to become unduly harsh in our treatment of those who are unfortunate enough to suffer from the complaint.

Dr. H. Trimbull Bulstrode, in delivering the Milroy Lectures of the Royal College of Physicians, London, has pointed out that at the present time there may be said to be two schools of thought with regard to the channels of infection between man and man: the one school maintaining that the greatest danger is to be attributed to the tubercle bacillus contained in the dry sputum, whilst the other considers that there is more potency for harm in the droplets thrown off by a tuberculous patient during coughing. He admits that pulmonary tuberculosis is infectious, but holds that the communicability of the disease can only be contrasted, but not compared, with that of such diseases as smallpox, whooping-cough, typhus, &c. I will quote also from another authority, Dr. Newsholme, who believes that we must accept Dr. Bulstrode's statement *cum grano salis*. Dr. Newsholme states that "Phthisis is caused by phthisis, and does not occur, so far as we know, apart from the existence of a previous patient suffering from the disease. The tubercle bacillus is not ubiquitous. It haunts the vicinity of the consumptive. An extensive experience amongst notified cases compels me to the conclusions that defective nutrition, insufficient sunlight and ventilation, domestic uncleanness, are mere adjuvants to the spread of the disease, and that this spread may occur in their absence. Unless cleanliness involves also the prompt destruction of infective material, infection may spread almost regardless of environment." He illustrates a case of infection which I will now read: "Mrs. X. lived in a large house open to the sea and in an excellent sanitary condition. After several years' illness she died from phthisis in May, 1902. The disease was acquired before coming to the town. As shown in the following scheme, her only child died seven months earlier from tuberculous meningitis, and her sister, who nursed her for some months before she died, had a 'very bad cough' when she left the town some months after Mrs. X.'s death. Y. Z., aged eighteen years, entered Mrs. X.'s service as general servant in November, 1901. One of her daily duties was to wash Mrs. X.'s handkerchiefs and to clean out her spittoon. No precautionary instructions were ever given to her. She left her place in the following April, when she was admitted to hospital suffering from 'bronchitis and pleurisy.' Before entering Mrs. X.'s service she had been in good health. She subsequently returned to her mother's home, and died there from acute phthisis on the 18th July, 1902. Her brother V. Z., living at the same address, who up to the onset of his illness had a healthy outdoor occupation (driving a cart for a news-agent), was notified on the 6th January, 1903, to be suffering from phthisis. He was then stated to have been ill for only nine weeks, though he looked ill for a few weeks previously. The early diagnosis was made in consequence of the detection of tubercle bacilli in his sputum. He died from acute phthisis on the 30th April, 1903. Meanwhile a sister, W. Z., entered Mrs. X.'s service just before her sister Y.Z. left it, and took on the latter's duties, except that she declined to wash the handkerchiefs of the patient. (These were sent to wash without any preliminary treatment. What about the poor 'sorter' at the laundry?) Mrs. X.'s sister now washed out the spittoons. W. Z. swept out the sick-room. She remained in Mrs. X.'s service until January, 1903, and as she frequently visited her sister Y. Z. during this time she had double opportunities of infection, assuming carelessness on the part of either patient. On the 29th January, 1903, W. Z. was notified to be suffering from phthisis. She was admitted to the borough sanatorium on the 19th February, and discharged on the 21st March greatly improved. On the 4th June she was readmitted

owing to a return of cough and expectoration. She left on the 2nd July, and since then has kept well and is in domestic service." He points out also that phthisis is rarely acquired by nurses in public institutions, and also that it is frequently acquired by nurses or relatives in private houses. Which means that in hospitals every care is taken to see that the expectoration is received into spittoons containing perchloride of mercury or some other germicide; the wards are kept scrupulously clean and well ventilated, and every precaution taken. In private houses it is often not possible to take all the same precautions as you would in a hospital. However, I consider that when a person knows he has phthisis he ought to find out all the precautions it is necessary for him to take to prevent his communicating the disease to his neighbour. The sources of infection being limited, it is certain that if all proper precautions are taken the risk of infection is not so very great.

With regard to the cure of this disease, it is to be observed that Dr. Marmorec, late of the Pasteur Institute, states that he has been able to isolate the true toxin from cultures of the tubercle bacillus. He has tried the toxin on patients, but the cases are at present too few to allow of a definite opinion to be formed as to the therapeutic value of the serum.

CANCER.

The alarming increase in this colony of the class of diseases called cancer is a subject which must receive the earnest attention of the medical profession. It is impossible in an address of this kind to touch however lightly on the different theories as to the cause of cancer. The subject, however, is of such importance that I hope you will allow me to quote from the Official Year-book the principal organs which are affected in males and females in the cases of death from cancer. In males in 1902 the stomach was affected in a much greater proportion than any other organ. Next to the stomach came the mouth, lip, and tongue, &c.; then the intestinal canal; and then the liver. The other organs of the body were affected to a very much less extent. In females the stomach was often affected, but to a less extent than in males. In equal proportion to the stomach come the organs of reproduction, then the mammary gland, then the intestinal canal and liver, then the mouth, tongue, throat, &c., the other organs very slightly affected. It would also appear that the time of life at which deaths from cancer begin to be numerous is 35 for males, and 30 for females. The maximum of deaths is reached at the period of 60 to 65 for males, and 55 to 60 for females.

I would like to state here that if I were asked by a healthy man how he should direct his life in order that he might live to an old age I would advise him to ascertain, if possible, to what disease he was most liable by heredity, and by care and study delay as long as possible, or altogether prevent, its advent. I would also advise him to be moderate in all things—in his eating and drinking and smoking, in his exercises and amusements, in his studies and occupation. There is no doubt that abuses and excesses cause deterioration and loss of vitality and susceptibility to disease, and that injury and constant incitations in a debilitated person can convert a normal cell into a malignant one, a healthy tissue into a diseased one, and a normal structure into a cancerous one.

To arrive at the true nature and origin of this disease, and eventually its prevention, it is necessary to have constant and numerous examinations made after death by skilled pathologists. The present treatment of the disease is very unsatisfactory. It almost invariably consists of excision where excision is permissible. The treatment by the *x* rays and the violet rays seem to relieve pain, and in many instances to cause retrogression of the disease, but, unfortunately, the disease is apt to recur. The serum treatment is of too recent application to give any decided results. The definite results produced by radium and helium are at present unknown.

THE INSANE.

Turning now briefly to a subject which affects the self-respect of the community, it is with great pleasure that we see the Government is changing the name of our asylums into that for "hospitals for mental diseases." I would urge it now to make some further changes. I would suggest that they should build an annex to our principal hospitals, which should be used by persons who feel that they are becoming mentally afflicted. These persons might be allowed to enter such buildings as patients voluntarily without being in any way certified to, and should be discharged when cured of their mental ailment. I would urge also that in those cases of mental disease where it is necessary that a certificate signed by two medical men should be given the document signed might be altered as follows:—

- "The Hospital for Mental Diseases Act, 1882," Sections 5, 6, 19, and 25; and "The Hospital for Mental Diseases Act Amendment Act, 1891," Section 2.
- Certificate that a Person is Suffering from Mental Disease, and a Proper Person to be Detained Under Care and Treatment.

I, THE undersigned, being a medical practitioner in actual practice, hereby certify that I, on the ___ day

of___, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-___, at___, separately from any other medical practitioner, personally examined___, of ___, and that the said is suffering from such-and-such form of mental disease within the meaning of this Act, and a proper person to be taken charge of and detained under care and treatment; and that I have formed this opinion upon the following grounds, viz.:—

- Facts indicating mental disease observed by myself.
- Other facts (if any) indicating mental disease communicated to others.

On the above facts I advise that he be taken—

- To the Hospital for Mental Disease.
- To the annex attached to the Hospital.

This annex to the hospital would practically serve the purpose of an intermediate place between the general hospital and the special hospital.

THE MAORIS.

Touching briefly upon the gradual diminution of the numbers of the Native race—a race the perpetuation of which it should be our earnest endeavour to maintain—it is gratifying to note that one of their own number has been intrusted by the Government with the maintenance and improvement of the health of the Maori people. It is an astonishing feature of the energy and adaptability of the Maori people that they have been able to so quickly adopt the rules and usages of our civilisation, and that in the space of fifty years they should have been able to produce men who were able to pass the examinations in different professions such as medicine and law is a remarkable fact. No doubt Dr. Pomare, with the aid of the Natives themselves, will be able to check the death-rate amongst the Native people.

Lately I happened to be travelling in the Waikato district, and while being driven by a Maori for some distance I engaged in conversation with him, and found that he was well informed on many different subjects; that he was well clad and shod, and understood the value of warm clothing both night and day and wherever he was; that he understood the European ideas of work and continuity of work; and that he was quite as well informed as the average European workman, if not better. I mentioned to him that he seemed to me to be different from other Maoris I had met in the district, and I asked him how it was. He told me that he had been brought up from infancy by Europeans.

Shortly afterwards I was asked to go to a Maori pa to see a young child which was suffering from whooping-cough. The child was in a tent, the ground of which was partly covered with mats. The only clothing the child had was a little vest and a shawl. The little thing was suffering a great deal of pain from the commencement of an attack of pleurisy. The parents and relations of the child exhibited the greatest anxiety for his health, but had no idea at all how a child of that age should be clad, or fed, or housed. The only chance they had of getting a prescription made up was by sending it forty miles. The prescription was sent, but after a week no medicine had arrived. If the child, as it often did, cried at night, and would ask to be taken out into the fresh air, they would take the child out into the open at any time during the night. I felt perfectly helpless, and could not help thinking at the time that if I could only get the services of a trained nurse that child's life might have been saved, and I also thought of the strong Maori who stated that he owed his knowledge of the value of proper clothing, &c., to having been brought up by Europeans; and the thought has struck me since that it might be possible to have nurses in the different districts where the bulk of the Maoris live, and these nurses might be detailed off to look after the young Maori race under the instruction of Dr. Pomare. If it is possible to save the race, it will be so by looking after their young, and by taking charge of their young and bringing them up under European methods. One often hears of philanthropic women who go away to India and China in order to take part in mission-work in those countries. I would suggest that there is in New Zealand an opening for such women, first of all, to make themselves competent nurses, and, after that, to devote their energies to the preservation of the health of the young of the Maori race. In connection with this care of the Maoris by medical men of their own race, it is interesting to note that the New Zealand University has this year placed upon it rolls the first Maori medical graduate. Moreover, I am informed that his student career was remarkably satisfactory, and that he passed a brilliant examination.

In conclusion, I wish to draw the attention of the profession to the Benevolent Fund. The Benevolent Fund contains only seventy-one members, and has now to its credit a little over £700. No use can be made of this capital until £1,000 has been subscribed, when the interest of that amount will always be available for any deserving case. I would urge members to subscribe to this fund, and would remind those who wish to do so that a donation of £10 would make them life-members. The committee of the fund, without touching the capital, have already made several grants in specially urgent cases.

I wish to thank you for the kind way in which you have listened to what, I am afraid, is rather a tedious address. I also wish to draw your attention to the Medical Defence Union, which only numbers about a hundred

members. The subscription to this is very small, only 5s. for members of the New Zealand Branch, and it is to be hoped that a large number of members will join this year.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. COLQUHOUN moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Collins for the excellent address he had given. He might mention that a distinguished layman who was sitting next him said there was not a single word of the address he had not followed with interest and delight.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT read a letter from Dr. Irving, of Christchurch, in reference to the Defence Fund and the Provident Fund. He did so in order to bring the matter again before the members of the Association. There was no doubt that in years to come there would be numerous calls upon both, and it appeared to him that both funds should be supported by all medical men.

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Front Cover

The Union of the Churches and the Coming Presbyterian Assembly.

By Rev. P. B. Fraser, M.A.

A MEMBER OF THE UNION COMMITTEE.

WITH LETTERS AND CRITICISMS OF "The Articles of the Faith"

FROM REV. PRINCIPAL RAINY, D.D., REV. PRINCIPAL DYKES, D.D., RIGHT REV. HANDLEY MOULE, D.D., LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM, REV. THOMAS WHITELAW, D.D., REV. PROF. C. W. HODGE, PH.D., REV. PROF. B. B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D., REV. PROF. W. M. M'PHEETERS, D.D., AND REV. E. B. HODGE, D.D.

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good—1 Thes. v. 21.

"Hold fast the form of sound words"—11 Jim. i, 13

Dunedin: The Evening Star Company, Ltd., Bond and Crawford Streets. 1904.

What the Presbyterian Church Stands for.

"The Presyterian Church stands, as it has stood during its entire history, for the unconditioned sovereignty of God, for the Bible as the only infallible rule of faith and life, for simpficity of worship, representative government, a high] standard of Christian living, liberty of conscience, popular education, missionary activity, and true Christian catholicity"

President Benjamin Harrison said: "The Presbyterian Church has been steadfast for liberty, and it has kept stead-fast for education. It has stood as stiff as a steel beam for the faith delivered to our fathers, and it still stands with steadfastness for that essential doctrine—the inspired Word, It is not an illiberal Church. There is no body of Christiana in the world that opens its arms wider to all who love the Master. Though it has made no boast or shout, it has yet been an aggressive Church. It has been a missionary Church from the beginning."—'Presbyterian Handbook.'

"In a Christian land, where the Scriptures are widely revered, it is cheaper and safer to assault the Presbyterian standards than to assault the Bible. Hence it is that the Presbyterian Church has always sustained the brunt of the fight for the integrity of God's truth. 'We gratefully acknowledge,' said the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in its address to the Presbyterian Alliance, 'the faithful and unfaltering testimony which your Church has borne throughout her entire history on behalf of the divine inspiration and authority of the Word of God.' Said the Baptist Association in its greeting to the same body: 'The Presbyterian Church has been the magnificent defender of the Word of God throughout the ages.' 'Your Church,' said the Methodist Conference to the Presbyterian Alliance of 1896, 'has furnished the memorable and inspiring spectacle, not simply of a solitary heroic soul here and there, but of generations of faithful souls ready for the sake of Christ and His truth to go cheerfully to prison and to death. This rare honour you rightly esteem as the most precious part of your priceless heritage.'"—'The Creed of Presbyterians,' by E. W. Smith, D.D.

Part I.

The Union Movement and the Coming

Assembly, November, 1904.

So late as August 27th, 1904, Rev. Dr. Gibb writes to the 'Outlook' on the question of Union, and in his letter indicates his strong conviction that nothing that has happened or has been written ought to deter the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand from going forward with his present Union movement. We have been informed time and again that this movement was not to be proceeded with unless there was practical unanimity for going on within the Church. Such was the argument at the beginning; and although it has plainly appeared during the past year that the Church is far from unanimity on the wisdom of the proposal, yet Dr. Gibb has intimated his intention of doing his utmost to induce the Assembly to give his Committee a mandate, in the name of the Church, to go forward to frame a basis of doctrine and polity, to be submitted in due course to the Church. On the merely abstract question of the desirability of giving to the Assembly's Committee authority to continue negotiations with a view to framing a basis of doctrine and polity, the Presbyteries of the Church have been greatly divided. Of the fifteen Presbyteries, eight have voted for the "abstract" proposition as above, while seven have voted for terminating the movement for an incorporating union, and in favour of seeking only fraternal organised co-operation in Christian work. I do not need to rehearse the arguments which have been so ably stated on both sides in all the Presbyteries. I am here concerned only with the net result, and it has been abundantly evident to the impartial observer that the Church is seriously divided on the question. So seriously divided is it, that, if the question at issue were the permission of a mere form involving a departure from use and wont, the superior Court of the Church would hesitate on the introduction of the innovation. The issue at stake, however, involves the very existence of the Church, to say nothing of her present peace and usefulness; and, therefore, "unless there had been substantial unanimity, no superior Court of a Presbyterian Church would ever think of giving its sanction to a proposal involving her very existence. Nevertheless, Dr. Gibb, with that jaunty optimism that characterises him, is prepared to go on with his movement, and that being so, it is desirable that there should be the fullest information before the Church on the whole subject.

At the rising of last Assembly Dr. Gibb's new Articles of the Faith were, so he announced, before three Churches as the doctrinal basis unanimously agreed to by the three Committees of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches. And some time later ('Outlook,' December 5, 1903) the Convener of the Congregational Committee, in his report proposed to be submitted to the Congregational Union, wrote as follows: "The Committee have had several meetings, and have also conferred with the Committees of the Presbyterian General Assembly and the Methodist Conference. The annexed draft, entitled 'Articles of the Faith,' which has been assented to by the two Committees, has been carefully considered, and is regarded as the basis on which negotiations for Union may most hopefully be continued." His report went on to recommend "the adoption of the Articles" on certain conditions. The same might have been expected from the Methodist Committee. It was evident at once that the task of those who believed Dr. Gibb's proposals for Union to be disastrous alike to the Presbyterian Church and to the Christian people of New Zealand as a whole, would be enormously increased if favorable consideration, not to say sanction, even "provisionally," should be hastily given to the Articles of the Faith by these Churches, under the belief that they had already been sanctioned, after careful consideration, by a very large Presbyterian Committee, which included the two Theological Professors. The most unwelcome task fell to my lot of pricking this bubble, and demonstrating with a fulness that has not been gainsaid, that this whole representation, so far as the Presbyterian Committee is concerned, was the child of an over-wrought imagination. The Presbyterian Committee, as such, never really considered the Articles, much less sanctioned them. The whole thing dwindled down to the smallest, if significant, dimensions. The Articles of Faith that Dr. Gibb had heralded throughout New Zealand as the product of the profound labours of the Committees of three Churches, and as the doctrinal basis of their Union, were discovered on closer investigation to have been the sole product of the wisdom of three Presbyterians; the said Articles, as is apparent from simple inspection, not having undergone any appreciable doctrinal change from the time when they emerged from the Council of Three to the present hour. True it is that the Council of Three were none else than Dr. Gibb and the two Presbyterian Theological Professors, who, up to this present have not vouchsafed any light on what they wish to be understood by these wonderful Articles of Faith.

At all events, the investigation I was led to publish made it abundantly manifest that these precious Articles never had any proper sanction of the Presbyterian Committee. So far from expressing the mind of the Presbyterian Church as a whole, they were only a sort of gunpowder plot on a small scale: Dr. Gibb in the role of Guy Fawkes! The net result was that there were no Articles submitted to either the Congregational or Methodist Churches; and both Churches, with much grace, resolved to abide events.

A little later the "abstract question" of Union began to come before the Presbyteries of our Church. The Americans have a saying: "You can see a great scope of field through a chink in the fence"; and undoubtedly

the Articles, when they came to be looked at, were no small chink in Dr Gibb's theological fence. Consequently, when the "abstract question" came at first before Presbyteries, there was a disposition to view the Union movement through this chink in the fence. It is through this chink that I have viewed it, and will continue to view it, and nothing will reconcile me to it.

Not that for one moment, however, would I impute or suggest any disloyalty toward our grand old Presbyterian Church on the part of the great body of my brethren, who, many of them, have served her longer and better than I, and yet have I voted within the last few months in favour of the abstract proposition—Union. These brethren say in effect, and say justly, that so far as the abstract question is now concerned, and so far as a doctrinal basis is now concerned, and so far as the Church and Assembly are concerned, there is a clean slate. Yes, that slate is clean; and it is to keep it clean that I have laboured ever since another slate, inscribed with Dr Gibb's Articles of Faith, was passed round in that wonderful Assembly report. But no thanks to Dr Gibb. and some others that might be named, that the slate of the Assembly and the Church is clean. He would have had the Assembly "provision-ally adopt" his slate as a doctrinal basis, so as to be before the Church at this moment for her signature. Moreover, with perfect frankness he has declared since the Assembly: "What that basis—the future basis—will be either in respect of doctrine or polity remains to be seen. It is not in existence now, and no man has any right to say what it will contain or what it will exclude. It is conceivable that the doctrinal basis may be the very Articles of the Faith which have so deeply perturbed the spirit of your correspondents. Revs. P. B. Fraser and I. Tolly." Further, he wrote: "If my friends persist in assailing these withdrawn Articles, I shall be prepared to defend every syllable of them, and to show their profound harmony with the deepest convictions of Catholic Christendom, and their adequacy to stand as the doctrinal basis of a United Church." Yes, though Dr Gibb has cleaned his slate once more, who, I ask, controls the pencil that is to write afresh? The Articles have never really been "withdrawn"; they are only in a state of suspended animation. It is true, we are promised that the new Creed will not be written up quite so fast as the one "withdrawn"; but the programme is to get there all the same. "My impression is," says Dr Gibb, "that the people, or many of them, require to be educated in this matter. The educational process has begun, and you may rest assured that it will go on until Union is accomplished, however long it may be." "Go slow," is the watchword now, however, while the Church goes to school to its new "Shortest" Catechism.

In view of the discussions that have taken place, Dr Gibb prudently proposes a change of method—though not of object. Not that I have any right to object to that. He and those who think with him, if they have resolved that it is best for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom to unite with Methodists and Congregationalists on such a doctrinal basis as he has "framed," have a perfect right to do so; only, those! of us who think differently have an equal right to decline to follow him at any pace. No doubt more will follow him if he goes at a slower pace than at his reckless speed of last Assembly. It is enough for many of us, however, to know the terminus ad quem in order to decline to embark with Dr Gibb for pilot. That he promises not to shock our nerves by going at top-speed, as heretofore, forms no inducement Nor will the well-meant soothing syrups offered by his kindly fellow-travellers be any more helpful to that end. True, some of them, whom we honour greatly, who have no intention of following Dr Gibb in his revolutionary creed-making, think that "the Church," in honour bound, having gone so far, is bound to go farther, till she comes to what they are pleased to call a "stone-wall." When the blind lead the blind, however, unfortunately there is not always a stone-wall to come up to, but only a ditch to receive them. And this in my application of it implies not more than error of judgment; but is not the result the same? May not the ditch even be a precipice? and the end the same—disaster to our beloved Presbyterian Church, and much wounding of brethren? After ten years' negotiations and much heart-burning among brethren, the Free Church of Scotland had to abandon her efforts for Union with the United Presbyterian Church, because she had I come to a "stone-wall." The opposition was felt to be insuperable at the time. "What a pity!" exclaims Dr Walker, the historian of the Church—"what a pity it was that they did not say so at once! How many heart-burnings might thus have been avoided!"

Learning from the discussions in the Presbyteries the divided mind of the Church, Dr Gibb proposes a truly masterful solution of his difficulty—a solution of a difficulty as clever as any the Premier has ever adopted. Eight of the Presbyteries, believing in the clean slate, have voted for going on with negotiations for Union; seven have voted to stop these negotiations, and they request the Assembly to seek to bring about fraternal co-operation with all the churches. Dr Gibb's masterpiece is to adopt both courses! The following is his motion, carried by the Wellington Presbytery:—

This Presbytery, for the reasons set forth in the resolution almost unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of 1902. approves the proposed union of the evangelical communions, and urges the Assembly to continue the negotiations with the Methodist and Congregational Churches, with a view to the framing of a basis in doctrine and polity, in due course to be submitted to the subordinate courts of the Church; but recognising that the elaboration of such a basis is a work requiring much care, and, therefore, likely to occupy some time in preparation, the Presbytery recommends the Assembly to instruct the Committee to give

immediate attention to the question of overlapping and home mission work as carried on by the three Churches, and to arrange for a conference at which these and other questions of vital import to the evangelical communions shall be duly considered, and a uniform policy adopted.

Now, the latter half of this motion was moved at the last Assembly by Rev. G. B. Inglis, and seconded by Rev. J. K. Elliott, as follows:—"That it be remitted to the Union Committee to consider, along with the Committees of the Methodist and Congregational Churches and any other Churches, whether in the meantime a Representative Council could not be set up which would consider and devise methods for the practical co-operation in Christian work and progress of the various Churches in New Zealand, until such time as God in His providence may open up the way for a closer union, and report to next Assembly." This motion, I may say, is on the lines of the original overture I moved in the Clutha Presbytery, which was carried unanimously there, and in the Synod of Otago and Southland, and consequently it has been alleged that I myself am responsible for the Union movement I now seek to terminate. If one is responsible for a counter-action which defeats, and was intended to defeat, one's own action, then, no doubt, I am the real author of Dr Gibb's Union movement and all that it contains. But reasoning of that sort is not convincing, and bears its own refutation on its bosom. Now, how did Dr Gibb treat that motion last year? What did he say? "With regard to co-operation, no man had had more experience of it than he had, and his own conviction as to its movements was that they had little value. The real value lay in Union. To carry the principle of co-operation might be to kill this Union movement." This was, indeed, a surprising assertion, that co-operation among the Churches is of little value—and likely to kill Union! Churches that cannot agree to co-operate ought forthwith to unite! "Co-operation of little value!" Better acquaintance with each other likely to kill Union! No doubt, if it is not co-operation, but creed revision conducted by Dr Gibb and his associates that is desired, then co-operation is not of immediate value to that end. Probably it would "kill" Dr Gibb's "Union" movement; but I do not think that such an event would be so dire a calamity to the Presbyterian Church or the other Churches concerned as Dr Gibb appears to imagine. Any way, it may be reasonably asked: What need is there for any more specimens of doctrinal Articles from the hands of Dr Gibb's Committee? Ex uno disce omnia! The spectacle is certainly not edifying to the Church nor convincing to a sceptical world. And neither edifying nor convincing would it be to a Lord Chancellor! Verbum satis sapienti.

Fore-Word by an American Scholar.

"All Churches have felt the need of public, authorized, and authentic Confessions of Faith as a declaration of truth, a protest against error, a bond of union, and a means of instruction and growth. And in the midst of the incessant conflicts of modern denominations, especially in our own land and of the insurgent pressure of all forms of error and infidelity, to call upon us to strike down our symbols is like calling on an army to strike down its flag in the face of the foe. No one can over-estimate the influence of such a document, for example, as the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. It has made our Church members strong in definite thought upon the weightiest themes. It has given them a consistent body of divinity in the midst of the fluctuations of opinion. It has been a spiritual and catholic bond of union ... between two of the most intelligent and powerful bodies of Christians in our country—the Congregational and Presbyterian—differing, indeed, on sundry unessential points of Church order, but radically one in the common professed faith. It has clone more to shape and train this land for its high evangelical mission than anything else 'except the inspired Word of God, which is the only Divine rule of faith and practice.'—Prof. Henry Boynton Smith, D.D., LL.D.

Part II.

The Articles of the Faith and the Future Theological College.

"It is conceivable," says Dr Gibb, "that the doctrinal basis may be the very Articles that have so deeply perturbed the spirit of your correspondents, Revs. P. B. Fraser and I. Jolly. If my friends persist in assailing these withdrawn Articles, I shall be prepared to defend every syllable of them, and to show their profound harmony with the deepest convictions of Catholic Christendom, and their entire adequacy to stand as the doctrinal basis of a United Church." With these statements before them, the Church at large cannot but be

interested in these remarkable Articles, and be greatly the better of knowing something about their significance.

I do not, in view of the criticisms that follow, need to enlarge on what I said in my address before the Presbytery of Clutha, which I delivered before I had the advantage of reading any of the replies to be presently referred to.

But there is one difficulty in connection with Union of any sort that has not, I think, received sufficient consideration from many brethren whom I greatly respect, and who have voted to go on with Union. Indeed, I have not seen it so much as referred to. And this is the question of Union as it affects, or would affect, the Church's Theological Hall for training and teaching students for the ministry. Here is the crux of the whole doctrinal question, for here the doctrinal difficulties are focussed. Nothing seems so popular to the ordinary mind than a short creed, as vague as possible, on which a great multitude of ordinary people can unite. And the popular preacher who harangues about every "jot and tittle" of a "cast-iron creed" of a dead century is the hero of the hour; while the man who stands out for maintaining our standards in their integrity is looked upon as a sort of Spanish Inquisitor, who would burn babies and old women for heresy, and who knows more of metaphysics than of the "simple" gospel. There is, however, a liberalism in theology as shallow and cheap as any in politics, and as popular with the "masses," who want short cuts as to the earthly, so to the heavenly paradise. And the proposal to fling away the Westminster Confession and substitute for it a short and easy creed, understandable in the infant school and by the "man in the street," is received with the same wave of popular enthusiasm as the "masses" receive the latest political nostrum for their immediate social salvation.

The proposal to fling away the Westminster Confession is received with enthusiasm, because the "masses" forget for the moment what they owe to it, and what is its present use. It is not too much to say that the world's freedom, ecclesiastical and civil, owes more to the Westminster Confession than to any other human document. Such is the *[unclear: testim]* of history. It was composed during the golden age of English literature and patriotism, when words were deeds the age of Milton, Hampden, and Cromwell—by as able a assembly of scholars as ever made the Bible a study One hundred and twenty divines, eleven lords, twenty commoners, from all the counties of England and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with seven Commissioners from Scotland, sat round that table. "Their labours extended over five and a-half years, during which time they held nearly twelve hundred sessions. They met in 1643, at a period in the world's history when the human intellect, for reasons known to scholars, appears to have reached the zenith of its powers"—the era of Shakespeare and Milton and Francis Bacon—the era that produced the English Bible, and laid the foundations of British and American freedom, of those nations that are the bulwarks of freedom for the world. It is still the Confession of Faith of millions of the foremost peoples in the world. It has lately been through "revision" in the American Presbyterian Church, with its 8,000 ministers and nearly 30,000 elders, and stands in its integrity, in this twentieth century, the Confession of that Church.

Does that mean, however, that every minister is bound to "every jot and tittle of a cast-iron creed"? No; he is only "bound"—that is, he gives a voluntary and loyal assent—the love of his "mind"—to "the system of doctrine contained in the Confession." "The use of the words 'system of doctrine' in the terms of subscription precludes the idea of the necessary acceptance of every statement in the Standards by the subscribers, but involves the acceptance of so much as is vital to the system as a whole." And that is exactly the position in our own Church. And if the Christian reader wishes to study for himself a clear and temperate statement of the "system of doctrine," he will find it in the admirable Articles of the English Presbyterian Church (see Appendix) so sadly mutilated by Dr Gibb's Committee. Where is there in these Articles the "dead hand" of the seventeenth century? I think it would be well worthy of consideration by our Assembly whether these same Articles should not be remitted to Presbyteries and Sessions for adoption as a "brief" and popular statement of what is meant by the "system of doctrine" in the Standards of our Church. Neatly printed and widely circulated, while they would be an effective answer to shallow attacks on the Standards of the Church, they would also be helpful to office-bearers who subscribe to the "system of doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith."

That, therefore, is all that is required by adherence to the system of doctrine of our Confession. That does not mean that a man may not believe all the jots and tittles to be, like the great mountain ranges of our Confession, well grounded on the unchangeable and infallible Word of God. He may feed both his heart and mind by that manual of theology and ethics, unsurpassed in any language in the world, the incomparable (and seldom read) Larger Catechism, the product of five years' labors of statesmen, divines, and scholars of the robustest mould. But let it be emphasised that our Church does not, and never did, ask from any of her members acceptance of any of her Standards, not even of her doctrine as a system. Her only condition of Church membership is a credible profession of faith in Christ. Calvinist and Arminian believers—whether Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, or Salvationist—she welcomes with equal heartiness to all the rights and benefits of her membership. Only of office-bearers, her ministers, and her theological professors, does she require subscription to her elaborate and mountainous Creed.

And why? Here is the crux of every Union movement, as I have said, at the door of the Theological College. Plainly, if theology is to be taught, it must be taught in system, with reasonable completeness and coherence. What, then, is the system to be taught in the Church's Theological College? A short creed, vague and ambiguous, for such a purpose, as a test of subscription for theological professors, is worse than useless. It is to put a premium on the most odious qualities of the human mind. The Church, in instituting a theological chair, has just as much right beforehand to say what is the system of theology to be taught as the Government in saying what shall be taught in the public schools. The conditions are known beforehand, and voluntarily accepted. As Dr Walker, historian of the Free Church, says: "A professorship in a Free Church College is not a Crown appointment, implying the conferring of a civil right, it is an appointment by a private corporation to do a certain kind of work. That work, moreover, is in its nature of paramount importance. If a mistake is made in connection with it, it is not merely one congregation which will suffer, but a whole community, and the mischief done may affect an entire generation." Again, the Free Church Assembly, by resolution, formally "admonished (its theological) professors to remember that they are not set for the propagating of their own opinions, but for the maintenance of the doctrine and truth committed to the Church"—that is, the doctrine committed to the Church appointing them and paying them, whose creed is stated with fulness and without ambiguity in her Standards. A theological chair is not a philosophical fellowship, but exists for effective teaching of specific doctrines known beforehand, and agreed upon as founded on the Word of God. We cannot institute a dozen separate Theological Colleges where different doctrines or philosophical opinions are dispensed to ingenuous youth. We can have only one College, and therefore only one system of doctrine can be taught. If you have five professors, and each has a system of his own, and neither system that of the Church, what sort of a Theological Hall and Church will you have?—"a Church without a religion," as the Lord Chancellor says, and your College a theological menagerie.

Such, then, is the chief reason for a Creed of reasonable fulness, which lays down clearly the system of doctrine to be taught in the Theological College. Otherwise the theological professors to be appointed in the future may set up, each one of them, a system of his own. Therefore the Creed is first and foremost for theological professors. Once that is settled, it follows that the same Creed will suit the ministers who themselves have been students of these professors. They cannot object to the same Creed which the professors have signed. On the contrary, they will delight to give the love of both heart and mind to that same system of doctrine which they have studied with their professors and believe to be agreeable to the Word of God. Moreover, as the Creed is the doctrinal Law of the Church, and as professors are governed by that Law, clearly it is only right that ministers who are to administer that Law should themselves, like judges sworn to administer the civil law, give a loyal declaration of willingness to judge the teaching of the professors, as they judge the teaching of each other, by the common doctrinal standards which all have accepted as the Law of the Church and as in accordance with the Word of God. There remain only the elders. It is the glory of our Presbyterian polity that our Church makes no difference in her doctrinal requirements as between ministers and elders. Our Church has no ministerial caste. Elders have equal power with ministers in all her higher Courts, and rule in overwhelming numbers in her sessions. Since elders have an absolute equality both in power and numbers in the Supreme Court of the Church, it is essential, if they are to exercise that power intelligently and justly in any doctrinal question or trial which [*unclear*: mig] involve deposition of a professor or of a minister, that they too must subscribe to the same Creed as the professors and ministers. They must be men believing the same system of doctrine if a just law is to be administered. Once make any distinction in the respective Creeds that are subscribed by professors, ministers, or elders, and there is an end of Presbyterian potty whose glory has been the equality of her ministers and elders in her highest Courts. As she has no "clerical" caste, so she has no "laymen." She has preaching, or teaching, elders and ruling elders, and both are equal in power; therefore both ought to sign the same Creed. These together are her office-bearers, the guardians of her faith, called of God, and chosen by her members to fill their respective offices. Surely then, it is reasonable that those voluntarily accepting should justify their "call," and indicate their fitness for the duties of their office by subscribing to the Creed of the Church. Otherwise there can be neither order nor peace within the Church nor any progress nor permanence in her life in the community. Further, let it be greatly emphasised that the Church's Creed is upheld and subscribed to, and administered, and obeyed, and loyally defended, and loved, not because there is a mere contract to uphold and administer and obey it entered into by men, but because all have severally declared that they believe the Creed to be in accordance with the Word of God—the only rule of faith and life; because they have declared that the Lord Jesus Christ has appointed a government within his Church; and because they have accepted that particular Creed as the revelation of His will in His Word. While a Church, that is, any particular Church, like ours, viewed externally and in the eye of the civil law, is a "voluntary association," like any other society of men, it is more than that. The whole authority for her Law is derived from the Lord Jesus, the Head of His Church, speaking in His Word. Hence her office-bearers are under solemn obligation to administer His Law, and professors and ministers and elders to obey it. How can that be done if the Law of the Church is

expressed in ambiguous and evasive terms? When the criticisms that follow of Dr Gibb's Articles are well considered the Church at large will be able to appreciate the soundness of Dr Gibb's claim that his Articles, or any others like them, are "entirely adequate to form the doctrinal basis of a United Church."

I am no theological or Confessional Chauvinist (though Chauvin, by the way, is the same name as Calvin!) as brethren know from all my action in negotiations for the accomplished Union of the two Presbyterian Churches of New Zealand, I have not, and never had, the remotest wish to raise unkindly suspicions about any of my brethren; but when the famous Articles of Dr Gibb's remarkable Committees were heralded as the product of the labours of the Committees of three Churches, I was somewhat staggered. When it was proposed that these same Committees were to be given *carte blanche* "to go on to prepare a basis of doctrine and polity, to be submitted to Presbyteries and Sessions in due course," I thought it was not a time to be silent, not in view of the considerations regarding the real use of a Creed, which I have stated above. The members of our Church have never complained of the Church's Creed, for the simple reason that they are not quired to subscribe to any written Creed, nor profess any Creed save faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Neither have our elders or managers, for they are required to subscribe only to "the system of doctrine." Therefore the "short Creed" desiderated is required only for our future theological professors and our future ministers instructed under their care.

I thought it proper to strip Dr Gibb's new Articles of the fictitious sanction which they had acquired, and took the responsibility of giving a criticism of them in the overture I tabled in the Clutha Presbytery. At the same time, considering that our Church is no bigger than a City Presbytery of the Old Lands, yet scattered over an area equal almost to that of Great Britain, and that ours is an isolated colony, with only one religious paper, and that largely, if not entirely, at Dr. Gibb's disposal for the propagation of his views, I thought it would be of great service to the Church at large if I should send a copy of my overture containing the proposed Articles of the Faith to some leading divines of Britain and America asking them to favour me with an informing criticism of the Articles, which I could make available for the Church at large. This I did. At the same time, I did the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand the credit to say that nobody had any fear of such Articles being accepted by our Church Nevertheless, in view of eventualities, I thought an informing criticism would be greatly helpful to the Church in any future deliberations on the question of Creed revision or construction. The mention of the names of all I wrote—a very large number—would show I wrote only divines of the highest repute, respected all over the Presbyterian world! and far beyond it. I have been greatly cheered and benefited by the replies so kindly sent me. I cannot refrain from publishing Rev. Dr Alex. Whyte's so kind and characteristic reply, a sample, as it is, of the uniform kindness of several I do not refer to, whose authors, for different reasons, did not care to give the criticism I sought. But those I publish speak for themselves. The criticisms, if read in the light of the considerations advanced above as to the real use of a Creed in connection with theological teaching, will, I am sure, prove instructive even to members of our Church not versed in theological lore. They will probably agree that the five years' labors of the Westminster divines, who were prepared to seal their Creed with their blood, have not been in vain, and that Dr Gibb's remarkable Committees have something yet to learn in the logic of Creed construction. We are, it is true, anxious to lead the van in New Zealand ecclesiastically, as well as we are supposed to do politically extracting as we do sunbeams from cucumbers. We have indeed, not yet invented a new astronomy with the moon for centre of our system, and moonshine for the light thereof; but if Dr Gibb and the Premier could only arrange a "referendum" on it, there is no saying what the ballot box and the oracular voice of "the people" might reveal—a new theological heavens and a new political earth, perhaps!

I should like to prefix to the replies below a statement which, no doubt, is superfluous. In no way are the honoured brethren whose communications I am privileged to print to be associated with any views I have expressed, either as to matter or manner, in my controversy with Dr Gibb and his Committee. Needless to say, all faults of matter or manner are my own. I sought no expression of opinion on anything of personal, parochial, provincial, or even colonial dimensions. Christian truth is not a personal question nor limited by geographical boundaries; and I thought, and think, that grave questions going to the core of the Christian faith might be suitably referred to acknowledged masters in Israel.

The letter of the Rev. Principal Dykes, convener of the Committee which prepared the English Presbyterian Articles, was in reply to a communication asking what relation the Presbyterian Church of England held to the Westminster Confession, and whether the proposed new Articles could fairly be regarded as based on the English Articles. The reply of the venerable leader of the United Free Church Principal Rainy, D.D., speaks for itself. The kind and brotherly reply, characteristic of the Bishop of Durham—a Bishop of the Church Universal—will be read with great interest.

Then there follow four replies from the great American Church. Professor M'Pheeters, D.D., a well-known theological professor of the Southern Presbyterian Church, takes a keen interest in the progress of the Reformed Faith in this far-off colony. Rev. Professor Hodge, Ph.D., of Princeton, writes with equal interest and greater fulness. Rev. Dr Hodge, of Philadelphia, like Professor M'Pheeters, contents himself with a brief expression of

opinion. The other from America is the reply of the Rev. Dr Warfield, Professor of Theology at Princeton, a theologian and Christian scholar unsurpassed by any other in Britain or America. When the right of Creeds to exist is being questioned, and constant attacks are being made on systematic theology by persons mostly ignorant of it, and by others who find in creeds an impregnable barrier to sentimentalism and disintegration of Divine truth, no better book could be circulated by the thousand in this colony at the present time than his little book, of less than 100 pages, entitled 'The Right of Systematic Theology,' which might have been entitled 'The Right of or Necessity for Creeds.' It was republished in Britain (T. and T. Clark), with an introduction by Professor James Orr, D.D., and a recom-mendatory note by the leading theologians of every Church in Scotland:—"Professor Warfield, of Princeton, is "well known on both sides of the Atlantic"; William Garden Blackie, D.D., LL.D.; A. H. Charteris, D.D.; George C. M. Douglas, DD.; Robert Flint, D.D.; William H. Goad, D.D.; John Laidlaw, D.D.; Alexander Mair, D.D.; Robert Rainy, D.D.; Alexander Stuart, D.D.; James Stalker, D.D.; Norman L. Walker, D.D.; J Wardrop, D.D.

A book with such an exceptional recommendation is worth reading, and no man should speak lightly of Creeds until he has read it. The criticism of the Articles by a theologian of Dr Warfield's standing will therefore be read with great interest.

The concluding criticism I publish is one from the pen of the Rev. Dr Whitelaw,

I wish to take this opportunity of calling attention to his last book, only recently published, entitled: "Old Testament Critics, An Inquiry into the Character, Effect and Validity of Their Teaching, A Question for the Christian People of To-day" (Kegan, Paul. Trench and Co.). It is probably, for popular use, the most informing of all the recent books on the 'Criticism of the Old Testament,' besides being written by a scholar who knows his subject at first hand. I wish I could send a copy to every minister and home missionary in New Zealand. I would even offer a copy with all respect to at least one of our theological professors, and I would ask my friend Mr Jamieson, the travelling secretary to the Young Men's Bible Class Union, to recommend every class to get two or three copies of this work to study along with the books he has hitherto recommended. If our intelligent Christian laymen read this book, it will prove of the greatest service to them in dealing with the chief danger the Church has to face in the near future, regarding the very foundations of the faith. The 'Princeton Theological Review' (April, 1904) says of it:—"It is unhesitatingly commended to all who seek light on these questions." I had not the advantage of reading it before I delivered my speech in Presbytery against this present Union movement; but if any one questions the soundness of my main contention in that speech, I give for answer: Read Dr Whitelaw's "Old Testament Critics." I would recommend. M'Intosh's "Is Christ Infallible and the Bible True?"—a book that would make the very stones eloquent. It is another book to be added to my friend Mr Jamieson's list for all Bible-class libraries and all Bible readers. It is one of the noblest ever written on the immortal book. Since I have ventured so far, might I mention the volume of Dr John Smith's. "The Integrity of Scripture"—an ideal layman's book. And lastly, I would earnestly beg every Presbyterian elder to possess himself of an enthusiastic little volume, packed with good things, entitled "The Creed of Presbyterians," by Dr E W. Smith, and published by the Baker and Taylor Company, New York. Any bookseller will get it.

of Kilmarnock, one of the most distinguished divines of the United Free Church of Scotland It is most able and most informing.

Part III.

Soli Deo Gloria.

While all our hearts and all our songs
Join to admire the feast,
Each of us cries, with thankful tongues,
"Lord, why was I a guest?

"Why was I made to hear Thy voice,
And enter while there's room,

When thousands make a wretched choice,
And rather starve than come?"

'Twas the same love that spread the feast,
That sweetly forced us in,
Else we had still refused to taste,
And perished in our sin.

—WATTS.

Replies from Some Leading Divines in Britain and America.

I.

Reply of Principal Rainy, D.D.,

New College, Edinburgh. 8 Rosebery Crescent, Edinburgh,

17th February, 1904.

Rev. P. B. Fraser.

My Dear Sir,—I received your communication, and I need not say that I read it with great interest. I have thought over it to some extent, all the more from hearing of corresponding movements in Australia.

It seems to me, however, that it would be unbecoming on my part to interfere with advice of mine in a matter which the New Zealand Church is well able to discuss, and will naturally settle for itself in the light of its own responsibilities.

I may venture to say, perhaps, that in all likelihood the difficulties in the way of any incorporating Union will prove to be serious. But a great deal would be done if the stage were reached of real friendly feeling, and readiness for frank consultation and concerted action.

Apart from theological difficulties, each denomination is so habituated to ways of its own, and these ways constitute so much of the strength of each Church, that one asks whether it would be wise to risk the friction that might arise from fusion. But prolonged co-operation might diminish that difficulty.

Beyond this I do not care at present to express any opinion.

Yours ever truly,
ROBERT RAINY.

II.

Reply of Rev. Principal, Dykes, D.D.,

Westminster College, Cambridge.

12th February, 1904.

Rev. P. B. Fraser, Otago.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—I duly received yours of the 21st December last, with reprint from the 'Otago Daily Times.'

1. In reply to your inquiry, I have to say that the "Twenty-four Articles of the Faith" have not displaced the Westminster Confession as the Subordinate Standard of the Presbyterian Church of England, as you will see from the Formula by which ministers are required to accept it, a copy of which I append. I understand the "Articles" as explaining what is to be included in the "body of Christian doctrine set forth in the Westminster Confession." That is by itself a vague expression, but it is taken to be just the doctrine "more briefly expressed" in the Articles. (Much Confessional material embraced in the Westminster document has now been relegated to a secondary place in our "Appendix," which is merely a working agreement for the sake of peace.)

2. The New Zealand draft, to judge by the paper you send me, has borrowed a good deal of the language of our Articles, and I suppose the framers of it had a right to use what they found suitable to their purpose. But they have cut out all its Calvinism, and its Calvinism is an essential part of it as accepted in our Church; nor could the mutilated remainder of it be fairly called or regarded as our articles of Faith" any longer, but as a quite different thing.

3. I am neither called on to express any opinion on the wisdom of the policy of uniting various Evangelical Churches in New Zealand on a non-Calvinistic basis, nor am I in a position to do so, because I do not know the local circumstances. That is a very grave question, on which the Presbyterians of New Zealand will have to reach their own conclusions, in view of all the conditions affecting the position and prospects of the Kingdom of God in that part of the world.

4. But if it were desired to find a general statement of the Evangelical Faith common to all the non-Episcopal Churches as a basis for negotiations on such a wide proposal for Union, I should have thought it might have been found in the "Free Church Catechism," drawn up by a Committee; representing different communions, rather than by taking some of our Articles and rejecting or altering others. I presume that Catechism is known on your side of the globe. It can be had from the Memorial Hall, in Farringdon street, London.

Believe me to be,
Rev. and Dear Sir,
Fraternally yours,
J. Oswald Dykes.

Extract from "Formula for Use at the Ordination or Induction of a Minister" in the Presbyterian Church of England:—

"Q. 2.—Do you sincerely own and believe, as in accordance with Holy Scripture, and will you faithfully teach, the body of Christian doctrine set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the other Subordinate Standards of this Church, and now more briefly expressed in 'The XXIV. Articles of the Faith,' approved by the Synod in 1890?"

"3.—Do you acknowledge the Appendix to the Articles of the Faith as expressing the general opinion and belief entertained in this Church on the matters to which it refers; and do you engage to regulate your action as a minister of this Church in accordance with that document?"

III.

Reply from Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D.,

St. George's Edinburgh. 7 Charlotte Square,

February 18, 1904.

My Dear Sir,—I have your letter, but I have neither the talent nor the special study that would justify me to

enter on the deep and serious matter you put before me in your letter. I am sorry I can be of no service to you in that respect. I send you as a token of goodwill a little book of mine lately published, which will show you the line of things with which I am wholly occupied.

With best wishes,
A. Whyte.

IV.

Reply from the Right Reverend Handley Moule, D.D.,

Lord Bishop of Durham. Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland, England,

April 12, 1904.

My Dear Sir,—I have before me your kind letter of February 19, in which you are good enough to ask my opinion upon a doctrinal basis proposed to be accepted with a view to co-operation, and in hope of ultimate fusion, by various denominations of Christians in New Zealand.

It is, of course, a delicate matter for me, a Bishop of the English Church, to offer comments in such a case.

But you are pleased to invite an expression of my opinion in a way which will acquit me, I trust, of any intention, however faint, to intrude.

Few can be more anxious than I am, in view of the wofully divided state of even Protestant Christendom, to remove in every lawful way every barrier to "godly union and concord," and in particular to minimize rather than accentuate differences of doctrinal expressions where this may be rightly done. Nothing more impaired the power of the great English Revival of the 18th Century than the tendency, on both sides, to inflame rather than temper the expression of opinion on the doctrines of the Grace of God.

But incontestably there is a limit to concessions of this sort, if Revelation is in any degree definite.

In the present case, as I reflect on the quotations in your "Notice of Overture," I cannot but think that those would be well advised who decide to abide by the singularly temperate and carefully weighed Articles of the Presbyterian Church of England, in which I recognise just that anxiety to avoid needless accentuation of differences which I so much welcome.

Particularly, were I personally concerned, I should decline to modify the wording of Articles V., VIII., and XII. The changes and omissions suggested seem to me for the most part to tend distinctly towards an impairment of reverent submission to the ruling of Holy Scripture on the great points in question. The English Presbyterian Article XXIII. appears to be as careful and absolutely Scriptural a statement as can well be made on this awfully solemn theme. Its omission would be a grave loss. The dread warnings of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His own words, can be spared in these days of a deepening materialism.

I humbly pray God's guidance into all truth and peace for those concerned in this grave discussion; and may He hasten the final day when we "shall know even as also we were known."

I am, Dear and Reverend Sir,
Yours in our Lord,
Handley Dunelm.

V.

Reply from Rev. W. M. M'Pheeters, D.D.,

Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern).

Columbia, South Carolina,

April 8, 1904.

The Rev. P. B. Fraser, Lovell's Flat, Otago, N.Z.

Dear Sir and Brother,—You ask me for a "criticism" of the changes which it is proposed to make in the "Articles of the Presbyterian Church of England," as these changes are set forth in an excerpt from the 'Otago Daily Times,' Saturday, December 12th, 1903." As one matter is one in which I cannot be supposed to have any partizan interest, I presume that I may, without impropriety, state how the proposed changes strike me as a Presbyterian and a lover of the Presbyterian Church in all its branches. Briefly, then, I may say:

1. In general, that both the omissions and the substitutions strike me as equally significant and unfortunate, not to say ominous. There is not one of them that does not touch some capital head of doctrine, and with a single exception of the addition to the Article on "Sonship in Christ," either annihilate the doctrine altogether or sadly mutilate it.

2. The proposed changes may be grouped under two heads, viz.: First, such as affect "the common salvation"; and second, such as affect the integrity of the Presbyterian system.

Under the first head, or those affecting the common faith of Evangelical Christendom, I would include the changes proposed to be made in the Articles "Of the Fall," "Of the Justification by Faith," "Of the Last Judgment." Further, the change proposed in the Article on "The Work of Christ" is open to criticism as not only unhappily evasive, but as furnishing a cover for the most fatal error.

The changes proposed to be made in the Article "Of Election and Regeneration" and "Of Christian Perseverance" fall too manifestly under the second head to require any comment.

It seems to me that only those prepared to break not only with the Presbyterian system, but with the common faith of Christendom, and with the clear teachings of the Word of God, can with clear understanding of what they involve vote for so radical changes as those proposed.

Hoping that God may be pleased to avert so sad a calamity from your beloved Church,

I am, yours in the Gospel,
W. M. M'Pheeters.

VI.

Reply from Rev. E. B. Hodge, D.D.,

Corresponding Secretary to the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Philadelphia,

April 27, 1904.

To the Rev. P. B. Fraser, Lovell's Flat, Otago, N.Z.

My Dear Sir,—Your letter deserved an earlier answer, but I have hesitated to write anything for publication on a matter concerning the Church in New Zealand, so far away from us and our immediate concerns. You probably have enough material from other sources without printing anything from my pen for the public. It is a great satisfaction to learn that you have no fear that the Church at large would sanction consideration of such a Creed as you have submitted for my inspection. I will simply say, with a great deal of emphasis, that it seems to me the height of folly to attempt to bring into a single organization Churches which have differing, and often contradictory, Creeds. Such efforts, however well meant, only prepare the way for fresh divisions. A split is almost certain to occur in the denomination that is brought in by a majority vote, because there will certainly be men who will stand for principle; and, after the general organization is completed, the discordant elements, not being able to live in peace, will ultimately fly apart. A Creed drawn up in such general terms that persons holding contradictory Creeds can subscribe to it is a mere rope of sand. Indeed, in my judgment it is practically a matter of dishonesty when persons are brought together professing common principles who, in fact, differ almost as widely as the poles; some signing the Creed in one sense, and some signing it in another. The thing to be sought for is mutual recognition among Evangelical Christians, loving sympathy, and cordial co-operation. The unity for which Christ prayed is something better than the false show of unity for which so many seem to be clamoring.

I am, truly and cordially yours,
Edward B. Hodge.

VII.

Reply from Rev. B. B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.,

February 19th, 1904.

My Dear Mr Fraser,—Your letter of December 21st reached me so long ago as January 18th, and I have delayed replying to it in the hope that I might find time to write you somewhat fully on the interesting points which your enclosures suggest. I am afraid, however, that I shall not soon be able to obtain the requisite leisure, and I do not feel justified in delaying longer at least acknowledging me receipt of your letter. In doing so, you will, I am sure, permit me to give expression to two feelings which the reading of your enclosures have awakened in me.

The first of these is a feeling of satisfaction with the overture you are preparing, and especially with the criticisms which, in clauses 7 to 11, you pass upon the Articles which have been proposed as a suitable basis of Union between the Presbyterian and some of its sister Churches.

The second of them is a feeling of surprise that a recension of doctrinal Articles, in which so little justice is done to fundamental items of evangelical religion, could come into serious consideration as a suitable basis for a Union, one of the parties to which is to be a Presbyterian Church, with all in the way of inheritance in doctrine and life which that implies. I find myself unable to account for this rather portentous phenomenon except on two suppositions, which are plausible enough, at all events, to justify me in adducing them.

I seem to myself bound to suppose, in the first place, that the somewhat unmeasured zeal for external, or, as

it is more fashionable to call it, "organic," Union which seems to be everywhere rampant among the Protestant Churches of English speech, has penetrated to New Zealand also. I do not know what can be the origin of this excessive desire for "organic union," unless it be one result of the propaganda which has been waged in its behalf by the Prelatic Churches, in them it has, indeed, a logical justification; their doctrine of the Church as an external body, determined by external marks, and organised under external forms, outside of which there is no Church of God, requires of them to seek to bring under this single organisation all the fragments which they would fain recognise as destined to form part of the Church of Christ. But surely those who know that God's Church consists fundamentally of His elect children, and, in its external manifestation, of the "congregatio sanctorum," should remember that its unity is more hopefully sought by a common determination among us to become and remain "saints"—with all that that implies with respect at once to faith and life—than by any crude attempt to build a great house around a divided family. The unity for which our Master prayed in His high-priestly prayer, the unity to which we are exhorted in the Apostolic Epistles, is not an artificial "unity" of external organisation, but an inward unity of thought and feeling and life. It can never be attained by surrendering our testimony to truth already perceived. Christ's entire people will never unite in destructive errors. There will always be left a remnant who have not bowed the knee to Baal; and the real core of the Church will be with this remnant and not with the multitude who are willing to content themselves with being but partially Christian in order that they may be in a greater company. The effort to secure "unity" by "compromising" is necessarily as futile therefore as it is unfaithful. A story is told of a rustic who, wishing a hive of bees, caught all that visited his flowers and shut them up in a box together, only shortly and quite thoroughly to learn the difference between a hive and an aggregation. It seems too late in the day to continue such experiments in the Church. No aggregation of discordant elements can make a unity in the Church. The attempt to do so is treason to the true idea of Christian unity.

All this is so elementary, as well as fundamental, that I seem to myself bound to suppose further that the true nature of the Articles proposed as a suitable basis for Union between the deliberating Churches is not thoroughly understood by the Presbyterians of New Zealand. Under the spell of zeal for a false "unity"—which is really only a not very thoughtful piece of sentimentalism—it is distressingly easy to deceive ourselves as to the real meaning of a series of smoothly-sounding phrases, without inquiring very closely into what, in the way of omissions especially, they commit us to. Of one thing we may meanwhile, however, be very sure. The intellectual, emotional, and spiritual life of a Church may unhappily very readily fall below its organised testimony to truth. In periods of general decline it is pretty sure to do so; because its official teachers may prove unfaithful and the sheep be left unfed. But never will the intellectual, emotional, and spiritual life of a Church permanently stand above its official testimony. This great fact is illustrated by every page of the history of the Church, and in it lies the tremendous importance of making our doctrinal formularies full and wide, clear and strong. Formally speaking, in them is hidden the standing or falling of a Church, The admirable criticisms which your overture offers upon the proposed Articles of Union will no doubt open the eyes of the Presbyterians of New Zealand to their serious defects, and I am persuaded that when their real nature is clearly apprehended, they will no longer seem possible of adoption.

The feature in the proposed Articles which strikes me most forcibly is what appears the studied attempt made in them to make a place in the united Churches for unevangelical doctrine, and therefore for unevangelical religion. What is the essence of evangelical religion? Is it not just utter dependence on the grace of God? Where the "Soli Deo Gloria" sounds with conviction in the heart, there, and there only, is a truly evangelical doctrine present, a truly evangelical religion possible. The intrusion of the least particle of human performance into the ground of salvation is the intrusion of the evil leaven, and bears with it the promise and potency of all that is unevangelical. To be and remain truly evangelical there must resound in thought and heart and life alike the good confession of Augustine: O Lord, Thou Thyself, and Thou Thyself alone, art our only power." But the most striking feature in the alterations proposed by the present recension to be made in the Articles of the Pres-byterian Church of England is the elimination they propose of everything in those Articles which shuts man up to trust in God as the sole power unto salvation.

The way for this sad result is prepared by the alteration proposed in the Article of the Fall. For this an Article entitled "of Sin" is substituted. In this new Article the whole doctrine of the Fall is omitted, and with it the entire doctrine of Original Sin, with all its implications. There is left no "race sin" as such; for it is substituted only universal sinning on the part of individuals. This, of course, involves the denial of all the subjective effects of sin; and accordingly no subjective sinfulness is allowed in this Article. Sin Here is "guilt" alone. It has estranged us from God, brought us under condemnation, and made us subject to the penalty of death—from which we cannot deliver ourselves. But it has not made us corrupt and depraved, and, because corrupt and depraved, not able to act uncorruptly or undepravedly. We are able, in a word, to do "good works." Pelagius himself, it is safe to say, would have received this Article with acclamation.

The succeeding alterations betray the same unevangelical tendency. We are no longer, it seems, to be

permitted to say that the work of Christ "fully satisfied the divine justice" (Article VIII.), or that it was "solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice" that our sins are pardoned and we are accepted as righteous in God's sight (Article XIII.). How then is the divine justice fully satisfied? What more is asked than Christ's blood and righteousness? The text is so altered, in a word, as to leave room for the intrusion of "work-salvation"—a salvation that proceeds on the ground of repentance and faith, works of our own—and not solely on the ground of Christ's substitutive work. It is in the same interests that the whole of Articles XII. and XVI. are stricken out, carrying with them not only the most precious doctrines of the whole revelation of God to the sin-smitten sinner—the Election of Grace and the preservation of God's people—but also the cardinal doctrine of regeneration by the almighty power of God. We call this the cardinal doctrine with emphasis, because on it as a hinge everything else turns: and here at its sharpest emerges the great evangelical question: Is it really by the power of God and not by my own power that I am saved? After such eliminations it seems scarcely worthwhile to observe that the open assertion of eternal punishment is also balked at (Article XXIII.) After God has been pushed into the background in the whole process of salvation, need we talk much about His eternal justice at the end of the story?

It does not seem to me possible, my dear Mr Fraser, that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand is seriously contemplating purchasing external union with' sister Churches at the cost of her testimony to that pure evangelicalism which it is her mission to proclaim. She will surely remember, when it comes to action, that it is her part not to sell the truth, but to give it.

I am, very truly yours,
Ben J. B. Warfield.
The Rev. P. B. Fraser,

Otago, New Zealand.

VIII.

Reply from Rev. C. C. Hodge, Ph.D.,

**Professor in the Theological Seminary,
Princeton, U.S.A.**

**The Proposed Changes in the English
Presbyterian Articles,**

Mr Fraser says in his pamphlet

"An Inquiry into the Origin and Sanction of Dr Gibb's Articles of Faith."

that there are three things upon which the Presbyterian people of New Zealand wish to have accurate information—(1) "Have the members of the Assembly's Union Committee unanimously adopted; Dr Gibb's new Creed?" (2) "If not unanimously, who are the persons that have assented to that Creed, and are responsible for its now being before three Churches as the Creed of the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church?" (3) "What is this new Creed? What is its attitude to the Presbyterian Creed, to the Reformation doctrines, to the catholic faith of Christendom?" It is on the third of these questions that I shall say a few words. This is the most important question of the three, although the other two are, or should be, of great importance to the Presbyterian people of New Zealand.

The Creed upon the basis of which it is proposed that the Union take place is "The Articles of the Faith Approved by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England," May, 1890. This Creed is a somewhat brief and only mildly Calvinistic symbol. What is the amended Creed? We shall consider it under two main

heads—(1) Its doctrines of sin and of grace, where grace is taken to denote the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of Redemption. These topics should be treated in connection, because they are so closely related, and because by so treating them we shall see clearly a glaring inconsistency of the proposed Creed. (2) Its doctrine of the objective side of Redemption—i.e., its statements on the Work of Christ and on Justification. We consider Justification under this second head, for, although it is one step in the application of Redemption, and never to be confounded with the Atonement, it nevertheless is an objective step in the Ordo Salutis, and may most conveniently be considered here.

(1) The doctrines of Sin and of Grace in the subjective sense. In Sec. 5 of the English Articles the effects of Adam's sin upon himself, his representative relation to mankind, the fall of the race in Adam, so that they are born guilty, depraved, and unable, are all confessed, although the statement as to the original state of Adam is described as merely one of "innocence and communion with God." Now, in the proposed Creed this section is struck out, and another is substituted for it. This new section 5 confesses that all men have disobeyed God, and so are under condemnation, from which state they cannot deliver themselves. Thus this Article cuts out any race fall in Adam, any guilt or inherent depravity derived in any way whatsoever from our first parent. It thus not only strikes out the doctrine of imputed guilt, but also that of inherent corruption. And consequently it cannot affirm any inability of the sinner, since the condition out of which it is said that "no man is able to deliver himself" is stated to be simply one of condemnation for actual sins. Consequently this section, by implication, affirms that sin is simply an act of choice, contrary to God's will. Now this, it will be observed, is Pelagianism, and contrary to the "catholic faith of Christendom." If there are no subjective effects of sin, there can be no need of supernatural grace, and so it is not strange that Augustine felt that in warring against Pelagianism he was fighting, not some heretical form of the Gospel, but a denial of the Gospel itself. It is a matter of astonishment to us that the Evangelical Arminians should think of consenting to this section on sin. It would cause us utter amazement should the Presbyterians subscribe to a doctrine of sin which cannot be termed Evangelical.

Having excised the doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin, the proposed Creed is quite consistent in striking out altogether No. 12 of the English Articles on Election and Regeneration. If men are not dead in sin, obviously they do not need to be made alive by the almighty power of God the Holy Spirit. If men are not only free, but have plenary ability to turn to God, obviously the sovereignty of God in Election is not only unnecessary, but is necessarily denied by implication. Consequently it is only in obedience to the demands of logic that the proposed Creed thus proceeds to eliminate the very heart and core of the Reformed Faith, and—let us be perfectly frank—the very heart and core of the Gospel of God's grace as it is made known to us in the Scripture. It is not only Paul who represents the Christian as the product of God's almighty power, as a new creation, and who likens the power of God which remakes the Christian a new man to that almighty power which God exercised when He raised Christ from the dead; it is our Lord Himself who tells us that we must be born over again (or perhaps "from above," i.e., in a supernatural manner), or we cannot see the Kingdom of God. The very fact that the logical consequences of the doctrine of sin must lead to the elimination of the very heart of the gospel of Divine Grace is in itself a condemnation of the said doctrine of sin.

But the proposed Creed is not so consistent after all. Its doctrine of sin leaves no place for any doctrine of internal grace at all, and yet this Creed does seem to have retained a doctrine of internal grace. It does seem to hold fast to some operation of the Holy Spirit on men's hearts; for it allows to remain unaltered No. 11 of the English Articles, which is on the Holy Spirit, in which section it is said that the Holy Spirit moves on the hearts of men, enlightens their minds, and persuades and enables them to obey the call of the Gospel. Also in No. 13, on Justification by Faith, the statement remains that "everyone who through the grace of the Holy Spirit repents and believes the Gospel ... is freely pardoned, etc." Now, if the doctrine of Sin in the proposed Creed is allowed to remain, the logic of the situation would demand that these phrases implying any internal grace should be struck out. Perhaps they were overlooked by the Committee, or perhaps they were driven by their knowledge of Scripture and by their Christian experience not to abandon the whole of the Gospel at the demands of logic.

But let us not suppose that the doctrine of grace in this proposed Creed, when considered by itself, is one which the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand should be willing to adopt. In the English Articles the above expressions on the operation of the Holy Spirit on men's hearts in sections 11 and 13 were perhaps somewhat ambiguous, but in the light of No. 12, on Election and Regeneration, and of No. 16, on Perseverance, they could be interpreted as denoting efficacious and irresistible grace. But since the section on Election and Regeneration, and that on Perseverance, have been struck out from the new Creed in order to allow the Methodist Church to come in under this Creed, it is obvious that in it these expressions in sections 11 and 13 are to be interpreted in a universalistic sense. It will thus be seen to be simply the Arminian doctrine of "sufficient grace" and of the "ordo salutis," except that while Regeneration gave the Arminian theologians trouble, not only in its place as to the "ordo salutis," but also as to its nature, this Creed very logically cuts it out altogether. Its doctrine of the "ordo salutis," then, is that an influence of the Holy Spirit is given to all men

(who, according to the doctrine of sin, we should remember, do not need it). Those who co-operate with this grace, and repent and believe, are justified, adopted as sons, and sanctified. It is obvious, then, that one of two things will follow from this—either this grace must be affirmed actually to save all men, in which case the doctrine will become a doctrine of efficacious grace, but will contradict fact by becoming universalistic, or else it is man who determines ultimately whether he shall be saved or not, and man may resist the purpose of God. It is plain that this latter is what this Creed means to affirm, since it strikes out the doctrines of Election, Regeneration, and Perseverance. But this is unevangelical just in so far as it places the work of salvation in man's hands. And this it does. It makes man able to co-operate with or to resist God's grace; it can become completely evangelical only by becoming thoroughly universalistic. And not only so, but in taking out of God's hands such important events as the entrance of souls into His Kingdom, and in its implication either that God has no purpose with reference to individuals, or else that man can thwart God's purpose, this system of belief comes very near to being inconsistent with Theism.

If this be the doctrine of Grace which this Creed teaches, it is again quite consistent in its omission of the section in the English Articles on Perseverance. For upon the above interpretation of its doctrine as to the nature of Grace, which is the only one possible to put upon the statements of this Creed, it is quite plain that any doctrine of Perseverance is impossible, and Christians cannot be said to be those 'who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.' For the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand to adopt this Creed, as embodying its belief as to the nature of Redemption in its subjective side, would be for it to give up that which gives that Church a *raison d'être* as a separate Church. But this will not appeal to those who desire to cease—at least in New Zealand—to exist as a separate Church. We would say, however, that this is too dear a price to pay for union. It would be to sacrifice to an external union the core of the Gospel and the precious heritage of the Presbyterian Church—i.e., the Reformed Faith. We would be surprised if the Methodists should be willing to adopt the proposed doctrine of Sin. We would be surprised should the Presbyterians be willing to adopt the proposed doctrine of Grace. We would be astonished should anyone think of adopting both doctrines in conjunction, for surely it is a strange mixture, this Pelagian doctrine of Sin and Arminian doctrine of Grace.

In the second place, turning to the objective side of Redemption, what is the doctrine of this proposed Creed upon the subject of the work of Christ? The English Articles confess Christ as Mediator, and after mentioning His prophetic and kingly offices, state that by His perfect obedience and death on the Cross He "did fully satisfy Divine Justice," thus confessing what is known as the Satisfaction doctrine of the Atonement, confessed by the Latin, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches. The proposed Creed, for the sake of making a statement sufficiently broad to admit of the three Churches uniting in its adoption, have omitted to state this cardinal doctrine of the Gospel, and have substituted for the words "did fully satisfy Divine Justice" the words "did fully satisfy the demands of the Divine Nature." But in so doing, this Creed has become so broad as to make room for almost any theory of the Atonement. What does the Divine Nature demand in order that sin may be pardoned? Perhaps God only demands that men should be made morally better, or better instructed, or turned back to Him. If so, there is room for all the various Moral Influence theories of the Atonement. Perhaps God only demands that humanity as a lump be leavened by having infused into it a new life. Then Christ would save us by His Incarnation, rather than by His life and death, and all those who hold to mystical theories of the Atonement could come under this Creed. Perhaps God's Nature only demands that in forgiving sin His hatred of it may be shown, and men deterred from sinning, so that His moral government may not be jeopardised. Here, then, the advocates of the governmental theory can find shelter. Or does God's nature perhaps demand that we shall approach Him only with a sacrifice, not of itself sufficient, but which He has determined to accept to render Him gracious. There is room, therefore, for the Remonstrants under this symbol. Perhaps God's Nature only demands repentance, and Christ offers for us a repentance which we cannot offer. But, not to multiply words, it may be said that this statement of this proposed Creed on the Atonement is so wide as to make room for almost anybody. In adopting it, therefore, the Presbyterian Church, while it need not abandon the precious truth that Christ has borne the penalty of our sin, and has satisfied Divine Justice, must nevertheless abandon its duty and privilege of witnessing to this truth before the world. For the sake of a union which, on such a basis, is no true union, the Presbyterian Church is asked to silence its testimony to the world concerning Him who was made to be sin on our behalf in order that we might become the righteousness of God in Him, is asked to forbear to speak of Jesus as one "whom God has set forth to be a propitiation by faith, through His blood, to declare His righteousness ... in order that He might be just and the justifier of him that is of the faith of Jesus." We cannot think that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand will show such an unfortunate want of appreciation of one of its most vital and most precious truths. We cannot even think that the Methodist Church of New Zealand, even if many of its ministers may hold the Remonstrant doctrine of the Atonement, would be willing to adopt a statement on the subject which will admit all those who do not believe that there is any obstacle at all on God's part to the forgiveness of sin.

The Article on Justification, as changed, shows the same unhappy breaking down of the Presbyterian

Church's confession to truth for the sake of a union of the Churches of New Zealand. In the English Articles the Protestant doctrine of Justification is stated. We are said to be accepted as righteous in the sight of God "solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice." In the new Creed these last words are omitted, with the evident intention of making room for the Arminian doctrine that faith and evangelical obedience enter into the ground of our justification. What, then, would the adoption of this section as revised mean for the Presbyterian Church? It would mean that while the statement is so broad as not to exclude their doctrine, yet that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand must omit to testify in its Creed to a cardinal doctrine of the Protestant Reformation. It would mean that it must adopt a Creed which is broad enough to admit those who cannot logically utter the words of that hymn which should express the religious sentiment of every Christian: "Jesus paid it all, all to Him I owe." It would mean that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand will be in symbolical union with those who, it logical, must hold inadequate and unscriptural views of the nature of Divine Justice and the immutability of God's law. Surely no branch of the Presbyterian Church can afford to do this.

Finally, the utter license of the desire for union is manifest when in No. 23, on the Last Judgment, the doctrine of eternal punishment is struck out, and thus not only the doctrine of the whole Christian Church excinded, but the authority of Jesus as a teacher of truth impugned, since the words struck out are the very words of our Lord Himself. Surely, when the words of Jesus are not to be admitted into the Creed of a Christian Church, for fear someone cannot subscribe to it, it is time to call a halt.

We have already dwelt too long upon this Creed. To put it briefly, it is an attempt to find the basis of a union of different Churches on a basis of common evangelical truth, but it has not succeeded in keeping itself evangelical. In Mr Fraser's pamphlet we saw that the question we were asked to answer was "What is this new Creed? What is the attitude to the Presbyterian Creed, to the Reformation doctrines, to the Catholic faith of Christendom?" In reply, we must say that it abandons some doctrines of the Catholic faith of Christendom—i.e., that the race fell in Adam, the Satisfaction doctrine of the Atonement, and eternal punishment. It abandons also some of the Reformation doctrines—i.e., Lutheran and Reformed doctrines—i.e., the doctrines of total inability and justification on the ground of Christ's work alone. Finally, it abandons doctrines of the Reformed Faith, and so of the Presbyterian Church—i.e., election, efficacious and irresistible Grace, and Perseverance. And all of these are Scripture doctrines. The doctrinal indifferentism of the present day is most discouraging, for these doctrines are just the precious realities of God's salvation of sinners and of this sin-cursed world. A union of Churches at the cost of saving truth is no true union, and it is our earnest wish and prayer that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand will not sell its birthright for a mess of pottage.

C. W. Hodge.
Princeton Theological Seminary,

Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.,

March 30th, 1904.

IX.

Reply from Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, M.A., D.D.,

**Author of "Pulpit Commentary on Genesis,"
"Preacher's Commentary on Acts," "Exegetical
Commentary on St. John's Gospel," "Old
Testament Critics: An Inquiry into the
Character, Effect, and Validity of Their**

Teaching: A Question for the Christian People of To-day," etc.

Kilmarnock, Scotland,

13 April, 1904.

Dear Mr Fraser,—In complying with your request that I should offer a criticism of the Articles of Faith proposed, or about to be proposed, for a basis of Union between the Evangelical Churches of New Zealand I shall endeavour to state, as far as possible without theological bias, whether and how; far (in my judgment) the Articles in question are an adequate presentation of the teachings of Scripture on the several subjects of which they treat, whether and how far (again in my judgment) they are in harmony with the interpretation put upon Scripture by the Westminster standards, and whether and how far (once more in my judgment) they are fitted to serve as a basis of Union for the Evangelical Churches of New Zealand, or indeed of any land.

I deal of course only with those Articles mentioned in your overture, and I assume that your citation of them is correct. I assume also that the other Articles in the New Zealand Creed correspond substantially with the English Presbyterian Church Articles which I have before me.

The New Zealand Articles and Scripture.

Do the proposed Articles furnish an adequate representation of the teaching of Scripture?

I.

1—Of Sin.

Under this head Scripture unquestionably teaches—"that all men, through disobedience to the will of God, in whatsoever way made known"—by the work of the law written on the heart (the heathen), by the Word of the Law, or Decalogue, inscribed on the Two Tables (the Hebrews), or by the Spirit of the Law recorded in the Gospel (Christians)—"are in a state of sin, and so are estranged from God, have come under just condemnation, are subject to the penalty of death and are unable to deliver themselves out of this condition." But Scripture likewise teaches that sin entered into the world by the fall of the first man, through temptation by the devil, that through falling into sin the first man's nature became prone to evil instead of good, that this proneness to evil, or moral degeneration, transmitted itself to his natural descendants, who all have been ushered into existence with an inborn tendency to sin, which in every individual has manifested itself in actual transgression. Scripture also teaches that as members of a fallen race, men are by nature objects of the divine displeasure, under condemnation, and children of wrath, and that the death to which they are subject in consequence of sin and from which they cannot deliver themselves is more than the dissolution of the body, is the perishing of the soul, by which is signified its coming short of everlasting life and its suffering all that is expressed by the phrase "the wrath to come." Whether this teaching is true or not, every fair mind must admit that it is the teaching of Scripture.

2.—Of the Work of Christ.

Assuming that a previous Article accurately and adequately sets forth the Scripture doctrine of the person of Christ, this Article on the work of Christ, as modified from the E.P. Articles, does not appear to offer either an erroneous or an insufficient exhibition of Scripture teachings on this important subject, provided the words "the demands of the Divine Nature" are understood to mean "the demands of all the attributes of the Divine Nature—e.g., those of justice as well as of mercy"; but if the words are designed to signify anything less or other, and, much more, if they have been framed with the view of opening the door to such interpretations of Scriptures as either deny or place in abeyance or leave out of consideration the substitutional, vicarious, and propitiatory character of Christ's sufferings and death, men, in my judgment, this Article does not furnish either an accurate or an adequate representation of Scripture. Even the last clause in the Article—"bearing our sins,"

etc.—is not sufficient to save its scriptural character, unless "bearing our sins" means "bearing their penalty," and "offered up Himself a sacrifice" signifies "gave Himself to be made a sin offering, or expiatory sacrifice"—both of which points are left somewhat obscure.

3.—Of Justification by Faith.

Here also the proposed alteration of the E.P. Article is unfavourable, as it leaves the remaining clauses which make up the New Zealand Article in a state which cannot be described as other than defective from a scriptural point of view. Without the words "solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice" the New Zealand Article teaches nothing whatever about the objective ground or meritorious cause of a sinner's justification, but merely states "that everyone who through the quickening grace or the Holy Spirit repents and believes the Gospel, confessing and forsaking his sins, and humbly relying upon Christ alone for salvation, is freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in sight of God." Of course, if the omitted words are held to be included in those which remain—i.e., if "the Gospel signifies that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that He was made sin for us, though He knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him, that He was set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood," etc., and if "relying upon Christ alone for salvation" signifies relying not upon Christ's love, or Christ's promise merely, but upon Christ's finished work of propitiation, which is perhaps hinted at in the closing words of Article VIII., "through His obedience on our behalf," etc., then the truncated Article might fairly enough be accepted as an adequate presentation of Scripture truth; but if "the Gospel" means less or some thing else than this, and if "relying on Christ alone for salvation" imports anything different from relying "solely on the perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice of Christ," then the shortened Article does not give an adequate representation of the truth, because these, as it seems to me, are the senses in which the words are understood in Scripture.

4.—Of Union with Christ.

No serious objection can be taken to this Article, as what it asserts is undoubtedly correct; but as an exposition either of union with Christ or of its consequence, sonship in Christ it is neither specially luminous nor remarkably full.

5.—Of Election and Regeneration.

6.—Of Christian Perseverance.

The omission of Articles on these subjects, by whatever motive dictated, leaves important departments of Scripture teaching undefined. No Creed which lacks a deliverance upon these points can claim to be an adequate presentation of Scripture doctrine.

7.—Of the Last Judgment.

To drop the words "when the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into life eternal" is to discard what is perhaps the strongest and clearest pronouncement of Scripture on the destinies of men hereafter—a pronouncement, too, by Christ Himself, whom the Article declares to be the Supreme Judge at the last day, "before whom all men must appear, who shall separate the righteous from the wicked, make manifest the secrets of the heart, and render to every man according to the deeds he hath done in the body, whether good or evil." Some strong reason must have existed to move the compilers of the New Zealand Article to shut the mouth of Christ on this momentous theme.

8.—Of the Lord's Day.

It is not to be supposed that this Article is regarded by the Assembly's Committee as stating all that could fairly be deducted from Scripture concerning the Lord's Day or Christian Sabbath.

It cannot fail to strike the reader of the preceding lines how frequently the qualifying "if" has required to be introduced before a favourable verdict could be returned as to the adequacy of the particular Article to represent the doctrine of Scripture. In a theological Creed, to say the least, this is unfortunate, as it opens the door to "private interpretations," which may be as various as the persons who make them. However short and simple the Creed of a Church may be, it should be characterised by absolutely clear definition, so as to preclude the possibility of misinterpretation and secure unity of the faith among those for whom it is prepared.

II.

The New Zealand Articles and the Westminster Confession.

How far are the proposed Articles in harmony with this venerable symbol of reformed doctrine?

It is no part of my business under this section to enter on the question whether, or if at all, how far a modification should or must be made on the Westminster standards, if the various Christian demoninations are to be fused into one "zealous and powerful National Church of New Zealand," but merely—assuming the proposed Articles to set forth the doctrinal basis required to secure the said Church—to indicate the extent of modification on the Westminster standards which these Articles propose—leaving those more immediately concerned to decide whether the modification is such as they can conscientiously accept, or whether it is not too high a price to pay for even Union.

I.—Of Sin.

No one can read the six paragraphs of Chapter VI. of the Westminster Confession on the Fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof, and compare these with the proposed Article on Sin in the New Zealand Creed, without perceiving how masterly, comprehensive, well-knit together, solemn, and strong are the former, and how feeble, mild contracted, and ambiguous is the latter. The Westminster Confession explains what the New Zealand Article omits—viz., how sin entered into the world, viz., through the temptation by Satan and fall of our first parents. Indeed, the New Zealand Article leaves it open for anyone to deny this. The Westminster Confession declares that as a consequence of this sin our first parents lost their original righteousness and became utterly corrupt and defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. The New Zealand Article passes over this except in so far as it may be supposed to be included in what is affirmed about all men. The Westminster Confession asserts that the moral corruption of our first parents transmitted itself to all their ordinary descendants; the New Zealand Article appears to ignore this and to suggest that each individual sinks into a state of sin only through his own act of disobedience to the will of God. The Westminster Confession holds that this inherited evil nature, with which every man comes into the world, in other words, original sin, is the root of all actual transgressions; the New Zealand Article, I should say, while postulating nothing about this, permits original sin to be denied, and the doctrine to be embraced that men are born innocent, and do not become sinful till they actually sin. The Westminster Confession teaches that original, as well as actual sin, exposes men to condemnation; the New Zealand Article holds, or seems to hold, that only after each individual has sinned does he fall under just condemnation.

Whether the theology of the Westminster Confession on this subject be Scripture or not, the least observant reader can perceive that the New Zealand Article constitutes a wide departure from it.

2.—Of the Work of Christ.

It might reasonably enough be argued that the account furnished in Chapter VIII., s.s. 3-8. of the Westminster Confession of the redemption work of Christ the Mediator is unnecessarily detailed and elaborate; but its singular clearness and impressiveness no one can challenge. Set alongside of it the New Zealand Article looks extremely meagre, and even limp. Beyond stating that the Lord Jesus Christ as Mediator was anointed with the Holy Spirit (whether in measure or without measure, whether as the Hebrew Prophets were, or in an exceptional manner, peculiar to Himself is left undeclared), the New Zealand Article supplies no indication of the qualification Christ possessed for this office through having in Himself all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, of His appointment to the office through the call of His Father, of the way in which He discharged the office, or of the manner in which He applied the benefits of His redemption work before His incarnation in the O.T. Church, and applies them since His resurrection in the New—all of which points are handled in the Westminster Confession. The Westminster Confession, of course, may be wrong, or at least open to correction, in all or some of these points, but it may prove instructive to note how widely different a document it is in respect of this theme from the New Zealand Creed.

3—Of Justification by Faith.

Concerning this important Article as it stands in the Westminster Confession and in the New Zealand Creed nothing more need be said than that while the former carefully excludes everything that might be supposed to constitute a ground of pardon and acceptance before God for the sinner, emphasising Christ's "obedience and satisfaction" as the only ground, and explaining how this, the righteousness of Christ, is imputed or reckoned to the sinner who receives Christ and rests on Him and His righteousness by faith, the latter contents itself by simply asserting that "everyone who through the quickening grace of the Holy Spirit repents and believes the Gospel, confessing and forsaking his sins, and humbly relying upon Christ alone for salvation, is freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in the sight of God," omitting the words which appear in the E.P. Articles, and are substantially expressed in the Westminster Confession: "Solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice"—which omission certainly weakens the Article, if it does not expose the Article to suspicion. If the omitted words are understood not to be contained in those which are retained, then the Article is a whole diameter apart from the theology of the Westminster Confession; if they are supposed to be contained in these, why should they have been dropped—more especially as their inclusion would have placed the Article beyond the reach of misunderstanding?

4.—Of Union with Christ.

5.—Of Election and Regeneration.

6.—Of Christian Perseverance.

With regard to these no further remark is required than what has been made in the preceding section.

7.—Of the Last Judgment.

While the Westminster Confession not only states the fact that there shall be such a day, but explains "the end of God's appointing this day" to be "the manifestation of the glory of His mercy and justice," and the use which should be made of such a doctrine by all men, and especially by the godly, the New Zealand Article confines its statement to the fact—in particular striking out the words of Christ, which appear both in the Westminster Confession and in the E.P. Articles—"then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment but the righteous into life eternal." That the divergence of the two Creeds at this point, if not inexpedient in view of a union (on which no judgment is pronounced meanwhile) is by no means immaterial, the least learned student of Scripture can discern.

8.—Of the Lord's Day.

A simple perusal of what the Westminster Confession states in Chapter XXL, 7, 8, will suffice to show that the New Zealand Article could hardly have said less about the Christian Sabbath.

III.

The New Zealand Articles and a United New Zealand Church.

Are the proposed Articles fitted to serve as a basis for the contemplated Union of the Churches in New Zealand?

The reply to this question will depend entirely upon what kind of a Union is contemplated. If it is desired to include in one fold the Pauline and Judaistic Christian, the Augustinian and the Pelagian, the Calvinistic and the Arminian, the Unitarian and the Ritschlian, the Higher Critical and the Traditional, the Rationalist and the Evangelical, the Evolutionist and the Creationist, then I fancy the proposed doctrinal symbol will do fairly well, because it appears to me that all these could honestly enough shelter themselves under such a collection of

theological propositions.

1. Under that relating to sin might comfortably repose the professing Christian who believes that man was originally evolved from the lower animals, that the story of the fall was a myth; that Adam stood in no representative relation to his descendants; that original sin is only a figment of the theological imagination; and that men are not born in a state of sin and condemnation, but innocent and well pleasing to God; equally, the person who holds that God's will has never been made known to man in any other way than by the light of nature, and certainly in no exceptional manner by the sacred Scriptures, might subscribe this article, inasmuch as the person accepting it is under no obligation more than to confess that somehow or other God has made known his will to man. It is not certain whether, under sanction of this article, one might not maintain that only death physical was the penalty of sin, and not death spiritual and eternal, or vice versa, that death physical was no part of sin's penalty, but only death spiritual was. Perhaps all this is intended by those responsible for the Article; if so, then I have no hesitation in asserting that it will exactly suit their aim.

2. Under the article about the work of Christ, as altered by substituting for "divine justice" the words "the demands of the divine nature," it requires no large penetration to see that any view of Christ's mediatorial work will be admissible; that of Paul, Augustine, Calvin, Knox, the Scottish Reformers, and the Westminster divines, that Christ acted as the substitute and surety of sinful men, and by His obedience unto death upon the Cross, rendered complete and final satisfaction to the Law's claims against them, for pure, perfect, and perpetual obedience to the Divine Law, and for the penalty of death, which they had incurred by their inherited and personal guilt; that of the theologian who repudiates the legal or judicial aspect of Christ's death, and considers that Christ has satisfied the demands of the divine nature, by His spotless obedience to the divine will, by His representing before God what man should have been, or, in other words, by His example of perfect holiness; that of him who understands Christ's bearing our sins to signify His enduring their penalty and His bearing them away by being made a sin offering on their account, so that by the shedding of His blood the penalty attaching to them was, in the eye of the Divine Law, satisfactorily met, and full atonement made for their guilt; and that of those who interpret Christ's bearing our sins as meaning nothing more than that He bore the weight of them as of men's sicknesses and sorrows upon His heart; that He died through coming into collision with men's sins, and that in order to satisfy the demands of the divine nature He maintained His obedience to the divine will, even though involved the sacrifice of His life upon a Cross.

Again, I repeat, if the purpose of the article is to include these different views, that purpose has been pretty fairly met.

3. Under the Article concerning Justification by Faith, which has been truncated by omitting the words "solely on account of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice," it is no less obvious that theologians of various schools may lovingly embrace each other—he who considers that a man is justified by his good works, by and on account of his repentance and faith, his confession and forsaking of sin, or in other words, by and on account of his evangelical self-righteousness; and he who disclaims each and all of these together as a ground of acceptance before God, and finds this alone in the perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice, or, in other words, in the righteousness of Jesus Christ. There is little room for doubting that under this Article ministers and elders might find shelter who, while not altogether discarding Christ's death as an example of self-sacrificing love, yet assign to it no value whatever as an atonement or expiation.

4. Through the absence of any Articles on election, Re-generation, and Perseverance, it will, of course, be possible for the same Church to embrace Calvinists and Arminians, those who believe that salvation is all of grace, and those who consider that it is partly of divine grace and partly or human effort, co-operating with one another, but acting independently; those who hold that a soul which has been truly regenerated, though it may fall away for a time, cannot fall away finally, but through grace will be recovered and renewed to repentance; and those who assert that a man may be a Christian to-day and not a Christian to-morrow, a renewed man one moment and an unrenewed man the next, in Christ and therefore safe, a forgiven man and an heir of Eternal Life now and after was out of Christ, and therefore under condemnation and in danger of Eternal Death. Without question, if the contemplated union designs to embrace these varieties of doctrine, it will demand a creed wide enough, loose enough, and flexible enough to admit of the disciples of these contradictory views living harmoniously together; but an important question at this point naturally presents itself, whether such a union would not be happier without a creed at all, since with such diversity of sentiment under almost every Article it is doubtful if any sort of theological opinion could in the long run be excluded.

5. What is written about the Last Judgment is so true that one may easily be regarded as hypercritical should he attempt to find fault with it; and yet, by excluding the words of Christ—"When the wicked shall go away," etc.—anyone can see that a door is opened for all ideas current in religious circles with regard to the destinies of men—for those of Roman Catholics, who believe in purgatorial fires; for those of Conditional Immortality men, who believe in the annihilation of the wicked; for those of Second Probation theorists who believe that the unconverted dead will receive another chance of salvation beyond the grave; and for those of

Universalists, who believe that all will ultimately be saved. How a Church will get along whose pulpits may be filled by men of such varied theological hues is not easy to see, and how hearers in the pews are to be kept from becoming bewildered when they listen, say, on five successive Sabbaths to discourses on the Future Life from an Orthodox Preacher on Eternal Punishment, from a Roman Catholic Father on Purgatory, from a Conditional Immortality Divine on the Annihilation of the Wicked, from a Second Probationist on a Second Chance hereafter, and from a Universalist on the Restoration of All to happiness beyond the Grave, it will puzzle the wit of man to say. If the experiment is to be tried in New Zealand without doubt it will be watched from this side of the world with interest, but I fear not with much hope of its turning out a success.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Whitelaw.

The Westminster Assembly and the Creed of Presbyterians.

"A Cloud of Witnesses."

"Milton, though not a member of the Assembly pronounced it a 'select assembly,' 'of so much piety and wisdom,' a 'learned and memorable synod,' in which 'piety, learning, and prudence were housed.'

"The famous saint and scholar, Richard Baxter, author of 'The Saints' Everlasting Rest,' had every reason to be impartial. He wrote: 'The divines there congregated were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak the truth, which I know, even in the face of malice and envy, that as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines.'

"Philip Schaff, the great Church historian, pronounces the above a 'just tribute' to the Westminster Assembly, and says: Whether we look at the extent or ability of its labours, or its influence upon future generations, it stands first among Protestant Councils.'

"The celebrated Dean Stanley, of the English Episcopal Church, declares that of all Protestant Confessions the West-minster Confession 'exhibits far more depth of theological insight than any other.'

"The late Dr Curry, the eminent editor of the Methodist Advocate' of New York, in an editorial on Creeds, calls 'the Westminster Confession the ablest, clearest, and most comprehensive system of Christian doctrine ever framed—a wonderful monument of the intellectual greatness of its framers.'"—"The Creed of Presbyterians.'

Part IV.

Summary and Conclusion.

These criticisms now before the Church will furnish food for reflection, and no doubt will be duly pondered before the approaching Assembly.

It has been repeatedly affirmed by Dr Gibb and others that the Articles have been "withdrawn." But who has withdrawn them, and in what sense and how far have they been withdrawn? Withdrawn they have been, it is true, from official cognisance of the Assembly and of the subordinate Courts of the Church, which have been appealed to, to give a mandate to Dr Gibb's Committee to go on to form a basis of doctrine and polity; as if, in point of fact, Dr Gibb, and ostensibly his Committee, had not already done so! Let me quote the words, not of the "withdrawn" report too previously circulated by Dr Gibb at last Assembly, but the words of the report actually submitted by Dr Gibb "to the Assembly and adopted by it. Here are the words:—

"In compliance with this instruction your Committee, in co-operation with the Committees of other Churches, have held several meetings, at which the question of a suitable creed has been under consideration, and a number of Articles of the Faith have been framed. But, being persuaded that if any real advance is to be

made in this matter, the advance must be slow, and the mind of the whole Church ascertained at each step, your Committee deems it inexpedient to submit these articles to the Assembly. They ask the Assembly to remit to Presbyteries and Sessions the question if they are agreeable to the Assembly negotiating with the Methodist and Congregational Churches with a view to Union, upon a basis of doctrine and polity to be considered, and in due time to be sent down to Presbyteries and Sessions."

It is clear as noon-day that the Articles have not in any real sense been withdrawn. Dr Gibb has affirmed, on the contrary, that they have been adopted by his and other Committees, and above, he says, that, so far as his own Committee is concerned, they are meanwhile held "in retentis." Let anyone read his letter reprinted in the appendix of this pamphlet entitled "Presbyterian and Methodist Unanimity," and it will be futile to affirm that these Articles have been withdrawn. According to Dr Gibb's report adopted by the Assembly, it is "inexpedient" to submit the Articles at this stage. That is all. When Dr Gibb thinks it expedient to submit them, or any other Articles like them, he will do so, when the Church is sufficiently "educated" to receive them.

Perhaps I ought to refer at this stage to the remarks made by Professor Watt, D.D., in reference to the position of these Articles in his speech to the Dunedin Presbytery in favour of proceeding with the Union negotiations. I think it due to him that I should quote his words in full:—

I humbly submit that undue importance has been attached to the Articles of Belief which a small sub-committee of the General Assembly drew up with a view to their submission to the sister Churches for general approval. That these Articles were meant to be the doctrinal basis on which the negotiating Churches were to unite is a preposterous delusion. These Articles were simply meant for feelers, something thrown out, at first generally, by way of experiment to discover whether there was sufficient sympathy and harmony of belief between the Churches to warrant our travelling further in the direction of an incorporating Union. All that the Committee, after putting itself in communication with the other Churches, expected to be able to report was that, the way was clear for proceeding further, and that the situation was one of hopefulness. If the Committee reported favourably, then the Assembly would at once for itself proceed to formulate Articles of belief such as it would be prepared to accept, taking perhaps the Articles of the Committee, and cutting and carving them, accepting, rejecting, or amending them in its wisdom and at its discretion. Then was the time for our worthy friend Mr P B. Fraser to strike in and give us the benefit of his counsel; and I may state that, personally, I would heartily welcome any suggestion from whatever quarter, even though it contradicted my own previously-formed and expressed opinion, that would bring our basis of Union here into harmony with the mind of God revealed in His Word. And I think I may venture to say the same of my fellow committeemen.

In reply to Dr Watt, honoured by the Church as Professor and as Moderator of last Assembly, I humbly submit that his explanation only makes matters worse. In the first place, the Professor was silent till so late as May 4, six months after the Articles had been before the Church. It was somewhat late in the day to declare that it was a "preposterous delusion" to affirm "that these articles were meant to be a doctrinal basis on which the negotiating Churches were to unite." That the Articles are "preposterous" I would readily admit; but that there is no "delusion" as to what was Dr Gibb's intention or about his declarations is clear as noon-day. Dr Gibb and Dr Watt stand in irreconcilable opposition on this vital point. Let anyone read Dr Gibb's report circulated at the Assembly and his letter already referred to, both attached hereto, and the "preposterous delusion" will be seen to be Dr Watt's own. Then, the Professor says, the Articles were "simply meant for feelers"; that is the astounding thing to me and many more, that such "feelers" should, in the first instance, have been "thrown out," not by members of other Churches, but by the Convener of the Presbyterian Committee and the two Theological Professors of a Presbyterian Church. That they proved to be more than "feelers" became abundantly manifest, from Dr Gibb's heralding them through the colony, before they had ever come before his Assembly, as a "doctrinal basis" on which the three Committees had already agreed to unite. Let it be remembered that Dr Gibb spoke as follows on his way to the Assembly of these very Articles: "He was of opinion that the Wesleyan proposals would be approved by the General Assembly of Presbyterians" ('Daily Times,' Nov. 7, 1903). (Here the "feelers thrown out" are already "Wesleyan" proposals!). Let the report of the Convener of the Con-gregational Committee already referred to (at page 4) be borne in mind. Further, let the fact that the Articles in question, from the time they emerged from Dr Gibb's sub-committee (of himself and the two Professors) up to the present hour, have never undergone any appreciable doctrinal change, and then the accuracy with which the "feelers were thrown out" will appear as wonderful as it is significant. And I will add, that if these things are duly weighed, I shall be forgiven the persistence with which I have held to the task of expounding the significance of the Articles in question, and of insisting that the Church at large shall duly weigh what is meant by giving carte blanche to Dr Gibb's Committee anew to "begin" negotiations for an incorporating Union, and to proceed to formulate a new doctrinal basis for the Presbyterian. Church of New Zealand.

In view of what lies before the Church in the near future, and of any proposals, under cover of "Union," for Creed revision or construction within the Presbyterian Church, the foregoing criticisms and facts ought to be

duly weighed. And it may not be useless if I emphasise as briefly as possible some closing points.

1. First and foremost, as I have pointed out in my Presbytery speech, before representatives from various Churches can sit down together to frame a common Creed, they must state clearly their personal relation to Holy Scripture. It will be found that four-fifths of the attacks levelled against the Westminster Confession within Presbyterian Churches are due to its loyalty to Scripture as the Word of God. And it is because men have altered their standpoint of regarding the Scriptures themselves that the Confession is assailed. Would it not be more straightforward if the critics of the Confession should make this clear? Would it not be a work of immense service, as being foundation work, if the critics of the Confession, and the Higher Critics of the Bible, should come together and say precisely what portions of the Holy Scriptures they regard as the Word of God, and as true, trustworthy, and of divine authority? Some portions of Scripture are, we are assured, myth and legend; our Lord mistook the true nature of the Old Testament Scriptures which "testified of Him." What "is certainly not history" He regarded as "history." Regarding the Old Testament Scriptures, "He attached Himself to the notions of His contemporaries"! And His contemporaries, as we know from our contemporaries, were all wrong in their notions. In short, it is a commonplace of the times that great portions of Scripture are certainly only man's word about God, and that only an undetermined, diminishing, and ever-varying portion is God's Word about man; reverie and Revelation are inextricably mixed. Until critics are agreed on what is reverie and what is Revelation, how is it possible for a Creed, founded on Scripture, to be constructed so as honestly to be confessed by all parties? "The Westminster divines took the following vow, which was read afresh every Monday morning that its solemn influence might be constantly felt: 'I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God.' One of the cardinal regulations of the Assembly was in these words: "What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of Scripture." By Scripture, they meant the whole of the Old and New Testaments. These, they called, "the Word of God." Is it not fair to ask the assailants of our Confession what portions of these Scriptures do they regard as the Revelation and Word of God? Who are agreed and how many are agreed among them on the same portions? These are previous questions to all Creed making in the colony or elsewhere. It is only honest to state them.

2. If the Creed must be Scriptural, it also must be intelligible and unambiguous. It must be this, unless a lie is to be put at the very core of the Church's life. Any attempt under ambiguous phrases to enable men to put a different "sense" on the words of the Creed, to palter with the truth in a double "sense," were to make the Church an organised hypocrisy. These terrible words, terrible because true, of Paley's may be set over against any attempt, however well meant, at Creed construction, based on such lines: "It is the wilful deceit that makes the lie; and we wilfully deceive when our expressions are not true in the sense in which we believe the hearer to apprehend them."

3. Then as to the question of long or short. You can make it as short as you like to begin with; but just as surely as men will think and act differently, and think rightly or wrongly, will your Creed grow as the truth becomes defined and error is excluded. As everyone knows, the fact that men will reason, and not always reason correctly nor wisely, regarding the great questions of religion, is the cause of the existence of Creeds. Apart from the fact that the Creed is a declaration of truth and a protest against error, and therefore will grow in fulness and explicitness, just as the errors to be guarded against multiply, the Creed, as we have already pointed out, forms the common Law of the Church. And the question now is, whether you can lay down beforehand how long or how short that law shall be? If all men were reasonable, no doubt the civil and ecclesiastical law would alike be "short." But men are not all either reasonable or good. They want "decisions," and the more they are in earnest will they be determined to have them. If the Church's law is not full and explicit, they will come up to the Assembly for decisions. No doubt, because her Creed is "short," and the Church may be determined to keep it "short," an Assembly on being appealed to may refuse to entertain the question. The Assembly may play the part of Gallio, who cared for none of these things. The Supreme Court of the Church may decline to be a judge in a matter of what it deems only one of "words and names," and, like Gallio, drive the disputants from her judgment seat. But such a Church and such an Assembly will be suffering not from the "dead hand" of the seventeenth century, but from the dead hand and dead head and dead heart of the twentieth. But if the Assembly does adjudicate, then, in the absence of a Creed Law of the Church, the personal will of each Assembly becomes the Law of the Church. In short, ecclesiastical tyranny would be substituted for ecclesiastical law. Instead of every man being ruled by the well-known and clearly understood Law of the Church's Creed, her members would be ruled by the floating opinions of an ever-changing Assembly, and by the knot of ecclesiastics who might happen to rule the roost for the hour in the Supreme Court of the Church. If Dr Gibb were successful in overthrowing the Westminster Confession and substituting for it a "short" Creed like that proposed, he would establish, unconsciously I may surely say, an ecclesiastical tyranny. In the first case of controversy or of discipline under his new Creed the question would be decided, not by an interpretation and administration of an intelligible and unambiguous Law but by the sentiments of the hour and "the leader of the

house."

It is a perfectly unique testimony to the unparalleled wisdom of the Westminster divines, both as statesmen and scholars, that their creedal Law has stood unaltered in its essential features as the law of millions of the most earnest, enlightened, and progressive peoples of the world; and this not only in the Church, but in the State as well. Everyone knows that the Westminster Confession is the seed-plot of the American Republic, and, by its doctrinal system of Calvinism and by its representative polity, of human freedom everywhere. And just wherever its Calvinism is ceasing to have its hold on the masses are they losing real freedom and drifting downward beneath the tyranny of mere numbers and the dictation of mobs and "unions," whether ecclesiastical or civil. Of the Calvinists, the French historian Taine, himself without religious faith, declares: "These men are the true heroes of England. They founded England, in spite of the corruption of the Stuarts, by the exercise of duty, by the practice of justice, by obstinate toil, by vindication of right, by resistance to oppression, by the conquest of liberty, by the repression of vice. They founded Scotland; they founded the United States; at this day they are, by their descendants, founding Australia and colonising the world."

4. That a full, intelligible, and unambiguous Creed is a bond of union, I need not prove. A Creed of the nature of that proposed, under which so many heterogeneous elements could "unite," would be no true bond of union. It would be a rope of sand, and the union formed by it would be a "colourable union" only. The union would be external only, like that of a social club, where men hold not a common faith but "opinions" only on which they complacently "agree to differ." Instead of forming an Evangelical Union, it would be the charter of what the Lord Chancellor would call a Church without a religion."

5. Nor need I do more than refer to a Church's Creed as a means of instruction and growth. Enough has been said on this aspect of it in connection with the Theological College. Here the Creed proposed, as a means of instruction, is an utter failure. The attempt to use general expressions, so that men of different "shades" of opinion may unite under them, however well meant, is utterly destructive of the power of the Creed to "instruct." This is the very thing that it declines to do. Instead of giving out light, it gives out smoke on the deepest problems of religion. And it would on that account be really impossible for anyone adopting it to say what religion he had embraced. No doubt, it could be claimed as Christian; but Dowieites are "Christians," et hoc omne genus.

*"Defend me, therefore, commonsense,' say I,
'From reveries so airy; from the toil
Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up!"*

These criticisms on the proposal for Union now before the Church are earnestly and respectfully commended to the consideration of Presbyterians throughout New Zealand. If it be true that in the midst of the insurgent pressure of all forms of error and infidelity, to call upon us to strike down our symbols, is like calling on an army to strike down its flag in the face of the foe, then it will be certain that the grand banner of our fathers will not lack earnest and loyal defenders. From open and avowed enemies we have nothing to fear. Our symbols have stood the test of over two hundred and fifty years, and have, because of their own loyalty to the Bible, brought down on our fathers and upon their children visibly the blessings of that Book as precious as they are unnumbered.

It cannot be that the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand, when Presbyterianism was never so strong and abounding in works of faith and labours of love in every country of the world, is to confess that she has no distinctive mission or future before her in New Zealand. Shall we sever ourselves from the past and from connection with the great Churches of our order flourishing throughout the world? Shall we not conclude with Dr Smith, in the glowing little book on our Creed, and several times quoted: "With a past rich in glorious achievement, and a present marked by world-wide extension and triumphing missionary enthusiasm, the future of Presbyterianism is radiant with promise. Who can doubt that through historic development, through centuries of special experience, through stern battles with relentless enemies, as well as through the silent, sweeter nurture of His Love, God has constituted our Presbyterianism one of His elect agencies in the fulfilment of that gracious purpose which includes not ourselves only, but the whole world? May He thrill us with the consciousness of our Divine commission and endowment. May He give us grace, with an humble reliance on His enabling Spirit, to do our part in that great and blessed work, whose arm is the universal enthronement of our common Lord, and whose end is nothing less than the regeneration of humanity."

Now, for my friends' and brethren's sakes,
Peace be in there, I'll say,
And for the house of God our Lord,
I'll seek thy good alway.

In conclusion, let me say, that if I have written plainly, I have not written a line intentionally to wound the feelings of any of my brethren. But if one introduces controversy, controversy, it must be remembered, has certain laws of its own. And it does not always care for our feelings as its first concern. "It makes all the difference in the world," says Archbishop Whately, "whether we are content to put truth in the first place or in the second." A due balance of truth and charity is a rare achievement; so that the triumph of truth shall also be the triumph of charity. I cannot hope to have succeeded where so many fail.

Lovells Flat, Otago,

September, 1904.

decorative feature

A Letter from Rev. W. M. M'Pheeters, D.D.

Professor in Theological Seminary,

Columbia, South Carolina.

Columbia,

June 23rd, 1904.

Rev. P. B. Fraser, Lovells Flat, Otago, New Zealand. Dear Sir and Brother,—

The paper containing your speech on the Revision came into my hands some time ago. It reached me at a time when I was exceedingly busy, so that I did not get the opportunity for some time to read it. I have read it, however, at last, and wish to express to you my appreciation of the ability and earnestness with which you have championed the cause of what I believe to be essential truth. I trust that God has crowned with success your efforts to hold the Church true to the teachings of His Word.

Assuring you of my deep and abiding interest in the struggle that you are making,

I am, yours, in the Gospel
W. M. M'Pheeters.

Part V.

Union and Creed Revision.

The following address was delivered before the Presbytery of Clutha at its meeting at Milton, on March 9, 1904, when the Remit on Union and Overture (Appendix IV.) were under consideration. The Presbytery agreed not to transmit the Overture to the Synod, as, in its opinion, the objects sought in giving publicity to the

criticism of the Articles was sufficiently attained. On the motion of Rev. P. B. Fraser, the Presbytery unanimously agreed to a resolution requesting the Assembly to terminate the present Union movement, and to proceed in the direction overtured by the Presbytery in 1902 when the Assembly was requested to establish an annual Conference of representatives of Churches with a view to fraternal co-operation:—

Moderator and Brethren,—I do not need to make any apology for bringing this overture and the subject of it before this Presbytery. Nor will I say more than a sentence in reference to an attack made by Dr Erwin in his speech the other day before the Presbytery of Christchurch in reference to this same matter. To say that his brethren have no better motives for their opposition to this union movement than the vilest known to the human heart, personal animosity, is not a triumph either of truth or of charity, and shows how poorly equipped we all are to engage in controversy, and how difficult it is for us to practise what we preach. I will not do him the unkindness of thinking his statement is seriously intended, and will not waste precious time in further reference to it. I believe that Dr Erwin, on reflection, will withdraw the ungenerous calumny. Meanwhile, my indictment remains unchallenged and unanswered, and it will not be weakened, much less refuted, by a conspiracy of silence. I have received from all over the Church cordial expressions of appreciation of the service I rendered by that indictment to the cause of truth.

The Standpoint.

Now, at the outset of our discussion, let me point out that it is the common practice of advocates of new departures to invite you to discharge your minds of prejudices and presuppositions, and the present has been no exception to the rule. But this is an old controversial device, and, as a rule, it is no less than an invitation to you to shut your eyes and open your mouth, and swallow the conclusion of your opponent without a too searching scrutiny of his presuppositions or examination of his standpoint. As Neander says in the opening paragraph of his 'Life of Christ,' such an invitation is as vain as it is disingenuous. "We cannot entirely free ourselves from presuppositions—and the supposed freedom from them is but the exchange of one set for another." Though we have been invited to divest ourselves of what Dr Erwin calls our prejudices, we at all events shall be sufficiently frank to say that we shall make no pretence of the sort. We have our presuppositions, our standpoint, and Dr Erwin has his, and instead of making a pretence to divest ourselves of them, we ought at the outset on both sides frankly and fully to state what our presuppositions are. This would save us from entering on vain negotiations and controversy with the conclusions of which we can never agree.

What Is Your Standpoint?

Here we have a proposal for a Union of Churches, made by brethren in our own Church. Before the Church at large had ever been consulted, negotiations were conducted at incredible speed, almost entirely by one man, and a Creed formed in the manner with which we are now familiar. But if there had been at the outset a frank and open avowal of presuppositions on the part of the authors of this movement, we should never as a Church have been in the unhappy position we are in to-day. Before ever one step was taken, those proposing union should have given—and they have not yet given—a full and frank disclosure of their presuppositions. It is perfectly idle for Dr Erwin to say that you are "simply asked to consider whether, provided a basis of doctrine and polity can be agreed on, you are in favour of an incorporating union with other Churches." These negotiations, we know, must be conducted by parties from our Church, and we equally know that like ourselves, they have presuppositions. But what Dr Erwin would have us believe is, that they have none, or that theirs are the same as ours. And certainly, in addition, the parties negotiating for the other Churches will have presuppositions likewise. Are these, in the main, the same as ours, or radically opposed? To assume that all parties have the same presuppositions or none at all is as absurd as it is disingenuous and hypocritical. Yet this is what we are asked to do. No doubt, if you laid on the table the written Creeds of the respective Churches, most of the fundamental presuppositions would be the same. And this certainly is what you and I mean by saying that these Churches have much in common. But while the Creeds are silent, and the parties begin to speak, you soon discover that the supposed agreement is of quite a different kind. Dr Erwin, for instance, declares of your Confession that, "as a historical document, it is of incalculable value as an exhibition of the sense in which the fathers of our Church understood the Scriptures." The rathers! Now, the fathers all died in faith, having obtained a good report through the faith in which they died. What about their sons? "I say, too," says Dr Erwin, "without fear of contradiction, that there is a considerable departure of the working faith of the Church from her historical Creed." Not to waste words, this means the sons don't believe the Creed of their fathers. The serious thing is that the sons at every induction and ordination solemnly vow that they do—serious, for the sons. The statement, however, that we are concerned with is, that the "Church" does not believe her Creed. This would be serious indeed for the Church, if by "Church" Dr Erwin meant ordinary, commonplace

people like you and me. Of course, by "Church" he only means those of his way of thinking—a slip of expression certain progressive and superior persons fall into, who love to regard all the world as having gone after Them. Now the Church can speak only through her formularies, and in these she professes to believe and adhere to the "system of doctrine" of the Westminster Confession. She has not yet, in her formularies, made a "considerable departure" from that system. And if she has not, what right has Dr Erwin to say that she has? Therefore, by "Church" I say Dr Erwin can only mean those of his way of thinking.

Rival Standpoints.

It is, we know, a foible of "advanced" critics to call their deliverances the "accepted results of scholars"; the gifted men of the other school, not being "scholars," do not count. Dr Briggs, chief of American "scholars," refers in like manner to those of his own way of thinking, as if they were the entire Church, and surely in no complimentary terms, in his book on Creeds, as follows:—"Religion in Great Britain and America is at present in a very unsatisfactory condition. There is a wide-spread dissatisfaction with the old Theology; and the old methods of worship and Church work. At the same time there is distrust and anxiety with reference to new theology and new measures that are proposed by recent theological doctors. The ministers" (what ministers?) "are not preaching the distinctive features of their own denominations, because the people are tired of them, and will not have them. The ministers" (what ministers?) "do not care to preach to empty pews, and, besides, not a few of the ministers sympathise with their people in these matters. The ministers" (what ministers?) "are in a feverish condition." After reference to hot champions of the new and sturdy defenders of the old and the desire of the majority not to disturb the peace, he adds a sentence of significant weight to our little Church struggling as it is for a bare existence in many parts of the colony: "There are some few who have real insight into the situation, and therefore hesitate to incur the responsibility for that dreadful theological struggle that is liable to burst forth on the first exciting occasion." That was written a few years ago, and, Dr Briggs would say, it is truer to-day than ever. Then Dr Warfield, the distinguished leader in America of the other school, wrote only the other month. "The issue is becoming an ever more and more pressing one. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Christian Churches are losing themselves and their cause in weak compromises, and crying 'Peace' when there can be no peace. The time seems rapidly approaching when no man will find it possible longer to serve, here either, two masters. Or, rather, for all discerning spirits, that time is already come." And Dr Erwin himself declares that if the Westminster Confession of your Church were brought into harmony with the working faith of the "Church"—he means those of his way of thinking—it would necessitate an entire restatement of many of its doctrines.

What Is Dr Gibb's Standpoint?

Now, in view of all these facts, is it not too child-like and bland for the worthy doctor to assure you that, in voting now, "it must be borne in mind that you are not called upon to consider any basis of doctrine or polity for the proposed united Church"—only give Dr Gibb a roving commission to seek one. That is, you are not to have presuppositions, but Dr Gibb and Dr Erwin are! Dr Erwin, it is true, vaguely, and not too courageously, hints at this, by nibbling at points in the Confession, so that, if you did not know better, you would think our brother a terrible fellow. Dr Gibb's presuppositions, however, we are not entirely ignorant about; at least, we know what they are not—not yours, nor mine, nor your fathers'. If you want to know where the army is moving, keep in touch with the head of the column. Dr Gibb is the head of the column—and he, to be sure, has no presuppositions! And you are to reduce yourselves to a state of mental vacuity or imbecility, and vote as if "you were not called upon to consider any basis of doctrine"! "Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird"; and yet the Christchurch Presbytery were captured by the sophistry. What you are asked to do, under cover of a vote on the abstract question of Union, is to precipitate in this Presbyterian Church, with its handful of people, its ministers, none of them with the time or requisite qualifications for such a controversy, "that dreadful theological struggle" which Dr Briggs predicts, and which men of any insight will strive to avert from a small Church like ours. To say that the question before you is only the abstract question of Union is to deceive you.

Does "Union" Mean Creed Revision from a New Standpoint?

The question before you is, first and foremost, a question of Creed. The popular cry of Union is purely a secondary affair, and in the form that Union is now before you, it is little better than an ecclesiastical manoeuvre to commit the Church to Creed revision in the hands of Dr Gibb. Now, the fact has to be borne in mind that the differences of standpoint within the Churches are greater than the differences between the historical Creeds of the respective Churches. Has not "modern criticism won its battle," as Dr George Adam

Smith declares, "and is not all that remains to fix the amount of the indemnity?" It is not Union, much less evangelical Union, that is in the air; it is payment that is demanded of the first instalment of the indemnity to modern rationalistic criticism of the Scriptures. To be sure, not for the first time has rationalistic criticism haughtily demanded from the inspired Scriptures its indemnity; but it has never been paid, and never will, save, like Kruger's indemnity, for moral and intellectual damages, out of the damaged morals and intellect of those making the claim. Why should we allow ourselves to be deceived or self-deceived in this matter? "Can two walk together, except they be agreed?"—agreed, first and foremost, as to their presuppositions? If our standpoint and presuppositions are the same, our conclusions will be the same, and we will "walk together." If our presuppositions are different, what is the use of entering or negotiations that can only precipitate strife? Are you brethren, or are you not, going to adopt the evolutionary presupposition that reduces those Old Testament Scriptures, which our Saviour spoke of as true history, to a bundle of fables and "pious" frauds—i.e., frauds about God? Are you to adopt the evolutionary speculation about man which makes him more sinned against than a sinner? Are you, on a side issue, to precipitate strife on these subjects that strike at the very head of the Christian faith—I mean the Christian faith of your fathers? With these antagonistic radical presuppositions, how can it be for you a question of Union? For Union can never be between the evolutionary presupposition and the creative presupposition of your fathers. The only question is when, and where, and in what Church the cleavage is to come. Shall we precipitate it here and now? When that cleavage comes, you will have the Smiths on one side and the George Mathesons on the other; some unfortunates, no doubt, will be found in the middle, getting the fire from both sides, in half way houses of temporary and uncertain rest. The evolutionary presupposition now being applied to the origin of the Scriptures and the origin of man is a presupposition native to the human heart, and, in various forms, is as old as the hills. In so far as it is received in its consequences, it is bringing theological and spiritual paralysis on some of the best blood of the Church—for, having no Gospel, it simply can't be "preached." Regarding this theory, Dr George Matheson, whose name is revered throughout Saxondom as a spiritual seer and scholar of the first rank, says: "My theological sympathies are in favour of breadth, but not of negation. I am as broad as broad can be, but a broad positive. I have no sympathy with the negative movement of Robertson Smith. The Bible is real history, not myth. The critical movement has done a great deal of harm. I have no sympathy with the Higher Criticism. I wrote a book to show that evolution if true, is quite compatible with orthodoxy, but I have since come to the conclusion that evolution is not true. I have no more fear of it than I ever had, but I am quite convinced that in say, 1923, it will be an exploded heresy." And yet it is really in the interests of this evolutionary speculation on the origin of man and of Scripture that, under cover of evangelical union, the indemnity is now demanded. "And consequently"—in the words of one the ring of whose voice you will recognise—"we are told we ought to give up part of our old-fashioned theology to save the rest. We are in a carriage on the steppes of Russia. The horses are being driven furiously, but the wolves are close upon us. There they are! Can you not see their eyes of fire? The danger is pressing. What must we do? It is proposed to throw out a child or two. By the time they have eaten the baby we shall have made a little headway; but should they again overtake us, what then? Why, brave man, Throw Out Your Wife. 'All that a man hath will he give for his life'; give up nearly every truth in the hope of saving one. Throw out inspiration, and let the critics devour it. Throw out election and all the old Calvinism; here will be a dainty feast for the wolves, and the gentlemen who give us the sage advice will be glad to see the doctrines of grace torn limb from limb. Throw out natural depravity, eternal punishment, and the efficacy of prayer. We have lightened the carriage wonderfully. Now for another drop. SACRIFICE THE GREAT SACRIFICE! Have done with the Atonement! Brethren, this advice is villainous, and murderous; we will escape these wolves with everything, or we will be lost with everything. It will be the 'truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' We will never attempt to save half the truth by casting any part of it away. The sage advice which has been given us involves treason to God, and disappointment to ourselves. We will stand by all or none. We will have a whole Bible or no Bible. We are told that if we give up something the adversaries will also give up something; but we care not what they will do, for we are not the least afraid of them. They are not the imperial conquerors they think themselves. The truth of God we will retain. As the Truth of God, and we shall not retain it because the philosophic mind consents to our doing so. God being with us, we shall not cease from this glorying, but will hold the whole of revealed truth, even to the end." These ringing words of perhaps the greatest preacher of the Gospel since the Apostle of the Gentiles are as true as when before his death C. H. Spurgeon uttered them. And that being so, we will now ask, with Palgrave, "Can time undo what once was true?" The question then before the Church is not the merely abstract question of evangelical Union; neither is it, as Dr Erwin would make out, merely such questions as the breadth of the intention of Atonement, though he himself preaches every Sunday when he preaches regeneration by the will of the Spirit of God, a "limited" "application" of it (John i, 13). The question now is, whether there is Atonement, or need of Atonement at all. It is not a question of a long Creed or a short one, broad or narrow, thick or thin, but a question of the Church's attitude to her whole faith; whether her System of doctrine is true or false.

The Value of Single Doctrines.

To drop from a written Creed, because it may be a barrier to Union between brethren, an Article of Faith which, though true, is not fundamental, is a proposal well worth the consideration of our brethren in all the Churches; and this we are ready to consider, whenever the time arrives for skilled and reverent and careful hands to pour the old wine over into fresh wineskins. This, however, is a totally distinct position from asking us to drop a fundamental Article, or even a subsidiary Article, because we now allege it to be false. For, as Bishop Westcott says, and every intelligent man knows: "One Doctrine many influence a system. A characteristic opinion on one point will be seen to re-appear in many unexpected ways through the whole system of doctrine to which it belongs." And if that is true of one doctrine, how much more of the system and substance of it? And if time can't undo what once was true, therefore what time Has Undone of faith and doctrine was never true; for ours is a historical religion of revelation of fact and doctrine, not a religious philosophy. Let us beware, then, of dropping out, piecemeal, the substance of our faith; lest presently we make the appalling discovery that the great river that has slaked and satisfied the thirst of mankind for thousands of years, not only has ceased to flow, but has never been. Then you shall have presented to you the tragic, pathetic, incredible, and impossible consequences of a false presupposition, such as the Aspotle presented to his brethren, when they, too, like ourselves, were under dominance of a false presupposition; "then" (if your presupposition be true, said he) "they also that are fallen asleep in Christ have perished." And he did not, like our polite moderns, who would have a Creed "broad" enough for everybody, hold true and false doctrine simply as regrettable differences of "opinion" or "views" among brethren. He declared that, if the evolutionary presupposition of His day was true: "Yea, and we are found (as a consequence) false witnesses of God."

The Coming Conflict on the Credibility, Sufficiency, and Sovereignty of Scripture.

It is not therefore the innocently abstract question of evangelical Union that is before the Church in this present movement; it is whether you are to precipitate within what is practically only a missionary Church still living in tents, without the time or adequate scholarship for such a task, that "dreadful theological struggle" which Dr Briggs predicts is coming on all Churches, and which Dr Warfield assures us is even now at the doors. "Now we seem to have drawn near to a critical point in the history of revelation, at least as far as the English-speaking races are concerned," wrote Bishop Westcott in the book last from his hand. And if Dr Warfield may speak for America, and Bishop Westcott for England, they are corroborated by the ablest living theologian of Scotland, Professor James Orr, in his recent work on "The Progress of Dogma." "There are not wanting signs," he says, "that we are on the eve of new conflicts"—and, let me remind you, "conflict" is "controversy" become acute—"in which new solvents will be applied to Christian doctrines, and which may prove anxious and testing to many who do not realise that Christian faith in every age must be a battle. That battle," he declares, "will have to be fought, if I mistake not, in the first instance, round the fortress of the worth and authority of the Holy Scriptures." Yes, that is the issue raised by this new movement. The question of a limited Atonement! and sacramentarianism! Brethren, if the Old Testament Scriptures are a book of "cunningly-devised myths" (2 Peter i, 16), our Saviour believed the myths, and could not distinguish the fabulous from the authentic, nor the forgery from the genuine writing. And if that is so, if the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are not true, trustworthy, and of divine authority, your theological disputes about the length and breadth of the Atonement, or about priestly caste, or any Christian doctrine whatsoever, are but the bickerings of bats and owls and crows in the dark loft of a cathedral steeple. The busy world will go its way and leave you. If, then, these mighty issues, these foundation presuppositions, are being raised by this abstract question of union, are there not men of real insight in our midst who will hesitate, as Dr Briggs says, to precipitate that "dreadful theological struggle" precisely at a place and time when it can do the maximum mischief with the least conceivable good? If, however, our brethren are determined to raise these questions, we demand that they raise them on their merits, in a straightforward manner. On our part, we shall not show the weakness of panic by exhibiting a feverish haste. Professor James Orr, in answer to an inquiry as to the position of matters in Scotland, wrote to America only last month: "My impression is that among the great mass of our ministers and people faith in the great evangelical verities stands unshaken, and that the 'new theology' is not Generally in favour." That, I believe, would be an accurate estimate of the position in New Zealand. But if we do not exhibit a feverish panic, neither shall we show a lukewarm indifference to the truth as it is in Jesus, nor for our weak brother for whom He died.

The Basis of True Union.

Now, just because this is a question of Creed revision, and not primarily a question of Union, I have not allowed myself space in the brief time at my disposal to discuss the innocently abstract question of true evangelical Union on the lines of the historical Creeds. If Union ever comes, it will come along the lines of these Creeds. And it is only as Union comes along the lines of these Creeds that it can serve itself heir to the evangelical name and heritage. If cleavage comes, as come it may at any time, it will come along the lines indicated by Professor Orr. But may I not venture briefly to say on what lines, even by way of the historical Creeds, Union never will come. Until the happy time come when all shall know, from the least to the greatest, the world is not likely to do without written Creeds—those skins that hold the wine.

Not on Negations of Doctrine.

Union meanwhile, then, will never come by negations merely, for this is to pour out the wine by stripping your Creed to the lowest terms, so as to include everybody on what is the lowest common ground; for this were to reject Christ as Absolute King and Head of the Church, whose teaching is intelligible and whose Word is law, and place on His throne a limited monarch, or president, elected by popular show of hands. And, be it remembered, that if He prayed for unity. He also prayed that His people might be sanctified through the truth. That being so, they cannot have too much of it it is by this process of reducing your Creed to its lowest terms, to the level of the man in the street, that all distinctively Christian truth has vanished from your public education. To be sure, we are commanded by the Apostle of the Gentiles to "receive him that is weak in the faith"; and this we shall do; but that is another thing from "receiving" also his "weak" faith. If he has not attained to a like precious faith with us, we are not going, if he is "weak" in his theological upper storey, to make his weakness the measure of the truth to which we have been permitted to attain. And the same Apostle's inspired counsel is: "Whereto we have already attained, by that same rule, let us walk." Has it not been said of certain German divines that they escaped the shipwreck of faith "only in their shirts"? At the rate we are going, and in the direction we are asked to move, I doubt whether our shirts will be left to us, and whether we shall not be found, within a year or two, hid among the trees of the garden, in the primitive theological nakedness of natural religion. But, brethren, we shall not throw away our theological wineskins, lest we, with unskilled hands, spill the precious wine; we shall keep our theological garments, four of them it may be said, as of those garments of God's people in the wilderness, after forty years' wear and tear: "Your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy feet." This is more than can be said of the "working faith," the "working clothes," of our new theological doctors. These never suffer from age at all events; why should they, when Germany can turn out new "fashions" every decade?

Nor on External Conformity.

Neither is it along the lines of a dead uniformity, whether of Creed or polity, that Union will come. It is contrary to the analogy of God's world of nature, among plants, among animals, or among men. There is diversity amidst unity; and unity is found not in a monotone, but in a harmony. Each of the branches of the Church of Christ adds a distinctive note to the harmony, though at times the distinctive note, owing to the individual or denominational egotism, never so out of place as now, and more and more receding, may cause a jar, or even a scandal; but is this because there is too much of the truth that sanctities, or too little of the charity that edifies?

Nor on Compromise of Truth.

And finally, one thing is certain, never along the lines of compromise, as is now proposed, will Union come. This would be for us not only to make fresh wineskins, but to make new wine. It was this beginning of miracles that Jesus did in Cana of Galilee when He made the wine, and manifested forth His glory; and His disciples believed on Him. And when the new theological doctors can repeat this beginning of miracles, and manifest their glory, no doubt their disciples will believe on them. A distinguished American divine, George Dana Boardman, D.D., has just written a fine book on "The Church and the Unification of Christendom." You will agree with every word of the following paragraph: Never," he says, "can the Church unify herself by compromise. This," he says in a sentence that will be remembered, "is a mistake of those unfortunates who are afflicted with cardiac hypertrophy or diseased enlargement of the heart. Compromise," he continues, "is often right in matters of policy or method. Compromise is always wrong in matters of principle or duty. Truth abhors compromise as light abhors darkness. Truth advances her kingdom by affirmation, not by evasion; by victory,

not by surrender. If there is in all this world a sacred right, it is the right of every human being to have his own moral convictions. If there is in all the world a sacred responsibility, it is the responsibility which every human being has before his God and before his fellows for those convictions. If there is in all the world a sacred obligation, it is the obligation which rests on every human being to be true, at whatever cost, to those convictions. For the man who is willing to surrender his own convictions for the sake of unity is a man whose convictions for the sake of unity, or of anything, are to be distrusted. For he who begins with being false to himself will end with being false to everybody else. Moreover, the unity which is brought about by compromise is not unity at all; it is only a weak, sentimental, flabby uni-formity. The boneless, pulpy compromiser, like a composite photograph in which every sign of individuality is merged, looks remarkably kind, and also remarkably weak. No, unity cannot be secured by compromise."

Fraternal Co-operation and a Federal Union.

These sentiments of Dr Boardman, as admirably expressed as they are sound and Scriptural, will commend themselves to this Presbytery, and to the Synod of Otago and Southland which adopted unanimously the overture I moved in 1902, that the Assembly should take steps for establishing an annual Conference or other Association of Christian Churches—All Christian Churches—which would make for practical co-operation of Christian Churches in the present, and which, without the sacrifice of truth to charity or of charity to truth, but with the triumph of both, would, in the providence of God, make for an ultimate fusion of Christian denominations into a zealous and powerful National Church of New Zealand. That line of action commended itself alike to the judgment of Presbytery and Synod, and the principles I have set forth above will, I venture to believe, commend themselves not only to this Presbytery, but to the Church at large. I am persuaded that if they had had due weight at the initial stages of this present Union movement, which is primarily a movement for Creed revision in the interests of the rationalistic tendencies favoured in some quarters, there would never have arisen this present situation. A frank statement by the movers in regard to their "working faith"—that is, their presuppositions as to the system of doctrine of the Westminster Confession, and as to the truthfulness, trustworthiness, and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures—would at once have revealed such radical differences of standpoint that it would have rendered a common expression of doctrine impossible, save on the principle, or want of principle abhorrent to the truth, of using words, as appears in the new Creed, of an ambiguous, evasive, and consequently misleading, import. This, if it were done deliberately, would be an agreement to deceive. And if ignorantly, we ask, with the Apostle, "Even things without life giving a voice, whether pipe or harp if they give not a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself for war?" If we cannot agree on common presuppositions, we cannot agree on a common expression of the consequences of them. If you have got new wine, why, of course, by all means hasten to nut it into new wineskins. Do not put it into the skins of Westminster: for all you have got of Westminster and the "evangelical succession" are the skins—and the fine Westminster aroma! But the wine itself is gone. We hold no brief for the skins of Westminster, but we do relish the Westminster wine. Are we not agreed, therefore, to speak the truth that we have learned in unambiguous terms, as we stand by the Word of God, in the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments? And we care for no inspiration that gives us a fabulous history of revelation, or a history of anything that is less than true. We have cast anchor therefore, on the truthfulness, trustworthiness, and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and there, with God's help, we mean to abide. If that truth be lost, all is lost. Our "Union" and numbers, our learning and wealth and religious philosophies will avail us nothing. And, finally, without hastily forming a mechanical Union, founded on negations and compromise shall we not, as the best contribution we, at all events, can make to the Universal Church of Christ, strive to make our Presbyterian Zion more than ever worthy of her noble ancestry and inheritance? Has any Church for her size a nobler?

*"Therefore I wish that peace may still
Within her walls remain,
And ever may her palaces
Prosperity retain."*

decorative feature

Appendix I.

An Inquiry Into the Origin and Sanction of "The Articles of the Faith."

The following Letters appeared in the 'Otago Daily Times':—

Dr Gibb's Report on Union.

[November 26, 1903.]

To The Editor.

Sir,—I ask permission, through your columns, to say what I was in process of saying when I was interrupted by the Rev. Dr Gibb in the Assembly last week. Dr Gibb, referring in his speech on union to conferences held during the year between the Wesleyan and Presbyterian Committees, made the following statement:—"These Committees had had a number of meetings, and though it was not proposed at this stage to submit the articles of faith drafted, he desired to call the Assembly's attention to the magnificent fact that the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches had been able to see absolutely eye-to-eye in regard to the doctrines believed in by both Churches." Further on in your report of the proceedings we find this:—"Dr Gibb: I said there was unity between the Committees.—'Rev. P. B. Fraser: I am prepared to question that unanimity" And later, when I proceeded to question the alleged unanimity, I was interrupted by Dr Gibb on the pretence that I was discussing the articles, which I never intended to do, but to discuss Dr Gibb's assertions about the articles.

Now, what I was prevented from saying when I was interrupted was that I wished to point out that Dr Gibb's "magnificent fact" that the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches had been able to see absolutely eye-to-eye in regard to the doctrines believed in by both Churches" is not a fact, but contrary to fact, and it is very unfortunate that at this preliminary stage such unwarranted statements should be made by Dr Gibb even in the heat of the moment. Being a member of the Committee, and taking a keen interest in the movement, I am in a position to speak as a competent witness as to what that Committee has done at the meetings I attended, as well as its convener, Dr Gibb. I content myself at this point with contradicting this assertion of Dr Gibb's. The Presbyterian Committee, as a committee, has not itself come to any agreement on the articles in question. Therefore, for Dr Gibb to assert that there is "unity between the Committees" is, to say the least, wildly inaccurate.

So far I have referred only to Dr Gibb's speech. The following more guarded statement is from his report: "In compliance with their instructions your Committee, in co-operation with the Committees of the other Churches, has held several meetings, at which the question of a suitable creed has been under consideration, and a number of the articles of faith have been framed. But being persuaded that if any creai advance is to be made in the matter the advance must be slow, and the mind of the whole Church ascertained at each step, your Committee deems it inexpedient to submit these articles to the Assembly at this stage." This statement obviously is more guarded than Dr Gibb's speech, and if he had kept to the tenor of his report he would not have forced, me into the position of having to give so pointed a contradiction to the assertion of his speech, In his report he says merely (1) "a number of articles of faith Have Been Framed"; (2) "the Committee deems it inexpedient to submit these articles to the Assembly at this stage." There is nothing here about the Committee's having "adopted" any article of faith, much less "the articles" referred to in Dr Gibb's speech; there is nothing about any unity in the Committee or about any unity with the Methodist Committee on these articles—on the contrary, the fact is it was unanimously agreed in the last meeting of the Presbyterian Committee to report to the Assembly that consideration of articles of faith was not "sufficiently matured" for them to be laid before the Assembly. I have searched Dr Gibb's report in vain for this declaration; and as he in his speech has made a statement so much at variance with fact, I feel compelled also to draw attention to report, which it is true is more guarded than his speech, for while his speech errs much in excess his report errs rather in defect.

Obviously this matter is of the deepest interest not only to Presbyterians, but to Methodists and Congregationalists as well; and nothing is to be gained for union or the cause we all have at heart by a wrong impression being created in the mind of the Church at large as to the actual progress of negotiations.

I do not know whether Dr Gibb has returned to Wellington. Probably he Jus. Consequently I need scarcely remind readers of this note to suspend all judgment in the matter until Dr Gibb has an opportunity to explain or to correct me on any point. I hope those specially interested will keep my letter by them for reference.—I am, etc.

P. B. Fraser.

Lovell's Flat,

November 24.

Presbyterian and Methodist Unanimity.

[December 17, 1903.]

To the Editor.

Sir,—The Rev. P. B. Fraser has sent me a copy of your issue of the 26th ult. containing a letter from him on the question of the unanimity of the Presbyterian and Methodist Committees in the matter of the Articles of the Faith, to which reference was made by me when addressing the General Assembly on the subject of Church union. I should not have thought it worthwhile replying to this letter, especially so long after the date of its appearance in your columns, but Mr Fraser, as I judge from his private communications, is extremely anxious that I should. Here, then, as briefly as possible, are the facts:—

- At a meeting of the Union Committee held early in the year I submitted certain Articles of the Faith prepared for the Presbyterian Church of England some time ago, and commended these as a suitable basis for a doctrinal statement that might meet the needs of a united Church. The Committee went over the articles one by one, and though no definite pronouncement was made on any one of them, the majority were regarded with favour, only a few being singled out for criticism as unlikely to be accepted by the Methodists and Congregationalists. Finally, it was resolved that a Committee, consisting of Drs Watt Dunlop, and myself should be appointed to go carefully into the articles and make such alterations as we might deem desirable. It was also resolved that the articles thus revised should be printed and a copy sent to each of the members of the General Committee.
- The sub-committee met and performed its task with absolute unanimity. The articles were revised, altered, printed, and forwarded to the members of the Committee. At the same time a number of copies were sent to the Methodist and Congregational Committees, with a request that they should take them into careful consideration and come to a definite finding anent them.
- After due interval the Presbyterian Committee met and adopted about half of the articles as they came up from the sub-committee, with a very few and unimportant alterations. The work of revision was not completed on this occasion, because arrangements had been made for the attendance of the Methodist and Congregational Committees at a certain hour in the afternoon, and when that hour arrived the Presbyterian Committee had to desist.
- The three Committees (Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational) then proceeded to cover the ground that had been traversed by the Presbyterian Committee—i.e., they examined about one-half of the articles. The Congregationalists suggested various amendments which were not carried, but the Methodists and Presbyterians saw eye to eye. The former suggested only two slight verbal alterations in the articles as they had been adopted by the Presbyterians. These alterations were accepted, and, as far as this meeting is concerned, greater unanimity could not have existed.
- Before the next meeting of the united Committees took place I had left for Wellington. I handed over the business to Dr Dunlop, instructing him to arrange for a meeting as soon as possible, at which the three Committees should deal with the remaining articles as the first half had already been dealt with. In due course I received a report of this meeting, with the articles as they had been by it adopted. It appeared that this second united meeting had been as unanimous as the first.
- The Methodist Committee that had thus far co-operated with the Presbyterian and Congregational was a committee local to Dunedin. The Central Methodist Committee was situated at Christchurch, with the Rev. H. Bull as its convenor. I had been in correspondence with him all along the line. Some time before the meeting of the Assembly I ascertained that the Central Methodist Committee approved of every jot and tittle of the work that had been done by their Dunedin Committee in co-operation with our own and the Congregational.
- It thus appears that there was, as I said to the Assembly, a wonderful and profound unanimity between the Methodist and Presbyterian Committees. The articles had been adopted by both without the slightest jar or discord or difference of any kind. And this being so, I had them printed in the report which I submitted to the Assembly's Committee during the recent session of that body. When the Committee met however,

it was speedily apparent that there was no unanimity on the question of submitting the articles to the Assembly at this juncture. It was accordingly resolved to withhold them and to ask the Assembly merely to send down to Presbyteries and sessions the general question whether they were in favour of negotiating with the Methodists and Congregationalists for a union of the Churches. Personally, I was disappointed with this finding, though I offered no opposition, and fell in with it heartily enough as the line of the least resistance. But the fact stands that there was, and, as far as anything to the contrary yet appears, there still is, unanimity between the Presbyterian and Methodist Committees on the question of these Articles of the Faith. Mr Fraser, indeed, informed the Committee that he could not agree with this article and the next, but the articles were not discussed, or, rather, rediscussed. What conclusions the Committee would have come to if a rediscussion had taken place Mr Fraser knows just as little as I do. What I do know is that the Methodist and Presbyterian Committees at every meeting at which they considered these articles were in profound agreement.

I have written this letter with great reluctance. It is not of general interest, and the columns of the 'Daily Times' are hardly the place for the settlement of differences of opinion between me and Mr Fraser. But perhaps the letter will serve to throw into clearer relief the very remarkable unanimity that exists between these two Churches, once so far apart in the matter of doctrine. Union may come in our time and it may not, but it is coming. The Churches, as the author of that fine 'book "Ourselves and the Universe" says, "will detach themselves more and more from the divisive elements in their separate formularies to unite on the deeper life beneath." Practical identity of belief and life must issue in outward union.

May I, through you, say to Mr Fraser that I shall not reply to any further letter he may send to you on the question he has raised? I have said my say, and life is too short for controversy of this kind. If it were the question of union, that would be another matter.

—I am, etc.,
James Gibb.

Wellington.

December 10.

Rev. Dr Gibb's "Evangelical" Union.

The National "Evangelical" Church of New Zealand.

[January 5, 1904.]

To the Editor.

Sir,—There are three things Presbyterian people are anxious to have full and clear and accurate information about at present. They are:—(1) Have the members of the Assembly's Union Committee unanimously adopted Dr Gibb's new creed. (2) If not unanimously, who are the persons that have assented to that creed, and are responsible for its now being before three Churches as the creed of the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church? (3) What is this new creed? What is its attitude to the Presbyterian creed, to the Reformation doctrines to the Catholic faith of Christendom?

These are questions of importance, and the first two were raised by me in the Assembly, and in my letter of the 26th of November. To that letter, after three weeks' delay. Dr Gibb says he has replied "with great reluctance," because, from private communications with him, he says he judged I was "extremely anxious" he should reply. My private communications took the form of two telegrams, sent for obvious reasons, the first after a week's delay, asking if he had seen my letter and whether he intended to reply, to which he made answer that he had not seen it. The second, stating that a 'Times' had been sent, made the same inquiry, to which he made answer he probably would reply. There was, therefore, no anxiety whatever expressed or implied that Dr Gibb should honor me with his notice. The manner and tone, somewhat "tigh and 'auglity," of his reply perhaps indicate that Dr Gibb's recent "honours" have not had sufficient time to become quite assimilated to the genial nature he shows to his friends.

Dr Gibb replies that not only is his statement correct that the Assembly's Committee unanimously adopted the articles; but in the face of my letter he still affirms: "But the fact stands that there was, and, as far as

anything to the contrary yet appears, there still is, unanimity between Presbyterian and Methodist Committees on the question of these articles of the faith." My opposition apparently does not count; and as, like the rest of the members, I am only a cipher to Dr Gibb's integer, one protestant more or less does not break the "wonderful and profound unanimity between the Methodist and Presbyterian Committees." It is, indeed, wonderful and most profound!

There are two methods, available to everyone, by which the value of Dr Gibb's assertions may be tested. There is the new creed itself. If there was profound unanimity in the Presbyterian Committee, the Committee happily are all living and can be produced. It is plainly not a creed that would or could ever be composed, for any purpose immediate or remote, save by men who attached but the slenderest if any weight to the principal doctrines of the Presbyterian Church or of the Reformed Faith, and that must be the opinion of the vast majority of the Union Committee, alleged to be profoundly unanimous in recommending its adoption to three Churches. This new creed, let it be borne in mind, while professing to be based on the articles of the Presbyterian Church of England, eliminates from those articles the Reformation doctrines of the origin of the living races of mankind, of the Fall, of the temptation of mankind by Satan, of the origin of sin, of native depravity, of the Atonement, of justification by faith solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice, of the election of Grace, of regeneration, of Christian perseverance, and of eternal punishment. Here is a creed in which not one shred, not if you search with a microscope, and if you make a chemical analysis, not a trace of distinctively Presbyterian doctrine is left; and the Christian people of New Zealand are asked to believe that it has been unanimously adopted by the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. To recite the names of the Union Committee from the Assembly's "Proceedings of 1902" is to banish Dr Gibb's glowing vision of "profound unanimity" into the limbo prepared from the foundation of the world for ecclesiastical fairy tales without hope of a second resurrection. Here they are:—"Revs. H. Kelly, W. G. Dixon, I. Jolly, J. Paterson, J. K. Elliott, J. M'Kenzie, J. H. Mackenzie, J. G. Smith, G. Lindsay, W. Hewitson, P. B. Fraser, D. Dutton, A. Cameron, Dr Watt, Dr Dunlop, J. Chisholm, R. R. M. Sutherland, J. Gibb; Messrs J. G. W. Aitken, R. Glendinning, A. C. Bogg, W. H. Adams, G. Reid, D. A. M'Nicoll," and Dr Erwin added of the first meeting of committee. Here are twenty-five names of well-known men, twenty-four if you exclude Rev. H. Kelly as having left for the Australian Church. Does anybody, having the least acquaintance with these men, believe will not say a "unanimous assent," but the assent of a majority, nay, of a respectable minority, of these brethren was ever obtained knowingly to Dr Gibb's new creed? Personally, though a member of this same Committee. I have not heard one single member, except Dr Gibb, who has distinctly expressed approval of it, and such as I have come in contact with have expressed the very reverse. Consequently, I am just as anxious to know as the Church at large is who are the persons forming this "unanimous" Presbyterian Committee. By simply taking this new creed in your hand and going to any of these gentlemen and asking them: Did you, and do you, give your assent to this thing? you will discover how "wonderful and profound" is the Presbyterian unanimity. That is one way—available to everybody—in which Presbyterians anxious to know who of their number have assented to this creed may profitably inquire and learn who constitutes this "unanimous" Committee, and when and where they ever met.

But that method of inquiry brings in the merits of the new creed. And there is another way, equally open to all, without bringing in the merits of the new creed, in which inquiry may be conducted, and that is to investigate the history of its production as related by Dr Gibb. The new creed might have been as orthodox as if John Knox were convener, but that would hardly justify John Knox in saying that it was unanimously adopted, after careful consideration, by the Union Committee, unless in point of fact it was. For if the new creed were a true creed and shone with its own light, it would not much matter, so far as the creed itself is concerned, whether it was unanimously adopted or adopted by a majority of the Committee, or only by Dr Gibb himself. So noble a production would shed the lustre of its glory on all who claimed a share in its "inspiration" and composition, and would carry conviction with its own weight. And, therefore, honour should have been given where honour is due, and the exact number and the names of the Union "Committee" who have unanimously assented to this new creed should have been given from the first. But, apparently, Dr Gibb's theory is that a part is equal to the whole (if he is in the part), or might become the whole, as a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. A feeble defence of this theory may possibly be sought in the fact that a mere quorum of an administrative Committee whose functions are strictly limited by regulations is called the Committee, but few, I imagine, will justify the convener of a large special Committee calling a selected coterie a unanimous Committee.

Let Presbyterians then investigate the history of the Assembly's Committee as related by Dr Gibb. To my statement in my letter that "the Presbyterian Committee, As a Committee, has not itself come to any agreement on the articles in question," Dr Gibb does not allude, and has made no reply. Not only has he not contradicted it, but the truth of it can be demonstrated from his own letter. More than that, I will now add and demonstrate that, so far from his articles having received "the careful consideration of the Presbyterian Committee," that

Committee, as a committee, never so much as had a chance to consider the articles on their merits. Here are the stages given by Dr Gibb in his letter:—

1. The first meeting of the Assembly's Committee was called in Dunedin, as is usual, at such date and hour as would naturally suit the convener. Of the twenty-four members named above, there were present—as far as I recollect—the following:—Revs. W. Hewitson, D. Dutton, A. Cameron, Dr Watt, Dr Dunlop, J. Chisholm, Dr Gibb, Dr Erwin, P. B. Fraser, and Mr A. C. Begg—that is, ten out of twenty-four members. It was quite evident the members were not prepared, and, indeed, were very much averse, to consider a definite move before they had made up their minds to any line of action whatever. There were some previous questions to be discussed and settled, and this the Committee as a whole never once had the chance to do. Dr Gibb, however, represented that he had the articles prepared by a Committee, of which Dr Dykes was convener, and adopted by the Presbyterian Church of England as their creed; and that as Dr Erwin and I had come a considerable distance to attend the meeting, he might read them; but as he himself records, "no definite pronouncement was made on any one of them." "Finally," he says, "it was resolved that a Committee consisting of Drs Watt, Dunlop, and Gibb should be appointed to go carefully into the articles and make such alterations as they might deem desirable." If minutes of the Committee contain this statement, I accept it; but my recollection is that authority was neither asked for nor given to any sub-committee "to make such alterations as they might deem desirable." Nor was I aware that Dr Gibb was, as he might well have been, convener of the sub-committee. The professors appeared to be much averse to having anything to do with it, and it was only on the understanding, I took it, that no changes were to be made save those specified at the meeting, that they undertook the work at all; and I should be much surprised if they had asked for the responsibility or accepted it if laid upon them by a "committee" of the kind, to overhaul the whole Christian Faith on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. The changes spoken of were merely for the sake of future comparison, and referred to two articles. It was agreed that the whole of the original Presbyterian articles, which Dr Gibb had with him, should in the first instance be printed in the 'Outlook' for reference and general information, and that these articles, less two of them, which, it was said, the Methodists might object to, should be printed for the Committee. It was never suggested nor implied that the omission of anything at that moment committed anybody to anything for the articles having only been once read over by Dr Gibb to the meeting, nobody really knew what was their full import and relative bearing except Dr Gibb. It was certainly never hinted at that meeting that there was so much as a suggestion to tamper with the foundation doctrines of the Reformed Faith, much less of Catholic Christendom. The meeting in any case was somewhat hurried, and lasted probably not more than an hour and a-half at the outside. I repeat that in going so far at this stage even as to print these articles, it was done before members of the Committee had ever got time or opportunity properly to consider what they should do, or, in true Presbyterian fashion of fulness and freedom of discussion, to have the benefit of each other's opinions, and learn how far or in what direction it was proper or advisable to move. It was recognised that it was only a preliminary meeting of ten members out of twenty-four.

2. Of the next stage Dr Gibb says: "The sub-committee met and performed its task with absolute unanimity." This sounds well, no doubt; but what does it mean? For all I know, this sub-committee may have been of a fractional nature, as Dr Gibb's unanimous committee is fractional and infinitesimal throughout. Be that as it may, I may be permitted to believe that when the articles left this sub-committee they were entirely satisfactory to Dr Gibb. Apparently it was Dr Gibb's desire to obtain for this new creed the authority of professorial sanction, as he has certainly displayed a feverish anxiety and haste to anticipate and claim the sanction of the committee of his Church; but I may be permitted at the outset to say regarding professorial sanction that the Presbyterian Church has never taken or believed her creed on the sanction professors, but her professors have been appointed to their posts of special trust and influence on a written and solemn declaration, given and received with the solemnity of an oath, that they believed her creed in the terms in which it is given and received, and that they will maintain and defend it. And there is no evidence whatever that the professors ever gave their deliberate sanction to the creed in circulation at the Assembly. And it is a moral impossibility that Dr Dunlop could: for I have lying before me a contribution of Dr Dunlop's in the Expository Times for August, 1903—mark the date,—in which he pours all the scorn of a copious and powerful eloquence on just such a creed as his sanction is now claimed to commend to the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Space will not permit a quotation here, and in due time and manner I shall quote it in full, and much else besides, for the Presbyterians of New Zealand. As to Dr Watt, I have no reason whatever to think that his creed is different in the main from Dr Dunlop's or from the historic Reformed Faith of his Church.

Now, mark the next step in the evolution of Dr Gibb's new creed. The moment this new creed came out of the hands of this sub-committee, he says, "a number of copies were sent to the Methodist and Congregational Committees with a request that they should take them into careful consideration and come to a definite finding anent them." And from that moment, be it observed, Dr Gibb parted company with the last pretence of authority, either from his Church or her committee. He and any two individuals of the Presbyterian ministry

might just as well have got together, struck their pens through every article of their Church's creed that clashed with their own opinions or with the creed of the Roman Catholic Church, and have sent the product of their labors and profound unanimity to the Pope at Home, asking him "to come to a definite finding anent it." As he would! The committee of which Dr Gibb was chairman had never so much as resolved to accept the original articles as a basis of treaty, much less the brand new creed of Dr Gibb's subcommittee. Yet before they have so much as seen these new articles, Dr Gibb has forwarded them to the Methodist and Congregational Committees for a "definite finding anent them." Needless to say even if the entire Presbyterian Committee had so far lost their sanity as to cut every shred of Presbyterianism out of their Church's creed, and done the same thing, they would have been equally ultra vires.

3. The next stage is, that "after an interval the Presbyterian Committee met." Like, I presume, other members, I had got a copy of the product of the subcommittee, with an intimation of a meeting of the committee with the representatives of the other churches. But when I read the articles, at a single glance, the whole movement for "evangelical" union in the hands of Dr Gibb took on a new aspect. I could not believe my eyes when I read the new creed, and made the comment that whoever was at the bottom of it, it could not be the work of the professors. For very good reasons, some of them quite Obvious, I did not attend this meeting; and it got on excellently and unanimously without me. How many of the 24 members of the committee attended has yet to be learned. But did those who attended get a chance to consider the articles and come to any conclusion on their own account, representing, as they were supposed to do, the dearest interests of their Church? No. Dr Gibb had it all arranged, and appears as general manager of the whole concert. And while they were "deliberating," and before they had completed half their work, they were hustled again. "The work of revision," writes Dr Gibb "was not completed on this occasion, because arrangements had been made for the attendance of the Methodist and Congregational Committees at a certain hour in the afternoon, and when that hour arrived the Presbyterian Committee had to desist"—had to desist and merge themselves with the Methodist and Congregational Committees. Not one hint does Dr Gibb give of how many of the 24 members of his own committee were thus, in the name of that committee, yet without their knowledge or sanction, by his arrangement previously made, hustled into throwing the creed of their Church into the melting pot of a general meeting of this kind.

4. But there they are, and the half of the articles that the Presbyterian "Committee" had been "considering" were dealt with, and as a result they were amended and "adopted" by this united committee.

5. "Before the next meeting of the united committees took place," says Dr Gibb, "I had left for Wellington I handed over the business to Dr Dunlop's instructing him to arrange for a meeting as soon as possible of the three committees to deal with the remaining articles." In due course, in obedience to these masterful "instructions," Dr Gibb received a report of this meeting, and "it appeared this second united meeting had been as unanimous as the first." I believe nobody outside of a little coterie of the Presbyterian Committee got any notice of this second united unanimous meeting, even if they would have attended; and obviously its meeting with the other committees had not a shadow of pretence to be regarded as a meeting of the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. So far as I am concerned as a member of that committee, like, I believe, the vast majority of the Union Committee. I never heard more of its doings from its first meeting I attended till the Assembly met and there was put in my hands, amongst the Assembly's printed reports, what purported to be the report of the Union Committee, where for the first time I saw the articles of the new "Evangelical" Church of New Zealand that had survived the furnace of Dr Gibb's "united" and uniting committees.

In this report the following sentences are sufficient to reveal Dr Gibb's ideas and intentions:—"The following are the articles unanimously approved of by the Methodist and Presbyterian Committees. . . . Your committee ask the Assembly to consider these articles seriatim to adopt them provision ally, and send them down to presbyteries and kirk sessions with an inquiry as to whether they consider union desirable on this or a similar doctrinal basis" And what he expected the Assembly to do, he had already announced at Lyttelton, on his way to the Assembly, under the title of "Acting-Moderator" "He was of opinion that the Wesleyan proposals would be approved by the General Assembly of Presbyterians." Here his new creed is adroitly called "Wesleyan proposals." "There will be a fight, though," he prophesied: and he concluded his interview: "It is alleged, also, that the union would lead to doctrinal strife, but I think these difficulties are mere bogies." When visions are about, there is no knowing what some people may regard as "bogies." Consequently, it appears, Dr Gibb expected that, it is presumed, on the testimony of great names and to the sound of big drums, the General Assembly of Presbyterians would swallow holus-bolus a new creed and new faith; while he should announce to an expectant world the birth, as of one born out of due season, of the National "Evangelical" Church of New Zealand! Later, the simple Presbyterians were to discover that they had been misled into a fog or become agnostic on the main articles of their Christian faith—but only, be it observed, 'provisionally"! This wise "provision" would make the change of front easier: while it left room for new developments, it also left room

for a return to sanity and to repentance and new obedience!

6. What did happen may be learned in connection with Dr Gibb's sixth stage. He called a meeting of the Union Committee—the first that in any fulness could reasonably have been convened since the previous Assembly,—and to them was allotted the barren "honor" of "adopting" the printed report and articles already in the hands of members of Assembly, and the creed already before three Churches as the Creed of the Union Committee. Of the meeting that took place Dr Gibb gives no record or hint in his letter. Of the great history-making Presbyterian Committee of 24 that had been so busy during the year concocting, "after careful consideration," a new creed for the "Evangelical" National Church of New Zealand only three turned up to meet the convener; and among the three not one, unless Mr A. C. Begg were one, of the "unanimous committee" who had "'united' two churches once so far apart in the matter of doctrine"! This was very sad and ominous; for, inveterate Protestant that I am, I was one of the three! Why the others did not attend I have no means of knowing. Most of them, like myself, had been treated as ciphers during the year; they therefore might have thought that they did not count, and did not, like me, want to count only among the Protestants, and that possibly their absence now might be counted to them for righteousness. Other less important considerations as their not having heard of the meeting, or their having other engagements, may possibly have accounted for their absence. Anyway, I believe 20 out of the 24 members mentioned were in Dunedin at Assembly time. I would not have mentioned this meeting, which being duly called was entitled to be regarded as a meeting of the committee, if Dr Gibb had not ungenerously and unfairly left it to be inferred that I was attending all the meetings of his committee, and only uttered a somewhat feeble and belated protest in the final meeting presently to be mentioned. For at this meeting of four I let it clearly be known to Dr Gibb what I for one thought of the new creed, and that I believed it never would be accepted "provisionally" or otherwise either by committee or Assembly. Mr A. C. Begg and the Rev. W. G. Dixon, the others present, will bear me out that my objections, which appeared new to them, were neither indefinite nor feeble. From the outset Dr Gibb agreed that a committee of four could do nothing, and he intimated he would call another urgent meeting. The consequence was that the union debate could not come before the Assembly during the first week. The second meeting constituting the sixth and, as I hoped, last stage in Dr Gibb's new creed, was attended by a good many, and the statement I made regarding it in my letter of the 26th of November is not questioned, much less refuted, by Dr Gibb's letter—unless silence be refutation. I wrote of this meeting: "The fact is, it was unanimously agreed in the last meeting of the Presbyterian Committee to report to the Assembly that consideration of articles of faith was not 'sufficiently matured' for them to be laid before the Assembly"; a statement regarding which Dr Gibb observes a silence that may be felt. And I will now add, what Dr Gibb might have been spared, that the committee practically ignored his printed report and articles, except so far as to permit him to pass the exordium and peroration of his report. The Rev. Mr Hewitson drew up, at request of the meeting, a motion, which was unanimously carried, to the effect that the Assembly should submit the previous question to the Church at large, whether negotiations should be entered into for a union at all; for the committee felt that the Church at large had never constitutionally given its sanction to this movement. It was he who dictated more than once as the finding of the committee for insertion in the new report the words I have referred to, that consideration of articles of faith was "not sufficiently matured." and thus clearly affirmed the fact that the articles referred to were never assented to by the Union Committee. Then Dr Gibb suggested that the articles might be embodied in the report as articles under consideration. I rose and protested against their getting even the sanction of this side-wind, and challenged the production of minutes to show the relation of the committee to the articles. No minutes were forthcoming; and as I do not know who is the secretary to this epoch-making committee, I will add that I have never heard any minute read. And, as Dr Gibb shows in his own letter, no independent sanction of even an infinitesimal fraction of his committee was ever at any duly convened meeting obtained for these articles. Consequently, the motion of Mr Hewitson disposed of them when, for the first and last time, the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church came together in fairly full strength. The Committee, courteously and gently withal, but as firmly as possible, refused to be committed to what Dr Gibb had with so much enthusiasm done in their name. And if Dr Gibb had kept perfect faith with his committee (or had not so completely mistaken and misinterpreted their mind and temper); if he had made his new report in spirit and in letter in terms of their finding, or had even kept his speech within the terms of the evasive report which he submitted to the Assembly, all this present trouble, with its inevitable consequences, would not have arisen. But Dr Gibb seems to have committed himself, if not his committee, up to the hilt to other persons or committees; consequently he seems to have either found it impossible to draw back, or was determined not to do so. Anyway, his zeal in the Assembly outran all discretion; he seems to have entered the fool's paradise of "Evangelical" Union, and so, again treating his committee as ciphers, he declared in the Assembly that his committee were unanimous for this new creed. Plainly, the object of my protest in the Assembly, which Dr Gibb as unwisely as unfairly endeavored to burk, was to dear myself and others for whom I might speak from all complicity in a double-dealing with the Church's creed, and to protest from the outset that the Union

Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand never gave its sanction to this new creed.

In conclusion, permit me to point out to the Church at large as a remarkable and significant fact the absence of the elders—the ordinary representatives of the people—from any part, at its crucial stage, in this new creed-making. Instead of there being, according to the constitution of the Church, an equal number of ministers and elders on so vitally important a committee, only the names of six elders appear on this committee of 24: and I question if a single one of the six ever gave, or ever would give, his assent to this new creed. It certainly does not increase one's confidence in the coming new "Evangelical" Church of New Zealand that it should be purely a clerical movement, and the origin and sanction of its creed shrouded in mystery. "Evasive and ambiguous I have described the new creed; evasive and ambiguous is Dr Gibb's history of its inception.

What I have now written will help to throw some light on the first two questions at the beginning of this letter, and it will help Presbyterians to seek for more. What it shows is that it was an act of rare audacity and recklessness for Dr Gibb to claim for this new creed of his the unanimous sanction of the Union Committee of the Presbyterian Church. And before the Church at large runs the risk by giving a mandate to Dr Gibb or any clerical coterie of flinging the most vital Articles of her faith into the crucible of a visionary clerical debating society, she will ask more about this new creed that, full grown, has suddenly emerged, like a chimera, from her bosom. Who are its authors, and what, indeed, do they believe and mean, and whither are they bound? As the Ancient Mariner relates:

We were the first that ever burst,
Into that silent sea.

This long letter is written for the information of Presbyterians, and its length will, it is to be hoped, deter the merely curious from a perusal of it. Regarding the third question, and eventually the only question, as to what this new creed means, that is a large question not suited to your columns, and one that a great many highly competent to elucidate it will take a part in deciding. A distinguished American divine (not a Presbyterian) says that the Presbyterian Church is the most theological in the world; she is at all events amply competent both to understand and defend her creed. Already the Rev. J Jolly, one of the "unanimous" Union Committee, writes to the Outlook that the new creed "will create keen and angry discussions, even to the breaking of friendships"; and he declares that there has been "eliminated from the English Presbyterian Articles—the alleged "basis" of the new creed—"the very centre of the Gospel, the very ground of our hopes." This only shows how necessary it is that this new creed should be carefully scrutinised, and that no sanction of great names or of "unanimous" committees should stand in the way of the most searching investigation. It is at least fairly clear that the new creed can with no more truth be said to be based on Principal Dykes's English Presbyterian Articles than a parody and burlesque of a poem can be said to be based on the poem burlesqued, as it no more represents the Presbyterians of New Zealand than do the opinions of the celebrated three tailors of Tooley street represent those of "the people of England."

Dr Gibb informs me "through you" that he "will not reply to any further letter I may send to you." therein manifesting a rare discretion. The matter raised, he says, "is not of general interest," and represents only a "difference of opinion between me and Mr Eraser," therein manifesting a rare obtuseness. And he concludes: "If it were the question of union, that would be another matter"! therein provoking me to say something unkind. I will rather add: May Presbyterians, when they have come through their hereditary theological controversy, understand their creed even better and love it more, and exclaim at the close: "No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better!"

—I am, etc.,
P. B. Fraser

Lovell's Flat,

January 2

Appendix II.

The following is the "Report of Committee on Union of Churches," which was in circulation among the Assembly reports, 1903. It contains the Articles of the Faith so much criticised. This report, however, was not presented to the Assembly

Report of Committee on Union of Churches.

Your Committee were instructed by last Assembly to approach the Methodist Conference and the Congregational Union, and to inform these bodies that, in the opinion of the Assembly, the time had come to consider seriously whether a Union of the Churches they represent with our own might not be accomplished. In accordance with these instructions the Committee waited on the Congregational Council at its meeting in Dunedin last February, and by delegation on the Methodist Conference at its meeting in Christchurch in the month of March. By both Council and Conference the delegates and the proposals they submitted were received with great enthusiasm, and at later seditious resolutions similar to that of the Assembly, and appointing committees to co-operate with the Assembly's committee, were unanimously adopted.

Your Committee were further instructed, in the event of the Assembly's proposal receiving a favourable reception at the hands of the Conference and Council, to bring up a report to this Assembly, indicating the main lines of doctrine and polity, on which negotiations for a Union of these Churches with our own might proceed. After careful consideration the Committee came to the conclusion that it would be well to confine their deliberations this year to the matter of doctrine alone. This resolved on, they next determined to take as the basis of their work the very admirable articles prepared some years ago by a committee of the Presbyterian Church of England—Principal Dykes, convener—and approved of by that Church as a statement of the living faith of the Church. The Committee were of opinion that with the elimination of one or two articles and the modification of certain others these Articles of the Faith would commend themselves not only to the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, but also to the two other Churches with whom we have entered into negotiations. This anticipation has been amply fulfilled, as far as the three committees can be regarded as reflecting the opinions of the Churches concerned. With one or two merely verbal alterations and the addition of an Article setting forth the sanctity of the Lord's Day, the Methodist Committee have accepted the doctrinal basis sent on to them by your Committee. The Congregational Committee are also in almost entire accord with the Methodists and ourselves in this matter. They would prefer a slightly different statement in a few of the Articles, but as they have not completed their work at the date of writing this report, the slight changes they desire will be brought before the Assembly when the report is under discussion. The following are the articles unanimously approved of by the Methodist and Presbyterian Committees:—

Articles of the Faith.

I.—Of God.

We believe in and adore one living and true God, who is spirit and the Father of spirits, present in every place, personal, infinite, and eternal, the almighty Author and sovereign Lord of all; most blessed, most holy, and most free; perfect in wisdom, justice, truth, and love; to us most merciful and gracious; unto whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship and obey. To him be glory forever! Amen.

II.—Of the Trinity.

We acknowledge, with the ancient Church, the mystery of the Holy Trinity as revealed in Scripture, and believe that in the unity of the ever blessed Godhead there are three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, of one substance, equal in power and glory.

III.—Of Creation.

We believe that Almighty God, for His own holy and loving ends, was pleased in the beginning to create the heavens and the earth, by the Son, the Eternal Word; and through progressive stages, to fashion and order this world, giving life to every creature; and to make man in His own image, that he might glorify and enjoy God, occupying and subduing the earth, and having dominion over the creatures, to the praise of his Makers name.

IV.—Of Providence.

We believe that God the Creator upholds all things by the word of His power, preserving and providing for all His creatures, according to the laws of their being; and that He, through the presence and energy of His Spirit in nature and history, disposes, governs, and over-rules all events for His own high design; yet is He not in anywise the author or approver of sin, neither are the freedom and responsibility of man taken away, nor have any bounds been set to the sovereign liberty of Him who worketh when and where and how He pleaseth.

V.—Of Sin.

We believe and confess that all men, through disobedience to the will of God in whatsoever way made known, are in a state of sin, and so are estranged from God, have come under just condemnation, and are subject to the penalty of death;; and we acknowledge that out of this condition no man is able to deliver himself.

VI.—Of Saving Grace.

We believe and proclaim that God, who is rich in mercy as well as of perfect justice, out of His great love to man was pleased to hold forth from the first a promise of redemption, which from age to age He confirmed and unfolded; and that, in the fulness of the time. He accomplished His gracious purpose by sending His son to be the Saviour of the world; wherefore our salvation out of sin and misery is ever to be ascribed to free and sovereign

VII.—Of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We believe in and confess, with the ancient Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the Eternal Son of God, became man by taking to Himself a true body and soul, yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; so that He is both God and man, two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the divine and the human, being inseparably united in one person, that He might be the Mediator between God and man, by whom alone we must be saved.

VIII.—Of the Work of Christ.

We believe that the Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ, being anointed with the Holy Spirit to proclaim and set up the Kingdom of God among men, did by His perfect life on earth, through words and deeds of grace, declare the Father, whose image He is; and did fully satisfy the demands of the Divine nature, and obtain for us forgiveness of sins, reconciliation to God, and the gift of eternal life, through His obedience on our behalf to the law and will of His Father, even unto the death of the cross, wherein, bearing our sins, He offered Himself up a sacrifice without spot to God.

IX.—Of the Exaltation of Christ.

We believe that Jesus Christ, being for our offences, crucified, dead, and buried, saw no corruption, but was raised again on the third day, and declared to be the Son of God with power, in whose risen life we live anew, and have the pledge of a blessed resurrection; that in the same body in which He rose, He ascended into Heaven, where, as our High Priest, He maketh continual intercession for us; and that He sitteth at the right hand of God, Head of the Church, clothed with authority and power as Lord over all.

X.—Of the Gospel.

We believe and proclaim that God, who willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, has, by His Son our Saviour, given commission to the Church to preach unto all nations the Gospel of His Grace, wherein He freely offers to all men forgiveness and eternal life, calling on them to turn from sin to God, and to receive and rest by faith upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

XI.—Of the Holy Spirit.

We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who worketh freely as He will, without whose gracious influence there is no salvation, and whom the Father never withholds from any who ask for Him; and we give thanks that He has in every age moved on the hearts of men; that He spake by the prophets; that through our exalted Saviour He was sent forth in power to convict the world of sin, to enlighten the minds of men in the knowledge of Christ, and to persuade and enable them to obey the call of the gospel; and that He abides with the Church, dwelling in every believer as the Spirit of truth, of holiness, and of comfort.

XII.—Of Justification by Faith.

We believe that everyone, who through the quickening grace of the Holy Spirit repents, and believes the Gospel, confessing and forsaking his sins, and humbly relying upon Christ alone for salvation, is freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in the sight of God.

XIII.—Of Union with Christ.

We believe that those who receive Christ by faith are vitally united to Him, and become partakers in all the benefits of His redemption; that they are adopted into the family of God; and that they have the Spirit of His Son abiding in them, the earnest and witness of their inheritance.

XIV.—Of The Law of the New Obedience

We believe and acknowledge that the Lord Jesus Christ has laid His people by His grace under new obligation to keep the perfect Law of God; and that by precept and example He has enlarged our knowledge of that law, and illustrated the spirit of filial love in which the divine will is to be obeyed.

XV.—Of the Church.

We acknowledge one holy catholic Church, the innumerable company of saints of every age and nation, who, being united by the Holy Spirit to Christ their Head, are one body in Him, and have communion with their Lord and with one another; further, we receive it as the will of Christ that His Church on earth should exist as a visible and sacred brotherhood, organised for the confession of His name, the public worship of God, the upbuilding of the saints, and the proclamation of the Gospel; and we acknowledge, as a part, more or less pure, of this universal brotherhood, every particular Church throughout the world which professes faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to Him, as Divine Lord and Saviour.

XVI.—Of Church Order and Fellowship.

We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole Head of His Church, has appointed its worship, teaching, discipline, and government to be administered, according to His will revealed in Holy Scripture, by officers chosen for their fitness, and duly set apart to their office; and although the visible Church, even in its purest branch, may contain unworthy members, and is liable to err, yet believers ought not lightly to separate themselves from its communion, but are to live in fellowship with their brethren; which fellowship is to be extended, as God gives opportunity, to all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.

XVII.—Of Holy Scripture.

We believe that God, who manifests Himself in creation and providence and especially in the spirit of man, has been pleased to reveal His mind and will for our salvation at successive periods and in various ways; and that this Revelation has been, so far as needful, committed to writing by men inspired of the Holy Spirit, so that the Word of God is now contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are therefore to be devoutly studied by all; and we reverently acknowledge the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures to be the Supreme Judge in questions of faith and duty.

XVIII.—Of the Sacraments.

We acknowledge Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two Sacraments instituted by Christ, to be of perpetual obligation, as signs and seals of the new covenant ratified in His precious blood; through the observance of which His Church is to confess her Lord, and to be visibly distinguished from the rest of the world; Baptism with water into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost being the sacrament of admission into the visible Church, in which are set forth our union to Christ and regeneration by the Spirit, the remission of our sins, and our engagement to be the Lord's; and the Lord's Supper, the sacrament of communion with Christ and His people, in which bread and wine are given and received in thankful remembrance of Him and of His sacrifice on the Cross, and in which they who in faith receive the same do, after a spiritual manner, partake of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, to their comfort, nourishment, and growth in grace.

XIX.—Of The Lord's Day.

We believe that the Lord's Day, or Christian Sabbath, is a Holy Day, and is to be observed for rest and worship.

XX.—Of the Second Advent.

We believe that on a day known only to God, the Lord Jesus Christ will suddenly come again from heaven with power and great glory, for which appearing we ought always to wait in sober watchfulness and diligence, that we may be found ready at His coming.

XXI.—Of the Resurrection.

We believe that the souls of the righteous enter at death upon a state of rest and felicity at home with the Lord; and we look for the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, through the power of the Son of God, when the bodies of all who are fallen asleep in Christ, as well as of the faithful who are then alive, shall be fashioned anew and conformed to the body of His glory

XXII.—Of the Last Judgment.

We believe that God will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, before whom all men must appear, who shall separate the righteous from the wicked, make manifest the secrets of the heart, and render to every man according to the deeds which he hath done in the body, whether good or evil.

XXIII.—Of the Life Everlasting.

Finally, we believe in and desire the life everlasting in which the redeemed shall receive their inheritance of glory in the kingdom of their Father, and be made fully blessed in the presence and service of God, whom they shall see and enjoy forever and ever. Amen.

Your Committee ask the Assembly to consider these articles seriatim, to adopt them provisionally, and to send them down to Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions with an inquiry as to whether they consider Union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches desirable on this or a similar doctrinal basis. It is not suggested at this stage that the articles should be sent down under the Barrier Act, or that Presbyteries and Sessions should express other-than a general approval of the proposal for Union on the basis suggested. In the event of the Assembly's agreeing to this course, the Committee, in pursuance of the resolution adopted a year ago, ask authority to formulate, in co-operation with the Methodist and Congregational Committees, suggestions towards a Basis of Union in respect of the polity of the Church.

The movement inaugurated by last Assembly for the Union of the Evangelical Churches of the colony is happily on a line with similar movements in other parts of the world. In Canada the question is being eagerly discussed. In Australia, at the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the recommendations of the Committee for a Union of Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Congregationalism were adopted by a very great majority. On every hand there are indications that the Churches of Jesus Christ are drawing together. The time is assuredly not far distant when not only in this colony, but in every land, the Churches that practically hold the same creed and follow the same methods of work will throw down their denominational barriers, and unite to form one grand victorious body, in which the desire of Christ for the unity of His people shall be realised, and by which the waste and strife occasioned by sectarian competition and rivalry shall be brought to a perpetual end. May God speed the day!

James Gibb.
Convener

Appendix III.

Report of Committee on Union of Churches.

Adopted by Assembly. 1903

Your Committee were instructed by last Assembly to approach the Methodist Conference and the Congregational Union, and to inform these bodies that, in the opinion of the Assembly, the time had come to consider seriously whether a Union of the churches they represent with our own might not be accomplished. In accordance with these instructions the Committee waited on the Congregational Council at its meeting in Dunedin last February, and by delegation on the Methodist Conference at its meeting in Christchurch in the month of March. By both Council and Conference the delegates and the proposals they submitted were received with great enthusiasm, and at later seditious resolutions similar to that of the Assembly, and appointing committees to co-operate with the Assembly's committee, were unanimously adopted.

Your Committee were further instructed, in the event of the Assembly's proposal receiving a favourable reception at the hands of the Conference and Council, to bring up a report to this Assembly, indicating the main lines of doctrine and polity on which negotiations for a Union of these churches with our own might proceed.

In compliance with this instruction your Committee, in co-operation with the Committees of other Churches, have held several meetings, at which the question of a suitable creed has been under consideration, and a number of Articles of the Faith have been framed. But, being persuaded that if any real advance is to be made in this matter, the advance must be slow, and the mind of the whole Church ascertained at each step, your Committee deems it inexpedient to submit these articles to the Assembly. They ask the Assembly to remit to

Presbyteries and Sessions the question if they are agreeable to the Assembly negotiating with the Methodist, and Congregational Churches with a view to Union upon a basis of doctrine and polity to be considered, and in due time sent down to Presbyteries and Sessions.

The movement for the Union of the Evangelical Churches of this colony is happily on a line with similar movements in other parts of the world. In Canada the question is being eagerly discussed. In Australia, at the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the recommendations of the Committee for a Union of Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Congregationalism were adopted by a very great majority. On every hand there are indications that the Churches of Jesus Christ are drawing together. The time is assuredly not far distant when not only in this colony, but in even land, the Churches that practically hold the same Creed and follow the same methods of work will throw down their denominational barriers, and unite to form one grand victorious body in which the desire of Christ for the unity of His people shall be realised, and by which the waste and strife occasioned by sectarian competition and rivalry shall be brought to a perpetual end.

James Gibb, Convener.

Appendix IV.

The Union of the Churches.

Clutha Presbytery—Notice of Overture.

(From the 'Otago Daily Times' Saturday, December 12, 1903.)

The Rev. P. B. Fraser, at the meeting of the Presbytery of Clutha on 11th inst., tabled the following overture for presentation by the Presbytery to the ensuing meeting of the Synod of Otago and Southland, which meets about Easter time. He gave notice of motion to move it at the next quarterly meeting of the Clutha Presbytery:—

Overture of the Presbytery of Clutha to the Ensuing Meeting of the Synod of Otago and Southland.

1. Whereas the Presbytery of Clutha adopted an overture to the Synod of Otago and Southland for adoption and transmission to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand petitioning that steps be taken for the establishing of "an annual conference or other association of Christian Churches which would make for practical co-operation of Christian Churches in the present, and which, without the sacrifice of truth to charity or of charity to truth, but with the triumph of both, would in the provident of God make for an ultimate fusion of Christian denominations into a zealous and powerful National Church of New Zealand";

2. And whereas that overture was adopted unanimously by the Synod and received from the Synod by the General Assembly held at Wellington in November, 1902;

3. And whereas that Assembly, without being overtured in due form by any of the courts of the Church, adopted a resolution (of which notice had been given during the sittings of the Assembly) authorising proposals to be made to the Methodist and Congregational Churches with a view to Union, and passed from the overture of the Otago Synod petitioning the Assembly to move for co-operation only at present;

4. And whereas a committee was accordingly appointed (Rev. Dr Gibb. convener) to negotiate with the said churches, and reported to the Assembly held in Dunedin in November, 1905, that certain Articles of Faith had been framed;

5. And whereas the convener reported that the said Articles, which were not submitted to the Assembly, had been unanimously agreed to by the Assembly's committee (a statement which the mover of this overture in the Presbytery, being a member of the said Union Committee, has from the first strenuously contested and denied) and also by representatives of the negotiating Churches;

6. And whereas the said Articles of Faith appeared amongst the Assembly's reports, and purported to be based on Articles of Faith prepared by a Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England—Principal Dykes being convener—and adopted by that Church;

7. And whereas a comparison—a statement of which is appended hereto—of the said Articles with those of the Presbyterian Church of England afore said reveals, instead of a similarity of the system of doctrine, a grave and fundamental departure and contract, inasmuch as the Reformation doctrines of the origin of the living laces of mankind, of the Fall, of the temptation of mankind by Satan, of the origin of sin, of native depravity, of the Atonement of justification by faith solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice, of the election of grace, of regeneration, of Christian perseverance, and of eternal punishment are all eliminated from the Articles of the Presbyterian Church of England referred to;

8. And whereas the said articles, in their changed form, do, on the great foundation truths of the origin of

the living races of mankind, of the origin and transmission of the sin of the race, of native depravity, of the atoning sacrifice of the Lord Jesus, of justification by faith, and of the destiny of sinful and unrepentant men, take up an attitude evasive, ambiguous, or agnostic:

9. And whereas, in particular, there have been eliminated from the Article on Justification by faith the concluding words giving the ground on which God justifies sinners—viz., "solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice"—thus removing Christ crucified as an atoning sacrifice from before sinners as the Object of their faith and from before God as the ground on which He freely offers pardon and acceptance to all sinners of mankind;

10. And whereas, in another particular, in the Article on the Judgment there have been eliminated the concluding words, which are Christ's own—viz., "that the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life"—thus causing the Church in her Creed and testimony before the world to become avowedly agnostic on the most awful Article of the Christian faith, and, in effect, to deny her Lord's explicit testimony, while permitting men to enter her ministry who may proclaim within the same Church the contradictory doctrines of universalism, annihilation, and eternal punishment, and substitute the opinions of men for the Word of God;

11. And whereas the said Articles, being evasive, ambiguous, or agnostic on the foundation doctrines of the Reformed Faith, would therefore open the door for admission into the ministry of the Church of men holding mutually contradictory and conflicting doctrines on the main Articles of belief and subversive of the Christian faith;

12. And whereas, owing to their evasive and ambiguous character they said Articles would be either entirely useless as a test of subscription and adherence to a common system of doctrine, or be liable to be abused as an instrument of tyranny and oppression if variously interpreted by changing majorities in Church courts;

13. And whereas these Articles in their substance are totally opposed to the doctrinal standards of the Church adopted so recently as two years ago, and would, if adopted, tend not to unite Christendom, but to disunite it by the formation of a new religious sect;

14. And whereas it has been remitted by the Assembly to Presbyteries and Sessions to report whether they are in favour of negotiating with the Churches named on a basis to be submitted;

15. And whereas, according to the convener of the Assembly's Committee, and also the convener of the Congregational Committee (as appears in his report published in the 'Outlook,' dated December 5, 1903), the Assembly's Committee are said to have already given their assent to the said Articles of faith in circulation among the Assembly reports;

16. And whereas there would be created alarm, dissension, and distress in the Church if the Assembly should give its authority to consider a union with other Churches on such a basis;

Therefore the Presbytery of Clutha hereby respectfully overtures the Synod of Otago and Southland to take the whole question raised by the propose! union on such a basis into its careful consideration with the view of learning for itself and the Church at large how far the premises above recited are true in substance or in fact, and of petitioning the Assembly to dismiss the Committee, and to take such steps as in its wisdom, it sees fit to satisfy the Church at large that there is no danger of the Church departing from the substance of her present doctrinal standards, and further, to secure the objects petitioned for by the overture from the Presbytery of Clutha which was unanimously adopted by the Synod and received by the Assembly of 1902: or, in the alternative, to take such steps in view of the premises above recited as shall tend to promote the peace and prosperity of our Zion and the glory of God.

The Changes in the Articles.

The changes made in the Articles of the Presbyterian Church of England referred to in the overture., are as follows:—

1. The English Presbyterian Article:—

V.—Of the Fall.

"We believe and confess that our first father, Adam, the representative head as well as common ancestor of mankind, transgressed the commandment of God through temptation of the devil, by which transgression he fell, and all mankind in him, from his original state of innocence and communion with God; and so all men have come under just condemnation, are subject to the penalty of death, and inherit a sinful nature, degenerate in every part, and estranged from God, from which proceed all actual transgressions; and we acknowledge that out of this condition no man is able to deliver himself."

The above is struck out and the following inserted in its place, as the convener reports, by Assembly's

Committee:

V.—Of Sin.

"We believe and confess that all men, through disobedience to the Will of God in whatsoever way made known, are in a state of sin, and so are estranged from God, have come under just condemnation, and are subject to the penalty of death; and we acknowledge that out of this condition no man is able to deliver himself."

2. The English Presbyterian Article is as follows:—

VIII.—Of the Work of Christ.

"We believe that the Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ, being anointed with the Holy Spirit to proclaim and set up the Kingdom of God among men, did by His perfect life on earth, through words and deeds of grace, declare the Father, whose image He is; and did fully satisfy divine justice, and obtain for us forgiveness of sins, reconciliation to God, and the gift of eternal life, through His obedience on our behalf to the law and will of His Father, even unto the death of the cross, wherein, bearing our sins, He offered himself up a sacrifice without spot to God."

In the above Article on the Work of Christ the Assembly's Committee, as reported by convener, have struck out the words "did fully satisfy divine justice" and have inserted instead "did fully satisfy the demands of the Divine nature."

3. The following is the English Presbyterian Article:—

XIII.—Of Justification by Faith.

"We believe that everyone, who through the quickening grace of the Holy Spirit repents, and believes the Gospel, confessing and forsaking his sins, and humbly relying upon Christ alone for salvation, is freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in the sight of God, solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice."

In the above the Assembly's Committee, as reported by convener, have struck out the last words "solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice."

4. The English Presbyterian Article:—

XIV.—Of Son Ship in Christ.

"We believe that those who receive Christ by faith are vitally united to Him, and become partakers in all the benefits of His redemption; that they are adopted into the family of God; and that they have the Spirit of His Son abiding in them, the earnest of their inheritance."

The Assembly's Committee, as reported, have altered the title of the above to read, "Of Union with Christ," and have inserted the words "and witness" after "earnest." The above Article is not specially mentioned in the overture, but is added here for the sake of completeness.

5. The following English Presbyterian Article has been struck out:—

XII.—Of Election and Regeneration.

"We humbly own and believe that God, the Father, before the foundation of the world, was pleased of His sovereign grace to choose a people unto Himself in Christ, whom He gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life by a secret and wonderful operation of His power, using as His ordinary means, where years of understanding have been reached, the truths of His Word, in ways agreeable to the nature of man; so that, being born from above, they are the children of God, created in Jesus Christ unto good works."

6. The following Presbyterian Article has also been struck out:—

XVI.—Of Christian Perseverance.

"We bless God that the obedience of Christians, though in this life always imperfect, is yet accepted for Christ's sake and pleasing to God, being the fruit of union to Christ and the evidence of a living faith; and that in measure as they surrender themselves to His Spirit, and follow the guidance of His Word, they receive strength for daily service, and grow in holiness after the image of their Lord; or if, through unwatchfulness and neglect of prayer, any of them fall into grievous sin, yet by the mercy of God Who abideth faithful, they are not cast off, but are chastened for their back-sliding, and through repentance restored to His favour, so that they perish not."

7. The following is the English Presbyterian Article:—

XXIII.—Of the Last Judgment.

"We believe that God will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, before Whom all men must appear. Who shall separate the righteous from the wicked, make manifest the secrets of the heart, and render to every man according to the deeds which he hath done in the body, whether good or evil, when the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."

The Assembly's Committee, as reported by convener, has struck out the last words, "when the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."

8. For the sake of completeness, the following new Article, added by Assembly's Committee as reported, though not referred to in overture, is quoted:—

XIX.—The Lord's Day.

"We believe that the Lord's Day, or Christian Sabbath, is a Holy Day, and is to be observed for rest and worship."

Appendix V.

The Articles of the Faith as Held by the Presbyterian Church of England.

I.—Of God.

We believe in and adore one living and true God, who is spirit and the Father of spirits, present in every place, personal, infinite, and eternal, the almighty Author and sovereign of all; most blessed, most holy, and most free; perfect in wisdom, justice, truth, and love; to us most merciful and gracious; unto Whom only we must cleave, Whom only we must worship and obey. To him be glory forever! Amen.

II.—Of the Trinity.

We acknowledge, with the ancient Church, the mystery of the Holy Trinity as revealed in Scripture, and believe that in the unity of the every blessed Godhead there are three Persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—of one substance, equal in power and glory.

III.—Of Creation.

We believe that Almighty God, for His own holy and loving ends, was pleased in the beginning to create the heavens and the earth, by the Son, the Eternal Word; and through progressive stages, to fashion and order this world, giving life to every creature; and to make man in His own image, that he might glorify and enjoy God, occupying and subduing the earth, and having dominion over the creatures, to the praise of his Maker's name.

IV.—Of Providence.

We believe that God the Creator upholds all things by the word of His power, preserving and providing for all His creatures, according to the laws of their being; and that He, through the presence and energy of His Spirit in nature and history, disposes and governs all events for His own high design; yet is He not in anywise the author or approver of sin, neither are the freedom and responsibility of man taken away, nor have any bounds been set to the sovereign liberty of Him who worketh when and where and how He pleaseth.

V.—Of the Fall.

We believe and confess that our first father, Adam, the representative head as well as common ancestor of mankind, transgressed the commandment of God through temptation of the devil, by which transgression he fell, and all mankind in him, from his original state of innocence and communion with God; and so all men have come under just condemnation, are subject to the penalty of death, and inherit a sinful nature, degenerate in every part, and estranged from God, from which proceed all actual transgressions; and we acknowledge that out of this condition no man is able to deliver himself.

VI.—Of Saving Grace.

We believe and proclaim that God, who is rich in mercy as well as of perfect justice, was moved by His Great love to man to hold forth from the first a promise of redemption, which from age to age He confirmed and un-folded, and that, in the fulness of the time, He accomplished His gracious purpose by sending His Son to be the Saviour of the world; wherefore our salvation out of sin and misery is ever to be ascribed to free and sovereign grace.

VII.—Of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We believe in and confess, with the ancient Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the Eternal Son of God, became man by taking to Himself a true body and soul, yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; so that He is both God and Man, two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the divine and the human, being inseparably joined together in one person, that He might be the Mediator between God and man, by whom alone we must be saved

VIII.—Of the Work of Christ.

We believe that the Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ, being anointed with the Holy Spirit to proclaim and set up the Kingdom of God among men, did by His perfect life on earth, through words and deeds of grace, declare the Father, whose image He is; and did fully satisfy divine justice, and obtain for us forgiveness of sins, reconciliation to God, and the gift of eternal life, through His obedience on our behalf to the law and will of His Father, even unto the death of the Cross, wherein, bearing our sins, He offered himself up a sacrifice without spot to God.

IX.—Of the Exaltation of Christ.

We believe that Jesus Christ, being for our offences crucified, dead, and buried, saw no corruption, but was raised again on the third day, in whose risen life we live anew, and have the pledge of a blessed resurrection; that in the same body in which He rose, He ascended into heaven, where, as our High Priest, He maketh continued Intercession for us; and that He sitteth at the right hand of God, Head of the Church, clothed with authority and power as Lord over all.

X.—Of the Gospel.

We hold fast and proclaim that God, who willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, has, by His Son, our Saviour given commission to the Church to preach unto all nations the Gospel of His grace, wherein He freely offers to all men forgiveness and eternal life, calling on them to turn from sin to God, and to receive and rest by faith upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

XI.—Of the Holy Spirit.

We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who worketh freely as He will, without whose gracious influence there is no salvation, and whom the Father never withholds from any who ask for Him; and we give thanks that He has in every age moved on the hearts of men; that He spake by the prophets; that through our exalted Saviour He was sent forth in power to convict the world of sin, to enlighten the minds of men in the knowledge of Christ, and to persuade and enable them to obey the call of the Gospel: and that He abides with the Church, dwelling in every believer as the Spirit of truth, of holiness, and of comfort.

XII.—Of Election and Regeneration.

We humbly own and believe that God, the Father, before the foundation of the world, was pleased of His sovereign grace to choose a people unto Himself in Christ, whom He gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life by a secret and wonderful operation of His power, using as His ordinary means, where years of understanding have been reached, the truths of His Word in ways agreeable to the nature of man; so that, being born from above, they are the children of God created in Christ Jesus unto good works.

XIII.—Of Justification by Faith.

We believe that everyone, who through the quickening grace of the Holy Spirit repents, and believes the Gospel, confessing and forsaking his sins, and humbly relying upon Christ alone for salvation, is freely pardoned and accepted as righteous in the sight of God, solely on the ground of Christ's perfect obedience and atoning sacrifice.

XIV.—Of Sonship in Christ.

We believe that those who receive Christ by faith are vitally united to Him and become partakers in all the benefits of His redemption'; that they are adopted into the family of God; and that they have the Spirit of His Son abiding in them, the earnest of their inheritance.

XV.—Of the Law of the New Obedience.

We believe and acknowledge that the Lord Jesus Christ has laid His people by His grace under new obligation to keep the perfect Law of God: and that by precept and example He has enlarged our knowledge of that Law, and illustrated the spirit of filial love in which the divine will is to be obeyed.

XVI.—Of Christian Perseverance.

We bless God that the obedience of Christians, though in this life always imperfect, is yet accepted for Christ's sake and pleasing to God, being the fruit of union to Christ and the evidence of a living faith; and that in measure as they surrender themselves to His Spirit, and follow the guidance of His Word, they receive strength for daily service, and grow in holiness after the image of 'their Lord; or if, through unwatchfulness and neglect of prayer, any of them fall into previous sin, yet by the mercy of God who abideth faithful, they are not cast off, but are chastened for their backsliding, and through repentance restored to His favour, so that they perish not.

XVII.—Of the Church.

We acknowledge one holy Catholic Church, the innumerable company of saints of every age and nation, who, being united by the Holy Spirit to Christ their Head, are one body in Him, and have communion with their Lord and with one another; further, we receive it as the will of Christ that His Church on earth should exist as a visible and sacred brotherhood, organist for the confession of His name, the public worship of God, the upbuilding of the saints, and the proclamation of the Gospel; and we acknowledge, as a part, more or less pure, of this universal brotherhood, every particular Church throughout the world which professes faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to Him, as Divine Lord and Saviour.

XVIII.—Of Church Order and Fellowship.

We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole Head of His Church has appointed its worship, teaching, discipline, and government to be administered, according to His will revealed in Holy Scripture, by officers chosen for their fitness, and duly set apart to their office; and all hough the visible Church, even in its purest branch, may contain unworthy members, and is liable to err. yet believers ought not lightly to separate themselves from its communion, but are to live in fellowship with their brethren; which fellowship is to be extended, as God gives opportunity, to all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.

XIX.—Of Holy Scripture.

We believe that God, Who manifests Himself in creation and providence and especially in the spirit of man, has been pleased to reveal His mind and will for our salvation at successive periods and in various ways; and that this Revelation has been, so far as needful, committed to writing by men inspired of the Holy Spirit, so that the Word of God is now contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are therefore to be devoutly studied by all; and we reverently acknowledge the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures to be the Supreme Judge in questions of faith and duty.

XX.—Of the Sacraments.

We acknowledge Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two Sacraments instituted by Christ, to be of perpetual obligation, as signs and seals of the new covenant, ratified in His precious blood; through the observance of which His Church is to confess her Lord and to be visibly distinguished from the rest of the world; Baptism with water in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost being the Sacrament of admission into the risible Church, in which are set forth our union to Christ and regeneration by the Spirit, the remission of our sins, and our engagement to be the Lord's; and the Lord's Supper, the Sacrament of communion with Christ and His people, in which bread and wine are given and received in thankful remembrance of Him and of His sacrifice on the Cross, and in which they who in faith receive the same do, after a spiritual manner, partake of the body and Mood of the Lord Jesus Christ, to their comfort, nourishment, and growth in grace.

XXI.—Of the Second Advent.

We assuredly believe that on a day known only to God, the Lord Jesus Christ will suddenly come again from heaven with power and great glory; and we look for this second appearing of our Saviour as the blessed hope of His Church, for which we ought always to wait in sober watchfulness and diligence, that we may be found ready at His coming.

XXII.—Of the Resurrection.

We believe that the souls of the righteous enter at death upon a state of rest and felicity at home with the Lord; and we look for the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, through the power of the Son of God, when the bodies of all who are fallen asleep in Christ, as well as of the faithful who are then alive, shall be fashioned anew and conformed to the body of His glory.

XXIII.—Of the Last Judgment.

We believe that God will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, before whom all men must appear, who shall separate the righteous from the wicked, make manifest the secrets of the heart, and render to every man according to the deeds which he hath done in the body, whether good or evil, when the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.

XXIV.—Of the Life Everlasting.

Finally, we believe in and desire the life everlasting in which the redeemed shall receive their inheritance of glory in the kingdom of their Father, and be made fully blessed in the presence and service of God, whom they shall see and enjoy forever and ever. Amen.

decorative feature

Crest

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Front Cover

Statistical View of Fifty Years' Progress in New Zealand,
1854-1903.

Compiled from Official Sources. E. J. Von Dadelszen, Registrar General.

coat of arms Wellington. By Authority: John Mackay, Government Printer. 1904.

I.—Population.

NOTE.—Maori population excluded from above was 43,143 in 1901, and that of Cook Islands, & 12,292 Persons.

II.—Land and Stock,

III.—Trade.

Exports (the Produce of New Zealand). Year. Wool. Grain. Frozen Meat. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value.

III.—Trade—Continued. Exports (the Produce of New Zealand)—continued. Year. Butter. Cheese. Flax (Phormium), Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value.

III.—Trade—continued. Exports (the Produce of New Zealand)—continued. Year. Gold. Gum (Kauri). Provisions, Tallow, Timber, &c. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Value.

III.—Trade—continued. Year. Exports (the Produce of New Zealand). Imports. Coal-mines, Output from. Total Value. Total Value. From United States (included in previous Column).

IV.—Transport.

Year. Shipping. Inwards. Outwards. Registered Vessels belonging to the Colony. Tonnage. Tonnage. Gross Tonnage.

IV.—Transport—continued Year. Government Railways. (Figures to 31st March following). Electric

Telegraph. Miles open for Traffic. Miles under Construction. Railway Receipts. Miles of Line. Number of Messages. Cash and Cash Values, including Telephones

V.—Accumulation.

Year. Banks. (Average of Four Quarters.) Savings-Banks (Post Office and private). Post Office Money Orders issued. Deposits. Assets. Liabilities. Number of Depositors. Balance to credit on 31st Dec. Number. Amount.

V.—Accumulation—continued. Year. Insurances in Force in the Government Insurance Department at end of Year. Old-age Pensions, 31st March of following Year. Friendly Societies from which returns received. Public Trust Office, No. of Policies. Sums Assured and Bonuses. No. of Pensions in force. Amount re-presented. No. of Lodges, No. of Members. Number of Estates. Amount represented,

EVENING POST OFFICE,

Wellington, 3rd September, 1904.

MESSRS. BLUNDELL BROS., EVENING POST, Wellington. DEAR SIRS,—

Referring to the letter addressed to you by Messrs. William Allan, A. M. Lewis, the Rev. James Gibb, and twenty-one other gentlemen, who, writing as "representatives of the Re formed Churches and citizens of Wellington," desire to call your attention to the "one-sided and unfair treatment" to which they are from time to time subjected in the columns of the Post, and to which I am asked to reply, I herewith subjoin the answers.

The Manifestoes.

It is no easy task to deal concisely with a general charge of "onesided and unfair treatment" based on our attitude to the keen controversy which centred for three months in the manifestoes and counter-manifestoes of the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Bible-in-Schools Executive. In such a controversy it is almost inevitable that each party should consider that the other has treated it unfairly, and the criticism to which the POST is subjected is but an example of the general rule. We are accused of having described the first manifesto of the Roman Bishops as "in many respects a model of controversial dialectics," though it is said to have been "redolent of insult" to all who differed from the writers on the question of Bible-teaching in the public schools. In writing as we did, we expressed what we believed, and what we still believe, to be the verdict of the great majority of fair-minded critics, but to say that the manifesto was "in many respects a model of controversial dialectics" was not meant to imply, and does not imply, that it was in every respect a model of judicial balance or of controversial good taste or of doctrinal accuracy. We are certainly not concerned to defend every word that it contains, and we studiously refrained from a single syllable that could be considered to have any bearing, one way or the other, upon the doctrinal aspect of the discussion, it is, however, worth pointing out that the "insults" of which the manifesto is declared to be redolent had not, for the most part, the offensive personal turn which is ascribed to them. The present objectors have overlooked the fact, which did not escape the notice of the Bible-in-Schools Executive, that all the imputations of doctrinal bias were levelled at the Victorian Commissioners who compiled the text-book, and not at its champions in New Zealand. On a matter of doctrine the POST could of course take no line, and on the matter of taste, the objectors would feel less aggrieved if they appreciated the distinction referred to.

As to the converse complaint that the Bible-in-Schools Executive was criticised for the use of such phrases as "cool audacity," "cynic ism," and "malicious falsehood," very little need be said. The objectors urge that the first two of these phrases were more than justified by the facts, and that the third was hypothetical only. The Post expressed no opinion whatever on the accuracy of these charges, but merely urged that such language should be kept out of a controversy in which the subject-matter was religion, and the disputants Christian ministers. The POST is still of that opinion, and the objectors should at least see that the opinion does not touch the merits of their case or the force of their argument, but only the propriety of their phraseology. The question is purely one of taste, upon which it is proverbially useless to dispute. But, in concluding this branch of the subject, it is surely permissible to take some credit for the fact that the worst that can be said of a series of articles spread over several months, and dealing with one of the most controversial subjects of the day, is

contained in the charges now made by the party whose side they did not take. No misrepresentation of fact is alleged, no distortion of arguments, no imputation of motives—nothing but a general imputation of bias, from which the critics themselves would not profess to be absolutely free, and a difference on one of those questions of taste upon which the best of men must often agree to differ.

It is perhaps as well to add that a letter sent at the time for insertion in the POST in the usual way would have enabled both criticism and explanation to have attained full publicity weeks ago.

Withholding Correspondence.

"Our letters," say the correspondents, "have been withheld from publication until their significance was well-nigh lost but that correspondents who have no more right to ventilate their views than we should receive so much more favourable consideration, is not to be borne with equanimity." Like all other correspondence, the letters of these gentlemen have had to wait their turn. Doubtless many have been denied publication for the simple reason of lack of space, but the same treatment has been meted out to the other side. In the case of Mr. Gammell, where he required more space than could fairly be allotted to him, he procured publication by paying, as an advertisement, for the space that was otherwise denied to him; yet Mr. Gammell is one of the ablest of the opponents of the Bible-in-Schools. This instance is sufficient illustration of the fair play that has been shown by the paper in the matter of correspondence.

Bible Society.

It is said to be the practice of the Post, "in harmony with its policy of suppression," and in contrast with other leading papers, "to treat with scant courtesy many of the matters in which the Christian section of the community are most deeply interested," and the recent centenary of the Bible Society is specially cited as illustration, inasmuch as the Post did not "report the amount of the collections." The collections on the centenary Sunday were explicitly stated in several churches to be incomplete, and the totals when made up were never communicated to the POST. This is what the POST did, without any request or suggestion from the churches:—

Published, a week in advance, a short article drawing prominent attention to the forthcoming centenary services.

On the day preceding, devoted the first editorial article to the history and work of the Bible Society, mentioning that the Society had a large deficit, and urging liberal support to "a noble institution."

On the day following, reported that special services had been held; and collections made in nearly all the churches, and that a substantial sum had been raised; outlined the nature of the discourses, and gave prominence to a suggestion that the first Sunday in March should be annually observed as "Bible Sunday." The statement that "so far as these columns are concerned no man to this day is aware whether a single commemorative service was held or a single collection obtained in this city," is therefore absolutely untrue. Moreover, it is doubtful whether any other leading daily paper gave equal prominence to the subject or dealt more sympathetically with the movement.

The following references to articles that have recently appeared in the POST furnish further answer to the baseless charge that it "is the practice of the EVENING POST to treat with scant courtesy many of the matters in which the Christian section of the community are most deeply interested":—

1. Bible Society.

- 29th February.—NEWS ARTICLE, 7 inches (original), calling attention to special centenary service, and giving account of Exeter Hall meeting on 12th January to welcome delegates on return from colonies.
- 5th March.—LEADER, 13 inches, drawing attention to services on the morrow—"the most unanimous festival ever kept by Christians in modern times." Closes thus: "Successive deficits in five years have drawn on the reserve fund to the extent of nearly £60,000. An effort is being made to raise a centenary fund of a quarter of a million. To-morrow friends and sympathisers will have the opportunity of showing their practical sympathy with a noble institution."
- 7th March.—LOCAL, 3½ inches: "The British and Foreign Bible Society and its work was the leading subject of the discourses in most of the churches of the city and suburbs yesterday at one or both services." (Lines taken briefly summarised.) Suggestion made that first Sunday in March be set apart annually as "Bible Sunday." "As special collections were made in most of the churches, the aggregate result should be an acceptable contribution to the Bible Society's funds."

2. Roman Catholic Manifesto.

- 30th April.—SPECIAL ARTICLE, 25 inches, "Rival Versions," defending the accuracy of the passages in the Authorised Version to which the Roman Catholic Bishops took exception, and pointing out that the Roman Catholic version in these passages is inconsistent with itself. Article concluded: "The point as taken by the Bishops does not appear to be a strong one, for among the Vulgate versions themselves there are more serious discrepancies than there are between the Rheims and the Authorised Version in the sole example they have chosen for illustration."
- So far as the POST is aware, no other paper in the colony defended the "Protestant version" against the criticisms of the manifesto.

3. Methodist Churches.

- 4th March.—LEADER, 11 inches, "The Methodist Conference." Address of President Luxford discussed. "Representing; one of the most aggressive, active, and influential branches of the Church in New Zealand, in conference assembled, his point of view was naturally that of a Christian minister and a loyal Methodist. ... He took a wide view, and showed a due sense of proportion, in placing first the advancement of the Kingdom. ... On some of these points the President! spoke wisely and well," etc.
- 20th June.—LEADERS, two—29 inches, "The Methodists in Conference" and "Church Union." "Far more than ordinary interest attaches to the recent gathering in Victoria of the representatives of the Methodist Church of Australasia. The importance of the occasion was recognised by the Melbourne press." . . . There was "manifested throughout a deepened sense of responsibility, a broader view, and a loftier tone than is usually met with in meetings of this kind." The Church "may be expected to take courage and go forward, and to celebrate worthily next year a festival for which it is already preparing—the jubilee of Australian Methodism."

4. Free Church of Scotland.

- 3rd August.—LEADER, 16 inches, "The Dead Hand in the Churches." Chiefly concerned with legal aspects. "The significance of the decision lies in the fact that a definite legal principle has been established, so far-reaching that no church or congregation in the Empire remains unaffected. ... It has . . . interposed an unlooked-for obstacle in the growth of that spirit of Christian brotherhood which has found its outward expression in the successive unions of bodies long divided by mutual intolerance and misunderstanding." Also 6-inch editorial note appended to cable message.

5. Church Union.

- 4th March.—LEADER, "Methodists in Conference," incidentally.
- 5th March.—LEADER, "Bible Society Centenary," incidentally.
- 9th April, LEADER, 24 inches, "Church Union and Doctrinal Tests." Chiefly historic, defining position of movement. Sympathetic, represents movement as "symptom of widening spirit of charity."
- 16th April.—Letter from Dr. Gibb, dated 12th April, one column (22 inches). "Permit me to thank you for your able and timely article. . . . Your statement of the benefits that would be secured by a union . . . could not be bettered." "I am sorry to have to agree with you that the present outlook is not as promising as might be wished."
- 23rd April.—HEADED ARTICLE, 8 inches, summarising letters from Wanganui and Dunedin in reference to Leader of 9th.
- 20th June.—LEADER, 10 inches, "Church Union," the subject before the Methodist Conference. "There is apparently a somewhat prevalent delusion that the advocates of union are indifferent as to creed, and either reject or ignore the Scriptures as a Divine revelation. So far, not one syllable appears to have been uttered at any religious conference to warrant such an impression. The loyalty of the Methodist unionists to their church is as unimpeachable as that of their Presbyterian brethren, and the actual basis of union is the book which every church holds sacred. The suggestion that the movement is in any way an outcome of 'modern Biblical criticism' is preposterous."
- 3rd August.—LEADER, "Dead Hand in Churches," deals also with subject.
- Various Dates.—Meetings of Presbyteries and Kirk sessions in Wellington district, and resolutions passed, have been recorded in POST.

"Fragmentary and Unsatisfactory" Reports.

As to the alleged "fragmentary and unsatisfactory" reports of affairs relating to the Christian churches, here is copy of a letter from Mr. Mills, of the POST staff, which explains itself:—

Reporters' Room, EVENING POST,

31st August, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—

You Ask me to set out my experience on the POST in regard to the reporting of matters relating to the religious side of the city's life. I have never received any special instructions but those which are applied to general reporting—namely, to give publicity to all news items that pertain to any section of the community. In pursuance of these instructions I have given special attention to securing as wide a circle as possible of correspondents in religious circles, especially amongst Nonconformist churches. I have attended many contentions of religious bodies as the POST'S representative, and the sub-editorial instructions have on each occasion been the same as those given when I have reported Farmers' Union, Municipal, Friendly Societies', and other conferences—viz., don't miss any points, and give all matters their news value, keeping an eye always upon the space available. This, I take it, is the whole duty of a reporter for a metropolitan evening paper. I have commonly been selected to report religious matters because it is recognised by the Editor, Sub-editor, and Chief Reporter that I am in strong sympathy with the churches and their work. If the paper was not in touch with the religious community it would not put its most sympathetic reporter in charge of church matters. As a matter of fact, I am given a very free hand in regard to publishing church news, and have as a consequence frequently been thanked by pastors of churches for the treatment they have had in the columns of the POST. At conventions, also; the POST has received votes of thanks for the attention of its representative. I have again and again urged the churches, through their pastors and leading members, to elect an official reporter, one who could write a news paragraph whenever occasion arose, and then that church reporter could keep me informed upon matters affecting his section of the community. The Baptist Church did appoint such a reporter, and I have frequently had good news items for the paper through him. I have always informed pastors and people that the POST is always anxious to get news, and have assured them that such news sent addressed to me; will always receive attention and publication. By this means I now-adays keep in touch with several of the churches. On the other hand I have found ministers particularly unresponsive in taking advantage of the columns of the POST when occasion has offered. These are my experiences and impressions as a member of the news-getting staff of the POST.

I am, yours, etc.,

TOM L. MILLS.

To the Editor, EVENING POST.

The above is sufficient answer to the last of the charges contained in a letter that, were it not a grave reflection upon its authors, I might well suppose had not been perused by many of the gentlemen; whose signatures are attached to it. They should be interested in this reply, and that they may have full opportunity to peruse it, I propose to send a copy to each of them.

I am, yours, etc.,

EDITOR.

decorative feature

Post Print—8756.

Our Only True Democrat.

By J. MacGregor, M.A.

Reprinted from Otago Witness, December 7, 1904

decorative feature

Our Only True Democrat

Who is he? "Mr Seddon, of course," will be the general answer. "Not at all," says Dr Gibb, "I am THE Democrat of New Zealand, and all who follow me are Democrats; I once considered the Premier a true

Democrat, but that was when I thought he was going to do as I told him about the referendum; now I find he is no Democrat."

Those are not the exact words used by Dr Gibb in his speech at the General Assembly, but they express the general purport of it. Take the following passage as a sample: "Why were the newspapers and the State Schools' Defence League so opposed to submitting this question to the people? It was because they were afraid they would be beaten. They should insist that their opponents were anti-Democrats, and that they [i.e., Dr Gibb and his followers! were the only true Democrats." If Dr Gibb's object had been to prove himself a true demagogue we should have been forced to admit his complete success, for no third-rate politician, not the most blatant of demagogues, could have made a more barefaced appeal to the ignorance and prejudice of a mob. And these terms apply to the whole of his Bible-in-schools propaganda, for it is nothing else but an invocation of the power of the mere numerical majority, and that, too, in a sphere which all lovers of liberty have been wont to regard as sacrosanct—the sphere of conscience and religion. The amazing thing is that an Assembly of Protestants, nay, of Presbyterians, could listen without a word or sign of protest to a speech which was a denial of what used to be regarded as one of their dearest principles: but perhaps that was when they were in the minority. The new Protestant doctrine was propounded even more nakedly a few weeks ago by a recent convert to the cause of which Dr Gibb has constituted himself the protagonist; I refer to the Rev. J. Gibson-Smith, who wrote thus: "If the majority of the people want to have Bible lessons taught in the State schools, the majority of the people are entitled to have their will give effect to. . . . Demos is king, and his will is law unless we are prepared for a revolution."

To say that Democracy means the rule of the majority would be to state what is now regarded as an identical proposition, but a proposition which would not serve the purpose of Dr Gibb and his newly-converted henchman. We all know that, in a democratic community, power lies with the majority; but what Dr Gibb and Mr Smith contend is that the might of the majority makes right. I venture to affirm in opposition to these two champions of the tyranny of the majority that the majority of the people are not ENTITLED to have their will give effect to if that which they will is wrong or unjust. Alas! for the Democracy or the Church that has for its leaders men who are prepared to preach such doctrine merely to serve the purpose of the moment: the Democracy will never lack men (demagogues, not Democrats) who are prepared to declare their readiness to follow the majority wherever it may lead; but what it lacks and needs most is, *justum et tenacem propositivirum* (the man of firm and righteous will), one who knows, not only how and when to trust the people, but also to withstand them. Just as the Stuart tyrants never lacked sycophants ready to ascribe to them the "right divine to govern wrong," so King Demos has always had his courtiers (demagogues) who flatter him for their own ends. We have long been familiar with the part on the political stage, but we may expect improvements when an ecclesiastic assumes the role as an under-study of the leading exponent in New Zealand.

"Historically the consent of the governed (the majority) has never had the least effect to make the government founded thereon a just government. In Spain, under Philip II, there is little question that the great mass of the people would have voted to continue the Inquisition; their acquiescence did not make the Inquisition just. In the Red Terror, Robespierre and the guillotine had the enthusiastic support of the people; that support did not make the Red Terror a just government. The Empire of Napoleon I was founded on a plebiscite which gave overwhelming indorsement to both it and him, and was an undoubted expression of the will of the great body of the people of France; the plebiscite did not make the Napoleonic Empire a just government. The burning of negroes in the South and West of the United States is no more an act of justice because it is done by a mass meeting than for no third-rate politician, not the most blatant of demagogues, could have made a more barefaced appeal to the ignorance and prejudice of a mob. And these terms apply to the whole of his Bible-in-schools propaganda, for it is nothing else but an invocation of the power of the mere numerical majority, and that, too, in a sphere which all lovers of liberty have been wont to regard as sacrosanct—the sphere of conscience and religion. The amazing thing is that an Assembly of Protestants, nay, of Presbyterians, could listen without a word or sign of protest to a speech which was a denial of what used to be regarded as one of their dearest principles: but perhaps that was when they were in the minority. The new Protestant doctrine was propounded even more nakedly a few weeks ago by a recent convert to the cause of which Dr Gibb has constituted himself the protagonist; I refer to the Rev. J. Gibson-Smith, who wrote thus: "If the majority of the people want to have Bible lessons taught in the State schools, the majority of the people are entitled to have their will give effect to. . . . Demos is king, and his will is law unless we are prepared for a revolution."

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Over against the teaching of our only true Democrat I set that of the most judicial of publicists, the admirable De Tocqueville. "I hold it an impious and an execrable maxim that, politically speaking, a people has a right to do whatever it pleases, and yet I have asserted that all authority originates in the will of the majority. Am I, then, in contradiction with myself?"

"A general law—which bears the name of Justice—has been made and sanctioned, not only by a majority of this or that people, but by a majority of mankind. The rights of every people are consequently confined within the limits of what is just. . . It has been asserted that a people can ever entirely overstep the boundaries of justice and reason in those affairs which are more peculiarly its own, and that consequently full power may fearlessly be given to the majority. But this language is that of a slave.

"Unlimited power is in itself a bad and dangerous thing; human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion, and God alone can be omnipotent, because His wisdom and His justice are always equal to His power... When I see that the right and means of absolute command are conferred on a people or upon a king, upon an autocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I recognise the germ of tyranny, and I journey onwards to a land of more hopeful institutions."

I commend those noble passages from two great writers, not to Dr Gibb (for they would be thrown away on a demagogue), but to the Protestants (so-called) who listened without protest to a string of sophisms and platitudes worthy only of a demagogue flattering and cajoling a mob of voters.

But what better was to be expected of men who could tamely allow Dr Gibb to put into their mouths, through his report, a sentence cunningly constructed for the purpose of making it appear that the great question as to whether the State should teach religion in the schools is merely a matter of regulating the curriculum. Could anything be more disingenuous? and yet such a sentence appears in the report adopted by the Assembly. One wonders whether the members can have read it.

But it is perhaps even more surprising that they should have listened without demur to such claptrap as this: "Why were the newspapers and the State Schools' Defence League so opposed to submitting this question to the people? It was because they were afraid they would be beaten." If there are true Democrats and fearless truth-loving men in New Zealand they are John Hutcheson and A. R. Atkinson, and they are office-bearers of the league of which J. R. Blair is president. Afraid, forsooth! There is one thing which Dr Gibb durst to do which they would not—talk blatant and mischievous nonsense to an assembly of divines, and malign men who are better than himself. When this assembly of so-called Protestants listened to Dr Gibb declaring that fear of the result was the only explanation of the opposition of such men as I have named, were they aware of the nature of the measure referred to? Had they ever taken the trouble to read it or inquire into its nature? Were

they aware that it would have the effect of introducing into our Constitution a principle which is not only foreign to it, but destructive of representative and responsible government. Dr Gibb cares nothing for such considerations—as witness his action with regard to union of the churches—if he can only attain his end.

Listening to Dr Gibb on his so-called referendum, one cannot help thinking that he has succeeded in convincing himself, like the knight in "Alice in Wonderland," that it is his own invention, and he seems to be as proud of it as the knight was, and with about as much reason. An invention it certainly is, but not a referendum in any proper sense; it is the invention of shuffling, time-serving politicians, devised for the purpose of enabling them to evade an awkward question; and to make this "referendum" a test question at the general election, as Dr Gibb threatens to do, would be simply to further the election of the shuffler and time-server, just as his conscience clause for teachers would further the promotion of the sneaks amongst them, by putting a premium on hypocrisy. But he cares nothing for such considerations, if only he can get the "kudos" for having carried Bible-reading. Up to the time of the invention of the referendum, Dr Gibb was opposed to or indifferent to Bible-reading in the schools, but with the instincts of the demagogue, he realised the potentialities of the referendum, and made it his own, just as he has done with the Bible lessons of the Victorian Commission. He was indifferent to, if not opposed to, the reading of the Bible—"the Word of God"—but Dr Gibb's Bible, lessons?—that is quite a different matter! Not a day must be lost! The country is simply going to perdition for lack of them.

Afraid, indeed! Have we not good reason to be afraid of the demagogic declamation of men like Dr Gibb, who, in order to gratify their ambition, are prepared to set up the tyranny of the majority as a sacred principle, even in the region of religion and conscience? We know that ambitious men (including even the ecclesiastics) have at all times been apt to disguise their love of power even from themselves as anxiety for the public welfare. If this kind of ambition were, by some miracle, extracted from Dr Gibb's composition one wonders what would remain.

In a noble and ennobling passage in his biography of Gladstone, Mr Morley says of Gladstone: "He knew men well enough at least to have found out that none gains such ascendancy over them as he who appeals to what is the nobler part in human nature"; but there is reason to fear that an ascendancy almost equally complete may be gained by appealing to what is the baser part in human nature—to its meanness, its cupidity, its insensate folly, to prejudice, superstition, and sentiment. Such, it has been said, is the foundation of Tammany, and we are not without some knowledge of it in New Zealand; indeed, of recent years we have had little else in politics, and now we are doomed to see it invade the sphere of religion, and this so-called referendum is one of the vilest of its progeny. Afraid: Have we not reason to be afraid of the demagogue, especially when he appears in the vestments of the ecclesiastic.' If this is fear it is that kind of fear for one's country which is really patriotic virtue:—

Let liars fear, let cowards shake,
Let traitors turn away;
Whatever we have dared to think,
That dare we also say.

One can still be a believer in Democracy without regarding the voice of the people as the voice of God; that faith is 30 years out of date, and it is perhaps fitting that the attempt to revive it, for his own immediate end, should have been made by one who, not long ago, expressed the wish that all rationalists and secularists might be swept out of the country—presumably, into the sea. Why not revive the good old method of burning, and include all Roman Catholics? At one stage of his propaganda, prior to the manifesto of the bishops, Dr Gibb hoped to secure the support of the Catholics, and (to use his own phrase) he was quite prepared "to join hands with them." He no doubt reckoned upon their taking this course in order to strengthen their claim to a grant, but, now that they have adopted the straightforward way, they are anathema maranatha, and not entitled even to common justice. And this, forsooth, is the man who aspires to the guidance of the Democracy—our only Democrat!

OTAGO DAILY TIMES PRINT.

The Bible in Schools:

A Criticism of the proposed Textbook by the Wellington State Schools' Defence League.

Price - - - 1d.

Wellington N.Z.: Printed at the Evening Post Office. Willis Street. 1905.

Wellington State Schools' Defence League.

OBJECT:—"To maintain the present system of free compulsory and secular education in the Primary Schools as provided by the Education Act, 1877."

Executive for 1904-5.

President

- J. R. BLAIR.

Vice-Presidents

- REV. W. A. EVANS.
- W. T. GRUNDY.

Hon. Secretary

- S. ARNOLD ATKINSON.

Hon. Treasurer

- D. McLAREN.

Committee:—

- MRS. A. R. ATKINSON.
- HON. F. H. FRASER, M.L.C.,
- DR. J. G. FINDLAY,
- A. LINDSAY,
- A. R. ATKINSON,
- JOHN GAMMELL,
- JOHN HUTCHESON,
- REY. J. CREWES, GEO. MACMORRAN,
- W. H. HAMPTON.

This Pamphlet is the first of a series of publications which the League proposes to issue in defence of popular education and religious liberty against the clerical propaganda by which they are now imperilled.

The nature of these publications and the extent of their circulation must, however, depend in a large measure on the financial support which the League can secure, and it is hoped that in time the organisation may cover the whole colony.

Suggestions, criticisms, and contributions for these purposes will be thankfully received by the Hon. Sec.,
27 Featherston Street, Wellington,

The Bible-in-Schools' Text-Book.

Manifesto of the State Schools' Defence League.

The Executive of the Wellington State Schools' Defence League has issued the following manifesto:—

The reason why the Bible has been Excluded from the curriculum of our pub-schools is not that the people of New Zealand, or any appreciable proportion of them, believe the Bible to be a bad book but because, while

recognising it and revering it as the best of books, a majority of them consider that religion is a matter of which the State cannot undertake the teaching without violating the rights of conscience of many of its members, and that to attempt to teach the Bible or any portion of it in the State Schools would read our educational system with sectarian strife, from which its disintegration in the form; of denominationalism would be the only escape.

The Promised Text-Book.

Admitting the force, or, at any rate, the plausibility, of this contention, the opponents of the secular system have laid stress upon the literary, historical, and ethical value of Biblical instruction, and have also urged that it is not religion of which they desire the teaching in our State schools. They insist that a selection could be made which would not open the floodgates of theological strife, would create no bickering or bitterness, would put no strain upon the conscience of any man. Fortunately the matter is no longer left to hypothetical discussion, for the text-book which embodies the solution of the problem has been produced, and enables us to take an accurate measurement of the pretensions which have been made on its behalf. The book extends to some 400 foolscap folio pages, and is therefore naturally deemed too large and costly for general circulation but the "Specimen Lessons and List of Contents" which have been published in pamphlet form give us samples of the lessons and notes, and references to all the scriptural parages selected. It is claimed for the notes that "there is no attempt in these to inculcate any theological or dogmatic belief. They are of a purely explanatory nature. In fact, the object of the reform which is being so strenuously advocated, is the introduction not of religious teaching into the schools, but of that basis upon which all religious and all ethical teaching may be raised." The claim thus made for the notes is fully borne out by the samples submitted. Meagre, dry, and utterly inadequate they certainly are, but they err by omission only, and secular or sectarian bigotry will search them in vain for any theological disquisition.

Promise and Performance.

On the other hand, the suggestion that the lessons selected have no specifically religious character, but merely embody the necessary basis of "all religious and all ethical teaching," is absolutely un-warranted, and can only be explained by entire ignorance either of the contents of the book itself, or of the doubts and difficulties and differences with which the minds of good citizens and good Christians have long been agitated. A book which was brought forward to allay the misgivings and, it may be, to disarm the prejudices of a generation habituated to a secular system, and for which so much has been said in anticipation on these very lines, might naturally have been expected to present the appearance of a compromise, to make some concessions to the critical spirit of the day, to sacrifice much that is infinitely precious to the devout in order that what was left might excite no antagonism and serve as common ground for all. Except for the narrow range to which the notes are confined we are unable to discover the slightest trace of any such disposition on the part of the compilers of the book, nor can we see that if they had been editing a manual for their Sunday-schools instead of one which every taxpayer is to Support, every teacher in the State schools to teach, and every child to learn, any different principle of selection would have been followed.

Clerical Limitations.

Though approved by the Bible-in-Schools Conference held in Wellington in 1903 as "suitable for use in the schools of the colony," and as such urged upon the Government and the country, the text-book is not the work of that Conference or of any of its members or constituents. The book is practically that recommended for Victoria by the Royal Commission which was appointed in 1900 to suggest a scheme of religious instruction for the State schools of that colony. The exclusively clerical personnel of the Victorian Commission raised a very strong presumption of its unfitness for the delicate duty with which it was entrusted. Ministers of religion can, of course, be found who are able to realise and tolerate points of view which they do not share, and to make allowance accordingly for the essential distinction between the State school and the Sunday-school, but if there were any such upon the Victorian Commission they failed to make their influence felt upon its decision, and if there were any such among those who in New Zealand undertook the revision of the Victorian manual, they also must have been overborne by their colleagues. There are 408 lessons in the Victorian selection; all but six of these are included in the text-book proposed for this colony, and not a single new one has been added, unless the repetition in the Senior Course of the Ten Commandments, which the Victorian Commissioners had included in the Junior only, can be properly so termed. Two of the omissions only are of an important character. The most difficult of the New Testament miracles are those of the cursing of the fig-tree and the healing of the Gadarene demoniac, which stand in a class apart as involving the destruction of innocent life. The Victorian Commissioners included the former while rejecting the latter, but the New Zealand editors have given their

only indication of an accommodating spirit by omitting the former also. In both cases, however, the difficulties of children, rather than those of parents or teachers, may reasonably be regarded as the determining element.

A Striking Omission.

The other remarkable omission is that of the special lesson on "Drunkenness, a sin against God and our fellow-men, and a wrong and insult to ourselves," based on I. Kings, xx., 1-12, 16-21; Prow xxiii., 19-21, 29-35, and Isaiah, xxviii., 1-7. No dogmatic or critical difficulties were raised by this lesson, and it is presumably from its relation to another burning question of the day, which it is not for this League to discuss, that the one lesson proposed by the Victorian Commission for the specific teaching, not of total abstinence, but of temperance, has been deemed unsuitable for the State school of New Zealand. With these exceptions the alterations are confined to a few amendments of the text, mostly from the Revised Version, and a few additions to or excisions from the notes. Slight as these changes are, they constitute on the whole decided improvements, and the same may be said of the omission of various allusions to subjects which are best kept from the attention of children. In the same spirit such a verse as Gen. xi. 27, might well have been omitted from the Junior Lessons, and the story of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii., 26-40) from the Senior Lessons. In the latter case a reference to the Revised Version would also have shown the editons that verse 37, which contains the only doctrinal statement in the lesson, is omitted by the best authorities. The net result, however, of all the alteration proposed is that the book remains substantially what the Victorian Commissioners made it.

"Devotional" Not Religious.

Not the least astonishing feature in a text-book of which we are repeatedly told that it is not intended to be the instrument of religious teaching is that lesson after lesson belies this profession in the plainest possible way by its heading. The hymns and prayers with which the Victorian Commissioners supplemented their Scripture lessons have been wisely rejected, but the titles which the Commissioners selected for what they frankly designed to be religious lessons are retained unaltered by editors who deny the essentially religious character of the book. Five of the first six of the Junior Supplementary lessons are entitled as follows:—1. "Religion the first thing: not by the way." 2. "The immortal hope of the Kingdom of God: we are not dust and ashes." 4. "The Kingdom of God can come only through sacrifice: A divine law of life." 5. "Religion is joy, not gloom." 6. "Treachery and cowardice in the Kingdom of God." Other titles in the same section are "Religion and Morals," and "The Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of the Holy Spirit." The marginal analysis of almost every lesson tells the same story. "Narrative," "Duty," and "Devotion," are the three parts into which the lessons are nominally divided, and under the last heading the most in-mate and sacred outpourings of psalmist, prophet, and apostle are included. Sophisticated minds will certainly not require us to argue whether such sub-lime passages can be anything better than gibberish to children who are not made to know and feel their religious meaning, nor whether those who have aptly prefixed the word "Devotion" to hundreds of these passages can be heard to say that they are not devotional. But the so-called "Narrative" sections tell almost exactly the same tale.

The Meaning of Genesis I.—III.

The Junior Lessons in the Old Testament begin in the New Zealand version with Genesis i. 1, and the first three lessons cover all the essential parts of the first three chapters of that book, which the Victorian Commissioners had perhaps more wisely reserved for a late stage in the Senior Course. The creation of the world and the human race in six days the creation of woman out of a rib of man, Eve's conversation with the serpent and her deception by him, the consequent fall of man and the loss of Paradise—such are the subjects which are to form the child's first introduction to religion. What is the meaning intended to be conveyed by the chapters from which these extracts are taken? and what meaning will the lessons convey to the mind of a child? The first of these questions cannot be answered in a way that every man or even every Christian can agree to accept; to the second one answer and only one is possible. The earliest interpreters of the first chapter of Genesis saw no occasion to look beyond the plain literal signification of the words, viz., that the world and all that therein is were made in six consecutive days. The Rabbis fixed with comfortable precision the very day of the week and the month when the process began: the Christian chronology which still figures in the margin of our Bibles marks the year as B.C. 4004; and both these schools of interpretation accepted without question the historical and scientific accuracy of the whole narrative. When the advance of geology and other sciences spread the belief that the creation of the world must be reckoned not by thousands but by millions of years, the literal interpretation of the creation story naturally lost ground to theories which either put the narrative entirely aside as a myth or a lyric poem, or reconciled it with the teachings of science by the hypothesis that the six days of the creation were not days of twenty-four hours, but geological periods of immense and uncertain duration.

The Literalists a Minority?

All these four views—the literal, the figurative or allegorical, the lyrical, and the mythical—have still their adherents, and a man may hold any of them according to his lights without prejudice to his character or his Christianity. The literal school is now in a minority within the Church itself according to so high an authority as the Dean of Westminster "It is quite true," says Dr. Armitage Robinson, in his recent lectures on "The Inspiration of the Bible" (Times, Dec. 11, 1904), "that astronomy and geology and biology and anthropology have each in turn revealed to us facts which are plainly inconsistent with the literal interpretation of the earlier Chapters of Genesis, and that a recognition of this inconsistency has led the majority of intelligent Christians to fall back" on the allegorical interpretation which was so boldly proclaimed by Origen of Alexandria in the third century." And, addressing the Church of England Sunday School Institute, the same authority applied the same method to other parts of the same book. "The second chapter of Genesis no longer means to us that God moulded clay into a human figure and breathed upon it, or that He took a rib from Adam and made Eve. These and many other stories, like that of the talking serpent or the talking ass, we do not take, or, at any rate, most of us—I do not—as literal statements of historical facts, but as imagery which clothes certain spiritual truths." (Times, Oct 17, 1904.) The views thus boldly proclaimed by the Dean of Westminster may or may not be as general in his own church as he declares, but his expression of them has certainly caused much pain to many of its members.

The Text-Book Takes the Literal View.

Neither on this, however, nor on any other question of theology or exegesis is this League able to take a side. Every extreme of dogmatism and rationalism finds common ground in opposing from divergent standpoints the endowment and enforcement of dogmatic teaching in the State Schools, and a League which stands for the public tolerance of all creeds and the public preference of none, whether in a State School or a State Church, is not concerned to fight for any of the conflicting interpretations of Genesis i.—iii., but merely to insist that there is this conflict, that the questions involved rouse the deepest and intensest emotions of human nature, and that a State which has no theory of interpretation and no religion of its own has no right to give its sanction to one particular theory and to disqualify or penalise those who conscientiously hold another. The retort will probably be made that if the lesson is taught without comment, the State will be preserving its neutrality, since the bare teaching of the text will give no preference to one method of interpretation over the others; but a moment's reflection will reveal the fallacious nature of this contention. To teach the lesson without comment—and the text-book does not contain a single note on these chapters—will be to teach it according to its literal meaning; a child who learns the first lesson in the volume without contradictory or explanatory gloss will believe that the world was made in six days of twenty-four hours each. Later scientific knowledge, acquired perhaps in the physical geography lessons at the same school, may teach him something different; and it is obvious that if the foundation laid in his first religious lesson should be cut away, the whole of the superstructure may be seriously imperilled also.

No Agreement Possible.

It is surely for the advocates of the text-book to face the position frankly, and to tell us whether under the conditions proposed by them the danger is not inevitable, and whether the result will, in their opinion, be conducive to the cause of religion. They should also let us know whether they themselves accept the literal interpretation of the creation story. If they do, are they not dissociating themselves from what the Dean of Westminster declares to be the views of "the majority of intelligent Christians," and asking State sanction for those of the Jess thoughtful minority? If they do not, why do they desire to compel the teaching of a meaning in which they do not themselves believe, and at the cost of hundreds and thousands of taxpayers who share their disbelief? And, assuming that the narrowest or the broadest interpretation, or even some judicious via media, were adopted by the State or local educational authorities, would not the large number of earnest dissidents from the prescribed view display their resentment in a manner that must have the reverse of a pacific effect upon our educational system? Or is it to be supposed that all the teachings of history as to the intensity and gravity of religious differences, especially when intermixed with questions of temporal administration, will be falsified in this case? All these questions must be squarely faced and candidly disposed of before the ease for a change is established, and to continue to ignore them will imply more discretion than candour on the part of our opponents.

The Position of the Teachers.

The effect upon the teachers of the introduction of such lessons into the curriculum deserves to be more particularly considered. A conscientious teacher who, like the Dean of Westminster, is unable to accept the stories of the creation, of the making of woman from the rib of man, and of her deception by the serpent, according to their literal meaning, will refuse to teach as the truth what he believes to be false; and he must make way for a successor who is less critical, or perhaps less scrupulous in expressing the results of his criticism. We are, of course, aware that a conscience clause is proposed which will give a teacher a theoretical protection in such a case; but though this provision would enable him to plead conscientious objection as a sufficient excuse for declining to give the lesson, there would be absolutely nothing to prevent the Education Board, the School Committee, and the parents from securing the removal of any teacher availing himself of the privilege, and therefore the practical operation of the clause would be as a religious test, and nothing else. Are we going to add the interpretation of Scripture to the duties of School Committees and Education Boards, and heresy hunts to their diversions? Unless the local element in our educational administration, which is a main source of its strength, is to be superseded altogether, and the Minister of Education installed as the supreme administrative and exegetical authority, the standard of interpretation will necessarily vary with the denominational or critical bias of each district or neighbourhood, and no statutory restrictions can possibly prevent the local authorities and the majorities which elect or control them from in directly using their wide powers in enforcing their particular views. Lip-service is, of course, all that they can exact, for religious tests can never touch opinion, but only the expression of it; and valuable indeed will be the religious teaching of those who teach with the lips only, and, disbelieving, conform for the sake of a livelihood! Yet those who are constrained to do so will be but following the counsel of the accredited agent of the Bible-in-schools party, who urges that the unbelieving may teach as a venal journalist writes in a purely "professional" way. The remedy for the immorality and irreligion of the secular system is that men shall go into the schools and speak what to them are "lies, in the name of the Lord." We assert with confidence that there is nothing in the present "godless" system so utterly repugnant to religion and morality' as this aslonnding advice.

The New Testament Problem.

In the selection of passages from the New Testament there was at least as much need for care and compromise as in the Old Testament lessons. Within the Church itself the voice of criticism has not spoken so freely in the one case as in the other. It is true that at the last Congress of the Church of England in the Old Country a paper was read urging that the synoptic gospels had not entirely escaped from legendary influences, and the writer's conclusions would apply to a good many of the lessons in the text-book. It is also true that a Canon of the same Church has recently edited a biblical dictionary in which some of the fundamental positions of traditional Christianity are rudely assailed. But these exceptions serve but to emphasise the rule that the critical spirit of the Church does not work with the same freedom upon the New Testament as upon the Old. On the other hand, the nearer one approaches to the inner mysteries of the Christian faith, the more clearly is the line drawn between those within and those without the pale, the more vital do differences become, the keener the feelings they arouse, and the greater the danger to the public peace of anything which stimulates or extends their operation. Yet even from the New Testament it would have been easy to select lessons which would have provided the highest ethical and not far from the highest spiritual teaching without directly raising questions that are peremptorily and essentially controversial. The parables, for instance, and the Sermon on the Mount contain abundant material of this description, transcending neither the intelligence of childhood nor the limits of what is common to all ethical systems and all good men; and such material may be admissible into a secular curriculum when men have ceased to wrangle about the authority of the Book and the personality of the Teacher.

The Element of Miracle.

But the confines of the common ground representing "that basis upon which all religious and all ethical teaching may be raised' are far exceeded by the majority of the New Testament lessons; and the selection evinces no attempt to avoid occasions of controversy, no desire to compromise with the difficulties which to many thoughtful and perfectly reverent minds constitute real stumbling-blocks in the gospel story. The miraculous and supernatural elements in these narratives are given exactly the same prominence which they would properly receive in a Sunday-school where parents, teachers, and managing authority had all settled these problems in one and the same way. The Junior New Testament Lessons are taken almost exclusively from the Gospel of St. Mark, and lesson after lesson appears in which the subject matter is miracle, and miracle not

merely as an incident but as the pith and substance of the whole lesson. All but five of the miracles recorded by the second evangelist are thus included, and of these five one takes its place among the Intermediate Lessons, and the two already mentioned, those of the Gadarene swine and the barren fig tree, can alone have been sacrificed to a possible regard for the difficulties of children, parents, or teachers. More than three dozen of the lessons in the whole book are occupied solely with miracle, and as samples we may mention that the feeding of the five thousand and the stilling of the tempest are to be found among the Junior Lessons, whilst the Senior course includes the turning of water into wine and the raising of Lazarus. Some of the miraculous circumstances attending the birth of Jesus are fully recorded, but not the Virgin birth itself—an omission which has brought upon those responsible the charges of "Unitarian bias," but is quite clearly to be justified by the unsuitability of the subject matter for children on physiological grounds alone. On the other hand, the narratives of the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension are set out in full in three different versions, the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John being drawn upon for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Lessons respectively.

A New Inquisition.

Now, although the attempt to force a text-book containing such matters as these into the curriculum of our State schools must, if it is persisted in, make the most sacred articles of the Christian creed a legitimate subject for political controversy, we do not feel called upon to discuss any of the deep dogmatic problems which are raised by the text-book. The State Schools Defence League cannot speak with one voice upon this subject, since all sorts of conflicting views are represented in its membership. In this respect the League faithfully reflects the variety of opinion prevailing in the whole community, and it is this variety which makes the attempt to enforce uniformity in the State schools intolerable and impossible. In the creed of a voluntary church miracle may have its proper place, but it has none in the compulsory school curriculum of a secular State. And it is remarkable indeed that the State should be asked to declare for rigid uniformity by a Church whose tendency is lately in the opposite direction. Formerly the Church regarded the acceptance of all miracles, including the absolute inerrancy of the record which enshrines them, as an indispensable article of faith, but the position has been much modified in recent years. There has been no formal amendment of the creeds; miracle still stands in the very forefront; yet inside the Church itself there is a growing tendency to treat the miraculous element as less essential, or at least to distinguish between its essential and its non-essential parts. Many accordingly of the subsidiary miracles which are included in this text-book are for one reason or another rejected by many devout and learned men who remain nevertheless within the Church; and the astounding and almost incredible demand is now made of this free democracy that it shall prescribe a more rigid standard of orthodoxy for its school teachers than many branches of the Christian Church enforce upon their own members. Doubts which find expression in the pulpits and Church Congresses of the Old Country and do not disqualify those harbouring them from the highest ecclesiastical positions are to be held by a State which has no religion of its own to qualify its school teachers for the black list, and to expose them at the hands of unskilled and perhaps bigoted tribunals to harassment, persecution, and dismissal. It is surely safe to say that the State will never undertake such a work either directly or by deputy.

Hopelessly Impossible.

Whence comes it that while narrowing their formal demands, disavowing the desire for specific religious teaching, and professing an anxiety to avoid controversy, the clerical party has nevertheless put forward a manual to which this spirit is a stranger? The explanation must be that the broad minds, the tolerant and scholarly spirits, and the worldly good sense of the men who have shaped the party's recent declarations of policy have had very little to do with the shaping of this book. In the ten years for which the agitation has lasted, the party has never yet found time to devote any independent thought to the compilation of the text-book which is at once to revolutionise our educational system and to give the mind of childhood its first introduction to the highest of all knowledge. They have made two attempts to fill the gap, and in each case it is a ready-made and an imported article that has been relied upon for the purpose. In 1896 they borrowed from New South Wales the barbarous and antiquated Irish Scripture Text-book, which after a brief struggle the indignant public opinion of this colony consigned to the dust-heap: and the book which they have now accepted almost as blindly from Victoria must go the same way. Each is a hopelessly impracticable attempt to solve an absolutely insoluble problem.

J. R. Blair,
President Wellington State Schools' Defence League.

3rd May, 1905.

P.S.—After drafting this manifesto, we thought it as well to verify our references by examining the full text of the book under consideration, and to that end we applied to a prominent member of the Bible-in-schools Executive for the loan of a copy. The request was courteously complied with after its object had been disclosed and discussed, but a day or two later the remarkable declaration was made from the pulpit of St. John's that the party was not absolutely committed to the text-book. The Evening Post expresses its astonishment at the moment selected for this qualified disavowal of a book which had for some two years served as the strategic point of the "clerical propaganda, and was not then even under fire but the editor would have been less perplexed if he had known that the order to fire had been given, and that the advocates of the text-book had been informed of it. If our modest request for a loan of the book was powerful enough to induce this partial and personal disavowal, we may without presumption hope that the present publication may be the means of rendering this repudiation definite, complete, and official.

Reduced rates to organisations for maintenance of present system of free, compulsory, and secular education. Postage extra. Orders may be sent, to the Hon. Secretary, S.S.D.L., 27, Featherston-street, Wellington.

Front Cover

The Flaxbourne Settlement, Marlborough, New Zealand.

Particulars, Terms, and Conditions Of Disposal and Occupation of 44,087 Acres 3 Roods 15 Perches, Open on Thursday, 22nd June, 1905,

With Map, From Survey Made by District Surveyor T. N. Rodrick, and A. Simpson. C. W. McFarland, and A. P. Seymour, Authorised Surveyors, And Illustrations from Photographs.

coat of arms

Issued under the Instructions of the Hon. T. Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands.

Wellington. By Authority: John Mackay, Government Printer. 1905.

Index.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Marlborough.

This settlement, which comprises portion of the well-known Flaxbourne Estate, recently acquired from Sir George and the Messrs. Clifford under "The Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, 1900," is situated on the sea-coast of Marlborough, and extends for ten miles north from the Ure River to within five miles of Cape Campbell; it adjoins the thriving Starborough and Blind River Settlements. The northern portion is five miles and a half distant by road from the Town of Seddon, the present terminus of the Main Trunk Picton-Waipara Railway, and 115 miles from Culverden, the terminus of the railway from Christchurch. The route for the continuation of the railway has been laid off through Flaxbourne, entering the property at a point just twenty-two miles from Blenheim. The Main South Road also traverses the settlement from north to south, from which easy access to all the small grazing-runs and farms will be obtainable when the new roads have been formed. The boat-landing at the mouth of the Flaxbourne River, about three miles distant from the proposed township which is being laid off, and fifty miles from Wellington wharf, provides for landing or shipping goods and produce by coastal steamer in fine weather. At Picton, Home ships load in the harbour, and there are meat-freezing works there also.

Flaxbourne Settlement lies at an altitude rising from sea-level to about 1850 ft., and varies considerably in contour and quality. The settlement generally comprises hilly and undulating country, with flats and valleys, as delineated on the plan and specified in the descriptions published with this pamphlet. It has the reputation of being very healthy sheep-country and, where cultivation is possible, grows good crops of barley, oats, and roots. Detailed descriptions of the soil and character of each section and small grazing-run will be found on pages 17 to 40 of this pamphlet.

The coastal range consists chiefly of limestone formation. The inland hills are clayey, with outcrops of sandstone and volcanic tuff. The downs consist of clay, as a rule, overlying papa; and the lower lands are of fluviatile formation. The climate is dry and healthy; the mean temperature in summer is about 60°F., and in

winter 43°F. There are occasional snow-falls in winter, but the snow does not remain long on the ground. The mean rainfall for twelve years is about 42 in. on one hundred days a year. Periods of dry weather are sometimes experienced.

With the exception of about 3,500 acres which have been cultivated and are now mostly in English grasses or clover, and a few hundred acres which have been surface-sown, the country generally is in its native state; the vegetation is mainly tussock and other native grasses, with some flax, &c., in the gullies and swamps; but there are areas of fern on some of the hills, with scrub and bush in the immediate vicinity of some of the creeks on the hilly country, as to which see the detailed descriptions. The country generally is well adapted for grazing and breeding sheep, and the percentage of lambing and the wool-clip have been in the past very good. A few head of cattle can be de-pastured on those farms and small grazing-runs which contain valleys and swamps, or where the flats have been laid down in English grasses. Formerly rabbits were numerous on the property, but they are now reduced to almost a negligible quantity owing to the excellent management of the late proprietors, who met the difficulty by wire-netted fences and poisoning. Of recent years it has only cost £60 to £70 per annum over the whole property to keep down the rabbits.

The area to be opened for application at present contains 44,087 acres, which has been subdivided into sixty-four allotments, varying in area from 5 to 906 acres, and eighteen small grazing-runs, varying in area from 1,041 to 2,943 acres.

The farms are for disposal on lease in perpetuity (999 years); and the small grazing-runs are for lease for terms of twenty-one years, with right of renewal for further periods of twenty-one years.

A township has also been laid off on the settlement, and the allotments therein will be offered to the public at an early date.

Each farm and small grazing-run has a good home-stead-site and a sufficient area of agricultural land to enable the land to be worked in the most profitable manner.

The boundaries of the farms and small grazing-runs in many cases have been made coterminous with existing fences.

The Main Kaikoura Road has been deviated through Sections 9 and 10, Block IX., Sections 1, Block XI., and Small Grazing-runs 171, 172, 173, 174, and 175; and the public shall have the free right of travelling over the road now in use until the new deviation is formed.

On the homestead allotment (Small Grazing-run No. 178) there is a one-story dwellinghouse, containing fifteen rooms, detached room, bachelors' quarters, wool-shed, stables, harness-room, store-room, groom's room, blacksmith's shop, slaughterhouse, and two small huts; all valued at £775.

There are other buildings on the settlement, particulars of which are given in the detailed descriptions of the sections and small grazing-runs. These buildings will become the properties of the tenants by payment of the half-yearly instalments set out in the Schedule on pages 15 and 16 of this pamphlet for seven or fourteen years; or, should they prefer to do so, they may, with the consent of the Minister of Lands and the Land Board, at any time, but in not less than seven years, pay the whole or any less number of their future instalments, under a duly proportionate rebate of interest.

The Flaxbourne, Needles, and Tachall's river-beds are the property of the Crown. Tenants of the allotments through which these rivers flow will be permitted to depasture their stock thereon without payment of rent, on condition that they keep the river-beds free of rabbits.

A man will be available at the Flaxbourne homestead to show intending selectors over the land and point out the boundaries of the sections and small grazing-runs.

Possession of the farms and small grazing-runs will be given on the day of ballot.

Directions to Applicants for Farms and Small Grazing-Runs in Flaxbourne Settlement.

APPLICATIONS for leases will be received up to 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 22nd June, 1905, at the District Lands and Survey Office, Blenheim. Forms of application, terms and conditions of lease in perpetuity and small grazing-runs, also pamphlets and maps, may be obtained at the above-named office and at the Land Offices throughout the colony, or they will be sent by post on application.

- Sections not applied for on the 22nd June, 1905, will be open for application after the 26th June, 1905, at the District Lands and Survey Office, Blenheim.
- The allotments comprised in Flaxbourne Settlement have been classified and grouped as Ordinary Farms and Small Grazing-runs. The Ordinary Farms have been subdivided into Subdivisions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9; and the Small Grazing-runs have been subdivided into Subdivisions 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, as shown on pages 14, 15, and 16 of this pamphlet.
- The Farms are for lease for 999 years. The Small Grazing runs are for lease for twenty-one years, with the

right of renewal at a yearly rental equal to 5 per cent, on the then unimproved value for further periods of twenty-one years.

- An applicant cannot apply in more than one group, nor in more than one subdivision of a group.
- Applications must be made for the whole of the allotments in the subdivision applied for, but an applicant may indicate his choice of any one allotment on the application form.
- No person shall be allowed to acquire or hold more than one allotment. Each section or small grazing-run is an allotment, excepting in the cases of Small Grazing-run 181 and Section 1A, Block IX., Cape Campbell Survey District, which together form one allotment, and Small Grazing-run 182 and Section 8, Block VI., Cape Campbell Survey District, which together form one allotment.
- No person is eligible to apply for an allotment who since the 8th November, 1904, has been successful in any land ballot and who afterwards disposes of his section, until after the expiration of one year from the date of the disposal, unless under special circumstances and with the permission of the Land Board.
- Applications must be accompanied by a deposit of the half-year's rent of one of the allotments in the subdivision applied for, and £1 1s. lease fee.
- Applications for Ordinary Farms cannot be entertained from any person who already holds or has any interest in other lands over 1,000 acres in area, including the land applied for, or who has property of the full value of three times the land applied for if under 100 acres, or twice the value if under 500 acres, or one and a half times if over 500 acres.
- No person who has an interest in lands which, with the area applied for, exceeds 5,000 acres, or who has property of the net value of one and a half times the capital value of the land applied for, can be an applicant for the Small Grazing-runs.
- The maximum area which a married woman shall be capable of applying for or holding shall not exceed 320 acres of first-class land or 1,000 acres of second-class land, irrespective, however, of any land that her husband may be entitled to acquire or may hold: Provided that this special limitation shall not apply in the case of a married woman who is separated from her husband under decree of judicial separation, or is the holder of a protection order, nor shall it operate to prevent a married woman from becoming a lessee under a will or by virtue of an intestacy.
- Married women who forward their applications through the post are requested to give the full name and address of their husbands opposite the word "Occupation" on the application form.
- Applicants will have to appear personally at the Land Board meeting at the District Lands and Survey Office, Blenheim, on the 23rd and 24th June, 1905, at 11 a.m., to answer any questions the Land Board may put; but if any applicant so desires he may be examined by the Land Board of the district in which he is then resident, and it shall be the duty of such Land Board to make inquiry as to the applicant's *bona fides* and suitability. In the event of any applicant being approved by such Land Board, a certificate shall forthwith be issued to him, which shall entitle him to take part in the ballot without further examination by the Land Board by which the land is being disposed of.
- Applicants who are landless shall have preference over those who are not, and the decision of the Land Board as to who of the applicants are landless and who are not shall be final and conclusive.
- An applicant shall be deemed to be landless unless at the time of his application he already holds, under any tenure, such area of land as, in the opinion of the Land Board, is sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family. In the case of the husband or wife, if either of them is not landless, neither of them shall be deemed to be landless.
- If the applicant is successful in obtaining an allotment, his deposit, or a sufficient part thereof, shall be retained and applied in payment of the half-year's rent or of the half-year's rent and sinking fund in respect of such allotment, or of the interest only, as the case may be; the residue, if any, shall be returned to him, and he shall forthwith complete the payment of the first half-year's rent, or rent and sinking fund, if the deposit is insufficient.
- If there are fewer applicants than there are allotments in a subdivision, then each applicant shall have the option of taking the allotment mentioned in his application, provided he is the only applicant therefor; but when two or more applicants indicate their choice for the same allotment, then the Board may, by consent of the parties, adjust the applications; but if the applicants cannot agree to such an adjustment, then a ballot shall be taken.
- If there are more approved applicants in a subdivision than there are allotments available, the Land Board shall, by ballot, reduce the number of such applicants to the number of allotments available. A second ballot shall then be taken in each such subdivision as follows: The name of each candidate shall be placed separately in one box, and the number of each allotment shall be placed separately in another box, and lots shall be drawn from both boxes simultaneously; and the allotment whose number is so drawn shall go to the applicant whose name is simultaneously drawn, and he shall be deemed to be the successful

applicant for that allotment. The first ballot for allotments for which there are more than one applicant on the 22nd June, 1905, will be held on Monday, the 26th June, 1905, at 10 a.m., at the District Lands and Survey Office, Blenheim.

- There shall not be any right to withdraw any application, or right to claim a refund of any deposit: Provided, however, that the Board may, in its discretion, on application, permit the refund of any deposit on being satisfied that the application was genuine and made in good faith, and that the grounds of withdrawal are *bonâ fide* and not contrary to the spirit of the Regulations.
- Every applicant who obtains an allotment shall, from the date of the lease, reside continuously thereon.
- The lessee shall not transfer the land comprised in his lease within the period of five years from the date of such lease: Provided that a transfer of the lease may be made with the sanction of the Land Board and the Minister of Lands on the death of the lessee, or on the happening of any extraordinary event which, in the opinion of the Land Board, renders a transfer necessary or expedient.
- The whole of the fencing and other improvements, as enumerated in the detailed descriptions of sections and small grazing runs published herein, are included in the prices of the allotments, excepting the buildings on Section 3, Block VII., Cape Campbell Survey District, and Small Grazing-runs 177 and 178; and the values given in the detailed descriptions on pages 27, 33, and 36 are only for future guidance in ascertaining if the conditions of the lease, which require certain improvements to be made by the tenant, are fulfilled.
- The successful applicants for Section 3, Block VII., Cape Campbell Survey District, and Small Grazing-runs 177 and 178, shall insure the buildings erected on these allotments to their full insurable value.
- The buildings on Section 3, Block VII., and Small Grazing runs 177 and 178, will become the property of the tenants by their paying the half-yearly installments set out in the Schedule on pages 15 and 16 for seven or fourteen years as the case may be.
- The right is reserved to the Crown or to its delegated authority to lay off, cut, and construct drains and water-races over any of the land disposed of, without compensation; the rentals of the allotments to be reduced in proportion to the area taken when the right has been exercised.
- The tenant is not authorised to cut down the plantations on his leasehold without the consent of the Commissioner of Crown Lands in writing, and it is a condition of the lease that trees equal in number to those cut shall be planted the following season.
- The lessee shall, whenever necessary, but not less than once a year during the term of his lease, properly clean and clear from weeds, and shall at all times during the said term keep open, all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses upon the land, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands (hereinafter called "the Commissioner") or any Crown Lands Ranger of the land district shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make through the land any drain that he deems necessary, without payment of any compensation to the lessee.
- In the event of the lessee at any time failing to comply with any of the conditions hereinbefore mentioned relating to the trimming of live fences and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar, or other noxious weeds, and to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, and keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it shall be lawful for the Commissioner to have such work done, and to recover the cost of the same from the lessee in the same manner as rent.
- The lessee shall pay all rates, taxes, and assessments levied on or payable in respect of the land during the term of his lease.
- In any case where the channel of any creek, or natural or artificial water-race or watercourse, runs on more allotments than one, then each lessee on whose land any part of such channel runs shall have the right to the reasonable use and enjoyment of a reasonable proportion of the water that would flow in such channel if it were not stopped or diverted by any other lessee; and, for the purpose of securing such right as between the respective lessees, it is here declared that no lessee on whose land any portion of such channel runs shall at any time alter such portion, or stop or divert the water flowing thereon, save to such extent as the Commissioner deems reasonable, and the decision of the Commissioner shall be final and conclusive.
- Copies of the Regulations issued under the Land for Settlements Act may be had on application to any Land Office, or they will be forwarded by post to any address.
- Intending applicants should read these Regulations carefully, and also make themselves acquainted with the questions formulated on pages 10 and 16 of the said Regulations, to which they must give written answers, and declare to.
- Selectors are reminded that the terms as to payment of rent, &c., in advance, and fulfilment of conditions as to improvement and residence, will be strictly enforced.

- Deposits sent by post must be by marked cheque, draft, or post-office order, and no bank-notes, gold, or coin should be sent by post.
- All cheques must be marked by the bank on which they are drawn as good for at least *ten days after the date of the ballot*, and no cheque will be accepted as a deposit unless so marked.
- If the deposit is made by post-office order, care should be taken to have the order made *payable to the Receiver of Land Revenue at the money-order office nearest to where the applicant lives*.
- Successful applicants can take possession on the day of ballot.
- Detailed descriptions of sections and small grazing-runs will be found on pages 17 to 40.
- Schedules of sections, small grazing-runs, with areas and half-yearly rentals will be found on pages 14, 15, and 16.
- For large-scale map of Flaxbourne Settlement, see Marlborough Land District Poster-map No. 181.

Land for Settlements Act.

Flaxbourne Settlement.

CLASSIFIED AND GROUPED AS ORDINARY FARMS, AND SMALL GRAZING-RUNS.

13,356 Acres 3 Roods 15 Perches Agricultural And Pastoral Land Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity,

And

30,731 Acres Open For Selection As Small Grazing-Runs, On Thursday, 22nd June, 1905.

Clifford Bay and Cape Campbell Survey Districts-Marlborough County.

[For description of each section and small grazing-run see pages 17 to 40.]

Classified as Ordinary Farms for Lease in Perpetuity, and Small Grazing-Runs.

Group A.—Ordinary Farms.

Lease in Perpetuity: Rent, 5 per Cent. Section. Block. Area. Rent per Acre per Annum. Half yearly Rent.
 Clifford Bay Survey District. Subdivision 1. A. R. P. S. d. £ S. d. 8 XIV. 428 0 0 4 6 48 3 0 9 XIV. 368 0 0 4 10½ 44 17 0 Cape Campbell Survey District. 2 I. 395 0 0 5 3 51 16 11 3 I. 422 0 0 5 3 55 7 9 7 II. 321 0 0 7 0 56 3 6 2 VI. 315 0 0 5 6 43 6 3 5 VI. 297 0 0 6 6 48 5 3 6 VI. 280 0 0 5 9 40 5 0 7 VI. 242 0 0 7 1½ 43 2 2 1 IX. 190 0 0 8 0 38 0 0 Subdivision 2. 1 II. 487 0 0 5 6 66 19 3 6 II. 428 0 0 6 6 69 11 0 14 II. 343 0 0 7 0 60 0 6 1 VI. 503 0 0 5 6 69 3 3 7 IX. 294 0 0 9 6 69 16 6 9 IX. 409 0 0 7 0 71 11 6 10 IX. 397 0 0 7 0 69 9 6

Subdivision 3. A. R. P. s. d. £ s. d.

Subdivision 9—continued. A. R. P. s. d. £ s. d. 12 IX. 5 0 0 12 6 1 11 3 13 IX. 5 0 0 12 6 1 11 3 14 IX. 5 0 0 12 0 1 10 0 15 IX. 5 0 0 12 0 1 10 0 16 IX. 5 0 0 12 0 1 10 0 17 IX. 5 0 0 12 0 1 10 0 18 IX. 1 5 0 0 12 0 1 10 0

GROUP B.—SMALL GRAZING-RUNS.—LEASE FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS.

S.G.R. No. Area. Lease for Twenty-one Years. Rent per Acre per Annum. Half-yearly Rent. CAPE CAMPBELL SURVEY DISTRICT.

Detailed Descriptions of Sections in Flax-Bourne Settlement.

THE following detailed descriptions of soil and character of each section and small grazing-run in the Flaxbourne Settlement, to be offered for lease on Thursday, the 22nd day of June, 1905, is furnished for the general information of intending purchasers, who are recommended, nevertheless, to visit the land and inspect it for themselves, the Crown not being in any way responsible for the absolute accuracy of the description.

Open for Selection on Thursday, 22nd June, 1905, On Lease in Perpetuity

GROUP A.—ORDINARY FARMS.

SUBDIVISION 1.

CLIFFORD BAY SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 8, Block XIV.; 428 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 200 ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 50 acres of agricultural and 378 acres of pastoral land. It is all undulating or hilly land, in tussock and native grasses. It is doubtful if there is any permanent water on the section, although there is usually a supply in Tetley Brook. Situated on the boundary of the Starborough Settlement, six miles and a half distant by formed road from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 85 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £32.

Section 9, Block XIV.; 368 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 350 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 100 acres of flat or undulating agricultural land, 41 acres of which are fallow after turnips, the remainder being tussock and native grasses; and 268 acres of undulating and hilly pastoral land, also in tussock and native grasses. It is doubtful if there is any permanent water on the section. Situated on Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, five miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 85 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £32.

CAPE CAMPBELL SURVEY DISTRICT.

Section 2, Block I.; 395 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 250 ft. and 640 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 144 acres of flat and undulating agricultural land in tussock and native grasses, and 251 acres of pastoral hilly and down land, also in tussock and native grasses. Watered by Tetley Brook and other streams; but it is doubtful if the supply is permanent. Situated on the boundary of the Starborough Settlement, and seven miles distant by road from Seddon Railway-station (half a mile unformed). The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 52 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £19 10s.

Section 3, Block I.; 422 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying from 250 ft. to 640 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 80 acres of flat and undulating agricultural land, in tussock and native grasses; and 342 acres of pastoral, hilly, and down land, also in tussock and native grasses. Watered by Tetley Brook and other streams, but it is doubtful if the supply is permanent. Situated on the boundary of the Starborough Settlement—access by the Tetley Road (one mile unformed)—and seven miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 66 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £24 15s.

Section 7, Block II.; 321 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation from about 10ft. to 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 75 acres of agricultural land, and 246 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of about 35 acres of good, heavy, flat land, which has been cultivated, and is now in English grass; and 40 acres of flat and undulating land in tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass. The pastoral land is all hilly country in tussock and native grasses, with a little English grass and clover in places. There is no permanent water. Situated on the south shore of Lake Grassmere, and fronting on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, eight miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 128½ chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £57 17s. 6d.

Section 2, Block VI.; 315 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 100 ft. and 400 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 40 acres of agricultural land and 275 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural land consists of a small flat near the Flaxbourne River and another flat north of Lake Elterwater. About 29 acres have been cultivated, and now in English grass, the remainder being in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion consists of low hills and downs in tussock and native grasses. Watered by the Flaxbourne River. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and eleven miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 51 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £35 8s. 9d.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking North-East Towards Lake Elterwater from Section 6, Block VI.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking West from Section 5, Block Vi., Over Site of Township Needles Cheek in Foreground and "Burnt Hummocks" in Background.

Section 5, Block VI.; 297 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 100 ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 91 acres of good agricultural land and 206 acres of pastoral hills. The agricultural portion consists chiefly of flat land on the Flaxbourne River, in very old English grass, and of flat and undulating land scattered throughout the section. The pastoral hills are all in tussock and native and English grasses, the northern faces being rather bare, but the southern faces and valleys well covered. Parts of the pastoral land are ploughable. This section is watered by the Flaxbourne River and Needles Creek, and adjoins the proposed township. Situated twelve miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, to which it has frontage. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 164 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £56 10s.

Section 6, Block VI.; 280 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 60ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 60 acres of agricultural land, and 220 acres of pastoral hills. The agricultural portion is flat land of good quality on the Flaxbourne River and Needles Creek, now in old English grass. The pastoral hills are rather bare on the northern faces, but are otherwise well covered with tussock and native and English grasses, and are partly ploughable. Watered by the Flaxbourne River and Needles Creek. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, thirteen miles distant from Seddon Railwaystation. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 187 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at £75 11s.

Section 7, Block VI.; 242 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 200 ft. and 528 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 82 acres of agricultural land and 160 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat land of good quality, about 12 acres of which have been cultivated, and now in English grass, the remainder being in tussock, native grass, and flax. The pastoral portion is fair to good down and hill land, in tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass in places, part of which will grow root or fodder crops, but is unsuitable for other cultivation. This section is watered by Needles Creek. Situated close to the proposed township, and distant fourteen miles and a quarter from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and its deviation, of which one mile and three-quarters are unformed. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 65½ chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £42 15s.

Section 1, Block IX.; 190 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 160 ft. and 400 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 160 acres of agricultural downs and flat land, nearly all of which was cultivated, and now in eight-years-old grass, which is much run out; and 30 acres of pastoral land consisting of the steep faces along the creeks, all of which is well covered with tussocks and native grasses, and a sprinkling of clover and English grasses. Water is generally to be found in some of the creeks, though its permanency throughout the summer is doubtful. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and sixteen miles and a quarter distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 92 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £45 5s.

SUBDIVISION 2.

Section 1, Block II.; 487 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 20 ft. and 600 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises 144 acres of agricultural land and 343 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land, about 20 acres of which are in stubble, and 48 acres fallow after turnips, the remainder being in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is rather steep hilly country, 74 acres ploughed, and now fallow after turnips, the remainder being in tussock and native grasses. Watered by streams, but it is very doubtful if the supply is permanent. Situated opposite to Wheeler's accommodation-house on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and six miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 42 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at £25 5s.

Section 6, Block II.; 428 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 560 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 160 acres of flat and undulating agricultural land, and 268 acres of hilly pastoral land, all in tussock and native grasses. Watered by a creek, although the supply is precarious. Situated on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, nine miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway-station. There is a small hut of little value on this section.

Section 14, Block II.; 343 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 50 ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 166 acres of agricultural land and 177 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land in various places; 15 acres have been cultivated and are now in wheat stubble, the remainder being in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is undulating and low hilly country, also in tussock and native grasses. There is water in the lagoons and other places on the section, but its permanency is doubtful; there is, however, one well said to hold water permanently on the flat near the road. Situated between the Haldon Road (unformed) and the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, eight miles and a quarter distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 18 chains of fencing on the Haldon Road, and one well: total value, £14 10s.

Section 1, Block VI.; 503 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 100 ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 90 acres of flat and undulating agricultural land and 413 acres of hilly pastoral land, all in tussock and native grasses. Watered by creeks, although the supply is precarious. Situated on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, about ten miles distant from Seddon Railway-station.

Section 7, Block IX.; 294 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 100ft. and 900 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises 150 acres of agricultural land, of which an area of about 48 acres is good, improvable swamp, and the remainder flat and downs laid down in grass about twenty years ago, and now much run out; also 144 acres of easy to very steep pastoral hills, in tussock and native grasses. Probably there is permanent

water in the swamp. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and fifteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station, adjoining the proposed township. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 136 chains of boundary and other fencing., valued at £54 2s. 6d.

Section 9, Block IX.; 409 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 140ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 169 acres of agricultural downs, which have been cultivated, and now in eight-years-old grass, which is much run out; also 240 acres of low pastoral downs and broken faces along the creeks, which are in tussock and native grasses, and in part ploughable. Probably there is permanent water in some of the creeks. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and sixteen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 235 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £113 6s. 10d. (Note.—The public shall have the free right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.)

Section 10, Block IX.; 397 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 1,000 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises 240 acres of good agricultural downs, cultivated, and now in clover and grass three years old; and 157 acres of pastoral hills and gully-faces, very little of which is ploughable. The pastoral portion remains in its native state, and is covered with tussock, native grasses, and fern. Probably there is permanent water in the Mirza Creek. Situated on the main road between Kaikoura and Blenheim, and sixteen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 178 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £79 6s. (Note.—The public shall have the free right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.)

SUBDIVISION 3.

Section 2, Block II.; 62 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 10 ft. and 100 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 44 acres of agricultural land and 18 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists chiefly of flat land; about $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres have been cultivated, and are now in stubble; the remainder is in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is all hilly or undulating country in tussock and native grasses. There is no permanent water. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and seven miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 19 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £10 15s.

Section 12, Block II.; 76 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 20 ft. and 90 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 40 acres of agricultural and 36 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land of good quality. About 30 acres have been cultivated and are now in wheat stubble; the remainder is in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is all low hill, also in tussock and native grasses. It is very doubtful if there is any good permanent water on this section. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed), about half a mile from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and seven miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 56 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £34 10s.

Flaxbourne Settlement: Harvesting Wheat on Sections 2, 12, and 13, Block II., Looking North-West Over Far Haldon Hills.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking South from Sections 2, 12 and 13, Block II., Over Part of Sections 14, 15, and 7, Block II. The

Peaks and London Hill in the Distance. The Blenheim-Kaikoura Road Leaving Lake Grassmere on Left of Picture.

Section 13, Block II.; 85 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 50ft. and 130 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 35 acres of agricultural land and 50 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land of good quality; about 22 acres have been cultivated and are now in wheat stubble; the remainder is in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is all low hill, also in tussock and native grasses. It is doubtful if there is any permanent water on this section. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed), about 60 chains from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and seven miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 39 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £24 10s.

Section 19, Block II.; 71 acres.

Agricultural land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 250 ft. above sea-level. A few acres of this section are probably unploughable, but most of the area has been cultivated, and is now in English grass and clover. It is all undulating land of good to fair quality. There is no permanent water. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, about nine miles and a half from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 41 chains of boundary-fencing valued at £17 15s.

Section 20, Block II.; 58 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 250 ft. above sea-level. The agricultural portion consists of 50 acres of good undulating downs, which have been cultivated and are now in English grasses and clover. The pastoral portion comprises 8 acres of hillside, in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture of English grass. There is no permanent water. Situated between the Main Road and the Railway Reserve. Access is by an unformed by-road 35 chains from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and about ten miles from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 45 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £11 5s.

Section 9, Block VI.; 63 acres.

All flat agricultural land, at an elevation of about 200 ft. above sea-level. Nearly the whole of the section has been cultivated, and is now in English grass, laid down many years ago and much run out. There is no permanent water. Situated on the new deviation of the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, south of and adjoining the Kaka Road, and thirteen miles and a quarter distant from Seddon Railway-station (one mile unformed). The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 3 chains of subdivisational fencing, valued at £2 5s.

Section 10, Block VI.; 82 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 200 ft. above sea-level. The agricultural portion (57 acres) consists of flat land, most of which has been cultivated, and is in English grass, laid down many years ago and now much run out. The pastoral portion (25 acres) is the broken land near the creeks, steep terrace-faces, &c., which are in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture of English grass in places. There is no permanent water, though there is usually a supply in some of the water-holes near the Needles Road. Situated on the new deviation of the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, north of and adjoining the Needles Road, and thirteen miles and a half from Seddon Railway-station (one mile unformed).

Section 11, Block VI.; 85 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 250 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 52 acres of agricultural land and 33 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat terrace and rich alluvial land; about 28 acres have been cultivated and are now in English grass, the remainder being in tussock, native grasses, and flax. The pastoral portion is good hill land and terrace-face,

in tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass and clover. Watered by the Needles River. Situated on the Needles Road, not far from the proposed township, and fourteen miles from Seddon; Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and its new deviation (one mile and a half unformed). The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 24 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £12.

Section 2, Block IX.; 64 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 170 ft. and 200 ft. above sea-level. There are about 8 acres of pastoral tussock faces adjoining the creek, the remainder of the section consisting of flat and undulating agricultural land of good quality, most of it in stubble after barley, and the rest in tussock and English grasses. There is no permanent water on this section. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed), about half a mile from the proposed township, and seventeen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 64f chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £29 18s. 3d.

Section 3, Block IX.; 48 acres 2 roods.

All flat agricultural land of good quality, at an altitude of about 170 ft. above sea-level. This section is all in stubble after barley. There is no permanent water. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed), about half a mile from the proposed township, and sixteen miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway.

Flaxbourne Settlement, from Grassmere, Looking South-West Over Wheat-Fields on Sections 2, 12, 13, 14, 4, 3, and 11, Block II. Near Haldons, Dog Hill, and Jeanie's Knob in the Background.

station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 18½ chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £12 15s.

Section 20, Block IX.; 58 acres.

Agricultural land, at an elevation varying between 125 ft. and 300ft. above sea-level. About 5 acres are good improvable swamp, 8 or 9 acres terrace-face, and the remainder undulating, which was cultivated many years ago. The grass then laid down is now run out. There is probably permanent water in the swamp. Situated on the south side of the Railway Reserve, close to the proposed township, and about sixteen miles from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 31 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £11 12s. 6d.

Section 21, Block IX.; 74 acres.

Agricultural land, at an elevation varying between 125 ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. About 13 acres are good improvable swamp, 14 or 15 acres terrace-faces, and the remainder flat and undulating land, which was cultivated many years ago. The grass then laid down is now much run out. There is probably permanent water in the swamp. Situated on the south side of the Railway Reserve, adjoining the proposed township and about fifteen miles from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the land) consist of 18½ chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £7.

SUBDIVISION 4.

Section 3, Block II.; 625 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 640 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises 50 acres of agricultural land and 575 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land, of which an area of 60 acres was cropped this year, and is now in stubble, the remainder being in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion of the section is all hilly land, also in tussock and native grasses. There is permanent water in the lagoon. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed)

about a mile and a quarter from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and eight miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 74½ chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £47 2s. 6d.

Section 4, Block II.; 479 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 50ft. and 200ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 100 acres of agricultural land and 379 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land in scattered places, in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion is undulating and low hilly country, also in tussock and native grasses. There is water in the lagoon and other places, but its permanency is doubtful; a supply may, however, be obtained by sinking wells. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, eight miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station.

Section 5, Block II.; 734 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 50 ft. and 600 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 20 acres of agricultural flat, and 714 acres of undulating and hilly pastoral land. All is in tussock and native grasses. It is doubtful if the water in the creeks is permanent, but a supply may probably be obtained by sinking wells on the flat. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed), one mile and a half from the main Kaikoura-Blenheim Road, and eight miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 155 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £58 2s. 6d.

Section 11, Block II.; 510 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 50 ft. and 640 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 190 acres of agricultural land and 320 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land, of which 58 acres have been cultivated, and are now in wheat stubble; the remainder being in tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass in places. The pastoral portion is all hilly land, also in tussock and native grasses. Watered by streams; permanent water in the Lagoon. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed), about half a mile from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and seven miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 49 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £24 10s.

Section 3, Block VII.; 499 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 70 ft. and 800 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises 80 acres of flat agricultural land and 419 acres of pastoral hill. The agricultural land is of good quality, and is in English grass, laid down nearly twenty years ago. The pastoral land is a fine volcanic hill, which has been surface-sown, and now shows a good growth of English ryegrass throughout the tussocks. Watered by the Flaxbourne River, besides which there is usually water in the stream flowing from Lake Elterwater. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and thirteen miles and a quarter distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements which are included in the price of the section consist of 248½ chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking South-West Towards the Near Haldons from North-East Corner Section Block II. Shows Section 6, Block II. and Parts of Sections 5, Block II., and 1 and 2, Block VI.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking East Towards Flaxbourne Homestead from Section 6, Block VI-The Needles Creek and Parts of Section 6, Block VI., and Small Grazing-Run 177 in the Foreground; Southern Portion of Section 3, Block VII.,

Northern Part of Section 4, Block VII., and Small Grazing-Run 178 in the Background.

£129 11s. 3d. The improvements which are not included in the price of the section, and which must be paid for separately by the tenant, consist of a small cottage 24 ft. by 20 ft., built of and roofed with iron, four rooms, two chimneys, valued at £60, repayable in seven years by half-yearly instalments of £5 3s. 9d.

Section 1, Block XI.; 794 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, between sea-level and an elevation of 500 ft. This section comprises about 100 acres of fair to good agricultural land near the frontage and down the creek, in tussock, native grass, flax, and a sprinkling of clover and English grasses; also 694 acres of good pastoral hills, in tussock and native grasses. There are a few small sandy wastes near the sea, but the section is generally well grassed. There is permanent water in the Ure River, and probably in the Mirza Creek. Situated on the main road between Kaikoura and Blenheim, and nineteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 204 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at £85 15s. (Note.—The public shall have the right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.

SUBDIVISION 5.

Section 8, Block II.; 152 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 72 acres of good flat and undulating agricultural land, cultivated and now in English grasses and clover; and 80 acres of pastoral hills in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture, in places, of English grass and clover. No permanent water on this section. Situated between the Main Road and Railway Reserve. Access is by an unformed by-road 35 chains from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and about ten miles from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 96 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing valued at £33 15s.

Section 15, Block II.; 230 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 10ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 60 acres of agricultural flat and down land, and 170 acres of pastoral hilly land. All is in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture of English grass and clover in places. No permanent water on the section. Situated on the south shore of Lake Grass-mere and fronting the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, eight miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 70 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £52 10s.

Section 16, Block II.; 144 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 10 ft. and about 60 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 114 acres of flat and undulating agricultural land of good quality (although some of the land adjoining Lake Grassmere is very low and subject to floods), and 30 acres of low pastoral hill-faces. The whole section is in tussock and native grasses, with the exception of 6 acres adjoining "Wheeler's accommodation-house which has been used for a garden. There is no permanent water on this section. Situated between the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and Lake Grassmere, and seven miles distant from Seddon Railway station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 22 chains of subdivisional and boundary fencing, valued at £16 10s.

Section 17, Block II.; 111 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 300 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 61 acres of agricultural down land, most of which has been cultivated, and now in English grass and clover; and 50 acres of pastoral hills, in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture of English grass and clover in places. There is no permanent water on this section. Situated on the main

Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, nine miles from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 103 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at £55 5s.

Section 4, Block VI.; 160 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 200 ft. and 350 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 100 acres of agricultural land and 60 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land, most of which has been cultivated, and is now in old grass; the pastoral portion being the steep terrace-faces, which are in tussock and native grasses. Watered by the Needles River. Situated between the Kaka Road and Needles Road, thirteen miles and three quarters distant (one mile unformed) from Seddon Railway station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 109 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £62.

Section 2, Block VII.; 93 acres.

All agricultural land, at an elevation varying between 100 ft. and 216 ft. above sea-level. This section consists of flat and undulating land, varying in quality from fair to very good. It has all been cultivated, and is now in English grass, laid down six years ago. There is permanent water in Lake Elterwater, on which the section has a long frontage. Situated on the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and twelve miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking North-West from Section 5, Block VI., Showing Table-Lands and Needles Valley, with the Dog Hill and Starborough Haldons in the Background. Sections 3, 4, 9, 10, 7, 11, 12, and 13, Block VI., and Small Grazing-Runs 165 And 166.

improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 76 chains of boundary and other fences, valued at £41 5s.

Section 6, Block IX.; 170 acres.

Agricultural land, at an elevation varying between 170 ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level. This section is all undulating land. About 131 acres in clover and grass three years old, and 39 acres in tussock and native grasses. No permanent water. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, close to the proposed township, and seventeen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 101 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £43 15s.

SUBDIVISION 6.

Section 3, Block VI.; 563 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 222 acres of agricultural land and 341 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural land chiefly consists of the flats between the Kaka Road and Flax bourne River. One hundred and fifty-two acres (about 100 acres of it rather stony) have been cultivated, and now in English grass; the remainder is in tussock, native grasses, and flax. The pastoral land consists of flat-topped spurs to the north of the Flaxbourne River, falling very abruptly into that river and the creeks, and of the steeper faces south of the Flax-bourne. Fifty-six acres on the top of a spur have been cultivated, and are now in English grass; the remainder is in tussock and native grasses; more might be ploughed, but owing to its inaccessibility none of the pastoral portion is suitable for other than fodder crops. Watered by the Flaxbourne River. Situated on the Kaka Road (unformed), one mile and a quarter from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and thirteen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 194½ chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £100 16s. 3d.

Section 4, Block VII.; 906 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, rising from sea-level to an elevation of 1,100 ft. This section comprises about 180 acres of agricultural land and 726 acres of pastoral hills. The agricultural land lies in the vicinity of the homestead and down the Flaxbourne River, much of it being of good quality, although some is light; nearly all has been cultivated, and is now in grass, but there is some Californian thistle in one or two of the paddocks. The pastoral land consists of steep limestone hills, principally in tussocks and native grasses, intermixed with English grass in some places. Situated near the mouth of the Flaxbourne River, and watered by that river. The Chancet Road (unformed) to the coast intersects this section, which is fourteen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and the cart-road down the river. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 421 chains of boundary and other fencing, and about 4 acres of plantation, valued at £264 17s. 6d.

SUBDIVISION 7.

Section 12, Block VI.; 36 acres 2 roods.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 200 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 22½ acres of agricultural land and 14 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat terrace and rich alluvial land; about 7 acres have been cultivated and are now in English grass, the remainder being in tussock, native grasses, and flax. The pastoral portion is good down land and terrace-face, in tussock, native grasses, and flax, with a sprinkling of English grass and clover. Watered by the Needles River. Situated on the Needles Road, not far from the proposed township, and thirteen miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and its new deviation (one mile and a quarter unformed). The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 15 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £7 10s.

Section 13, Block VI.; 29 acres 2 roods.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 150 ft. and 200 ft. above sea-level. This section is all agricultural flat terrace and alluvial land of good quality, except about 4 acres of pastoral terrace-faces; 9 acres have been cultivated, and are now in English grass; the remainder is in tussock, native grasses, and flax, with a sprinkling of English grasses and clover. Watered by the Needles River. Situated close to the proposed township, and thirteen miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and its deviation, of which one mile and a quarter are unformed. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 17 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £8 10s.

Section 4, Block IX.; 21 acres 2 roods 11 perches.

All flat agricultural land of good quality, at an altitude of about 160 ft. above sea-level. This section is all in stubble after barley. There is no permanent water. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed), about a quarter of a mile from the proposed township, and sixteen miles and a half distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 13 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £9 15s.

SUBDIVISION 8.

Section 14, Block VI.; 12 acres 2 roods.

All good flat agricultural land, in grass. Situated between the Flaxbourne River and the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, in the angle formed by the new deviation opposite Lake Elterwater, twelve miles and a half from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 15 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £11 5s.

Section 15, Block VI.; 9 acres 2 roods.

All good flat agricultural land, in grass. Situated between the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and the Flaxbourne River, and about twelve miles and a half from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 24 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £12 7s. 6d.

Section 16, Block VI.; 15 acres.

All good flat agricultural land, in grass. Situated between the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and the Flaxbourne River, and twelve miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 22 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £11 5s.

Section 17, Block VI.; 15 acres.

All good flat agricultural land, in grass. Situated between the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and the Flaxbourne River, and about twelve miles and three-quarters from the Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consists of 3 chains of subdivisional fencing, valued at £2 5s.

Sections 18, 19, 20, Block VI.; all 15 acres each.

All good flat agricultural land, in grass. Situated between the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road and the Flaxbourne River, and about twelve miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station.

Section 19, Block IX.; 10 acres.

All undulating agricultural land of good quality, at an altitude of about 170 ft. In barley stubble. There is no water on this section. Situated on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, about half a mile from the proposed township, and sixteen miles and a half from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 18 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £8 12s. 6d.

SUBDIVISION 9.

Section 5, Block IX.: 6 acres 3 roods 4 perches.

All fiat agricultural land of good quality, at an altitude of 150 ft above sea-level. Partly in barley stubble and partly in grass. There is no water on this section. Situated between the Gulch and Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, close to the proposed township, and is sixteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 16 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £12.

Section 11, Block IX.; 5 acres.

All fiat agricultural land in stubble after barley. There is no water on this section. Situated on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, close to the proposed township, and sixteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 4 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £3.

Sections 12 to 18, Block IX.; 5 acres each.

All flat or undulating land of good quality, in stubble after barley. There is no water on these sections. Situated on the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, close to the proposed township, and sixteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of each section) consist of 4 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £3.

SMALL GRAZING-RUNS.

SUBDIVISION 10.

CAPE CAMPBELL SUKVEY DISTRICT.

Small Grazing-run No. 165, Block V.; 2,443 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 250 ft. and 1,960 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 60 acres of agricultural land and 2,383 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of good fiat land—50 acres cultivated, and now in English grass—the balance being in tussock and native grasses. The pastoral portion consists of hills and downs, and a fiat difficult of access; some of the hills are very steep, rough, and rocky; about 130 acres of the flat is ploughable land, and might be used for growing fodder crops. All the pastoral land is in tussock and native grasses. Watered by the Flaxbourne River. Situated at the western end of the Kaka Road (unformed), two miles and a quarter distant from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and fourteen miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 437 chains of boundary and subdivisional fencing, valued at £173 18s.

Flaxbourne Settlement: The Homestead on Small Grazing-Run 178. Limestone Hill in the Background.

Flaxbourne Settlement: Station-Sheds on Small Grazing-Run 178, Looking West.

Small Grazing-run No. 166, Block V.; 2,096 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 300ft. and 1,543 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises 28 acres of agricultural land, cultivated, and now in English grass. The remaining 2,068 acres of pastoral land consists of hilly and undulating land in its native state, with tussock, native grasses, and an intermixture of clover and English grass in places; some of this is ploughable, and would probably grow root or fodder crops, but it is too inaccessible for any other kind of cultivation. Watered by the Flaxbourne River. Situated at the western end of the Kaka Road (unformed), two miles and a quarter from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and fourteen miles and three-quarters from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 554 chains of boundary and other fencing valued at £219 15s.

SUBDIVISION 11.

Small Grazing-run No. 178, Block VII. (Homestead Allotment); 2,943 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, rising from sea-level to an elevation of 1,100 ft. This run comprises 128 acres of agricultural land and 2,815 acres of pastoral hills and downs. The agricultural land is all of good quality, and is in the vicinity of the homestead; it includes the garden, orchard, and part of the plantations, and the clover and wool-shed paddocks. About 1.200 acres of the pastoral land consists of a high limestone ridge, very steep and rather bare on the western face, but sloping more easily and well grassed on the top and eastern slopes; the remaining 1,615 acres of the pastoral consists of low spurs and small flats near the coast, much of it being ploughable. The access to the 1,615 acres just mentioned is so steep and difficult that cultivation of it beyond the growing root or fodder crops and grass is entirely precluded; the vegetation on it is tussock and native grass, with a little tauwhinu scrub in the gullies and on some of the hills. Watered by the Flaxbourne River, a spring near the house, the creek on the north, and possibly there is permanent water in other places. This run is situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and is fourteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements which are included in the price of the run consist of 686 chains of boundary and other fencing, the yards at the wool-shed, old stables, fowl-houses, and cow-shed in back yard (five buildings), and about 10 acres of plantation; all valued at £336 11s. The improvements which are not included in the price of the land, and which must be paid for separately by the tenant, consist of a one-story dwellinghouse about 56ft. by 40 ft., with attic rooms and additions 34 ft. by 14 ft., built of wood and roofed with iron, containing fifteen rooms and five fire-places, valued at £420; detached man's room and sheds, valued at £15; dairy, valued at £15; bachelors' quarters, valued at £70; wool-shed, built with wood and roofed with

iron, holds 750 to 800 sheep, and accommodation for twenty-six shearers, valued at £120; stables near entrance-gate, three buildings, valued at £15; iron stable 90ft. by 20 ft., roofed with iron, containing harness-room and thirteen stalls, valued at £25; store-room 30 ft. by 18ft., with concrete floor and iron walls and roof, with groom's room 11ft. by 11ft. attached, valued at £60; blacksmith's shop, slaughterhouse and two other small huts adjacent, valued at £35: all valued at a total value of £775, repayable in fourteen years by fourteen half-yearly instalments of £39 2s. 9d. (Note.—Many of the buildings are old and in bad repair.)

SUBDIVISION 12.

Small Grazing-run No. 108, Block I.; 1,388 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 300 ft. and 1,300 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 40 acres of agricultural flat and low downs, all in tussock and native grasses; and 1,343 acres of undulating and hilly pastoral land, also in tussock and native grasses. The hills fall very steeply to the gullies. Probably there is permanent water in some of the creeks. Situated on the Tetley Road (unformed), two miles from the formed Starborough roads, and nine miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 276 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £103 10s.

Small Grazing-run No. 170, Block VIII.; 1,830 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 220 ft. and 1,500 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 90 acres of agricultural land of good quality—part on the frontage and part a little more difficult of access—and 1,740 acres of pastoral land, comprising two small tussock flats, ploughable but difficult of access; some nice tussock hills, parts of which are ploughable and suitable for growing root-crops; and hilly land of variable quality, dipping abruptly in the immediate vicinity of the creeks, and growing fern, tussock, and native grasses, with much scrub and bush near the creeks. There is permanent water in some of the creeks. Distant one mile and three-quarters from the main Kaikoura-Blenheim Road by the Gulch Road (unformed), and seventeen miles and a quarter from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 244 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £183.

Small Grazing-Run No. 171, Block VIII.; 1,272 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 200 ft. and 1,350 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 50 acres of good agricultural land on the frontage, and 1,222 acres of pastoral land, comprising some nice tussock hills, a tussock flat difficult of access, some good ferny slopes, and fern and tussock

Flaxbourne Settlement, from Tar Barrel Hill, Looking North Oversmall Grazing-Run 173.

hills. Parts are suitable for ploughing and growing root-crops, About half is well covered with tussock and native grasses, into which a certain amount of clover and English grasses have spread, and the remainder is in fern. Water is said to dry up in a hot summer though doubtless there are springs on the section, and a supply might be conserved. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and seventeen miles and a quarter distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 166 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £77 18s. (Note—The public shall have the free right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the run, until the deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.)

Small Grazing-run No. 172, Block X.; 2,750 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 89ft. and 1,700 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about (140 acres of flat agricultural land, 128 acres being good and the remainder shallow and stony, and of 2,610 acres of broken pastoral spurs sloping into the Ure River. The flat land is well covered with tussock, native grass, flax, and toi, and has a small plantation of fine blue-gums growing on it. The hills are chiefly fern-clad, with tussock and native grass in places, and scrub and bush in the gullies, There is permanent water in the Ure River, and probably in some of the streams. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and

Kaikoura, and twenty miles distant from Seddon Railway-station, Improvements (which are included in the value of the section) consist of about half an acre gum plantation. (Note.—The public shall have the free right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the deviation has been formed and opened for traffic).

Small Grazing-run No. 173, Block X.; 1,060 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 300ft. and 1,323 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 45 acres of good agricultural land on the frontage, and 1,035 acres of pastoral land, fully half of which is good tussock down or low bill land. The remainder is tussock and ferny hills. All is good sheep country, and much of it might be used for growing root and fodder crops. A considerable quantity of white-clover and a little English grass is intermixed with the tussocks. There is a little native bush in some of the creeks. Water may be permanent at the sources of some of the creeks, but it dries up in the lower reaches in summer. A supply might, however, be obtained not far below the surface in the creek-beds. This run is situated on the main road between Kaikoura and Blenheim, and eighteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 49 chains of fencing, valued at £36 15s. (Note.—The public shall have the free right of; ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic).

Small Grazing-run No. 177, Block IX.; 1,566 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 40 ft. and 1,200 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises 105 acres of agricultural land, and 1,451 acres of pastoral hills and downs. About 62 acres of the agricultural land is of exceptionally good quality, and is now in English grass and lucerne; the remaining 43 acres is not so good, and most of it is in tussock and native and English grasses. Three hundred and sixty acres of the pastoral land is more capable of improvement than the remainder, and part might be ploughed; there is a good deal of English grass and clover scattered throughout the tussocks, and native grasses on the frontage of this portion. The remaining 1,091 acres of pastoral land is higher, much rougher, and partly of limestone; formation; it is steep and bare in some places, and scarred with slips in others. The whole is more or less covered with tussock and native grasses, with a little scrub in places. The pasture is very patchy, varying from indifferent to good. There is a small patch of Californian thistles near the dip. Watered by the Needles Creek and Flaxbourne River, and probably from springs in other places on the run. This run adjoins the proposed township, and is fourteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main Kaikoura-Blenheim Road. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 374 chains of boundary and other fencing, and the dip, valued at £216 11s. The improvements which are not included in the price of the run, and which must be paid for separately by the tenant, consist of—Office (about 30 ft. by 12 ft., with annexes 18 ft. by 10 ft. and 10 ft.), built of wood and roofed with iron, two rooms, valued at £5; cookhouse 50 ft. by 30 ft., all iron, lined with wood, concrete floor, lean-to pantry, fireplace, range, and baker's oven, valued at £80; shearers' hut, in bad repair, built of wood and roofed with shingles and iron, five compartments, valued at £20; five men's huts, with iron walls and roof, concrete foundations, all match-lined and floored, connected together by a continuous verandah in front, valued at £140; six-roomed cottage 20 ft. by 36 ft., built of wood and roofed with iron, two chimneys, valued at £45; five-roomed cottage 24ft. by 32 ft., built of wood and roofed with iron, two chimneys (one of clay), small verandah, valued at £40; four-roomed iron cottage on south side of the Flaxbourne River 22 ft. by 28 ft., with lean-to 9ft. by 18 ft., one chimney, valued at £35: total value, £365, repayable in fourteen years by half-yearly instalments of £18 8s. 8d.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking South Towards the Ure River from Tar Barrel Hill on Small Grazing-Run 173. Main Blenheim-Kaikoura Coach-Road In Centre of Picture.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking North to Lake Elterwater from Small Grazing-Run 177. Some of the Buildings and Plantations on small Grazing-Runs 177 and 178 in the Foreground.

Flaxbourne Settlement, Showing Limestone Hill and Landing-Place from Flagstaff Hill on North-East Corner Small Grazing-Run 177. View Shows Part of Section 4, Block VII.

Small Grazing-run No. 179, Block VI.; 1,041 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral, at an elevation varying between 100ft. and 600 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 193 acres of agricultural land and 848 of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of the flats between the Kaka Road and the Flaxbourne River: 115 acres (partly stony) have been cultivated and now in English grasses; the remainder being in tussock, native grasses, and flax. The pastoral portion consists of flat-topped spurs on the north of the Flaxbourne River, falling abruptly into that river and the creeks, and also of the steeper terraces south of the Flaxbourne River. Is in tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass and clover in some of the valleys and on the upper part of the flat spurs. Watered by the Flaxbourne River. Situated on the new deviation of the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and twelve miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 221 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £105 15s.

SUBDIVISION 13.

Small Grazing-run No. 167, Block VIII.; 1,520 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 240 ft. and 1,600 ft. above sea-level. This run includes 35 acres of flat agricultural land on the road frontage. The remaining 1,485 acres of pastoral land consists of hills, downs, and flats in their native state—that is to say, there are fern, tussock, and native grass, with scrub in many of the gullies. The flats in the forks of Tachall's Creek and a few of the other slopes and flats are suitable for growing root or fodder crops, but the access is too difficult for any other kind of cultivation. A little clover and English grass is intermixed with the native grass in a few places. A cart can be taken up the bed of the Needles Creek. Watered by the Needles Creek and Tachall's Creek. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed), one mile and three-quarters distant from the proposed township, and seventeen miles and a quarter from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 51 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £19 2s. 6d.

Small Grazing-run No. 176, Block V.; 1,370 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 300 ft. and 1,000 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises 120 acres of agricultural flat land, of which about 40 acres have been cultivated and now in grass, 80 acres being in tussock and native grasses. There are 1,250 acres of pastoral hills, downs, and flats difficult of access, all in tussock and native grasses, intermixed with clover and English grasses in places. A portion of the pastoral land will grow root or fodder crops, but is too steep for agriculture. Watered by the Needles River. This run is situated on the Needles Road (unformed), one mile and a half from the proposed township, and fourteen miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway-station by the main road from Blenheim to Kaikoura, and its new deviation (two miles and a quarter, unformed). The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 237 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £106 0s. 7d.

Small Grazing-run No. 180, Block VII.; 1,312 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, between 100ft. and 1,100 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises 70 acres of agricultural flat and 1,242 acres of pastoral hill. The agricultural land is of very good quality, laid down to grass many years ago. The pastoral land is a very good volcanic hill, with downs fronting Lake Elterwater. The back of London Hill was sown with English grass, which has taken well, and doubtless a further area is capable of similar improvement. The whole is well covered with tussock and native grasses, with a sprinkling of English grass amongst the tussocks. There is permanent water in Lake Elterwater, and possibly in other places. This run is situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and twelve miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 355 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £135 15s.

SUBDIVISION 14.

Small Grazing-run No. 169, Block I.; 1.074 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between 70 ft. and 1,300 ft. above sea-level. This run comprises about 80 acres of agricultural land and 994 acres of pastoral land. The agricultural portion consists of flat and undulating land in tussock and native grasses; the pastoral portion consists of the steeper hills and creek-beds, which are also in tussock and native grasses. There is usually water in some part of Cattle Creek, which runs through the run. Situated on the Haldon Road (unformed), one mile and three-quarters from the main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road, and eight miles and three-quarters distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 235 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £88 2s. 6d

Small Grazing-run No. 174, Block XI.; 1,426 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, at an elevation varying between sea-level and an altitude of 1,220 ft. This run comprises 60 acres of very good agricultural land near the frontage, in tussock, and 1,366 acres of pastoral land. Of the pastoral portion, an area of about 330 acres is good low hilly country (part ploughable) covered with tussock and native grass, while 1,036 acres is rougher and higher, and rather bare, and scarred with slips in places. However, good tussock and native grasses grow at the heads of the creeks and

Flaxbourne Settlement, Looking North Towards Lake Elterwater from Section 6, Block VI. Spurs of London Hill on the Right of the Picture. Shows Parts of Sections 5 and 6, Block VI., 2, Block VII., and Small Grazing-Run 180.

Flaxbourne Settlement: Blackburn's Flax-Mill on Small Grazing-Run 174. Lord Western Hills, Small Grazing-Run 175, in the Background.

on the tops. The main ridge is limestone. There is permanent water in the creek. This run is situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and eighteen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 219 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £97. (Note.—The public shall have the free; right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.)

Small Grazing-run No. 175, Block IX.; 1,490 acres.

Agricultural and pastoral land, between sea-level and an elevation of 1,300 ft. This run comprises 64 acres of good agricultural land near the frontage, and 1,426 acres of pastoral land. Of the pastoral portion, an area of 300 acres is fair to good hills and downs (part ploughable) in tussock and native grass, 1,126 acres being more broken and higher country, rather bare in places, and scrubby and rough near the creeks on the seaward side. The main ridge is limestone. The whole of the run is in tussock, native grass, and fern. There is probably permanent water in some of the creeks. Situated on the main road between Blenheim and Kaikoura, and seventeen miles distant from Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the run) consist of 182 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £89 16s. (Note.—The public shall have the free right of ingress, egress, and regress over the main road now in use, which passes through the section, until the road-deviation has been formed and opened for traffic.)

Small Grazing-run No. 181 and Section Ia, Block IX., Cape Campbell Survey District (grouped); 2.281 acres.

Pastoral land (2,143 acres), at an elevation varying from about 300 ft. to 1,800 ft. above sea-level. All hilly

land; much of it of good quality, especially at the head of the Needles River. The spurs dip abruptly in the immediate vicinity of the creeks. This section is well covered with tussock, native grass, and a sprinkling of clover in places, some fern, with scrub and bush on a few of the hillsides and near the creeks. Watered by the Needles and Tachall's Creeks. The homestead-site for this run is Section 1A, Block IX. (described below), Cape Campbell Survey District, with which it is connected by a driving-road, about two miles and a half in length, following the south boundary of Small Grazing-run No. 167. A cart can be taken up the bed of the Needles River. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 417 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £156 10s.

Section 1a, Block IX. (138 acres) (Homestead-site for Small Grazing-run No. 181)

Agricultural and pastoral land, between 160 ft. and 400 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 10 acres of flat agricultural land on the road frontage, and 128 acres of good low pastoral downs, much of which would grow fodder crops. The whole of the section is in tussock and native grasses, with an intermixture in places of clover and English grass. Water is generally to be found in the creek near the frontage, but it does not afford a permanent supply at all seasons. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed) about a mile from the proposed township, and seventeen miles distant from the Seddon Railway-station. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 93 chains of boundary-fencing, valued at £40 15s.

SUBDIVISION 15.

Small Grazing-run No. 182 and Section 8. Block VI., Cape Campbell Survey District (grouped); 1,884 acres.

Pastoral land (1,728 acres), at an elevation varying between 300ft. and 1,852 ft. above sea-level. It is all hilly land of variable quality, dipping abruptly in the immediate vicinity of the creeks, and growing tussock, fern, and native grasses, with scrub and bush near the creeks. Permanent water in the Ure River and some of the creeks. The homestead-site for this run is Section 8, Block VI., Cape Campbell Survey District (described below), with which it is connected by a driving-road along the south boundary of Small Grazing-run No. 167, three miles long. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 285 chains of boundary and other fencing, valued at £107.

Section 8, Block VI. (156 acres) (Homestead-site for Small Grazing-run 182).

Agricultural and pastoral and, at an elevation varying between 200 ft. and 528 ft. above sea-level. This section comprises about 54 acres of good, almost flat agricultural land, and 102 acres of good pastoral downs, or steep faces sloping into the creeks. A portion of the pastoral land is ploughable. The whole section is covered with tussock, flax, and native and English grasses. Watered by Tachall's Creek, which is seldom dry; but probably water may always be found on sinking into the bed of the creek. Situated on the Gulch Road (unformed), half a mile from the proposed township, and seventeen miles from Seddon Railway-station by the Gulch Road and main Blenheim-Kaikoura Road. The improvements (which are included in the price of the section) consist of 46½ chains of bound-ary-fencing, valued at £17 10s.

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Locality Plan Flaxbourne Settlement

Plan of Flaxbourne Settlement

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decorative feature

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Four Prominent Members of the Opposition Party.

The Reformer

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To our Readers.

The REFORMER, will be sent to all the Reform Leagues in the Colony. Applications with regard to terms, &c., are to be sent to Mr. W. F. Hilson, 114 Manchester street, Christchurch, with whom Opposition candidates requiring copies for distribution are also requested to communicate.

Branches of the Farmers' Union desiring copies are requested to apply to the local Reform League in their district.

The REFORMER is also on sale at all the principal booksellers in the Colony. A list of shops at which it can be bought will be found on the last page.

Readers are requested to show the REFORMER to their friends, and by assisting in its circulation, do what they can to promote the object for which it is published.

The Political Reform League's Platform.

The following constitute the planks in the platform of the Political Reform Leagues throughout the Colony, and have all been advocated by Opposition members:—

- To secure businesslike, prudent, and honest administration.
- The restoration of true Parliamentary government—government of all by all through their representatives,

- freely nominated and elected, without interference on the part of the Executive.
- The restoration of Parliamentary control of the public finances, and, to this end, the repeal of the obnoxious provisions of "The Public Revenues Act, 1900."
- The abolition of the deceptive methods of presenting the public accounts now in use.
- The reform of the Legislative Council.
- The reform of the method of making appointments to the public service by the exclusion of political influence, with the object of securing the services of able men of high character, and ensuring that promotion is dependent upon merit; to provide superannuation for civil servants.
- The reform of local government by the establishment of a sound and assured system of local finance with a view to the substitution of the equitable distribution and economical expenditure of public money for Parliamentary grants and doles.
- The reform of the land laws; to encourage land settlement by leasehold tenure by the homestead system, and by giving Crown tenants the right to acquire the freehold on equitable terms, with provisions for preventing the creation of large holdings.
- The settlement of the Native land question and the development of the locked-up lands for the benefit of the Native race and the Colony.
- The maintenance and improvement of our national system of education, including the more perfect co-ordination of primary, secondary, and University education; the extension and improvement of technical education; the counteracting of the present tendency to centralization; the providing of a system of superannuation for teachers; and the introduction of such other improvements in the status and remuneration of teachers as are necessary to attract men of the highest ability and character.
- The reduction of duties on the necessaries of life.
- Reform of the system of carrying on public works with a view to secure efficiency and economy.
- The reform of the administration of justice, specially by the raising of the status of Wardens and Stipendiary Magistrates.
- The amendment of the law of libel in the reporting of public meetings, so as to extend to the Press at least the same measure of freedom and security as is enjoyed by the Press in England.
- The promotion of such social and industrial reforms as are demanded by justice and consistent with liberty, without diminishing the scope for private enterprise and genuine progress, or impairing the sense of responsibility.
- To take such measures as may commend themselves to the League for the furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such others as may from time to time be adopted in addition thereto, and to co-operate and associate with other associations having similar objects, and to form branches of the League.

There is nothing "showy" about this platform, but it contains a lot of honest reform urgently required.

"You may depend upon it," said Mr. A. W. Rutherford, M.H.R., in a lecture on Parliamentary life, "that when we have a House composed entirely of professional politicians the honorarium will be £500 a year, and the socialistic trend of legislation is in that direction." As a matter of fact under that disgraceful piece of legislation, section 3 of the "Public Revenues Act," the Members could vote themselves a bonus of £100 apiece this session, if they wished—and were not afraid of what their constituents would say.

Spoils to the Victors.

One of the Opposition's strongest causes of complaint against the Government is the unfair system they pursue of allotting the money for public works. So far as Mr. Seddon dares flout public opinion, and he will go far in this direction so long as he has an obedient majority at his back, he will so manage the disposal of the Public Works Fund as to favour districts which return Government supporters at the expense of those represented by Oppositionists. There is no pretence of secrecy about the matter, no effort to preserve a semblance of justice in dealing with the claims of different districts. The Seddon Government, by their flagrant abuse of their power, have made the phrases "Spoils to the Victors" and "The Right Colour" household words throughout the colony.

Mr. Seddon's supporters will assert, as they have asserted time after time, that no partiality is shown towards Government constituencies. Argument is thrown away upon those who refuse to recognise plain and obvious facts; but we can, at least, refute their contentions out of Mr. Seddon's own mouth.

The following are extracts from speeches delivered by the Premier during the last few years, in which he specifically warned all constituencies which did not elect Government candidates of what they might expect.

Speaking in the House on the second reading of the Aid to Public Works Bill, Oct. 21, 1898, Mr. Seddon, after claiming that the allocation of the public moneys had been just, and remarking that his supporters complained indeed that Government opponents were treated more favourably than they (!), went on to say:—"I

am not one of those who say that other things being equal I should not favour the district that was represented by one who helped to maintain the Government in power.

Mr. Seddon sought to qualify this frank statement of his method of allocating Public Works expenditure by adding that he would always maintain "that where a reproductive work is necessary, and it is for the advantage of the country, in that case I care not who represents that district. The people shall not suffer because of their political opinions or whoever they may send to Parliament to represent them."

Brave words, indeed! But in the face of subsequent statements of his policy the public can attach little importance to the Premier's boasted impartiality.

We may next quote a Seddon telegram to a defeated Government candidate, Mr. Jackson Palmer, who was rejected by the Ohinemuri electors in 1902, and has since been made a judge of the Native Land Court.

"I feel compelled," Mr. Seddon wired, "again to assure you how sorry I am at your not being elected. I feel, at the same time, that the general result will, to some extent, compensate and minimise" your disappointment. All the same it is hard to look over the ingratitude of those for whom you have worked so well. Certainly the miners of Waihi have shown a selfishness which will not tend to make one interest himself in their favour."

"But the people shall not suffer because of their political opinions." Of course not!

Then we come to the distinct promise of partiality in distributing the public votes, to which the Premier gave utterance on the occasion of the opening of the railway between Waipara and Scargill on December 16th, 1902.

"In respect to the Public Works expenditure Canterbury had a very strong claim upon the Government because it had really sent to Parliament nothing but Government supporters, and it would be the height of ingratitude if the Government did not take that into consideration. That was always the case, notwithstanding the fact that there were some people who would have the audacity to stand before the public and say they did not take that into consideration. It was much better to state boldly that where there was a united people prepared to help themselves, and who were progressive, and prepared to help a progressive Government, if the Government did not bear in mind their requirements then it was no longer fit to be a Government."

Finally, we come to the reply made by Mr. Seddon to a deputation which met him at Whangarei (about 10th March of this year), in the course of which he said. "he would not hesitate to say that when other things were equal it was unreasonable and unnatural to expect the Government to look with the same kindly eye on districts returning members opposed to the Government as on those which returned Government supporters."

This plain and definite indication of policy is not, in the least degree, modified by the Premier's remark that he did not let "trifles of that description interfere with him doing what was just to each part of the colony." The latter statement was ridiculously illogical in view of his previous decided assertion that the Government, in allocating Public Works expenditure, were influenced by the political views of the various members. As Mr. Massey said such statements are not worthy of any man occupying a high and responsible position in the politics of the country.

But a Premier who sets to work deliberately to bribe the constituencies with public money is not the kind of man to worry about the dignity or responsibility of his position. All he cares for is to secure a sufficient number of obedient followers to enable him to hang on to office.

The "Strong, Self-Reliant Policy."

The present continuous Ministry came into power with much trumpeting as to its "strong, self-reliant" financial policy, and we have heard a good deal of the same sort of thing ever since.

In 1893 the Government declared that it did not believe borrowing was necessary, and that they had decided to conduct the business of the country without it. How have they carried out that resolve? The taxpayer knows. In his Budget speech last year Mr. Seddon urged that we should "practice the strictest economy," and "prove ourselves self-contained." Did he act on his own precepts? Ask any taxpayer; ask yourself.

Our net public indebtedness in 1893 stood at £38,144,070. On March 31st of the present year it amounted to £57,403,632.

Twelve years of Mr. Seddon's "self-reliant" policy and strict economy have added therefore over eighteen millions sterling to the colony's indebtedness. It is a good deal to pay, even for such a financial genius as the Premier. It means that the debt per head of the white population of New Zealand rose from £58 2s. 7d. in 1893 to £66 18s. 9d. in 1904.

The average total loan expenditure per head of the population in Australia and New Zealand up to June 30th last year was as follows:—

The Australian States are endeavouring to carry out a "self-reliant policy"; New Zealand is only talking about it. For the year ending June 30th, 1904, the loan expenditure per head of the population in the various States and New Zealand was:—

We still lead Australasia—in borrowing and extravagance. We are paying more than two and a quarter million in interest annually. We can manage it comfortably enough just now, while seasons are good and prices for our products remunerative. But—and this is a pretty big "but"—the burden that is borne with comparative ease over a good road imposes a terrible strain when the path becomes stony and difficult, and it must not be forgotten that no matter what the circumstances of the colony may be, though seasons may be bad, prices low and unremunerative, and money scarce, that two and a quarter millions will have to be paid. Who will pay it? You, the reader, for one, and everyone else in the colony, as you and they do now, but it won't be quite so easy in bad times as in good ones.

The "Liberal Ministry."

The present Administration pride themselves on many things. To listen to Mr. Seddon one might imagine that he and his Ministers are responsible for the abundant sunshine and the plenteous rainfall, the prosperous seasons, the demand for New Zealand frozen mutton in London, the increase in the birthrate, and all the other factors in the Colony's progress. But most of all they pride themselves on being "Liberal." There are all sorts of Liberalism—from the Whig Liberalism of English politics to that of the "New Liberals," which is a spurious kind of socialism. The Seddonian brand of Liberalism should be spelled "liberality," and is apparently closely akin to the charity which begins at home, for if ever a Ministry believed in "doing themselves well" at the expense of the taxpayer it is the present Government. For salaries alone they are costing the Colony £4500 a year more than their predecessors, and when one adds to this the increased travelling expenses they receive, the salaries and expenses of the *thirteen private secretaries* they employ, the cost of the special trains and steamers of which they make use, and the hundreds of "memo" telegrams they dispatch in the course of the year, one is well within the mark in reckoning that Mr. Seddon's Ministry costs New Zealand quite £6000 or £7000 a year more than Mr. Ballance's did.

A comparative table of the salaries of the two Ministries is instructive. It will be noted, by the way, that we have now eight Ministers, though Mr. Ballance managed to get along very well with seven.

There is no need for comments on these figures, they speak for themselves, but the comparison between the two Ministries is accentuated when one thinks of their quality. The Cabinet over which Mr. Ballance presided had ideals, and the enterprise and courage to carry out their policy. Mr Seddon has none of these today—their place is taken by a resolute determination to hang on to office even at the cost of his dearest principles—or what have hitherto passed for principles.

The Government and the Land Question.

APPOINTMENT OF THE LAND COMMISSION. THE OPPOSITION ATTITUDE.

The following is an extract from Mr. Massey's speech in proposing amendments to the Premier's motion to set up a Land Commission last year:—

Mr. Massey (Franklin).—Sir, I wish to move the following amendment to the motion which has just been moved by the Right Hon. the Premier, and, in order that there may be no mistake, I propose to read it:—

- This House, as representing the people,—
 - Recognises the urgent necessity for reform in the land laws of the colony;
 - Asserts its competency to devise remedial measures without the delay which would be occasioned by the appointment of a Commission of inquiry; and
 - Is therefore of opinion that it should be afforded an opportunity during the present session of passing the necessary legislation.
- That, with a view to further encouraging and promoting settlement, giving more confidence to those occupying the lands, and removing causes of irritation, it is desirable—
 - That tenants occupying Crown lands under lease-in-perpetuity who have complied with reasonable conditions shall be allowed the option of converting their leaseholds into freeholds, with limitation of area, and that all moneys so received shall be used for the purchase of further land under the Land for Settlements Act.
 - That the conditions of occupation and residence shall be accommodated to the exigencies of pioneer settlement, and that the regulations governing the cultivation and management of land held under lease from the Crown shall be modified to suit climatic conditions and the characteristics of the soil.
 - That the principle of the homestead provisions of 'The Land Act, 1885,' shall be embodied in the Land Act.
 - That Parliament shall be given an early opportunity of deciding whether the constitution of Land Boards

should be altered in the direction of securing the more effective representation of the views of Crown tenants."

Sir, we have had a most remarkable speech from the Right Hon. the Premier—probably as strong a speech as I shall be able to make in support of my amendment and against his own motion. His speech was the strongest indictment of the land policy of the Government that I have heard in this House during the last ten years. What did the honourable gentleman tell us? He told us that gambling is permitted in connection with the ballot, that the Land Hoards are not working satisfactorily, that the regulations are not working well, that the grouping is defective, and so on in the same strain. What does the right honourable gentleman propose by way of remedy? Talk, waste of time. He asks us for something tangible—I give it to him. I say that we know these grievances exist, and they ought to be remedied in this House, and this session. That is the difference between the right honourable gentleman and myself. . . . But I want to remind honourable members of this: that before forcing this question on the attention of the House—and I claim that I have forced it.—I waited for a reasonable time to allow the Government to introduce a Land Bill this session. They introduced a Land Bill last session; they introduced a Land Bill the previous session; and both measures were referred to the Lands Committee for consideration and report. The Committee reported to the House, but what followed? The Land Bills were dropped. There was no indication this session that the Government intended to introduce a Land Bill. They expected the House to be satisfied with this bald promise: that the Government were going to set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the land question. On this point I want to say that I am not satisfied, and a great many other members of the House are not satisfied, with the proposals of the Government. However, before I go on to discuss either the motion or the amendment, I desire to meet an argument which I know will be used later on in the debate, and that is that in moving this amendment we propose to do away with the leasehold system. We have no such intention. If settlers are satisfied with the leasehold, by all means let them have it. Nobody has any intention to interfere with those who prefer that form of tenure. Further, I wish to say that the leasehold system should be continued if only for the benefit of those new settlers with limited means who wish to go on the land, but I feel certain that in most cases, if the option were given, the leasehold system would simply be used as a stepping-stone to a securer form of tenure. And I say that the settlers should have that opportunity.

And here is the *Hansard* list of the members who voted against Mr. Massey's amendment, and declared that Crown tenants should not be allowed the option of the freehold, and that they did not feel competent to devise any remedial measures in connection with the land question, without the assistance of a Royal Commission—

- Arnold
- Barber
- Baume
- Bennet
- Buddo
- Carroll
- Colvin
- Davey
- Duncan
- Ell
- Field
- Fisher
- Fowlds
- Fraser, A. L. D.
- Hall
- Hall-Jones
- Hanan
- Heke
- Houston
- Jennings
- Kidd
- Laurenson
- Major
- McGowan
- McKenzie, R.
- McLachlan
- Millar
- Mills

- Parata
- Remington
- Rutherford
- Seddon
- Sidey
- Smith
- Steward
- Symes
- Ward
- Wilford
- Willis
- Witheford
- Witty
- Wood
- *Tellers*
- Flatman
- Hogg

With the possible exception of No. 1, these are not resolutions at all, but vague questions. Mr. Seddon's attitude may be summed up in half a dozen words—" Yes-No, what shall we do?" No previous Premier of the Colony has ever put himself in such an undignified and ridiculous position. Mr. Massey promptly moved the following amendment:—

"The Government, having received the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the best form of land tenure for the Colony, and *having failed to formulate any land policy which will grant to the tenants of the Crown the right to acquire the freehold of their farms on equitable terms*, by such failure forfeits the confidence of the House." Mr. Seddon refused to accept this as a no-confidence motion. Members were therefore not bound to vote with their party, and here is the *Hansard* division list of those who voted against the amendment. Some of them have declared themselves in favour of the freehold; but they, nevertheless, voted against a Bill being forthwith brought down to give effect to it.

- Allen, E. G.
- Arnold
- Barber
- Baume
- Bennet
- Buddo
- Carroll
- Colvin
- Duncan
- Ell
- Field
- Fraser, A. L. D.
- Graham
- Hall
- Hall-Jones
- Hanan
- Heke
- Hogg
- Houston
- Jennings
- Laurensen
- Lawry
- Major
- McGowan
- McKenzie, R.
- McNab
- Mills
- Parata
- Pere
- Remington

- Rutherford
- Seddon
- Sidey
- Smith
- Steward
- Symes
- Tanner
- Ward
- Wilford
- Willis
- Witty
- Wood
- *Tellers*
- Davey
- Kidd

Once again Mr. Massey tried to get the Premier to take action. On September 27th, this year, he moved an amendment on the "Imprest Supply Bill," as follows:—"That the attitude of the Government in regard to the land question is not satisfactory to this House."

Speaking to the amendment he said:—"I think the majority of Members of this House will agree with me that it is very difficult to define the attitude of the Government have taken up on the land question during this session. .. I make this offer to the Right Hon. the Premier: If he will give the House his assurance that he intends to bring down this session a Land Bill providing that the option of acquiring the freehold shall be given to the holders of land under lease-in-perpetuity, and to proceed with it until it is placed on the Statute-book, I will withdraw my amendment."

But of course Mr. Seddon did not feel equal to accepting the offer, and here is the *Hansard* list of his followers who voted that the wholly incompetent "attitude" of the Government was perfectly satisfactory—to them, at any rate, if not to the county.

- Arnold
- Barber
- Bennet
- Buddo
- Carroll
- Colvin
- Davey
- Duncan
- Ell
- Fowlds
- Fraser, A. L. D.
- Hall
- Hall-Jones
- Hanan
- Hogg
- Houston
- Kaihau
- Lawry
- Major
- McGowan
- McKenzie, R.
- McNab
- Miller
- Mills
- Parata
- Pere
- Rutherford
- Seddon
- Sidey
- Smith
- Steward

- Tanner
- Ward
- Willis
- Witty
- Wood
- *Tellers*
- Flatman
- Kidd

Paired against the amendment:—

- Allen, E. G.
- Heke
- Laurenson
- Wilford

The Song of the Open Mind.

The following perversion of Walt Whitman's "Song of the Open Road," inspired by Mr. Balfour, and written for a London paper by a man who probably has no acquaintance with Mr. Seddon, fits our own Premier in many respects like a glove:—

Bland and suave, I plead ever the Open Mind,
 Henceforth I ask not support, I am my own support;
 Henceforth I keep faith no more, trouble no more, heed nothing;
 Done with consistencies, pledges, convictions, principles.

Office, that is sufficient !
 I do not want the elections any nearer,
 I think they are very well a good way off;
 I know they will do for me, when they come.

O British public! I survive, I will not leave you, for I love you.
 You express me better than I can express myself.
 (The Editor says he cannot print your expressions.)
 I think I can stop in Downing Street and do miracles;
 From this hour I ordain myself loosed of limits and Constitutional restraints,
 Gently, but with undeniable will, divesting myself of all chains that would hold me.
 I inhale great draughts of gush,
 I receive loyal addresses (in six volumes),
 I am greater, mightier than I thought;
 I did not know I was such a genius.

All seems beautiful to me.
 I will scatter telegrams and messages to Parliamentary candidates as I go.

* * * * *

Allons! to that which is endless as it is meaningless—
 To say nothing at any time, but that you may not afterwards blandly affirm the contrary,
 To avoid no depth of humiliation,

To conceive no pitch of incapacity to which you may not presently attain.

Electors! Shall we stick by each other as long as we live?

"Faking" The Public Accounts.

HOW SEDDONIAN SURPLUSES ARE PRODUCED.

"On undeniable facts it appears more than doubtful whether there has yet been one shilling of a genuine surplus from legitimate revenue during the whole of the Seddon Administration."

These are the words of one of the soundest critics of the Government's finance in New Zealand, Mr. John Duthie, M.H.R., in the course of a letter to the *Wellington Post*. The Premier had recently stated at Pahiataua that the transfer of surpluses from revenue to public works up to the 31st March last had during his term of office amounted to nearly five millions. Mr. Duthie drew attention to the fact that at the date of the last published accounts (the 31st March, 1904) the transfers amounted to only £3,725,000, and that of this £1,150,888 did not arise from revenue, but was the proceeds of sales of land which had been bought out of borrowed money. These proceeds by all Governments prior to the present had been directly allocated to public works purposes. "Stripped of this item, now falsely called revenue, the total transfers since 1892 from revenue account were only £2,574,112. Mr. Massey claims that these surpluses are bogus, being produced by charging items of ordinary expenditure to public works—*i.e.*, paying out of the loan fund instead of from the revenue, and that the alleged surplus from revenue is so produced. Mr. Seddon admits that works had been so charged, but denies the extent. Presumably, the expenditure on public buildings, additions to open railways and contingent defence, are departments where such manipulations most largely have been made, but the system pervades the whole Government administration."

Mr. Duthie then went on to explain how the Telegraph and Telephone Department is made to contribute to this juggling. "If" he said, "you examine the accounts of that department for the last five years (1900-1904) you will find that the total Charge against expenditure for maintenance amounts to £115,021. Yet, by table 22, the admitted cost of this maintenance was £195,136 and the difference (£80,115) has served to swell Mr Seddon's make-believe surplus. To understand how this is managed you will find that stores purchased for construction are paid for from loan funds; but, under the Government system, all required for maintenance are taken from these loan-paid stores and never charged against maintenance. This, probably, is not even the limit of how the Telegraph accounts mislead, since (as in other departments) much that is openly charged to construction is spent on replacements, which should properly be charged against revenue. No one without access to the departmental books can accurately state the extent to which this system of deception prevails. The introduction into the colony's accounts of this *hocus pocus* system, which was started by closing the land fund account in 1892, and treating its proceeds ever since as revenue, is evidence of a long-devised intention to confuse the accounts, and to render accurate criticism impossible."

Mr. Duthie concluded with the words standing at the head of this article, and the *Post*, after verifying his figures declared his conclusions to be irresistible. And so the whole structure of Seddonian finance, the subject of so much self-laudation by Mr. Seddon, is shown to rest on a rotten foundation—on surpluses which do not really exist at all.

Some Railway Matters.

INCREASED COST AND LESS TO SHOW FOR IT.

A table of increased railway mileage under the present Government is given on page 3. of this year's Public Works Statement, and, as usual, it is very misleading. Apparently an attempt is made to claim credit for a section of 17 miles from Woodville to Palmerston, opened on the 9th March, 1891, and for another section of 26 miles of the Otago Central, opened on the 9th April, 1891, both of which were constructed by previous Governments. The present Government came into power in 1891. Giving them the benefit of 41 miles which they claim is very near completion, although not yet open for traffic, the total of all their railway construction is 460 miles. The cost has been stated by the Minister for Public Works in the Public Works Statement on page 2, *viz.*, £3,867,814, but there is also a sum of £211,572 liabilities, or a total cost of £4,079,386. The average cost

of construction per mile has, therefore, been £8,870. Comparing this with the previous fourteen years (1877 to 1891), 892 miles were opened, and the cost of construction was £6,640,000. The average cost of construction per mile was therefore £7,440. (This is Government mileage only, and has nothing to do with private lines taken over).

The increased cost of construction under the Seddon Government has, therefore, been over £1,400 per mile. But are the workers getting the benefit of this? One can hardly think so, judging by the bitter complaints about the difficulty of earning a decent living wage at Taihape and other railway works.

Then compare the rate of progress for the two periods. For the fourteen years prior to the present Government, 892 miles of State-constructed line were opened, or at the rate of

64 MILES PER YEAR.

During the fourteen years of the present Government, only 460 miles were constructed, or at the rate of

NOT QUITE 33 MILES PER YEAR.

As the Government have managed to reach this total by the simultaneous construction of 20 different lines of railway all over the Colony, it means that the *average yearly progress* for each line for their term of office has been *about one mile and a-half*. They have, of course, in a number of instances, constructed three, four, and even five miles of line in a year. There have been spurts and spells; but one and a-half miles is the average.

This is a very serious matter for the Colony, because a number of these lines will not pay properly until they are completed. So the State loses the revenue, and in the meantime has to make up from other sources the interest on the money borrowed to build the lines. And this muddling system cannot be said to be due to want of money. For since the Government abandoned Mr. Ballance's policy they have borrowed more money than the Governments for the previous fourteen years did, and, moreover, they claim to have transferred an additional £4,355,000 of "surpluses" to the Public Works Fund.

Hon. Mr. Rolleston on the lease-in-perpetuity:—"The lease-in-perpetuity, which took the place of the perpetual lease, was the most rotten system which was ever provided for in the Statute book of the Colony, and they would give their ears if they could get out of it with decency."

Patronage and Politics.

Mr. Seddon is least convincing when he tries to bluff the public into ignoring any criticism of Government policy or tactics. At such times he utters truisms with the air of one propounding a new system of philosophy, and if his administrative actions tallied with his sentiments, he would be a model Minister. Unfortunately they are often wide as the poles asunder. For instance, when the question of filling vacancies in the Public Service was being discussed by the House, Mr. Seddon solemnly reminded Members that fitness should be one of the first essentials in making appointments, and went on to say that "the present system of competitive examinations and taking from the Civil Service examination list in the order of merit was preferable to the ballot system which had been proposed."

The "present system," indeed! As matters are arranged at present, personal fitness has in numbers of cases no more to do with an appointment in the Civil Service than the size of the applicant's feet or the colour of his hair. "Pull" is the first and last essential of success, and political influence outweighs all the claims that merit and suitability can advance. If the recruiting of the service were carried out in the manner provided by the laws of the country, if appointments were made solely on the result of the competitive examinations, the successful competitors being appointed in the order of merit, there would be no loophole for the political patronage that now stuffs the Government Departments with its nominees. The regulations are, however, evaded in all directions. The expert device, as the *Press* recently pointed out, is worked with great effect. "It does not require profound learning or great technical skill to become an 'expert' in the eyes of the Government. Such knowledge of shorthand as will enable a man to take down a letter from dictation answers all the purpose. As a shorthand writer, the candidate then ranks as an expert, and can pass into the Government Service without undergoing the preliminary ordeal of the Civil Service examination. As probably three-fourths of the boys and girls in the country are learning shorthand, there is practically no limit to the extent to which the Civil Service Act may be evaded, by means of the 'expert' pretence. But even non-experts find little difficulty in getting on to the Service pay-sheet without undergoing the test of examination. In many instances applicants are given temporary appointments, the competitive examination being again evaded. Temporary clerks, on full rates of pay, are almost as common as sparrows in Wellington. In Departments where no entrance examinations exist, political influence makes itself felt by ignoring priority of application. It is notorious that in the Telephone Department favoured applicants have again and again been appointed over the heads of scores of others who were waiting

for employment, and no doubt the same policy is pursued in other branches."

The dry rot of political patronage permeates, in fact, the whole Public Service of the Colony, and personal fitness will never take its proper place as the chief essential for an appointment, in spite of all Mr. Seddon's protestations, until the power of making appointments is taken altogether out of the hands of the Ministry of the day. And that will not be until the present Ministry gives place to one which does not depend for popular support on the patronage it exercises.

"Liberal" and "Conservative."

The brazen journalistic footers who trumpet the praises of Seddonism are always proclaiming the liberalism of the Government, and declaiming against the crusted conservatism of the Opposition. Let us look into this question of "Liberal" and "Conservative," and see what are the special merits about the name the Government lavs claim to, and what demerits attach to the term "Conservative."

The other day a labour candidate for a Wellington seat declared in his address that the passing of a certain number of Acts, more or less liberal, was no proof that the Government was Liberal. He mentioned that the Conservative Government at Home had passed such Acts as the Irish Land Act, enabling the Irish tenantry to buy their farms, a measure "more liberal than one Liberal Government's similar legislation."

But the terms Liberal and Conservative are purely arbitrary. There is nothing in a name. One of the most industrious advertisers of the Liberal party, Mr. H. G. Ell, in his speech on the Financial Statement, describes Canada as the best governed country in the world. In Canada there are two political parties, Liberals and Conservatives. In his book on "Canada as it is," Mr. John Foster Fraser, in the chapter on Canadian politics, says that "the Conservatives were the extreme Radical-cum-Fabian-cum-Socialist champions; the Liberals were the upholders of private ownership, and the denouncers of Government monopolies." At the last general election in Canada, when the Liberals, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were returned to power by an overwhelming majority, the main issue was whether the new trans-continental line was to be or not to be a State railway. The Liberals in Canada are in favour of private ownership, they grant the freehold to settlers, and are opposed to Government monopolies. The Conservatives' policy on the other hand is not unlike the New Liberal platform in New Zealand.

A party must be judged by its acts. What are the acts of the Seddon Government? In its desire to be liberal has it reformed the Upper House for instance? Has its anxiety for progress caused it to make provision for the long-promised superannuation for civil servants this session? Has it produced a single progressive measure except the workers' homes proposal, which it stole from Mr. Bollard, an Opposition member.

We know, on the other hand, what it has not done. It has again refused to allow Parliament to properly scrutinise the Estimates; it has refused to produce papers and returns that were necessary for proper criticism; it has declined to repeal the Public Revenues Act; it has not restored the audit system to its original basis, or extended the supervision of the Auditor-General to all the departments of the State; it has not reformed the industrial school system; it has not made the Magistrates independent of the Cabinet; it has declined to bring down local Government reform; it has refused to establish a Civil Service Board; and finally it has not restored the rights of Parliament, or curtailed the enormous powers of the Cabinet.

Yet this is the "Liberal" Government; and the reform party, led by Mr. Massey, is "Conservative"! Were ever terms more extraordinarily misapplied?

The Workers and Taxation.

The growth of our national indebtedness under the "self, reliant non-borrowing policy," with which the present Administration came into office, is shown elsewhere in this issue. It is interesting to note that in May last the Trades and Labour Councils Conference passed a resolution urging the Government to adopt the very policy which was supposed to be its watchword. Clearly the working man is under no misapprehension as to the result of a course that the Government, in defiance of its own principles, has steadfastly pursued. He knows what effect the Government's extravagance has had upon his pocket, and he fears that worse may come. He is right.

The worst feature of the business is that much of the taxation of which the working man has to pay his full share is quite unnecessary. Mr. Seddon is our authority for this assertion, for in his latest Budget he announced a surplus of three-quarters of a million, as if it were something to be proud of. Whereas as a matter of fact it is merely a proof of his incompetence as Colonial Treasurer. It means that he has overtaxed the people to that extent.

A Colonial Treasurer's duty is to calculate as closely as possible the amount he will require to carry on the Government of the country, and to adjust his taxation accordingly. Unforeseen circumstances may upset his

estimates, and may give him a larger revenue than he anticipated—in other words, a surplus. An English Chancellor of the Exchequer, under such circumstances, would reduce the burden of taxation, or perhaps, if the surplus was a large one, would use some of it to pay off a portion of the national debt. This is not Mr. Seddon's way. He regards a buoyant revenue as an excuse for an increased expenditure on works which, if required at all, would more properly be paid for out of loan, and which, in most cases, are largely intended as bribes for favoured constituencies.

Mr. Seddon's idea of finance, in short, is first to overtax the general ratepayer, and then to distribute the surplus thus squeezed out of the public in quarters where it may produce most votes for Seddonism. The result is that New Zealand is, with one exception the most heavily taxed colony in Australasia, and in the most prosperous times that the colony has ever experienced, our debt has increased more rapidly than in any previous period of our history. This is the price the working man, and every other taxpayer in New Zealand, has to pay for the privilege of being ruled by Mr. Seddon. Is it worth the cost?

Four Reasons

WHY YOUNG NEW ZEALAND SUPPORTS MR. MASSEY.

In the course of his address to the members and friends of the Canterbury Political Reform League on October 9th, Mr. A. L. Herdman declared that "it was indeed gratifying that so many young people were identifying themselves with public life." He might have added that it was still more satisfactory to find that most of them are supporting the Opposition. Of the candidates lighting this election under the reform flag of Mr. Massey half are young New Zealanders.

The reason is obvious, there is no other leader young New Zealanders who have the interests of their country at heart can support. They cannot support the Socialistic Party, self-christened "New Liberals," whose recklessness and irresponsibility might well earn for them the name of "Impoliticians." If they have set ideals before them, and if they are actuated by a desire to see a wholesome and vigorous Government take the place of Tammanyism and corruption, they cannot support the present Administration. They cannot ally themselves with a party whose influence has been debasing, and whose era of usefulness is over.

What then has the Leader of the Opposition to attract the young New Zealander to his standard? He possesses four attributes:—

- He is a man of liberal ideas.
- His programme is a reform programme.
- His policy is a progressive policy.
- He is absolutely and uncompromisingly honest.

In a word, Mr. Massey represents the young New Zealander's hope of escaping from the slough of corruption, of regaining his own self-respect, and of once more holding up his head as the cleanhanded citizen of a clean-handed country. That is why young New Zealand is rallying to support him, and that is why more than thirty young New Zealanders are candidates in the Opposition interest in this campaign.

The electors of the colony who are not young New Zealanders cannot but have been struck by the manliness and straightforwardness of the Leader of the Opposition, and with the soundness and saneness of his views; but to the young New Zealander anxious for the regeneration of his country, and full of patriotic resolve to help in that good work, appeal most eloquently those four reasons enumerated above why he should support Mr. Massey.

"Liberal" Provision for the Workers.

One of the most illuminating illustrations of what the present Government mean when they talk about making liberal provision for workers is to be found in the Workers' Dwellings Bill, as introduced by Mr. Seddon. This precious proposal provided that the worker should be able to acquire the freehold of his dwelling on the following characteristically liberal terms:—

If the worker elected to pay for his dwellings by payments extending over 32 years, he had to pay in each year 4 per cent, by way of interest or rent, 1 per cent, for depreciation, and 4 per cent, for sinking fund to obliterate the capital amount expended by the State. Under this scheme the tenant paid to the State £205 for every £100 spent by the State, outside interest and depreciation. The Opposition, that gang of soulless Tories, who have no sympathy whatever with the cause of labour, succeeded in securing the reduction of the Sinking Fund by one per cent., thus reducing the £205 to £157.

Under the scheme which extended over 41 years, the worker was to pay 4 per cent, interest, 1 per cent, depreciation, and 3½ percent, sinking fund, payments which would have given the State £264 for every £100

which it put into the scheme. Again did the enemy of the worker intervene, and by securing a reduction of 2 per cent, in sinking fund reduced the £264 to £117 10s.

But there is still one extremely "liberal" feature remaining in the scheme. The worker must pay 1 per cent, depreciation per annum over the whole period, until he has paid off the capital sum; this, of course, only affords reasonable protection to the State. But when the worker has returned to the State more than the original cost of the dwelling surely he should be handed back the money he has contributed against depreciation in what is then his own building. But Mr. Seddon keeps the depreciation: in other words, at the end of 41 years, the worker has paid £117 10s. for every £100 spent on his dwelling, plus 41 per cent., not counting compound interest, and this for a building 41 years old. In other words 58 per cent, more than it cost to erect 41 years previously. The 32 years' scheme exhibits the same defect, as a matter of fact the 1 per cent, depreciation, at compound interest, is about sufficient to pay off the amount apart from sinking fund.

And this is "Liberal" provision on the part of a Government which introduced a "Usury Prevention" Bill.

Some Points About our Debt.

The Seddon party has raised the public debt from £38,144,070 in 1893 to £57,403,632, an increase by weight of over 149 tons of sovereigns. The debt was increased last year by £2,339,304, which represents by weight over 17½ tons of sovereigns.

In order to minimise the patent fact that the public debt of the colony is nearing danger point the Government make the most of the circumstance that much of this money is borrowed to lend out again to people in the colony for which they pay interest to the Government. But what they don't emphasise is that there is no sufficient margin to secure the colony against loss in case there should be a drop in the price of farm products. It is true the tenant pays 5 per cent., being from 1 to 1½ per cent, above what the Government are paying for their borrowed money.

But this small margin may disappear any day from a fall in products affecting the value of land. The State may then have a wholesale surrender of leases of land which has been deteriorated by the State tenants before they gave up the struggle. Where then will the State be? It will still have to pay the interest to the foreign creditor, while the local debtor will have failed. The only true solution is to permit these State tenants to purchase their lands, and commence to pay off by instalments. There is nothing in the argument of interest-bearing money. It stands in the same category as money borrowed by the State for any public works improvements. The colony is only the agent for the foreign money-lender in collecting his interest, and stands to lose all the time. It is well that the taxpayers of the colony should realise this.

Sweetening the Constituencies.

Among the objects set forth by the Political Reform Leagues now in existence throughout the Colony to restore constitutional reform is one which reads thus:—

- The restoration of true parliamentary government; government of all by all, through their representatives freely nominated and elected without interference on the part of the Executive.

Two glaring instances of interference by the Executive occur in the electorate of Mount Ida, represented by Mr. A. L. Herdman, who is a strong and fearless critic of Mr. Seddon. The Premier, in response to a deputation in the Mount Ida electorate regarding the construction of a dam at Hill's Creek, said:—"If the Government granted that £8,000 to be used for mining, and subsequently for irrigation, he would be told he had gone round the country bribing constituencies. The Miners' Association said, 'Give it to us,' and the member for the district said, 'Don't corrupt my constituency.' (Laughter). He believed himself that the Miners' Association was much nearer the mark—(applause)—and, with a surplus of £761,000, and with £871,000 of a credit balance in the Public Works Fund, he was inclined to recommend the Minister of Mines to give the miners' application favourable consideration. (Loud applause.)" (*Hansard*, 1905, Vol. II., p. 189).

When Mr. Herdman asked about this in the House the Minister of Mines replied that no promise of £8,000 had been given for the purpose. Mr. Herdman complained that the Premier had deliberately gone past him with this promise so as to curry favour with his constituents and to do him harm.

Again on the 19th of October Mr. Herdman complained that promises had been made to his constituents through the Government candidate with the view of injuring him before the electors. These two cases prove that there is much necessity for the object above set forth.

We trust that electors will refuse to permit themselves to be used in this way, and that they will sternly mark their disapproval of any interference by the Executive with the elections.

Superannuation Schemes.

Teachers are not so favourably treated by the Government under their Superannuation Bills as Civil Servants. Witness the following comparative statements.

To get the benefit of these Acts there has to be paid out of their salaries as

The Government's Search for a Policy.

THE BILL FOR THE LAND COMMISSION.

The estimate by the Leader of the Opposition, based on the Premier's admission that the members of the Land Commission received about "three guineas a day," and one guinea a day for travelling allowance, is that this Seddonian farce cost the Colony about £100 a day, made up as follows:—ten members at three guineas a day and one guinea each travelling allowance, forty guineas; £15 a day for advertising; ten guineas a day for three secretaries and travelling allowances; fifteen guineas a day for a number of shorthand writers and typists and their travelling allowances; and the balance for incidental expenses and the printing of a large number of huge volumes of 1,609 pages of evidence.

As the Commission was appointed on the 27th January, and finished its remarkable labours on the 10th July, this means that the total expense was about £15,000; and a great deal, if not all of the information, could have been obtained from the Departmental Officials for nothing, with the exception of the one thing the Premier wanted to know—what effect the land question was going to have on the voting at the forthcoming election, and he does not know that yet.

WHAT THE COMMISSION DID FOR £100 A DAY.

On February 27th they were at Stewart Island, and as to what they did, let the *Otago Daily Times* correspondent speak:—"The steamer remained overnight at Half Moon. Early next morning the Committee started on an inspection tour up the inlet. At 7 a.m. the steamer was sighted of the north shore of Ulva Isle. Evidently the Commissioners must have been deeply impressed with the aspect of this romantic island, and a few hours later they were seen *retracing Heir course of the early morning, and again making their way round by the north shore*. I am not the least astonished at this seeming preference for these picturesque parts. Its off-shore rock works are fantastic, and its numerous small bays and inlets are beautifully encircled with sand beaches. Nothing grander in the sea-scape line could be desired."

Nothing indeed. The day was sunny, and the sky and the sea were blue. Oysters were plentiful, and corks bobbed in the wake of the happy picnic party as they sailed up and down the inlet admiring the scenery. Mr. Seddon paid them £100 of the people's money for that day, because he wanted to shuffle out of facing the land question. And yet there are hundreds of struggling back-block settlers who are without roads, and who are forced to see their children growing up without the educational advantages they are entitled to.

ANOTHER DAY.

By March 1st they had arrived at Winton. Again the report in the *Times* may be quoted:—"Members of the Land Commission left Otautau this morning, and drove to Winton. At Winton no evidence was forthcoming, one reason being, no doubt, that there are few Crown tenants in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon the Commission returned to Invercargill by train."

That was another day for the country. They drove up in the morning, and having developed a good appetite, had dinner, and went back by train.

A FEW MORE DAYS.

Here are a few more days:—On Saturday, nth March, the minutes record that the Commission left Arrowtown at 9.30, and, travelling by the Cardrona Valley, reached Pembroke at 6 p.m. The minutes of the previous meeting were read, and five witnesses were heard. One of these gentlemen was a storekeeper, another a Crown tenant, and a third, of course, the Crown Lands Ranger. Probably their evidence might have been obtained at a less cost than £20 each, but then, as leaseholders, they were worth going some distance after.

On Friday, 24th March, the minutes say that the Commission visited Tapanui Forest Nursery. They had a very enjoyable morning, and incidentally asked a few questions of the officials. Then the afternoon was spent in a pleasant drive back to Lawrence. The visit cost the country about £100, but of course it was cheap at the price, even though the Department can always get full information about the State nurseries.

On Friday, 7th April, they sat at Pleasant Point, and again, according to the minutes, no witnesses

presenting themselves the Commission adjourned and left for Timaru.

On 13th April they were at Rakaia. The *Press* report states:—"At Rakaia another peculiar incident occurred. Though no meeting was advertised for this place, it was suddenly decided that one should be held, and a Crown Lands Ranger was despatched to a neighbouring settlement on a sort of a skirmishing expedition, to hunt up evidence." Then the Commission waited for a long time in silence. Here is a further extract from the report. "After another somewhat painful silence, Mr. Hall asked if the Ranger was present. The Chairman said he thought he was outside. Mr. Hall suggested that he should be brought in to give evidence. Members of the Commission, 'No, No.' The Chairman, 'Oh, do you think not? All right.' Finally two members of the Commission 'cleared out,' and three witnesses having put in a tardy appearance the Commission rose."

Later on they got up to the Bay of Islands, and the following extract from the *Auckland Herald* is interesting. "The Land Commission, like the commercial tourist, is combining pleasure with business. When it was at Opuia, the majority of the Commissioners, I am told, went off to Russell to admire the beauties of that historic bay, leaving the rest to hear the evidence of the witnesses who were in attendance. Perhaps the unvarying tale of the freehold was growing too monotonous for them."

And here is another extract from that paper:—"As the Commission had to open at Hukerenui on Friday, they left a little after four o'clock for Kawakawa. As they moved off, the settlers looking on were saying that although the Commissioners had had a good look at the North, the cost of the expedition, if spent on the roads, would have given more satisfaction."

A telegram to the *New Zealand Times*, Wellington, from Pahiatua on June 10th, ran as follows:—"Originally it was the intention of the Land Commission to take evidence at Pongoroa (about 40 miles for Pahiatua) but owing to reports about the impassable state of the so-called roads leading to the settlement received by the Chairman, *it was decided to cancel the fixture, and ask the settlers to come to this town*, and state their grievances. The Commission did not mind travelling a long way to get leasehold evidence in the South, but when they came to a little mud in the North, they 'fucked it,' and asked settlers to come to them to state their freehold grievance."

ONE OR TWO POINTS FROM THE EVIDENCE.

A. Wheeler, Poerua Settlement, Westland, examined:—

Mr. Anstey: "You say you have got good roads to your settlement?"—"Yes."

"Do you know what amount of loading was on that settlement?"—"Somewhere about £1000."

"Do you know if that amount has been spent?"—"Yes; and more!"

"You appear to have been more fortunate than some other districts?"—"I should advise them to get Dick Seddon for their Member."

And yet the Government assert that they deal impartially with the needs of each district—when last year only £15,800 was spent out of the Public Works Fund on roads and bridges in the Auckland Road District, £12,700 in Hawke's Bay, £15,296 in Taranaki, and no less than £12,800 in the wilds of Westland, this amount not including the Goldfields roads vote, of which the West Coast usually gets one-half.

Outside of Westland, settlers don't seem to get much consideration from Mr. Seddon, though they have no difficulty in getting promises of the following kind, taken from the evidence of W. D. Humphreys, Land Commission, p. 937:—"When we attended the ballot over five years ago in Auckland, Mr. Seddon was present, and in the course of a short speech told us that we would have our roads in two years' time. This was naturally most cheering news to settlers about to go back to the back-blocks; but yet, here we are, over five years past since the ballot, and the majority of us have not even a six foot track." Dozens of similar instances could be quoted all over the country.

Percy Frederick James, examined:—

The Chairman: "What are you?"—"I am a prospective settler in this neighbourhood. I own 500 acres of freehold property in Queensland, and I have come to the colony recently to look for land."

"Is there any point you would like to bring before the Commission?"—"I am decidedly in favour of the freehold tenure."

"Are you acquainted with the terms of the lease-in-perpetuity?"—"I am, but I prefer the freehold. I am in quest of a freehold now, and unless I get an opportunity of securing land, with the right of ultimately getting the freehold, I shall not settle in New Zealand at all."

And there is ample evidence from other sources that farmers are leaving New Zealand for Canada and Tasmania and the Argentine.

TERRORISING THE CROWN TENANTS.

In the evidence of the Land Commission (p. 430), we find the following statements by M. J. Corrigan holder of 372 acres lease-in-perpetuity at Waikakahi:—

Mr.—: "So far no request has been placed before the House by the Crown tenants?"

Witness: "Of course that is largely owing to the threat of the Minister for Lands. As you are aware we happened to be at a meeting at a place called Windsor and Elderslie. The meeting was convened by a member of the Otago Land Board, Mr. Livingstone. At that meeting Mr. McLennan (a Commissioner) proposed a motion in favour of the leasehold."

The Chairman: "Do not mention names."

Witness: "Very well. I want to show you, as you have mentioned it, that although the Crown tenants never actually asked for the freehold, they are all in favour of it. At that meeting there were forty-one Crown tenants, and these forty-one Crown tenants carried a resolution in favour of the leasehold, but the Chairman of the meeting, in summing up the discussion said, 'In our inmost hearts we are all freeholders, but we are frightened to ask for it owing to revaluation, and having our places put up to public auction.' I would be sorry to give offence to anybody, but I say that if we have to live in fear of threats the sooner we are not Crown tenants the better it will be. The forty-one Crown tenants at that meeting unanimously agreed to that resolution through the fear of what would happen if they asked for the freehold."

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

And when the trip was over, and the Commissioners had to agree upon a report, they calmly disregarded the evidence and expressed their own individual opinions, which had not been altered one jot by anything they had seen or heard during this costly piece of political humbug.

Help for the Workers.

THE OPPOSITION AND WORKMEN'S HOMES.

When the Workers' Dwellings Bill was in Committee in the House the other day there was considerable discussion about the terms of payment on the part of those who wished to acquire the freehold of their homes. It was urged that the terms imposed by the Government were unreasonable, and could never have been submitted to actuarial investigation.

Mr. Massey moved that the amount of interest payable annually upon terms securing the freehold in thirty-two and forty-one years respectively should be reduced by 1 per cent.; that is, from 7 to 6 per cent. Mr. Seddon protested vehemently against the suggestion, declaring that if it was carried he would abandon the Bill, and upon a division Mr. Massey was beaten by 33 to 26. At a later date, however, Mr. Seddon recommitted the Bill and made the reduction he had so strenuously opposed.

It was decided to obtain the statement of a qualified accountant as to how much the tenants had gained by the reduction; and with this view the Bill, as introduced, and also as finally passed, was submitted to a practising accountant in Wellington. The question submitted was:—"Assuming that a dwelling costing £300 is erected upon a piece of land costing £50, how much will the tenant save by the amendments as compared with the original Bill?" The report states that under the thirty-two years' term the tenant has been saved £219 10s.; and under the forty-one years' system the tenant has absolutely been saved £349 8s. upon a total outlay of £350. Yet, when Mr. Massey moved the amendment, Mr. Seddon declared the reduction was impossible. It must be evident that, but for Mr. Massey, the reduction would not have been made.

"Pull" in the Public Service..

To hear some Government supporters talk one would think that a Public Service Board had never been heard of outside New South Wales. As a matter of fact such Boards are at work in Great Britain, in Canada, and in India. Before long, we believe, New Zealand will also be included in the number. The present system, as the Leader of the Opposition recently declared in the House, is demoralising in the extreme. It is demoralising to the public service itself, to the country, and to Parliament. Everyone know of members who, as Mr. Massey said, "have gone on the platform at the end of their three years' term or during the recess, and have had the hardihood to boast to their constituents of the number of appointments they have been able to secure in respect to the public service." And we know, too, of men, who count themselves honest and upright, whose votes have been bought by the appointment of a relative to a Government billet on the recommendation of some member of the House.

"I should like to see a return," remarked Mr. Massey in the same speech, "showing the number of relatives

and connections of members of Parliament who are at present in the public service of this country. I am given to understand, on really good authority, there are members of Parliament at the present time who have no less than five sons and daughters in the public service. How can these men be independent? I should like to know," he continued. "how many relatives and connections of Ministers there are in the public service at the present time. I am glad to have this opportunity of saying to Ministers, across the floor of this House, there is too much of the 'reigning family' element in connection with the Government of this country, and if there had been less of the 'reigning family' there would have been less friction than we have had during the last few weeks. I want to see a system such as was advocated by the member for Mount Ida, where the son or daughter of the wharf labourer who works for a shilling an hour will have exactly the same opportunity, other things being equal, in competing for appointments to the public service of the colony as the son or daughter of a Minister of the Crown. That is a long way from being the position in this colony at the present time."

Assessment Courts and the Farmers.

There is a very strong feeling throughout the country that the constitution of Assessment Courts requires amendment. It is held that one of the members ought to be appointed by the local authority of the district in which reside ratepayers who have lodged objections. As Mr. Kirkbride said, when the Valuation Department Estimates were being discussed the other day:—

"The Court as at present constituted is a very one-sided one. The three members of the Bench are all Government appointees. Mr. Kirkbride had not a word to say against the Stipendiary Magistrate. It was the appointment of both assessors he objected to. The farmer had not one friend in the Court when he appeared to object, for not only did Government appoint these two assessors, but the unfortunate objector found the local valuer and the district valuer arrayed against him. It was recognised in every kind of dispute that both sides should be represented on the Arbitration Court benches. It would be a great advantage to have a man on the Bench possessing local knowledge.

Mr. Massey said that, as a rule, the men appointed as assessors were defeated candidates; and, what was worse still, in many cases they were avowed single-taxers, who, above all others, were men who should not be appointed. The demand made was simply in the direction of justice, and if they did not get it from the House, they would have to ask the country for it.

Mr. Wood said many complaints were made as to the way some valuers conducted their valuations. They often did not visit the properties they valued.

The Minister did not deny there were complaints against the Department, but urged that the proportion was very small. He had circularised the local bodies on the subject, asking their opinion—another case of searching for a policy!—but there was no settled opinion. He had also tried to find out how local bodies wished to appoint assessors. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Mills that it is his business to propose a remedy for a grievance; but that would involve the Government in taking the initiative, and that is a responsibility for which nowadays they have no inclination.

Ministerial Policy.

Ministerial constructive policy may be hard, nay, almost impossible to discover, but one need not search far to find ample evidence of Ministerial cowardice in respect of responsibilities. To put off to another time and for a future Executive the burthen of meeting charges imposed to-day seems to be the height of Mr. Seddon's ambition. "Let me take," says Mr. Seddon, "the *kudos* of schemes that are undoubtedly popular, that involve large financial liabilities, but let a later generation pay the cost; let a future Minister have the opprobrium of meeting responsibilities we are now imposing." It is so easy to pile up debt as long as anyone will lend, but it is another thing to be statesmanlike, and provide a sinking fund each year, which will accumulate, and at some later day provide a fund to meet the debt. For all practical purposes New Zealand has no provision to meet the accumulating debt. Sufficient for the future is the debt of to-day, as well as the debt of the future.

One cannot blame present Ministers for their policy of "no provision for the constantly increasing debt," except in so far as they have not reversed the pernicious plan introduced by Sir J. Vogel. But in regard to new responsibilities which are being heaped up for the future, and for which Mr. Seddon refuses to pro-*vide* our share to-day, is it too much to say the policy of putting on to the future a burthen which ought to be provided for now is infamous?

The two superannuation schemes, which have already been provided, the railways and police, have never been reported on by an actuary so far as Parliament knows; indeed, with respect to the former, Sir J. G. Ward scoffs at the idea of actuarial soundness. He sets up his judgment on the matter in direct opposition to actuarial warnings and advice, and does not see, or will not see, that experts who have made these questions a life study

may know something.

Parliament has, however, made a complete investigation of the teachers' superannuation scheme, and knows that to make it sound for original members there must be provided, in addition to the teachers' contributions, some £12,000 per annum forever, and for new contracts approximately another £5,000 per annum, or £17,000 in all. That is the only method to make the scheme sound. The Education Committee twice resolved, despite Mr. Seddon's active opposition, to recommend that provision should at once be made for £17,000 per annum to make the scheme sound. Notwithstanding this Mr. Seddon refuses to do anything. It was no party vote that carried the resolution on the Education Committee, when men like Mr. Fowlds, Mr. McNab and other Government supporters supported the resolution, the public may be sure it was a proper one.

Mr. McNab, for instance, in Committee on the Bill, said, "The Minister of Education had said the colony would never repudiate its liability; but why repudiate the liability of to-day and keep them for a future generation? Personally, he would provide, not only for the interest of the fund being paid, but the capital as well. Politically speaking, it was almost an infamy to put the liability on a future generation."

Mr. Fowlds said, "in thirty years there would be a deficiency of £1,300,000, because of the non-payment of this £17,000 a year now required."

We are all anxious to secure for teachers better pay, and some provision by way of superannuation for old age and declining years, and very few members of Parliament would hesitate to provide the £17,000 per annum required; but it rests with the Minister of Education to bring down the necessary appropriation. The matter is of great moment, both in respect of the colony's credit with the outside world, on whom we have to rely for our borrowed money, and also to the teachers who may hereafter come on the fund; for a clause in the Bill provides for alterations in the scheme. It is of greater moment in view of the fact that another great superannuation scheme

Since writing the above the Government Bill for the civil servants superannuation has made its appearance, and to every one's-surprise the scheme differs materially from the teachers' superannuation-it is proposed that the contributions by the civil servants shall be smaller than by teachers, and the benefits in many respects greater. This will not help actuarial soundness, and certainly cannot lead to satisfaction on the part of teachers. Why should they be worse treated than civil servants?

for civil servants is before us, based on similar contributions and benefits, and therefore, no doubt, actually unsound.

The one great argument Mr. Seddon has used against making the provision proper to be made now is so unjust and unfounded that we cannot refrain from quoting it in order that publicity may rail forth a refutation from our present-day teachers. Mr. Seddon argues that the fund will accumulate to a large amount owing to the contributions of £17,000 per annum. He actually tells us this is necessary to make it sound, and that teachers, noting this accumulation, will not consider it is required for actual soundness, but will make demands for higher benefits or lesser contributions. That the pressure will be so great the Minister of the day will not be strong enough to refuse. One may safely say the teachers of to-day are and future ones will be, too honourable to make any such unjustifiable demand, and it is firmly believed a future Minister can be found with backbone enough to say NO to a wrong thing.

Investigations in the Public Service.

Mr. A. L. Herdman (Mount Ida).—The public mind is at the present time impressed with the necessity of some need for reform in the public service. There is a sense of insecurity gradually stealing over the public mind. Every now and again we hear of inquiries being made into different branches of the public service. Just the other day we had an investigation into the position of the Police Force. It was discovered that in consequence of political influence a certain person had been appointed to the Police Force of the colony. That policeman after his appointment perpetrated a crime, and it was then discovered that before that policeman had been appointed to the Police Force he had some convictions recorded against him. There is an instance of the fact that incapable, inefficient, absolutely disqualified persons are occasionally appointed to the public service through Ministerial or political influence. This is one department that has been subjected recently to keen criticism and thorough investigation. But to pass on, we find that just lately the State Coal-mines Department is not being managed on bus iness- like lines. Here is another department that has been overhauled by a Commission. Further than that, we discover that the administration of the Land Department is so absolutely weak and inefficient that it becomes necessary to refer the whole question of land administration in the colony to a Royal Commission. That Commission travels through the colony from end to end in its endeavour to discover where the weaknesses are, and a report is presented to the House. Yet another department of the public service has to be investigated. Surely the fact that three departments have recently been subjected to outside criticism must go to show that there is something radically wrong in the methods adopted by the present

Administration in controlling these departments. But it does not stop there. Recently we have the Controller and Auditor-General making an investigation into matters connected with various departments. I do not propose to refer to that matter just now. It is enough for me to mention it to show that, four departments having been investigated lately, there is growing up in the public mind a feeling of unrest: the feeling is growing in the public mind that they cannot trust the Government to administer effectively the departments under its control.—*Hansard*, No. 19, p. 147.

Public Works Estimates..

THE UNEXPENDED VOTES

A good many electors are beginning to find out how little reliance can be placed on the promises of the One-man Government, even when the money is actually voted by Parliament. If Mr. Seddon changes his mind, he simply doesn't expend anything, and in the next Financial Statement rejoices over it as a "saving,"—little bit of Seddonian humour that will probably be appreciated by the settler who has been encouraged to face another winter by the prospect of a passable road in the near (?) future.

The following table is taken from the Appropriation Account for each year, and shows the total amounts voted by Parliament from the Public Works Fund for the purposes mentioned during the present Government's term of office, and how much of these amounts has never been expended:—

That is a correct comparison between promise and performance up to 31st March, 1905. Probably the electors will remember when listening to Mr. Seddon's speeches in November that nearly £1,300,000 has been voted for roads, and not one penny of it ever spent: that they have been deluded to nearly the same amount on railway-construction votes; and that the Seddon rule is to spend just as much or as little of the money voted by Parliament as suits Mr. Seddon.

"Vote Shuffling."

The detestable practice of "vote-shuffling" is done under the notorious "Public Revenues Act Amendment, 1900," section 4 of which provides that "the moneys available in respect of any vote may be transferred in aid of any other vote in the same class,"—that is, from one railway to another, from settlers' roads to goldfields' roads, and actually from roads for settlement to the salaries of the employees of the department. (This paying of salaries out of the Public Works Fund instead of from revenue is another piece of Seddonian "strong finance.") Formerly no such transfer could be made unless the whole work had been completed and paid for and there was still an amount in hand. Now tens of thousands of pounds are transferred at Mr. Seddon's own sweet will.

Here is a list of some of these shuffles:—

£1,500 from roads for settlement to departmental salaries, etc..

£7,500 from roads for settlement to goldfields roads.

£7,000 from Volunteers and Militia to the vote for miscellaneous expenses of the department.

£10,000 Midland Railway to purchase railway material.

£5,000 Midland Railway to Paeroa-Waihi Railway.

£6,000 Midland Railway to Gisborne-Karaka Railway.

In all these cases the purposes for which the money was voted by Parliament was ignored. The principle of making any Premier independent of Parliamentary control in these matters is absolutely rotten. One of the first planks in the Opposition platform is the repeal of this and other obnoxious provisions of the "Public Revenues Act, 1900."

A Ripple that may Become a Tide.

In *Hansard*, August 31st, 1905, Mr. Massey quotes an extract from an article written by an outward-bound passenger on board the *Manuka*, on a recent trip. It refers to his fellow-passengers who are leaving the colonies, and says:—"New Zealand, it is somewhat surprising to find, is represented in this outward flow (to Canada). Many cases might be given from the passenger list of this or recent boats. Here is a farmer from Otago, for example, who puts £800 in the purser's hands for safe keeping; another farmer with an even bigger amount of cash from Wellington; yet another farmer from Auckland with £1000 solid cash in his pockets, and better wealth still in the shape of three fine sons and a daughter. They are all going to a country where the farmer gets the freehold of the land he clears and cultivates; for the discontent in New Zealand with the leasehold system, if inarticulate, is both deeper and wider than New Zealand legislators realise or will admit. It is certainly costing New Zealand many families."

In further proof, read the following statement from a New Zealander:—"My brother was farming in New Zealand for about twenty years, and did very well, but on the Seddon Government coming back into power in 1902 with such a large majority, he sold off and settled in Tasmania. He writes thus of New Zealand matters: 'I was very much surprised to read in the last Auckland *Weekly* that—, a large sheep farmer, of Westmere, was leaving New Zealand for good, and going to West Australia. I, of course, think he is acting wisely. It is rather ominous to see men of capital leaving the Colony. Even here in Glenorchy (Tasmania) there are several New Zealanders. One bought property for £4000, another for £1750, and another bought an orchard for £1000. These all live within a mile of my place. You may depend upon it there are plenty more Maorilanders in this State.' "

We need not imagine that because we refuse to encourage 'the best settlers by giving them the freehold we may still retain them. They will go where they will get it.

Ministers' Salaries.

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT'S ACTION.

Mr. W. F. Massey (Franklin).—What about the increases of the Ministers' salaries? Who proposed that, and who voted for it? Compare the present Government's attitude with regard to their salaries with that taken by the previous Administration in regard to their salaries. A very important difference between the previous Ministry; and this one in connection with their salaries is that, when depression came along, Sir Harry Atkinson moved to reduce Ministers' salaries, and set the example by reducing his own by £700 or £800 a year. But this so-called Liberal Government was not long in power before they set about increasing their own salaries, and with the help of a majority of their supporters they were able to carry it. Then again, coming down the scale, who was it that pro-posed the increase of the members' salaries, and who was it that voted for it? The Premier said that I voted for the increase of the Governor's salary. I did not. I was not here, and my name is not recorded in the division list for the Bill; but in connection with the increase of members' salaries I want to say this, and I am proud to say it, not a single Opposition member voted for that increase. Not a single Opposition member voted for the increase of the salaries of members of Parliament. I am simply mentioning these instances to show, and I have proved it, that he (Sir J. G. Ward) was unjust in the statements he made that the Opposition always voted for the increase of the larger salaries. They do nothing of the sort; but, as far as I am concerned, and I am quite sure I am voicing the opinion of many members on this side of the House when I say I am anxious to see everybody in the public service properly paid, from a telegraph messenger right up to the head of the department itself, whether the political or the permanent head.—*Hansard*, No. 19, page 158.

The Need for Economy.

A GREAT EXAMPLE.

In advocating the establishment of a Public Service Board, Mr. Herdman lately quoted the following telling extract from the latest report of the New South Wales Public Service Board:—

"One of the greatest Chancellors of the Exchequer known in English history—viz., the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone—placed great importance upon the necessity for economy in public departments, even in small matters. A reference to this is made in the recently published 'Morley's Life of Gladstone,' the following extract from which deserves quotation. Morley says,—" 'It was not only in the finance of millions that he showed himself a hero. "The Chancellor of the Exchequer," he (Gladstone) said, 'should boldly uphold economy in detail, and it is the mark of a chicken-hearted Chancellor when he shrinks from upholding economy in; detail; when, because it is a question of only two or three thousand pounds, he says that it is no matter. He is ridiculed, no doubt, for what is called candle-ends and cheese-parings; but he is not worth his salt if he is not ready to save what are meant by candle-ends and cheese-parings in the cause of the country.' He held it to be his special duty in his office not simply to abolish sinecures, but to watch for every opportunity of cutting down all unnecessary appointments. He hears that a clerk at the National Debt Office is at death's door, and on the instant writes to Lord Palmerston that there is no necessity to appoint a successor. 'My idea is that it would be quite worthwhile to appoint an official Committee from the various departments to go over the contingencies and minor charges of the different departments into which abuse must always be creeping from the nature of the case and without much blame to anyone.' "

Our Much-Inspected Land.

In Committee of Supply on the Department of Agriculture Estimates, Mr. Hawkins raised a point with which many, if not most, people will heartily agree. He declared that the appointment of inspectors was becoming a by-word throughout the colony. There were over a hundred inspectors under this department, and he had asked for a return at the beginning of the session giving the number, names, localities, salaries, and duties of these inspectors, but for some reason that return had been studiously blocked. It was information that the members of the House were legitimately entitled to. If there was nothing to hide, the Minister should bring along the return and give it to members. ... The return he had moved for was this:—"That there be laid before this House a return showing the names of all inspectors appointed during the period from the 1st April, 1904, to the 28th June, 1905, to the Departments of Labour and Agriculture; also the names and salaries of all inspectors holding office in the aforesaid departments to-day."

The Socialists and the Land.

Mr. Seddon's famous Land Commission was intended, as everyone knows, to report against the concession of the option of the freehold to Crown tenants. Its members were chosen mainly for this purpose, and the resulting report might have been all that Mr. Seddon desired, had it not been for a few of the leading labour witnesses. It is asserted that it was only the unblushing manner in which these witnesses advocated the revaluation of existing leases-in-perpetuity—in other words, the repudiation by the Government of a binding contract—and the fact that they were sent to the Commission as representatives of the Labour Unions, that induced a majority of the Commission to recommend the grant of the freehold option to some of its Crown tenants.

This majority of the Commission apparently recognised that if ever the labour socialists gained the upper hand in New Zealand, the leasehold tenure would become most insecure. They, therefore determined to protect at least a portion of the State's tenants from a danger which, if not immediate, could not be wholly overlooked.

The evidence of some of these witnesses is significant. Mr. W. H. Hampton, President of the Wellington Trades and Labour Council, for instance, said, *inter alia*:—

"Our proposal is for revaluation on the death of the lessee."

As one of the Commissioners remarked, the right the lessee acquired under the lease would then be taken from his widow and family.

Mr. Hampton admitted that this was so.

"Do you mean to say," he was asked, "that when that man-a lessee-in-perpetuity—dies, and the wife is deprived of the assistance of her husband, that that is the proper time to select for raising the rent on them: is that the unanimous opinion of your organisation as representative of labour?"

The witness replied that it was.

"Are you prepared to assert that if a referendum were taken of the workers of the colony, they would, as Britishers, repudiate the 999 years' lease?"

"I am not prepared to say what the workers would do under any circumstances," answered Mr. Hampton. "I, for one, would vote in favour of revaluation of all existing leases, even without the qualifications which the (Trades and Labour) Conference added to it."

In reply to further questions, Mr. Hampton asserted that a referendum of the 20,000 men represented at the Conference would show a majority in favour of revaluation. "Speaking from the opinions of men I have met at the Conference, and by mixing with Unionists. I feel sure they are very much in favour of periodical revaluation of all lands held on lease." ... "What I have given was the decision of the Labour Party of New Zealand in Conference." . . "My opinions with regard to land tenure and revaluation are endorsed by the whole of the (Trades and Labour) Councils."

Is it any wonder that Crown tenants desire the freehold in order to protect themselves from the retrospective revaluation which would be introduced by the labour socialists if they ever came into power?

Committee Work in Parliament.

The hard-working members of the House are not to be judged by their long speeches and by their many questions to Ministers. Within the four walls of the committee room the bulk of the hard "graft" of Parliament is carried out. The outside world does not know of it, and modesty forbids these hard-working Committee members from proclaiming to the public the time and the energy they put into committee work. On the other hand, there are some members who, practically speaking, do no committee work whatever. They may be noisy in the House, they may be heard of through the newspapers, but it does not follow they are useful representa

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tives of the people. Two members of the Opposition, Messrs. Hemes, member for the Bay of Plenty, and Mr. Hardy, member for Selwyn, easily top the list for the years 1903 and 1904 with respect to committee work. Mr. Herries comes first of the whole of the members of Parliament with an attendance of 177, and Mr. Hardy second with an attendance of 145; and these two are ahead of any other member of the House. No doubt their constituencies will recognise their application and their use as Members of Parliament, and send them back again to do the real work of the country.

Freedom of Speech.

A BRITISH BIRTHRIGHT GONE.

The Seddon Government has placed on the Statute Book an Act which may make it a criminal offence for anyone to speak plainly about public men. As we have said, and as has been repeatedly said in Parliament the Government have used the numerous State services and the power they have over the public purse to secure political support. Hitherto any member could comment freely upon such actions, but under the amendment of the Criminal Code Act just passed, any member making any such statement may be hauled before a Magistrate, and may have to run the gauntlet of a criminal action, prosecuted by the State in the middle of an election. To escape this he must justify the language used. How is this possible when it is a matter of intention? Everyone knows that the grants of money made for harbours, for railways, for public buildings and other public services always appear just on the eve of an election. Who can prove that these grants were made to gain political support? Everyone knows that it is so, but to prove it is another matter; and with Magistrates in the dependent position they are, is it unlikely that some will consider such comments unjustifiable? It is only after a public man has prosecuted a civil action to success, and failed to receive his damages that public statements should be considered criminal. To gag freedom of speech is a bad thing, and as Sir William Russell said is only to be found in countries where the knife and bullet are used to settle political and private grievances.

The Seddon Government has transferred to the public works or loan fund during the past 14 years £4,355,000 out of surplus taxes paid by the taxpayers. This, they say, saves the taxpayers £143,800 a year. Well, let this be granted, then the Seddon Government should explain why they took £4,355,000 more out of the taxpayers' pockets than was needed for State services and expended it on public works that should have been paid for by the whole colony. Would this money not be better in the taxpayers' pockets? In other words, Mr Seddon says, "If you give me £100 in cash that will save you £4 a year "A curious method of saving'

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Front Cover

Manawatu Election.

Mr Frankland's Address to the Electors of Marton.

decorative feature Marton, N.Z. Printed at the Office of the RANGITIKEI ADVOCATE. 1905.

Manawatu Election.

Mr Frankland's Address to the Electors of Marton and Turakina.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

This is only the first of what I hope will be a series of addresses I shall have the great pleasure of delivering before you during the electoral campaign that has now begun. Instead of at once submitting to you, as I hope to do so on a future occasion, my detailed views on the specific questions that are likely ere long to engage the attention of Parliament, it seemed best that I should give you an outline sketch of how the political situation appears to me as a whole, and what are the general aims with which I seek to enter colonial public life. We will leave details till a later time. The Rangitikei and Feilding papers have, it is true, been put in possession of some

of the special "planks" in my "platform," and I may touch on them this evening, but only briefly. This, therefore, is merely an introductory address. And in giving it I may be at a disadvantage, as compared with some of my opponents, in confronting a part of the electorate where I am as yet a comparative stranger. But, ladies and gentlemen, I take heart of grace by reflecting that in Rangitikei and in Manawatu, from the banks of which river I hail, we are all one district, and are all going to work together as friends for the advancement of that district and of the grand young country of which we are fellow citizens.

It is also a very particular gratification that I derive from the fact that I can address you as "*Ladies and Gentlemen*." From boyhood upwards I have worked for Woman Suffrage. Long before it was carried, either here or anywhere else except in Wyoming in the United States, I have button-holed members of Parliament, I have made myself "all things to all men" in endeavouring to appeal to the idiosyncrasies of each, and was much inclined to sing a "Nunc Dimittis" when the great measure was passed in New Zealand—the first to adopt it among the dominions of the British Crown. You may therefore imagine my pleasure on mounting a platform in my first political campaign, at being able to hail all our sisters as full fellow-citizens—arbiters, equally with our brothers, of the Parliamentary aspirant's fate.

His Candidature.

I make no apology for appearing before you as a candidate to-night, because—although not long an actual resident in your midst—my special interests in and in connection with this district, and my residence in the colony of New Zealand (interrupted, it is true, for a decade), stretch back, across thirty years, almost to the early days of settlement. For fifteen years and more, while resident in Wellington as a member of the Civil Service of the colony, I have watched the progress of settlement in the Manawatu district, which was the centre of my friendships, and—later—of my family connections. And, ladies and gentlemen, I have shown by my actions that there is no place in the whole world to which I would rather devote any qualifications I may possess than the district for which I am now standing as a Parliamentary candidate. I have no sooner been in a position to determine the place of my residence by choice instead of by necessity, than I have settled down amongst you, made my investments in your midst, and still further tied down the future of my family to your welfare and progress. Your future is my future and that of ray children. But why do I, on returning to the colony where the bulk of my life has been spent, feel specially impelled to seek to take part not only, as I do already—for my own portion of the district—in municipal politics, but also in the general counsels of the nation? That is what I want now to explain.

I am not in need of the Parliamentary salary, having already enough to live on in my simple way. I have no large estate that would give me a personal "axe to grind," but I crave to enter politics because my always ardent feelings on political issues have received, from the peculiar circumstances of my experience, a particularly keen edge,—and in a way which will soon be clear to you.

Comparison of New Zealand with other Countries.

To anyone who returns here after a long residence abroad, there must, among the many impressions which crowd upon his mind, be one impression which, if he is a student of social conditions, will be of overwhelming strength. It is that New Zealand is politically unique among the nations,—that the blessings enjoyed here are unprecedented. A long series of youthful years spent in this Paradise of the South may have left him comparatively indifferent to these advantages. He may have taken them for granted, like the fresh air and the sunshine, as facts of Nature that come to us without our seeking. He may have thought that, as it is here, so it would be anywhere else—at least in the so-called "civilised" world; that peace and plenty, liberty and opportunities for all, would prevail as surely as God's sunshine and His rain. He had, indeed, heard from others, or he had read in books, that all countries were not as a fact equally so blessed; but the tidings had made little impression upon him, and he had assumed—in a careless way—that as it is here, so it is everywhere (or at least generally) and always. English-speaking peoples, whatever may be true of foreigners, would always, he might think, manage to make a fair success of popular government, would be sure to retain the blessings of political liberty, of security, and of a sufficiency of food for all. Such a New Zealander goes abroad. He has been told perhaps, and rightly, of the superior advancement of some of the Northern countries in the arts and conveniences of life. He has perhaps chafed under the hardships which fall to the lot of the pioneer settler in a young country where everything is necessarily new, and where the conveniences of an older civilisation are only gradually assimilated as settlement progresses. He visits these Northern countries. He resides in them for a number of years it may be in England, it may be in America. If he is fortunate enough to have secured a good niche in the economic structure of the country of his adoption, he lives perhaps very happily, and enjoys to the full the smoothness and amenity of the more advanced civilisation. Life, it is true, is more strenuous for him,

unless he have independent means, than it was in New Zealand. Competition is fierce and relentless Every year, every month, every day, in his own walk of life, competitors drop out of the game, crushed by the Juggernaut car which comes on them from behind. But for the survivors in this struggle for existence life is a thing of much amenity and pleasure, along with much toil. Many there are who, successful themselves and keeping their own heads above water, give little thought to the sufferings of their weaker brethren whom this fierce natural selection of the Northern countries is crowding out of existence. But to anyone who can take a broader view, the undertone of life in these countries is a very sad one. Endless misery for generation after generation of the wage-workers, or at least for the "submerged tenth" of the people, has come to be accepted as a normal lot. "The poor ye have with you always" was said nineteen hundred years ago, and it is as appalling a truth now, save in this favoured land in which we stand, as it has been during any of the intervening centuries. "Can nothing be done?" is the agonised cry of every lover of his kind. In an old and crowded country like England a great natural law (the Malthusian) is held by many thinkers to be responsible for the horrors under which millions suffer want, and slave incessantly throughout life—suffer poverty and endure hard work such as are unknown in New Zealand, while hundreds enjoy wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, wealth as compared with which that of our richest citizens is like pauperism. But if this horror is due only to a natural law, if it is only because Great Britain, unlike New Zealand, is an old and crowded country, why, ladies and gentlemen, is the horror reproduced, in some respects in intensified form, in America? There you have a country, young like New Zealand, with the most enormous extent of virgin territory ever offered to civilised mankind, and yet, after a couple of centuries or so of progress, with the surface of the soil scarcely scratched as compared to the old countries of Europe, you have ten millions of people, as Robert Hunter has proved in his recent work entitled "Poverty," who are constantly on the verge of actual destitution, while John D. Rockefeller has accumulated a fortune so huge that if converted into silver it would weigh down two first-class battleships, and if taken in one-dollar bank notes it would make a girdle twice round the world with fifteen hundred miles to spare. Ladies and gentlemen, there must be something *politically* wrong where these things can be. The *American* poor are the victims of no mere physical stress, but of some maladjustment in the relations between man and man—some maladjustment which law, and law alone, can remedy, and which we in this colony have (for the time being, at any rate) obviated already.

The New Zealander I have described, upon whose mind has been produced this overwhelming impression of the superiority of political conditions here, is essentially, ladies and gentlemen, the candidate who stands before you to-day. But there has also been produced on him an anxious, a haunting impression of the peril of *losing* these superior conditions. Were I convinced that the political status we enjoy here, and which during the last fourteen years has made New Zealand the admiration of the civilised world—were I convinced that these advantages were *in their very nature* eternal and perpetual, I might not trouble to solicit your suffrages now, and might continue to devote myself to the philosophical studies which have been my chief enjoyment since retiring from active life. But, persuaded as I am, that "eternal vigilance is the price" not only of liberty, as the old saw has it, but of all political blessings, I do not see how I can better spend the evening of my life than in helping my small best to safeguard and even increase those blessings, if I should be fortunate enough to be chosen for the honour of serving you in the Assembly to which you are about to elect a representative.

Political Leanings and Party Affiliations.

But if these are the feelings and aspirations with which I seek to enter politics, if what is dearest to my heart is the perpetuation and even the improvement of the happy lot here of the settlers and the wage-workers, then can you doubt on which side of the House I should feel myself constrained to vote? Impressed, through all my residence abroad, with an overwhelming feeling of the misery and down-trodden condition of manual labour (a condition which those of you who have not seen it, cannot realise)—looking back, all the time, on New Zealand as the land of hope, the "city set on a hill," the "candle put on a candlestick" to light the other nations along the passage which leads to comfort for all instead of luxury for a few,—can you doubt that I should substantially give my support to the great man who for nearly fourteen years has so guided us along this path that we are fitted to be an example to all nations of the earth? Those of you who have never left this country can form but a poor idea of the potential miseries that Mr Seddon has saved us from. Nothing could well be sadder than that this young nation should, on its small scale, take for its ideal a kind of progress which, on the great scale, has been exemplified by that other young nation—America,—a progress, unprecedented indeed in the material arts, but heading from good to bad and from bad to worse, so far as the welfare of its less fortunate citizens is concerned. Read "Amanda of the Mill"—that wonderful novel of American factory life,—and ponder how little children of the once democratic Republic, instead of having a free and happy existence like our children at the State schools here, are made to slave their little lives to death to satisfy the greed (for cheap labour and consequent increased profits) of employers whose enormous wealth can buy all legislation that is needed to

perpetuate iniquity. Can you wonder if I tell you that, in my horror at this stultification of representative government, I was a member of the Direct Legislation League while resident in America, and that I put the Swiss institutions of the Initiative and Referendum in the forefront of my political platform?

It is our land and labour legislation—our general political trend, as focussed in McKenzie, in Stout, in Seddon, in Tregear—which has saved us from the fate of America—a fate that may yet overtake us if we allow the shibboleths of "unlimited free contract" and "every man for himself" to regain dominion over our minds. The names of Ballance, of McKenzie, of Reeves, of Seddon, win, in my opinion, go down to history as among the greatest social pioneers and social saviours the world has ever seen. Such views may or may not be popular in this constituency. They may or may not be regarded as fanciful and extravagant. But they are not considered extravagant or fanciful—they are commonplaces—among the most thoughtful sociologists and unselfish citizens in America and in England. Many an American, groaning under the plutocratic tendencies of industry in this age, and especially in his country, wishes it were possible to install under the Stars and Stripes an administration comparable to that of the Liberal Party which has held office in New Zealand for fourteen years. I have in my possession, given me by a dear American friend a vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, a large book called "The Story of New Zealand, by the great American, Professor Frank Parsons, which I would earnestly commend to anyone in this electorate in order to show him or her how our political blessings appeal to the foreigner who is less fortunate.

You may have read two days ago the article, "A Land of Plenty," in the "Manawatu Evening Standard" :—
"Mr W. B. Leffingwell, of Chicago, U.S.A., a journalist at present on a visit to Wellington, in an interview with a New Zealand Times reporter, said:—

"In the spring of 1904, while at St. Louis, I became acquainted with Mr T. E. Donne, chief of the New Zealand Tourist Department, who represented your Government at the World's Fair. Through conversations I had with him, and through the illustrated and printed matter he had bearing on New Zealand, I became very much interested in your country, and in a joking way I told Mr Donne I would take a run over and see for myself whether you had so many scenic charms and points of attraction as were being so extensively claimed by you. When Mr Donne left America I promised I would come over this winter and see what the country was really like. When it became known in America that I contemplated such a trip, a large number of magazines, daily papers, and agricultural journals requested me to write a series of articles for them to show the readers of American journalism my impressions of New Zealand."

And are your impressions favourable?

"Very much so. I have recently visited the hot springs at Rotorua and the mountain scenery in its vicinity. I then made the trip down the Wanganui River, which comprises the most beautiful scenery I have ever seen. Wherever I have gone in your country I have received the greatest courtesy. I have nothing but words of praise for your people and your scenery."

It is to be regretted that you have visited our country at a time of year which shows it rather at a disadvantage?

"I am," replied Mr Leffingwell, "on the contrary, very glad I came here in winter, because if this is your worst season it must be simply delightful when you have summer. In America in winter we have snow blizzards, and freezing weather, when all the foliage is brown and apparently devoid of life, whereas here I see nothing but green foliage, green grass, just as it is in summer in America. All this indicates a land of plenty and of great promise."

On what particular point do you write to your papers?

"My mission is a varied one. I have to write as to your climate, resources, your arbitration laws, your labour laws, municipal ownership, Land for Settlers Act, and in short everything pertaining to the colony—anything that may tend to show just what New Zealand is."

I suppose it is safe to say that Americans can have little idea what this country is really like?

"America has no idea," was the quick reply, "that there is such a beautiful land in existence. I recall the condition of the middle states of America, some years ago, when they had advanced to just about the point New Zealand is to-day. What you need here is population. Population means prosperity. It fills the farms, increases the census in the cities, builds factories and means financial success to all progressive people."

Is the government of our colony making an impression with your people ?

"The Government of New Zealand is much talked of in America. Indeed, it has the reputation there of being the best in the World."

You mention your intention of studying our arbitration laws. The reason, of course, is the outcome of the strikes in America?

"That is so. I especially desire to look into your arbitration laws for just that reason. The strikes in America and the frequent conflict between employers and employees are the curse of my country."

And you think we have found the solution of the problem?

"Most decidedly. And more than that, I feel positive that after reporting my investigations to my countrymen, your New Zealand laws on arbitration will, to a certain extent, be copied in America."

New Zealand, then, you think, shows some acumen in the direction of law-making?

"What I consider is that you ought to be highly flattered—being so young a nation—that you should be looked up to in the matter of legislation by a country such as America. Also, I think it highly creditable to you that you should have inaugurated and put into effective use labour laws that are so highly thought of, not only in America, but throughout the nations of the world."

Only a week ago we had a telegram about President Roosevelt, which most of you doubtless saw in the newspapers, saying that he took a "great interest in Australia and New Zealand, but especially in New Zealand." It is no wonder. For well he knows, as anyone else might know, that what New Zealand in, other nations *ought to be*.

But, ladies and gentlemen, in any case, even if I cannot communicate to you the ardour of my faith, even if I lose my election by trying to do so, even if I were to go to the poll without a single vote recorded in my favour, I would rather it were so than that I should lose this opportunity of publicly proclaiming the faith that is in me—the democratic faith that has been in me from boyhood—of irrevocably nailing my colours to the mast.

Democracy and Progress

And yet, friends, while the kind of "strenuousness" exemplified in America is to be avoided as inflicting a hell upon earth—to say nothing of its injustice—on the vast masses at the base of the social pyramid, we must not, on the other hand, in our desire to redress inequalities of wealth, destroy the stimulus to exertion or the reward of exceptional ability. And this is where many would-be reformers have gone wrong in their political and social theories. They have forgotten that while much can be done towards equalising human lots without in the least reducing—perhaps sometimes even increasing—the total industry of the community, yet, if we go too far along this road, the energies of its members may be diminished even to paralysis, and the equality resulting will be an equality of destitution, and not an equality of comfort. Now who, of political administrators on the earth, has come so near to the happy medium in this matter as he who, for more than a decade, has made New Zealand the Utopia of all Socialistic reformers, and yet, at the same time, has so safeguarded its business energy and progressive enterprise that reactionaries, the world over, are gnashing their teeth in impotent rage at the stubborn refusal of our community to break down as they had hoped and expected it would? A hundred times, during my residence abroad, I have seen in the capitalist Press venomous articles by anti-labourite writers, of which one in the London "Financial News" may serve as example:—

"Break-down of the New Zealand Commune." "Mr. Seddon's Policy a Failure," stared me in the face in flaming headlines; while perhaps, in the very same issue there would be an article lauding him for the South African contingent—welcome boon to the capitalist employers of the Rand! Yet we go on, obstinately refusing to "fail," and our prosperity advances, as Sir Julius Vogel would have said, by "leaps and bounds." If we have a temporary set-back (as here in flax), to what administrator could your member go with more hope that all a government can do would be done to recover our market? Not Emperor William himself is a better Consul General of his nation than Mr Seddon has been of our little country. And, in speaking to farmers, as I do in this electorate, can I not appeal to gratitude alone for endorsement of the substantial support I propose to accord the administration? I have been here many years ago—before the "Advances to Settlers Act" was passed. I know what the regime of dear money meant. Ten per cent, was very pleasant for us mortgagees, and it used to constitute a nice little addition to my salary as a civil servant. But how many thousands of struggling pioneers has not Mr Seddon put on their legs by the regime of 5 and 4½ per cent? Do not abandon the tried friend in favour of leaders who might lead—I tremble to think where.

Mr. Frankland's Independence.

But, ladies and gentlemen, no man is good enough to be a God. If you should do me the honour of electing me, you will have in Parliament a member who cannot see his way to blind support of any Premier, however able. If you want one who will say "My party, right or wrong," you must vote for someone else. On some few points, even—and I don't say it with "bated breath," either—my long residence in America may have fitted me to see more clearly than those who are far my superiors in general political ability. "Onlookers see most of the game" is an old adage; and while my opportunity of comparing what we enjoy in New Zealand with what exists elsewhere may make me more keenly alive to the blessings that we have secured, I am perhaps also more on the alert as to possible and insidious ways in which we may lose those blessings than even some of the very men who have won them for us. In a few days I shall distribute among you a circular I have had printed abridging what seems to be an epoch-making article in the Wellington "Evening Post" on the imminence of the Trust

peril. And if there is any important concrete question on which I can for see the possibility of voting, through what they might regard as an excess of democratic zeal, against the administration, and with the small party of Independent Liberals that already exists in the House, it is precisely here. It is in regard to setting up constitutional machinery which I *know*, from my study at first hand of the Swiss system, to be effective in checking evils that I equally know, from my residence in America, to be both imminent and alarming.

Thus my great object in trying to enter New Zealand public life is to bear my part in the service of democratic ideals. Of those ideals it is a sober truth to say that the Liberal Party here has been for long the most grandly successful champion in the world, and it is my hope and belief that it will remain their conspicuous exponent for many a year to come. But, ladies and gentlemen, an out-and-out tied down "party man," in the ordinary acceptance of the word, is what I do not see my way to become. It may be that my inexperience misleads me and that, were I familiar with Parliamentary procedure, I should appreciate more highly the value of party discipline. I well remember, many years ago, my dear old chief, Sir Harry Atkinson, endeavouring to impress this new of the matter on me—but in vain. "I never saw such a House," he once said, soon after a general election. "The new members can't seem to see that they have got to choose between God and Baal." Now, if the party chiefs were truly "God and Baal," I should agree with Sir Harry as to the imperativeness of enlisting under one or the other banner for life, and the position of an "Independent Liberal" would in that case be an impertinence, if not a blasphemy. But, my friends, in the best and greatest of actual party leaders there are faults; and in connection with those Oppositionists to whom we are, on the whole most opposed, there are minor points as to which one is compelled to agree with them against one's own political friends. For this reason it is that I call myself an Independent Liberal, though it is needless to say that my attitude towards the administration is far, far different from that of the men who constitute, under the term "Independent Liberal" or "New" Liberal, the existing "Cave of Adullam" in the House of Representatives.

The Specific "Planks" of his "Platform."

This allusion to our new "Cave of Adullam" reminds me that I have not yet touched upon the specific planks of my platform. For these Parliamentarians, if I understand them aright, have committed themselves to lines of policy that are very clear-cut, and perhaps startling. As I assume the badge of "Independent Liberal," it behoves me to define my attitude towards "planks" that have been constructed by those who have worn the badge before me. Instead, however, of quoting from the Adullamites' utterances, and then expressing my measure of agreement or difference, I shall, perhaps, best read to you the "planks" which I have advertised in the columns of the "Rangitikei Advocate" and the "Feilding Star." They are as follows—

- Land Tenure: I favour the freehold tenure as recommended in No. 1 report of the Land Commission.
- I will give general but discriminating support to the existing administration, much on the lines formulated by some members of the present Independent Liberal Party in the House.
- Liquor Question: I favour Prohibition as the ultimate ideal; but under no circumstances without adequate and liberal compensation to existing vested interests.
- Referendum: I favour the referendum, with initiative, as an indispensable safeguard against the possible future introduction into the colony of plutocratising tendencies that are at work nearly everywhere else in the world.
- Bible in Schools: On this vexed question I advocate the application of the referendum, i.e., I favour the Bible in Schools Referendum League.
- Imperial: I favour any measures—fiscal or other—that would tend to strengthen existing ties between the colonies and the Motherland, and to give the colonies a proportionate voice in Imperial management.
- Local: I would endeavour to secure for the Manawatu a fair share of expenditure of public money.

I had better supplement this enumeration of "planks" by telling you also what the "Manawatu Herald" said about my views a little more than a fortnight ago. That newspaper then wrote:—"We understand he will favour, among other things, the freehold tenure of land, with certain restrictions; maintenance of the independence of labour interests; the referendum with initiative; elective Upper House and (theoretically) elective Executive. As however, Mr Frankland avows himself an ardent Imperialist, he would not press the last proposition, which might conflict with Imperial tradition and sentiment."

Now these political convictions, though they refer to matters that have been frequently discussed in the newspapers of late, require a little explanation. It is not that they have been wrongly put into my mouth, for they represent, in fact, an important part of my political creed, and were communicated to the Press by myself. But since formulating them, it has occurred to me that there are ambiguities at one or two points—ambiguities that require to be cleared up.

Land Tenures.

To begin with the first: As formulated, the plank looks like an unqualified endorsement of all that appears in the "No. 1 Report on Tenuies," signed by Messrs McKerrow, Hall, McCardle, McCutchan, and Matheson It might seem as if I saw no force whatever in the reasoning by which "No. 2 Report" has been so ably buttressed. Such is not the case. As a matter of theory, indeed, I have more affinity with the ideals of No. 2 and in large urban centres believe that much might be done to practicalise its conclusions. But, in country districts, like the constituency in which we stand, we are confronted, not by a theory, but by a condition. The interests of immediate settlement are paramount, and we must trust to taxation for the adjustment of ideal equities later.

There recently appeared in the "Rangitikei Advocate" an article on the condition of the people in Denmark, as follows:—

"Denmark affords an excellent object lesson on the advantages of the freehold tenure and its benefit to the State, and the results attained there should be studied by the theorists who are advocating the State serfdom of land users. Towards the close of the last century the peasantry of Denmark were described as a class physically and mentally degraded, living in serfdom, oppressed by the nobles and Crown Lands regulations. It was Frederick VI. of Denmark who was wise enough to see the causes of the degeneracy of the people. He initiated a better state of affairs when Crown prince, and carried it further when he became King. He removed restrictions from Crown lands which kept back the peasants, and gave them every facility for acquiring freehold farms, with the result that in less than one hundred years, out of 280,000 families in the country districts of the Kingdom, 170,000 were owners of land, and the spread of the freehold still continues. Pauperism has practically vanished, schools have flourished, and the people are educated, industrious, honest, and capable. The freehold tenure is, indeed, the main requirement to create national prosperity and ensure the freedom of the people."

At the same time, while thus an advocate of the freehold in country districts in deference to the exigencies of the Colony's present stage of prowess, I am earnestly in favour of such restrictions in area as will forever prevent the growth in this country of a landed aristocracy like those which have been the curse of many an older nation.

Liquor Question.

I next come to the liquor question. What do I mean by favouring Prohibition "as the ultimate ideal?" I mean favouring Prohibition if we can get it, and if we can get it without injury to those whom Parliament has for so many years allowed to engage in a business which it would suddenly stop. Failing this, or if the financial burden of compensation without revenue to the Government be thought too heavy, I favour the buying out of existing interests by governmental authority, and the running of the liquor trade as a Government monopoly—either colonial or local. A local government monopoly of the liquor trade has been operated for many years, with excellent results, at the large town of Gothenburg, in Sweden, and—I believe—in other places, and has come to be known as the Gothenburg system. Its superiority over the present system is obvious, if only from the fact that the interests of private individuals are no longer opposed to the public good. The Government or borough purveyors of liquor would be paid by salary and, therefore, rather be interested in selling as little liquor as possible, in order to have a minimum of work. It is like paying your doctor by annuity as long as you live, instead of by fee for work done. It becomes his interest to have you ill as seldom as possible, instead of as often as possible—in order that he may draw his annuity without doing more work for it than need be.

"Constitutional" Flanks.

Next, as to the "constitutional" planks. I will group together the various constitutional measures for which I have been made sponsor. And here I may be pardoned a little natural pride at finding that measures which I preached in this colony, just as I did Female Suffrage, when hardly more than a boy (for these constitutional questions always interested me most keenly when I was a young man) have—thirty years later—been raised to the dignity of quasi-practical politics by enlisting the advocacy of a definitive party in the present Parliament. The Initiative and Referendum, an Elective Upper House, an Elective Cabinet—these are the measures I contended for then; and these are the constitutional changes which, in a sense, I advocate still; but, oh, that I could adequately impress on you how different are my feelings towards the three measures enumerated! An "Elective Upper House?" Yes; but how elected? Do we want a Council which, boasting a popular election that shall raise its prestige to a level with that of the House, shall yet—be it through larger electoral areas, or be it through some narrowing of franchise—become an engine of reaction, like the elective Second Chamber of a sister colony, or that Millionaire Club which is known as the Senate of the United States? Surely a nominated chamber, however it may fall short of our theoretic ideal, serves our purpose far better than these checks on

democratic progress, these bringers about of crisis and of deadlock? The elective Second Chamber of the Swiss Confederation, the "Standereth," as it is called, is, indeed, ideal. It represents the separate Cantons even as the United States Senate represents the individual States; but, unlike the latter, it has succumbed to no plutocratic influence, and co-operates with all the other elements of the Swiss Constitution in forming a harmonious, a model Republic. But here, in New Zealand, where we have no confederation of Provincial Districts—in spite of the belated attempt to re-introduce one that we read of in the newspapers—we have not the machinery to constitute a Second Chamber like the Swiss Standerath. One method only of electing our Legislative Council commends itself to me. It is a method I have advocated for thirty years; and, if I understand them aright, it is the method favoured by the Adullamites of the "New" Liberal Party. I mean election by the House of Representatives. But, ladies and gentlemen, is there any-thing urgent about a constitutional change like this? Does it possess much more than a mere academic advantage over our present system? I should not believe in it, even as an academic proposition, were it not coupled with the Referendum as a means of appeal to the people in the event of a deadlock between the two Chambers. Ah, but the Referendum! Would that I could impart to you my sense of the importance of this! No mere academic reform here. No mere captious criticism of existing arrangements in the pursuit of theoretic perfection. Perhaps, on the contrary, the one indispensable safeguard against submergence of all we hold most dear by the plutocratic wave which is sweeping over the planet. Let me tell you a little story; I was once very familiarly acquainted with an ex-member of the New York House of Representatives. "I am very anxious to hear details about your political career," I said to him. "Oh, Mr Frankland, it was the most disappointing thing you can imagine. For instance, I was promised 500 dollars for such and such a Bill in connection with New York City, and—would you believe it?—I never saw a cent of it! I was promised 250 dollars for such and such a Bill in connection with Brooklyn, and—you would hardly believe me—I never saw a cent of it!" Ladies and gentlemen, legislation is not bought and sold under the British flag. But if that time ever comes, it may be too late to talk about Initiatives and Referendums, because you might never be allowed to get them. If the fly delays to use its wings till it is actually entangled in the spider's web, it may find that all the subsequent buzzings are ineffectual to restore its lost freedom, In the interest of our children, and of our children's children, I beseech you to "be wise in time"! Build an effectual dam against the tidal wave of plutocracy that is even now sweeping toward the New Zealand shore.

Elected Executive.

But, if the Elective Upper House be an academic issue, and the Referendum per contra perhaps the most burning question of the age, what are we to say of that third proposed measure—the direct election of the Cabinet by the House of Representatives? Earnestly would I say that, not only do I doubt whether the advantage of such a method over present forms is much more than academic, but that I am actually afraid of it. Without going as far as the Premier, who said, if my memory serves me, "I fear it would lead to *chaos*," we may recognise a certain danger that the break with traditions and forms that are dear to Britons all over the world, might render more difficult the consolidation of our Empire and even operate unsatisfactorily in New Zealand alone. The danger, however we may estimate its magnitude, hardly seems worth incurring for the sake of so very problematic an advantage. It is true that the plural elected Executive—elected, not by the people, but by the Legislature—has proved itself the ideal Administrative Committee where alone it is at present tried, viz., in Switzerland. In the Federal Palace at Berne, I have stood in the Chamber of the Swiss "Bandesrath,"—that Supreme Executive Council of the Swiss Republic, that Cabinet of seven members, each with a portfolio of his own, who are elected by the Federal Assembly and who administer the laws of the Confederation. And never have I felt such a thrill, politically, as when an attendant ushered me into this empty chamber where holds its sessions the ideal executive government of the earth. Well can I understand the feelings with which, in the remotest hamlets of Switzerland, householders hang up pictures of the Supreme Seven, even as in our village houses are to be found portraits of our King, and in American homes pictures of the President and Vice-President of the United States. These Seven Councillors are elected for three years by the two Houses of the Legislature sitting together from among their own number. They represent no party, they serve instead of leading the House, they are not required to initiate legislation, and, while retaining their seats, they lose their votes in the Federal Legislature, so as to impress on them that they are its honoured servants, but in nowise its masters. You see at once what a break the introduction of this system would involve in our organic structure. It would correspond to no gradual evolution where, in the words of the poet,

*"Freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent."*

It would resemble rather those sudden "mutations" in plant structure lately observed by Professor De Vries, which now threaten to profoundly modify the Darwinian theory. While cherishing the elected Executive as an ideal, and watching appreciatively its operation in the model republic of the world, and while seeking to

accustom the Anglo-Saxon mind to the ideas which it embodies, I think we shall be wise to defer adopting it—at all events until our Empire has been transformed from its present somewhat amorphous condition into a more organic and consolidated whole.

Bible in Schools.

Incidentally I have now dealt with plank No. 6, and even touched on plank No 5, viz., the Bible-in-schools question. For, if the Referendum is such a life and death matter on general grounds, we are predisposed to favour its application, other things equal, to a specific problem that is in any case troublesome, if only to accustom the people to political habits of thought that we deem essential to their salvation. Besides, unless our secularist friends are afraid that the decision of the people will be in favour of Scripture teaching, why do they so bitterly oppose the referendum in connection with the Bible-in-schools? My dear friend, Mr John Gammell, has been writing to the Wellington newspapers and deprecating the popular reference as bowing to what he calls the "decision of uneducated servant-girls," and as flouting the majesty of that "Palladium of our liberties"—Parliament! Oh, if only Mr Gammell, instead of spending his time in New Zealand, where the House, whatever its faults, has as yet been truly the servant of the people, had been able to witness what has been well called the "breakdown of Parliaments" in some of the older countries, to say nothing of the unblushing purchase and sale of legislation in America! He would then have less trust in mere "representative" government as a "Palladium of liberties"—less awe in the presence of the mere "representative" chamber which is in other countries sometimes so sadly mis-representative. Danger there might be, I can conceive, in mere direct government by the people, without any representative assembly at all; though where it has been tried, as in the Forest Cantons of Switzerland, it has been ideally successful. But what "Palladium" can be imagined more safe, more inviolable, than a Parliament, checked by occasional direct exercise of sovereignty on the part of Parliament's masters? Representative government, with the Popular Initiative and Veto as Sovereign in the background—*that* is a combination which we may indeed call a Palladium of human liberties!

Local Wants.

There remains now, of the seven planks, only the last and most directly important of all—that of adequate expenditure of public money on the wants of the District. On this all-important question I hope to meet you frequently in the future, when our time does not need to be taken up with the discussion of general politics, and when I have had opportunity to inform myself better than I am at present informed, of the special wants of this part of the electorate—wants with which two of my opponents are as yet much more familiar than I am. Meanwhile, I would suggest to you an exceedingly practical thought. What representative would be more likely to obtain justice for our district than one who is a supporter of the Government, who yet is not its tied down or hide bound supporter, and who has been accustomed as civil servant and as undersecretary and departmental head to personally deal with Ministers for many years? But, however that may be, I leave the issue in your hands—with a calm spirit: satisfied, to slightly change an utterance of Herbert Spencer's, that, if you elect me, "Well; if not, we'll also, though not so well."

decorative feature

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Front Cover

Letters Home.

Letters Home,

By Charles Hargrove, M.A.,

MINISTER OF MILL HILL CHAPEL LEEDS,

Relegate of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to the Unitarians of Australia and New Zealand, 1904.

Leeds: Henry Walker.

1905.

Price One Shilling Net

To Our Dear Unitarian Friends of AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND,

In Evidence of Our Affectionate Remembrance of the Great Kindness and Unstinted Hospitality with Which they Welcomed Us "In Every Place Theirs and Ours."

C. AND H. M. HARGROVE.

Preface.

It has been suggested to me that I should write a connected narrative of my recent visit to the Unitarians of Australia and New Zealand. I really do not think I have anything to tell which would be worth making a book of; and yet it seems desirable that there should be some record of this the first occasion that a Unitarian minister has made an official tour of the Australasian States and, as far as time allowed, has come into communication with all who were in religious sympathy with him. I have therefore preferred to reprint these letters, some of them addressed to my own congregation, and others, through *The Inquirer*, to the Unitarians of Great Britain. They are of no merit as literary compositions, and might as such well be left to the obscurity of back numbers; but they are the fresh impressions made on my mind as I travelled, and worth more than would be any account I could now write. They will perhaps be read with interest in years to come by the few who would learn something of the state of religious thought on the other side of the world in the beginning of the twentieth century. At any rate this little hook will be a memorial of an interesting mission, and as such will, I trust, be accepted by those concerned in it, whether at home or abroad. A few paragraphs have been added to my Samoan Diary, which indeed, properly belong to it; for I had them in my mind when writing, but not the books which would have supplied the desired facts. Otherwise, but for verbal corrections, the letters are reprinted as originally written.

CHARLES HARGROVE,
LEEDS,

May, 1905.

Letters Home

TO THE CONGREGATION OF MILL HILL CHAPEL.

IN THE SUEZ CANAL,

Thursday, 14th April, 1904.

DEAR FRIENDS,

When the time drew near for my leaving you, doubts began to assail me as to whether I should not have done more wisely to have declined the honour of being the representative of English Unitarians to our Australasian brethren, and suggested the choice of some younger man with more enterprise, and fewer home ties. It is to no purpose that we go back upon our acts and question whether we might not have done better, but we cannot help doing it, and happy is it for those who can sincerely approve what they have once committed themselves to. But when for better or for worse the choice is made, we must needs abide by it and do our best, if it be only a second best to what some other man would have done. I am here among strangers, as I shall be for months to come, and I feel how little capable I am of holding my own and doing credit to my mission. I am at home at Mill Hill, and in Leeds, and among Unitarians; outside of the third circumference I am lost, as in a foreign land of which I can very imperfectly speak the language. It is a pity, but so it is, and age does not improve me in this respect, as I hope it may do others.

It is a superstition among sailors that a parson on board brings ill luck, but they cannot accuse me this time, for as long as I was the only parson all went well. Our voyage from Marseilles to Port Said was simply perfect; clear skies, calm sea and a pleasant wind were such as might have been ordered by special providence in approval of our purpose, such as Jonah might have looked for if he had been ordered to go to Tarshish instead of Nineveh and straightway found his ship. At Port Said, which we reached on Monday night, a bishop came on board returning to his diocese of North Queensland, and then truly our luck changed. Through the Canal we were beset by hindrances and interruption, such as officers say they had never met with before. Four times before we got to the salt lakes we had to "tie up" to the bank to let ships pass us; three of them carrying pilgrims home and flying the yellow quarantine flag, so that we had perforce to give the road to them as no one of their crew would have been allowed to land with the rope. On board we saw devout Mahommedans at prayer in public, their faces turned to Mecca and their souls regardless of the infidel onlookers. Then at night we had trouble and delay in the navigation of the shallow lakes, and awoke in the morning to find ourselves moored in the canal because of an obstruction by some sunken boat further down. So here we lie as in a broad ditch with banks of bare dry mud. To left of us stretches to the furthest horizon and on beyond to the Euphrates, a plain of sand, broken by the wind into mounds and ridges, with bright patches where the sea water has dried up and left

its white salt, but without a sign of life—save now and again for the sand-martins, who perhaps deem it a Paradise, for what could martin's heart desire beyond sun and soft rock and flies and no enemies, man or cat or bird, and such a home is this for their nurseries. To the right the only difference is that here and there at rare intervals there may be seen far away on the plain a knot of palm trees, or a streak of dark desert verdure, sage trees or tamarisks, and a hut where presumably some one or more Arabs live, but how they can live, or why they live there, I can find no one to tell me. Beyond are the pink mountains of Egypt which form the Eastern boundary of the fertile Nile valley—the only fertile land I suppose between Algiers and the Persian Gulf, or beyond—but I sadly want my books, and have to more or less guess at the facts, which is easy, but unsatisfactory to writer and readers.

In spite of Episcopal luck I hope to post this at Suez in the afternoon, so that it will be printed in the May Record I have kept my watch up to now at English time, some two hours behind the clock here, and I am looking forward to being with you in thought on the first Sunday in May, when the Chapel is bright with English flowers, and the three schools crowd in. Leeds is not beautiful, and Mill Hill Chapel is very black, but what a heaven it would seem to one condemned to live in this land of utter desolation, as are of necessity those whose business it is to look after the Canal!

We are on our way at last, and have got past the big cargo ship bound to Hartlepool, which lies half-full of water, narrowing the channel so that only one ship can pass at a time, and so at either side to North and South of it, a line of ships have been waiting as the cars have to do when one has broken down and there is an obstruction on the road.

Suez is near and we bid good bye to the desert and to the Canal, I suppose, up to the present the most gigantic work of men. The desolation it traverses makes it the more imposing. It is an intrusion of man into the solitude where life seems forbidden; it is the assertion of his sovereignty over the sands of the wilderness as over the waters of the trackless sea.

I hope, dear friends, to write next from Colombo, and tell you of a more fortunate, it cannot be of a more comfortable voyage.
Charles Hargrove.

ON THE RED SEA, NEARING ADEN,

Sunday, 17th April, 1904.

Dear Friends

The bell has just struck half-past one, which means, as my watch reads, quarter to eleven in England, and I know that the first hymn is being sung at the morning service at Mill Hill. Another stage of our voyage, generally reputed to be the worst, is over, and if there is no worse in store for us, we shall indeed have done well. It has of course been warm, but not oppressive. A pleasant head breeze has never failed us, and as I sit now on deck writing, I have difficulty in keeping the paper fiat. This will be posted at Aden, and our next stop will be at Colombo in five days' time. There I shall learn whether or not I am to stay at Freemantle, but certainly I shall be a fortnight at Adelaide, and letters will reach me if sent to the Post Office.

I referred to Jonah in my note from Port Said, and the story has been much on my mind since. We are apt to think of it in connection with the whale, and marvel how rational and thoughtful men could ever have brought themselves to believe in the tale. But this may be omitted, and the book will be left a quite credible story to believers in God. Jonah has a call I to preach to the Ninevites, and seeks to evade it. A storm drives him back and he is forced to go on his unwelcome errand, the result of which proves the Almighty infinitely more pitiful than his poor prophet. I too have had my call, though of a very different kind. I have a message to a few in Australia, or I am wasting time and money. I am glad that my growing reluctance to undertake the work did not come to effect in my refusing to do it. I gave a copy of my Australian letter, which was printed in *The Inquirer* and *Christian Life*, to our Bishop, and he distinctly approved it, and in fact gave me every encouragement I am not going to preach against anyone, but to declare that religion is reasonable, and that its offers and claims are such as demand the grave attention of all men; that I too hold a form of religion which can justify itself against all objectors. I have your goodwill with me, my beloved brethren of Mill Hill, and I feel strong in the encouragement it gives me.

C. H.

S.S. INDIA, OFF CAPE COMORIN,

23rd April, 1904.

My dear Superintendents, Teachers, Scholars, little people and big, of the Mill Hill Sunday Schools,—it is four weeks yet to Whit-Monday, but if I do not take time by the forelock and write to-day there will be no possibility of getting my word in at the Prize-giving. We shall spend to-morrow in Ceylon, and in the evening start for Australia, and no letter from there can reach Leeds till the middle of June, when Whit-Monday will be a memory of (I hope) another fine day at Southfield, where so many of the elder scholars have been since they began to go as little children.

I wish I could send with this letter a little of our weather, for it would be very welcome to you, and for us we have rather too much of it. We have had neither wind nor cloud worth mentioning since we left Marseilles, and for the last ten days it has been hotter than in our hottest time in England. It's the same day and night, noon and morning, always too hot. But old travellers tell us that it's quite moderate, and will be much worse next month. So you must congratulate and not pity us, and we are both very well in spite of it. But I should not like to live in such a climate. Leeds is often dull and cold and wet, but it seems to me now that it must be delightful to be able to walk out at any hour of the day and go as fast as you like. Here, a saunter up and down the deck for a quarter of an hour, is enough to tire you and make you wet with perspiration. Oh, dear Leeds, dear Mill Hill, I shall be glad to see you again! We have been a fortnight on the sea and have got a fortnight more. But my heart is at home, and when Whit-Monday comes I shall take care to calculate the hour at which you will meet, and get the prizes given, and load the wagons with the younger scholars and be off. Though when your tea-time comes I hope I shall have forgotten everything and be fast asleep, for midnight will be past with us. My congratulations to the Prize-winners, my good wishes to the good scholars who have got no prizes, and to everyone—to those who deserve the most, and those who deserve nothing, my love and blessing and kindest memories.

C. H.

S.S. INDIA, ON THE INDIAN OCEAN,

Sunday, 1st May, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

It is past six o'clock here, and you will be meeting at Mill Hill for morning worship. I see the Chapel decorated with English flowers for the May Day Service, and I feel that the ten thousand miles of sea which lie between us do not divide us in spirit. If I were in Leeds, and—which God forbid—there had arisen some cause of difference, if some "root of bitterness"

Hebrews xii. 15.

had sprung up to mar the confidence which should exist between people and pastor, how much further off we should be in reality than now we are. I am strong in the confidence of your sympathy and goodwill, and you know that all my best is for your service.

We have had a very successful voyage. It has been smooth till the last two days, and though the heat since we left Aden has seemed to us excessive, and taken all the life out of us, we are assured that we have been fortunate in having it no worse. Through the kind intervention of a friend we have enjoyed the luxury of a deck cabin, and have had the port hole open all the way, except for two or three hours of rain. We are now getting down to the regions of southern winter, and it is beginning to be cool again, which is a great relief, even though it is a little rough as well.

We have Service on board on Sunday morning. The Captain reads the prayers, I take the lessons, and join in as far as I am able. Singing with the rest "Glory be to the Father" and then, *sotto voce* on my own account, substituting our "God only wise holy and just and true," for the orthodox "and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost". Never did I appreciate so well our own grand doxology, so much older than the old Trinitarian one. On Wednesday morning we shall arrive at Fremantle for Perth, and from thence I shall write again. Meanwhile, I thank God for you and for ourselves, and pray that my mission to this great country may be of use, for the advancement of His Kingdom, which we all of us pray for.

C. H.

PERTH, W. A.,

9th May, 1904.

We arrived at Fremantle, which is twelve miles by rail from this city, the capital of West Australia, last Tuesday night. There was no one to meet us, for the boat was not expected till morning, and we felt very down-hearted at what seemed so cold a welcome on our first landing. But early the next morning a Mr. Campbell, of Perth, the leader of the movement here, came on board seeking us, and took us on to the city, and found us a comfortable boarding house. I met a score of persons the same evening, many of them Theosophists, who were desirous to hear what I might have to say, and gave me a kindly welcome. The next evening I gave a lecture, on "The Religion of the New Testament," but as they trusted to a short paragraph in the local papers, and did not advertise it, the attendance was very small. On Sunday night, at the time that you were met for morning service at Mill Hill, I had a service in the Town Hall. We had four hymns, fairly taken up by the audience; but oh! for the Mill Hill Choir! If our excellent organist could have heard the piano accompaniment he would have fainted! There were not fewer than 250 present, the sanguine supporters of the cause estimated the number at 400. The Chief Justice of the Colony was there, but on the whole the Congregation was much of the kind that I have at Mill Hill on a Sunday evening. The collection to pay expenses was just four guineas, mostly in threepenny-pieces, which was very good, considering the character of the audience.

This was the first Unitarian service ever held in West Australia, and I had a very still and attentive congregation. I lecture again on Wednesday, and have another service on Sunday evening. We leave for Adelaide on the 18th, where I hope to arrive on Whit-Sunday morning, and take service at the Unitarian Church in the evening.

If it shall prove that I have been the means of gathering together here a few who had no religious home, and beginning a little church of believers in God, free and devout, I shall be amply recompensed for coming so far; and you too, my dear brethren of Mill Hill, to whose generosity in the loan of your minister, whatever little good I can do for the Unitarians of Australasia, is due.

From the other side of the world I send you my earnest and affectionate blessing—not a priest's, but a pastor's, who loves his flock and longs for their welfare.

C. H.

ADELAIDE,

25th May, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I had an easy fortnight at Perth, two services, two lectures, and two small meetings, and this was the total of my engagements. The fact was that there was no more to do, and yet I have hopes that the little I had the opportunity of doing may be productive of good results. It is not large audiences which found Churches or succeed in carrying them on, but a few earnest and able men and women. The best evening congregation ever drawn to our Chapel by some attractive topic of discourse would not be able to take charge of our Church and make it a stable seat of influence in the city. So I considered the last meeting we had at Perth, although it was numerically the smallest, to be the most encouraging of any. There were not twenty present, and I had had more than ten times the number to hear me. But these were drawn together not out of curiosity to hear a stranger, nor to inform themselves what Unitarianism might mean, but to pledge themselves to work towards the beginning of regular public worship, after our manner, in the city. A committee was formed and president and secretary appointed, and if the outcome of my visit shall have been the foundation of the first Unitarian Church in the great and promising State of West Australia I shall have been well repaid for the time spent there.

We left Perth on the 18th, a real English day, a steady drizzle and no ray of sunshine, much like the day on which we landed two weeks before. But we have no excuse for grumbling. May in Australia answers to our English November, but the flowers are abundant and the sun is warm and bright, and the sky is generally of a deep blue. Indeed we should hardly remember that it was winter were it not that the sun sets early and rises late, and the mornings and evenings are chilly.

Our voyage from Perth to Adelaide was four days in length and somewhat dreary. We escaped the storms for which the Australian Bight is as notorious in this hemisphere as the Bay of Biscay is in the Northern, but the vessel rolled a good deal and there was little sunshine. On Whit-Sunday afternoon we anchored in Largs Bay, which is the Port of Adelaide and some ten miles from the city, and there we were met by a dozen or more members of the congregation who had come out in a tug to welcome us and accompany us to town. And very welcome was their greeting and the assurance it brought us that we were once more among friends and

comrades. We were taken to the house of Mrs. Kay, formerly of Newcastle and in her girlhood a member of our congregation there; we were most kindly received by her and her two daughters, and after a cup of tea I returned to town to take the evening service and preach. The congregation reminded me a good deal of Mill Hill on a small scale. The leaders are substantial merchants and manufacturers, but all classes are represented, and class distinctions are much less recognised here than in older countries. Here I am to stay till the 9th of June, when we go on to Melbourne, some 500 miles distant, by train, and I suppose about the 1st July, to Sydney.
C. H.

ON THE ROAD TO MELBOURNE,

7th June, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

The sun has set, and the hills among which our way lies, and the broad plain below on which Adelaide stands and the sea beyond it are lost to view. So I take up my pen to tell you, dear friends at Leeds, of what I have done and how it has been done to me this fortnight past. And first let me say, that if I return to you with only such modest self-esteem as I possessed when I left you, it will be in spite of the Unitarians of Adelaide, who have sent me away loaded with honor and compliments and votes of thanks and appreciation and kindnesses manifold and varied. Indeed, as I bade good bye this afternoon to the little crowd of young men and maidens, old men and matrons, including the senior of the congregation now in his 82nd year and hale and hearty still, I could not realise that fifteen days ago I was a complete stranger to every one of them. And the impression upon my mind—an impression which I know many of them share, though they and we know it to be a delusion—is, that we are old friends and are parting soon to meet again.

The Minister, the Rev. John Reid, is, like myself, one who has come out of the ranks of orthodoxy. He is a man in years considerably older than myself, in knowledge and experience at least as old, in spirit a veritable youth. He has been my everyday companion, and taken me about to see his people, and the interesting views of the neighbourhood. His society has infected me with an unwonted mirthfulness, and his ever-repeated "It's all right" has come to me as a cheery assurance that my "Allelulia" sermon was right, and sent me forward in better heart.

While at Adelaide I preached five times, gave two lectures, and spoke at two meetings, an amount of work much less than has often fallen to me in Leeds. So that neither you or I have any cause as yet to fear my being overtaken. My time has been largely occupied in visiting, and I trust to good effect. I am not aware that I have made any converts to Unitarianism, nor have I sought to do so. My desire has been to inspire the congregation here, and confirm them in faith and hope. If their assurances are not wholly vain, I have not failed, and I go onward with somewhat less diffidence of my ability to fulfil my mission. But more difficult work is before me.

Letters from Leeds just received tell me of the great success of the May Service of the Sunday Schools, and of the floral decorations which seem to have surpassed all that previous years have done. I heartily thank all who have given and worked for the occasion. Of course, it is not of me they have thought, but I am responsible for whatever is done or left undone by us, and I cannot but feel grateful to those who do the work whether I am present or absent.

It has also been reported to me that my friend Mr. Jacks' services have been acceptable to you all, and that some have been enthusiastic in their appreciation of his sermons. It is welcome news to me, and I trust to hear the same report of those who follow him. I do not pretend that it would be agreeable to me to be told that my people were wishing they could replace me and get some other pastor more to their liking. But I am not afraid of that, and short of that I am delighted to know that in my absence they have had as good as any better than I could give them. It is always grievous to me to hear of dissatisfaction with the supplies provided when I am away, and it spoils a holiday when I have reason to fear that those to whom I have undertaken to minister fare ill for lack of my services. Thank God there are many of my dear brethren in the English ministry who are as good or better than myself, and for some months you will have the opportunity of hearing the ablest among our younger men. Give them as favourable a hearing as your own minister has been given by you; it will be good for them and good for yourselves, and it will do me good to hear it.

C. H.

MELBOURNE, VICTORIA,

21st June, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

It is the shortest day of the year in this southern half of the globe, and the fact impresses on my mind what a terrible distance" (to quote the words of an old letter from a father in England to his son here, which I came across the other day) separates us. I find it difficult to realise that I am really minister of Mill Hill Chapel, on the other side of the world. It seems to me as if that belonged to a past life, that I had died to it and begun a new life in a new world. And this I feel so much the more because I am no stranger here, come to see the land and depart. I have been received everywhere with the welcome as of an old friend, such a welcome as no introductions or reports could have obtained for me. More honour of course I might have had, though I have had more than I merit, if I had come with the fame of a distinguished writer or politician; but I should not have received the heartfelt greeting which I have had from Unitarians, who in their isolation here, welcome me as a representative of those who hold with them and worship as they do in the mother-land.

I find things are very different here to what they are in Adelaide. It is like passing from Leeds to London, and Unitarianism does not gain by the change. Indeed, in many respects, the single congregation in this great city of more than half-a-million inhabitants, reminds me of what I have observed in some of our London churches. There are men and women of the highest character and ability connected with it. Mr. and Mrs. Henry Giles Turner, who are most kindly entertaining us during our three weeks stay here, are well-known throughout the city, eminent in all good works, and among the leaders in all movements which have for their aim the physical, moral, and intellectual improvement of its inhabitants—they are of the men and women who do honour to any congregation of which they are members. They have for minister a graduate of the University of Oxford, a man of more than ordinary learning, and one who spares no labour in the cause, but they remain few and there is a lack of young people. One difficulty, far greater here than anywhere else I know of, is the wide extent of the city. There is plenty of room in Australia and no crowding, in itself an excellent thing, but a great drawback to the assembling of the scattered members of one religious faith in a common centre. So even if the elders come in four or five miles by train or tram the younger members of the family are apt to be left behind. However, here Unitarians have made themselves a spiritual home, just in the shadow of the great Cathedral which the Roman Catholics have built for themselves, and I do not fear but that they will hold on in spite of many discouragements.

I have looked upon it as my chief business, the purpose for which I have been sent here, to put good heart into minister and people, and if I leave them any the brighter and stronger for my visit I shall count that I am amply repaid. I have had large attendances at lectures on secular subjects, but the religious lectures have not proved attractive. For one thing it is mid- winter here at present, and halls and churches are not heated, and the weather is uncertain, altogether it is much more safe and comfortable to spend the evenings at home, unless indeed you go to one of the theatres which are much frequented; but there is little to remind one of winter, except that it is sometimes chilly and that trees imported from Europe are of course bare of leaves. The sunshine is bright, and from where I write I am looking out into the garden where are trees laden with oranges and roses, and arum lilies and flowering shrubs on every side.

Dearly beloved friends of another world, as it sometimes seems of another life, there is nothing here to remind me of Leeds and you, except only the sun and moon which I look at thinking how you see them too, for the stars are all strange, and even Orion is not visible now—but you are in my heart and on my mind, and the one hope I cherish in all my wanderings is that I may return with increased intelligence and renewed power to spend what last years are left to me, in better service than I have ever yet been able to render.

C. H.

P.S.—I was to have given a lecture to-night "On the History of English Unitarianism," but a thunderstorm came on before evening, and though my host drove me five miles to the Church in the rain the lecture did not come off. There were just ten present, nine men and Mrs. H. G. Turner, and as it was suggested that I should give up the lecture, and I felt that the damp and chilly mortals who had come to hear me would be much better at home, I consented. But it is the first time I have ever failed to do what I had undertaken, except when absolutely prevented by illness. I have before now gone forty miles and addressed seven people. After all, a man ought to feel honoured if his fellow-men put themselves to inconvenience to come and listen to him speaking, and whether there be two or three, or two or three hundred, is a secondary consideration, if only they are attentive and interested and get some profit in return.

HOBART, TASMANIA,

Sunday, 10th July, 1904.

It was a great pleasure to get letters from Leeds here last Friday, though the latest date was June 3rd, more than a month ago. Whit-Monday will seem a long way off by the time you read this, but I had been anxious about the weather you had for the Sunday School Treat, and it was a real relief to learn that there had been no

rain. You must not imagine that it is all warmth and sunshine here. Though we are in the latitude of Madrid, and have but just come down from that of Palermo, we are in midwinter, and since we left Adelaide, have had but a few days really fine. For the most part it has been chilly and damp like an English October, and often worse. But that is nothing to complain of, we are everywhere most kindly received and hospitably housed, and make many friends to whom we have too soon to bid farewell. This is our only real grievance—the weekly parting from those who have quickly endeared themselves to us, and whom we can never hope to meet again on earth.

We reached Launceston from Melbourne on the morning of the 29th, passing on the way the P. and O. boat 'Australia, which a week before the pilot had steered direct on to the rocks. In the afternoon we had a reception, at which the Mayor took the chair, and leading citizens including Clergy of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches were present and gave a most hearty welcome. The same evening I gave a lecture on "The Principles and Beliefs of Unitarians," the Mayor again taking the chair, and five Ministers attending. I lectured again the two following nights to good audiences, and conducted service twice on Sunday. There were neither hymns nor piano, and I looked forward to an experience so novel with considerable apprehension; but all went well, if I may so say when all was of my own doing. We had as many in the morning as it was reasonable to expect, and in the evening the room was quite full. I was much interested to meet there a grandson of Dr. Hutton, who, seventy years ago, was our Minister at Mill Hill. He had come from Deloraine, thirty miles away, to meet me. Another reminder of Mill Hill was the finding here descendants of the Rev. George Walker, who held the pulpit before Dr. Priestley.

We came on here on my birthday, July the fourth, and were received by Mr. Justice Clark and his family with as much kindness as if we had been old friends of the family. But this has now become so common an experience with us that we are in some danger of taking it as a matter of course. Everybody we meet is friendly, though the correspondence columns of the papers show that there are some we don't meet who are by no means friendly. Occasionally I am favoured with anonymous letters which express pity for me, or refer me to a selection of texts, of which the writers seem to imagine I have never heard. The only unkind thing was the expression of a hope that "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ would visit you in your declining years," a reminder which I hardly needed that I am getting to be an old man—it is unfortunately true, but I think this Australian tour will do something to rejuvenate me.

Here I have given three week-evening lectures, and gave another on "What Unitarians believe" this afternoon, and conducted service, at which there must have been two hundred people present, in the evening. They have had services on Sunday evenings conducted by laymen for the last seven years, and consequently Unitarianism is somewhat better known than at Launceston or Perth, yet I have nowhere had better congregations than at Perth. To-morrow I am to give a final lecture on the Gospels, and on Wednesday we leave for Sydney.

You must not suppose from this list of engagements that I am overworked. Indeed, I have much less real work than I am accustomed to in Leeds, where the mere Sunday duties are enough to tax my full powers, as they ought to do. But I am even more fully occupied, for there are all kinds of social amenities, which fill up the days very agreeably, but leave me very little time, for writing. Hence it comes about that I have to finish this letter between eleven and twelve at night, in time for to-morrow's mail, for I cannot bear to think that you should be any longer without news of me.

This will reach you in the holiday month. I hope you will all have more summer-like weather than we had the last two years.

C. H.

SYDNEY,

July 20th, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

We left Hobart on Wednesday morning, July 13th, and were confidently expected in Sydney on the Friday afternoon. The same evening a meeting was arranged for at the church—there are no "chapels" here—to give us a welcome. But a head wind all the way kept us back, and we did not land till 9-35 at night. However, the meeting held on till our arrival at 10 o'clock, and we were straightway greeted in four speeches, to which I had to reply without blushing. Indeed, I have lost the art of blushing since I came here; but I am too old to take all the compliments paid to me as due to myself. A third part I put down to the credit of the Association which sent me; another third to the kindly feeling towards a friend from the old country; and about the remaining third I hesitate as to whether I may appropriate it to my own account. I tell them everywhere that of thanks the largest part is due to my own congregation, who have so generously lent me for the Australasian mission.

On Sunday I preached twice to good congregations. The Church was what we call "well filled" in the morning, and in the evening it was literally crowded. There is certainly an abundant harvest to be reaped here, but the congregation has been very unfortunate. At the compulsory retirement of the late minister, under circumstances which were only too well known, it came near to being closed. It is entirely due to the brave and resolute enterprise of the Rev. George Walters, a younger brother of Mr. Walters, of Newcastle, that it has not only been kept open, but is retrieving its position as the representative of Unitarian Christianity in New South Wales. On Monday I lectured in the Church; Tuesday, met the Committee to talk over their position, legal and financial; Wednesday, lectured again; all which left us plenty of time for visiting some of the many beautiful spots in the neighbourhood. I was especially interested by a visit to Botany Bay, a name familiar to all of us older folk when we were yet children, as the place to which we transported men and women whom we wanted to get rid of without having upon our consciences the responsibility of hanging them.

On the Way to Brisbane,

22nd July, 6 p.m.

We got on the train yesterday evening at five o'clock, and it wants yet another four hours to complete our journey of 725 miles. Not that the trains are slow, but that the road is so difficult, and one would have said impracticable for a railroad had it not been done. Starting at sea level we made a continuous ascent till we reached a height of nearly 5,000 feet. All day long we have been in the hills, up and down; round and about the curves on the high table land. Only now are we beginning the descent into the plains, the train constantly doubling on itself so that we see to the right of us the road we have left behind, and to the left our brave little engine ahead, making light work of the downward way.

And all the way the eucalyptus has kept us company. It was the last thing I saw in the growing darkness, which hid from us all the world beyond our small compartment. I distinguished it clearly by star-light as I looked out in the early hours of the morning, and now I can just make out the peculiar form, which struck me so when first I saw it at Madeira seventeen years ago, against the blue sky of evening. Sometimes it is little more than a tall shrub, sometimes here and there thinly scattered, sometimes a thick forest stretching up hill and down dale as far as the view extends. Now and then there is a small "township," built for the most part of corrugated iron, and in the neighbourhood clearings and homesteads, often little more than the barest shelter, and by the stations great wool sheds, where the farmers store their fleeces—but everywhere is the eucalyptus. Withered and bare through some old bush fire; killed by the ring which has been cut in its bark to make its fall the easier when the axe comes round to it; stretching bare white arms to heaven as if imploring pity; or showing its graceful form clothed in never-fading green; in many varieties and variously faring, it appears everywhere. Some complain of its monotony, its almost gloomy green; but the more I see of it the better I like it, and if there is missing here the charm of our English spring and autumn foliage, it is amply made up for by a never-fading summer. And now, too, the monotony begins to be relieved by the dull red bloom which tinges all the tree tops. Yet I doubt whether people are not the poorer for missing even the winters—the cold and mist and darkness of our English clime.

Since I began this letter I have received from the Chapel Treasurer the resolution which you passed at the Annual Meeting. Of course it is very grateful to me to be assured of your sympathy and good wishes, and though I never doubted that I was possessed of them, yet it is good for us both that the feeling you so kindly entertain should be put into words and stand written in our records. If I were to draw up a proper acknowledgement in reply, I am afraid it would seem either cold and formal; or else, if I tried to express what I feel towards you all, the words would fail me to put it with due restraint and sufficient fulness. My life is identified with Mill Hill Chapel, and every year that passes draws the tie the closer.

G. H.

AT SEA (between Sydney and Auckland), S.S. SIERRA,

August 10th, 1904.

I wrote to you last, dear friends, in the train, a comfortable and even quiet writing room by comparison with a boat tossing and straining in a stormy sea. The vessel rolls to and fro, and everything that is firmly fixed creaks and trembles; if anything is loose it makes all the noise it can, as if on purpose to draw attention to its helplessness; the windows rattle incessantly, and though the storm shutters are put up to protect the little pane of glass which lights our cabin, and there is a covered gangway outside, yet the waves every now and then manage to find an inlet, and keep the sofa underneath always wet. I wonder, as I lie in my narrow berth, how it

is that babies like being rocked, and why it puts them to sleep when it keeps me awake. Then comes a big splash against the window, and I turn on the electric light to see if more water has got in. And always the twin propellers make the whole ship vibrate as they go round and round, and I feel at times as if I were lodged on the back of some huge beast, and were listening to its great heart beating and lungs panting as it bore me along. And while I indulge my fancy, something gets out of its niche and begins to call noisily to be replaced; the ship's bell rings out every half-hour, and the boatswain's whistle makes itself heard above all the din. A child's cry mingles with the boom of the waters, which seem as if they were attacking the ship, and all kinds of noises, little and big, keep on day and night without a pause. I am one of the fortunate few who never fail to present themselves at table, and eat with more appetite than they would do on land, but my wife is content to lie all day on deck, and is satisfied with scanty diet. All the same, the incessant commotion tells on the nerves, and life is not as enjoyable as the sea songs represent it. I am bruised on shoulder, hip, and knee, through tumbling about in cabin and on deck, but am none the worse for it all.

Well, I am a very bad hand at doing nothing, and I can't read much at a time for I lost my glasses in reeling across the deck, so I turn for relief to the pleasant task of writing home.

At Brisbane I found two old friends, Tom and Charles Loftus, brothers of Alfred Loftus, who was for many years a member of our congregation. They gave us a hearty welcome as did many others who met together the evening after our arrival. I stayed for nine days, and made many friends, and saw much that was of interest, but cannot hope for any other result of my visit except to have brought some little encouragement and a message of English sympathy to the Unitarians of the city, too few in number to form a Church, and too convinced of their faith to be able to join with profit in Trinitarian worship. They have formed a Committee to keep them united, but whether they will succeed in conducting service among themselves from time to time I do not know. So I bid them farewell, old friends and new, and with the possible exception of two or three shall see them again no more. And another parting, the seventh in three months, I had to bear yesterday, when Sydney friends met to bid us farewell. It is like a quick succession of pastorates; I have been received with a kindness which at some places has almost amounted to enthusiasm. Every one I meet is my friend. I am for a few days in the position of minister, or where they have a settled minister, I am for a time his recognised coadjutor. I get to know all, receive from many marks of regard more than I deserve; I learn to love and esteem not a few in turn, and then—Good-bye,—with just a possibility that I may see this one or that some time in England, and all is over.

Yesterday I saw the last of Australia, the rock bound cliffs on which so many a vessel has been wrecked, protecting the hidden harbour which could shelter the whole navy of Great Britain. And what have I done there these three months, while my duties in Leeds have had to be done by others? I have had no brilliant success and was far from expecting it, but I believe my mission has been of real service, at least so I have been assured again and again. When I was on the way I half repented that I had consented to go. Now I am glad that I did so; and I think that for you too, my dear friends of Mill Hill, it has been well for you to have had a change and hear gifted men, who have distinguished themselves in our body and will distinguish themselves yet more.

The ship which is bearing us to New Zealand will take this letter on to San Francisco and so home to you. When you receive it I shall probably be at Dunedin.
C. H.

WELLINGTON, N. Z.

August 31st, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

There is an English mail every week from here as from all the Australian States, but it is of little or no use to us because it is always forestalled by the American mail which leaves every three weeks only, but takes four weeks instead of six on the way. Thus if I had written to you ten days ago, you would not receive it till three or four days after this is due, and you would have the later news first and the earlier to follow. It is somewhat confusing, but such is the fact, and the consequence is that people who would elsewhere write home every week, write but once in three weeks here. We hardly know whether to be glad or sorry for the higher privileges we enjoy through being nearer to America, but we must needs avail ourselves of them.

Since my last letter, despatched on the 12th inst., my time has passed very agreeably, but by no means idly, at Auckland. I have been engaged almost every night preaching or lecturing, and have always had good and appreciative audiences, in spite of stormy weather which prevailed for eight days—drenching showers, coming on almost without warning, and the sun shining out in a blue sky a few minutes later, very preferable to the dull wet, or even dull fine days which we have so often in England, but not such as will tempt half-hearted enquirers to face the night for the sake of sermon or lecture. The church, which was built four years ago, is like most of New Zealand buildings—even the Houses of Parliament—of wood, but a very pretty and suitable place of

worship. The organ, the gift of Mr. Macky, now in England, is an excellent instrument. The key board is just where our gates between the choir stalls are, the performer facing the congregation, and the pipes are arranged on either side of the chancel, if so it may be called. The choir is as yet young and unpracticed, but escapes the worst fault of attempting more than it is fit for. I found myself more than once wishing to have Mr. Briggs at the seat, and the Mill Hill Choir under his eye at either side, but imagination failed to place them, for truly there could not have been found room for so many in the little well-filled church. Besides, at the time of our morning service you were all, I hope, in bed, and when we were meeting for evening service most of you would not have got up.

By the kindness of the congregation we were enabled to visit Rotorua, some 170 miles up country, famous of old for its pink and white terraces, which were destroyed in one disastrous night of 1886 by earthquake, still famous for its hot baths and boiling fountains and steaming ponds and pots of mud, throwing up sulphurous fumes, and for wayward geysers which burst out violently now and again, and then refuse to play at all. Of these last, some smaller ones six or eight feet high are pretty constantly on show, but there is none of the greater ones which at present works naturally. The most wonderful of all which, perhaps, deserves the much abused epithet "awe-inspiring," after having swept away two spectators a year ago in a sudden outburst, has been quiet for months. But one remains which can be teased into what looks for all the world like an ebullition of temper, by throwing soap down into its crater. They are so afraid that if too often provoked it will cease to answer to this appeal that it is strictly forbidden to make the experiment without an authorization from the Minister to whose department it belongs. This we obtained, thanks to Mr. Jellie's exertions on our behalf, which also procured for us a free pass on all the government railways. Some three or four pounds of soap, cut into small blocks, was provided and thrown by Mrs. Hargrove's hands into the dark hole in the rocks where the hot water simmered sullen and still. Presently the monstrous chaldron began to fume and boil and throw white suds over its brim as if trying to clear itself; the waters fell back, and rose again, and so during ten minutes of patient waiting on our part the commotion went on subsiding and increasing; then suddenly there rushed up a column of steaming water, and rose to a height of 110 feet they said, as high as it could in half a gale of wind, which caught it at the top when the force of the eruption was expended and blew it away as rain. It fell and rose again, the outbreak of passion seeming to subside in sobs till after some twenty minutes all was still as before. So our appetite for the wonders of nature was perforce satisfied, by what seemed to us an almost sacrilegious outrage on nature. It was undoubtedly worth the seeing, yet somehow did not either entrance or appal us. To me more wonderful seemed the mysterious pools, where, untouched by man's tricks, the thick mud steamed and bubbled, or the clear waters boiled in ceaseless commotion, whirling and bubbling and talking in an unknown tongue, day and night without end. A weird land indeed, such as perhaps the whole earth was a million or more years ago.

C. H.

DUNEDIN, N. Z.,

20th September, 1904.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

We have reached at last the end of our wanderings, and are as far south of the Equator as Geneva is north of it. But that only expresses our situation geographically, or as it would be if the two hemispheres were uniform, and the climate and conditions were the same at the same latitudes north and south. From the human point of view this city reminds one more of Inverness or Kirkwall, in its remoteness from the busy world, or I should rather say in its close vicinity to those desolate regions where man and his nearer kindred can find no dwelling place, and the only mammals are seals and whales. A hundred-and-thirty miles further south is the town of Invercagill, with some 10,000 inhabitants, but (I am told) with such broad streets and handsome buildings as many an English town of ten times the population does not possess. Below this is Stewart Island, mountainous and forest clad, and further on, the wild waste of ocean with no boundary but the great ice barrier which hides the Antarctic continent, nursery of the penguin and the albatross. So near we seem to the end of man's interests in the globe he inhabits and thinks to be his own. So far away from you, dear friends, who dwell in the very midst of the stir and whirl of human affairs.

It was our hope and purpose to take the boat on our homeward way on the 23rd, but after much anxious deliberation, I decided to stay on till October the 14th, for there was work to be done here, and having come so far to do it, it seemed a pity to leave it half done. A week more would have been enough, but there was no choice, as the boats on which we had secured our passage sail at intervals of three weeks. This decision will deprive us of home letters for a long time, and how often our thoughts will turn to the Post Office at San Francisco, where we know they will be waiting unclaimed; and we shall have to hurry through America, instead

of taking a month on the way as we hoped to do. But I think it was the right thing to do, and I hope you will approve it. We shall be due in California on October 31st, and in Leeds certainly by the end of November.

It is with a feeling of embarrassed incredulity that I keep comparing my own age with that of the cities here. Hitherto, I have passed my life in places which were homes of men long before any records were kept, or there was yet any thought of providing for the curiosity of after-comers. Who knows ought of the men, Angles or Britons, who first made their homes by the ferry on the Aire? Or of the tattooed dwellers by the Thames, who built a stockade to protect the hamlet, which was to be London, from assault of pirates of the river, or neighbours of the marsh and forest? But here I find myself as old or older than the cities which receive me. The train brings me on my way to them; the electric tram conveys me through their streets, and electric light makes the broad ways bright at night; there is nothing wanting of all the arts and luxuries of our latest civilization, the outcome of thousands of years of experience and experiment. Yet when I was born, the bush and the swamp held immemorial tenancy of the sites on which they are builded to be homes of commerce and manufacture, centres of industry to the wide lands around rich in pasture and in mineral. Of the four chief cities of New Zealand, Wellington and Auckland were founded in 1840. The first settlers arrived at Dunedin and Christchurch when I was already advanced to Latin grammar! It seems so incongruous this comparison of age between an individual who will be very old if he survives fourscore, and homes of these multitudes built for generations yet unborn and with due provision for its dead! And I say to myself—Contemporary of great and thriving cities I will be young and strong too in spite of years, and will return to my work with new vigour and hope of yet many years of work to come!

Some of you I am sure will have remembered that with the month of October, in which this letter will reach you, I begin the twenty-ninth year of my Ministry at Mill Hill. It is the whole life-time of many a young man now engaged in the ministry of religion or other divine service; and I thank God, with tears in my eyes, that He has accorded me so great a honour. I will not depreciate myself to you; you know pretty well what I am, better and worse. And I know too and will not pretend that I am any worse than I am, or seek to be thought better. But we shall be agreed on this, that my immediate predecessors were in no way inferior to me in merits or talent, yet to not one of them was so long a term of honoured Ministry among you allowed. So we get, not according to our deserts, but each one as it pleases The Most High to give. And we must take whatever we get with thankfulness and humility—with the more humility if we get the more, for the largeness of the honour makes more striking the small worth of him who receives it.

When you read this we shall be at Honolulu or somewhere among the Isles of the Pacific. At present we think of you as half a day behind us, and on Sunday we remember that Morning Service is going on at Mill Hill when we are thinking of going to bed; but before we reach the islands we put the calendar back a whole day, and so you will be twelve hours ahead of us and we shall keep on gaining time till we get home.
C.H.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.,

3rd October, 1904.

Oh dear people! I wish I could write to every one of you, and especially to those who have so kindly written to me. But if I were to sit in all day to do it, I fear the result would not pay for the labour, for I could only repeat the same story, and express the same good wishes to each, and it will be easier for you all to read what I have to say when it is printed.

Christchurch is like an English cathedral city; it is situated on a wide plain, through which flows the Avon, bordered by willows, just now in springtime bright with their new green dresses. I had the more time to see all there was to be seen in and about the place, because I had no lectures or services during my four days' stay, and my only business was to make acquaintance with people likely to help, or at least to sympathise with a Unitarian movement. I met many interesting people, and some very friendly, but hardly any to be relied on to build up a church. So we left on the 28th September, and came by the night boat, a twelve hours' voyage, back to Wellington, from which we had been three weeks away. It is the seat of Government, though inferior in respect of population to both Auckland and Christchurch. There are many New Zealanders who have nothing to say for Wellington, except that it is windy, and that you can always tell a Wellington man wherever he may be by his putting his hand up to his hat when he turns a corner. To me it is a city which I admire the more, the more I get used to it. It is shut in between the hills and the lake-like harbour, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Port Nicholson; and from the verandah of the boarding-house I am lodging at I look over town and suburbs and port, and far away to the snow-clad summits beyond. Three or four tall chimneys pour out a black smoke, serving to show which way the wind is blowing, and so help us to make a guess as to what the very changeable weather will next be. They serve too to remind us of the least pleasurable aspect of that great and

thriving city of the far north in which the best years of my life have been passed, and my best work been done.

Here I have spent three Sundays, and conducted services morning and evening in a public hall, and preached to audiences, not indeed numerous—whoever looks for numbers among us, and estimates success by count of heads will find nothing but disappointment—but of the best families in the city. Yesterday I had in the morning 26 men and 14 women; in the evening which was wet, about double the number. The singing, too, was managed without any difficulty, and after three Sundays in strange temples, it was very welcome, the sense of being at home again, preaching and praying and singing just as we do at Mill Hill.

I hope this letter will go *via* Vancouver and reach you some time about November 9th, but there are many mail routes from here, and it is not at all certain how a letter will be sent. By the 9th we shall have reached Salt Lake City, the Mormon Zion, where we hope to spend a couple of days, and thence go on perhaps by way of Chicago to Boston.

It was, as you know, my purpose to be with you at the latest by the third Sunday in November. When I found myself under almost an obligation to prolong my stay here another three weeks I extended my leave to the last Sunday, and was planning how I might hurry through America, so as to get from San Francisco to Leeds in three weeks. But now comes under the sea five words from Mill Hill "Hargrove expected sixteenth December Lupton," and, though I regret to be so long away, the message is a relief to me, and I heartily thank the congregation which has dealt so generously with me, and the committee and its chairman (who bears two names honoured by all the Unitarians of England) for this mark of their good will.

So dear friends, supposing that it fares as well with me for the remainder of my tour as it has done uniformly hitherto, I shall meet you all again and address you from my old pulpit on the 18th of December next. You will hear from me next on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, then once from the Atlantic seaboard, and the third time we shall need no letters of communication for I shall see you all and be seen of you. Which may God grant!

C. H.

We left Auckland on Saturday, the 10th of October, and kept the next day too as Saturday the 15th, so as to correct the error of a day into which those who make the round of the world must needs fall, getting a day behind or before the true reckoning according as they travel with or against the sun. From on board ship, I wrote to Mr. Jellie, as Minister and Representative of the Auckland Congregation, the following, which I insert here as evidence of the sense of affection and gratitude which I entertained towards the dear good people who had showed me so much loving kindness. I have since heard that Mr. Jellie is shortly to be married to the daughter of Mr. Macky, the leading member and chief benefactor of his congregation. The news is of more than private interest, as it may be taken to intimate that the first Unitarian Minister in New Zealand has taken up his permanent home there. May he have a long and useful Ministry, and help to the forming of new congregations in that favoured and progressive Colony.

S.S. SIERRA,

October 17th, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. JELLIE,

Before I bid a last farewell to your Southern seas and stars I must write to express, as well as I can in words, the deep feelings of thankfulness and esteem and affection which I entertain in my heart towards you and your congregation. As I watched Auckland faint into a grey spot under Mt. Eden and then disappear behind a corner of land, then kept my eyes on Rangitoto, the scene of our pleasant picnic, till it faded on the horizon, I wondered how I could have become so attached to a place and people which a few weeks ago were all unknown to me. I came to you a stranger, but after the first evening I felt myself a friend; and the ties then made were strengthened with every day I spent among you. Had I parted from you all at the end of my first visit, to return no more, I should have taken with me kindest remembrances of my short stay, but it was the last week which knit me to you by links of abiding affection. I mourn that memory is so feeble, and that your names and faces will not remain as vividly as they at present do. But though I may forget this and that one, I shall never forget you as a body while memory lasts. You have been very good to me, and it comforts to recall, now that my mission is at end, your repeated assurances that I have been of some good to you. If I had come merely to see and enjoy myself, I should have been completely satisfied with my visit. There was no drawback to the pleasure of my nine weeks' stay in New Zealand, except that the weather was not always what I could have wished for. It is the consciousness that I went for your sake and not for my own, and that I am responsible for your having profited by my efforts, which would trouble me, were it not for your kind assurance.

I shall write again from England. Meanwhile, I send to you all—to the children, to the young men and maidens, to the women and the men—my last wish as I saw Auckland disappear from sight—God bless you!

Yours sincerely and affectionately,
CHARLES HARGROVE.

On the Tuesday after leaving Auckland we arrived at the American naval station of Pago-Pago (pronounced Pongo-Pongo), where we were to take up the mails for San Francisco. What befel us there I thought it best to let my diary tell for me to my friends at home.

PAGO-PAGO, ISLAND OF TUTUILA, SAMOA.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18TH.—

Our ship came in to this land-locked harbour at four o'clock this afternoon, and in the lightest clothing we landed and went off to seek Mr. Smith, the postmaster and steamboat agent, to whom we had a letter of introduction from his father at Auckland. We were told that he was busy, as indeed we anticipated, looking after the mails and cargo, but we found his wife, to whom we gave our letter, and were kindly welcomed by her and taken to her house. She told us that her husband had said that there were 160 tons of copra to go on board, and that the boat could not leave before ten o'clock. We had, indeed, been told that we must be on board again by six, but, as on every previous occasion of visiting a port, we had to wait from an hour and a half to six hours after the time named to us for starting, we had no scruple about making ourselves comfortable for a few hours in a friendly home, especially as we were assured by more than one resident that three steam signals were given before parting, at half hour intervals. So we had a cup of tea and went a short walk with our hostess to see the native village. Just as we were starting the first whistle warned us that we must give up all thought of spending the evening, but we were reassured that we had a full hour yet before us. Presently came the second warning before we expected it, and we turned to flee, though not doubting that we had ample time to reach the ship, which could not have taken more than twenty minutes. Hastily we secured a boat and were on our way when the third whistle sounded; still we made sure to be in time and probably to have an hour or more to spare, when the ship began to move. We urged our rowers to exert themselves, and were within five minutes of the gangway steps when she put on steam and—we were left behind! We might have been excused had we vented our disappointment and amaze in whatever respectable equivalents for cursing and swearing occurred to us. But to what purpose? We burst out laughing, and laughed again and again till we got used to the novel situation. There was the boat bearing away from us everything we had except the few clothes on us and the contents of pockets lightened of everything we could spare or remembered to leave in our cabin. My watch was gone with my waistcoat; happily I had not thought of leaving my pocket book, which contained fifty dollars in notes, as I did the rest of my money locked in my box, and I had also by mere accident the stylograph, with which I am writing, as well as the Essex Hall Diary, knife, and pocket handkerchief. We might have been the sole survivors of a wreck, except that we were dry and had landed among civilised people and had kind friends to help us.

We learnt on reaching the shore again that the captain had for some reason refused to take more than twenty tons of cargo, and having been detained in Auckland eighteen hours beyond his time, by delay of the Southern mails, was in all haste to get to San Francisco. At Auckland we had gone aboard at night to make sure of not missing the boat, which we were told was to sail at an early hour of the morning, then more definitely at seven o'clock. She did not leave till 8-30.

Well, here we are for better or for worse. It might be indeed much for the worse. But we are resolved to make the best of it, and I think it will not be so difficult. The worst, to my mind, is that I am without any books, save a few novels, which is much as if I were condemned to live for the next three weeks on spice and sweets. For three whole weeks it must be, as no steamer visits this lonely port for a fortnight, and that is bound for New Zealand. A week later the Sonoma, the sister ship to the one we have left becomes due, and we shall resume our interrupted voyage. Whose fault is it? My hostess would take it all to herself for having given me information which turned out to be mistaken, but she only told us what she had heard from the agent himself, and really we cannot blame her in the least. I could find better excuses than Adam did, who laid the blame on poor Eve's shoulders, but honestly, so far as it was not mere accident, it is only myself I can blame. I ought to have made quite sure and been on board at the hour I was told, though from all previous experience I might reckon on hours of delay before starting.

I shall miss much which I was looking forward to see in the Western States of America, but that I do not altogether regret. The experience of three weeks in this tropical island is perhaps worth more than all I should have gained in many places visited for a day's trip, and it will be more restful by far.

The house which is affording us hospitality in our need consists of two rooms only, bedroom and sitting-room, furnished as nicely as any summer houses on the warmer coasts of England. There is a verandah all round, and a detached kitchen. We have our bedroom in the neighbouring hotel, or rather in what was the

hotel, for as no visitors come to stay here it did not pay, and the furniture was put in store. There Mr. Smith has made up for us two good beds, protected by net curtains all round from the mosquitoes, and with the five windows of the room wide open, and no covering but a sheet, we can keep moderately cool all night, while breezes which come and go among the trees and the water lapping on the shore below make a lullaby for us.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH.—Spent the day on the verandah, reading a novel and laying it down to gaze and wonder. The house stands low down on the hillside, for all is hillside here, except for one level space about a quarter of a mile square, on which are the buildings belonging to the U.S. Naval Station, and this has, I learn, been constructed for the purpose by quarrying the rock which surrounds it. It seems like the crater of a long extinct volcano, broken down just at one point so that the sea has made a way in. A path a yard wide is the only road. On one side of it lap the shallow waters; from the other the hills begin to mount, thick clothed in trees up to the top, 1000 to 2000 feet above. Wherever a bit of coral reef has risen above the sea, the natives have built their houses or rather shelters. They are circular or oblong in shape, a roof of thatch made from palm leaves supported all round by posts four feet high. The floor is paved with small stones or broken coral, on which are laid the mats which serve for bedding, for partitions, and for outside screens against sun or rain. The pillow is a thick bamboo raised on prongs an inch or two above the ground, and on this they rest their necks, and find bed and bolster so comfortable that they spend day as well as night on them, for though a finely formed people and of erect bearing they are averse to exertion, and seem to be perfectly happy sitting on the ground with their backs to the house posts, or stretched at full length on their hard couches. Tables and chairs there are none, only a box or two for their bits of finery and a few cooking utensils. The native dress is a loin cloth reaching from the waist to the knees, but many have added to this bits of European costume, which spoil their appearance, and render them liable to consumption and pneumonia, for in this rainy climate (the rainfall is just 200 inches in the year) they are continually exposed to get drenched and have not yet got into the way of changing for dry clothing, if indeed they have any to change. They are a happy folk, always talking and often singing, polite to strangers, and of gentle manners. Few have as yet learned any English, and they show no inclination to trouble themselves with the foreign tongue. Nature provides her dear brown children here with all they want almost for the asking. The palm supplies them with meat and drink, and fibre for their mats and cloths, and leaves for thatch and basket, and the milk of the cocoa nut is their drink, and its meat cut into slices and dried in the sun, is bought up by the dealers in "copra", and adds to their resources money to buy some of the white man's cottons and tinned goods brought over from San Francisco.

The sea suddenly deepens at the edge of the coral reef and then half a mile off the hill rises steep again, with the path at the base and a few scattered houses, among them a French Roman Catholic Mission Church, and a Mormon Temple, for these are the only two religions which are represented here by regular services and a resident ministry. (I have since learnt that there is a native missionary and a church, supported by the London Missionary Society, at the Naval Station).

And here am I with no business of any kind to keep me, but if I had a thousand pounds to spare I could not get away, nor even get into touch with the great world out of which I have dropped.

THURSDAY, 20TH.—Awoke by the rain beating on the galvanized iron roof. The mist sweeps in from the sea and covers the hill top. The tall cocoanut palms sway their long fronds in the trade wind which brings us no trade and no message save of the lonely sea outside. In the afternoon we paid a call on Captain Underwood, the Commandant, and arranged with him for a Sunday service. Then on Mr. Frederic, the astronomer, engaged in building an observatory in this, the only South Equatorial possession of the United States, for the observation of the southern stars. Found some scraps of solid reading in the July number of *The National Review*, especially an article by Churton Collins on "Miltonic Myths and their Authors," which made me feel intellectually at home. I read also H. G. Wells' "The Wonderful Visit," which suggested some vague sense of a world unseen which lies near to this, and if known would explain the mystery which environs us. For the present all my world is this narrow gulf, its shores sparsely habited by strange men, with whom I can have no converse beyond a smile and a word of Samoan greeting picked up from their lips. The few white men are strangers come to stay as short a while as they can, and having their home and all their interests elsewhere. And man brown or white counts for so little. His path and the few houses which border it, a patch of stony garden or little plantation of tara or bananas on the hill side is all the mark he makes on soil teeming with life from shore to highest summit.

FRIDAY, 21ST.—Awoke in the night by a downfall of rain which seemed to threaten universal deluge. In the morning the sun was shining and the only sign of the night's storm was the fulness of the brook which comes down beside the hotel. In the evening went on board the steamer where we sat with the Commandant and Mrs. Underwood and Lieutenant and Mrs. Parmenter, listening to the band. Began "The Story of the Mormons," by Wm. Alex. Lynn, which I had noted at the Leeds Library as a book to be read when leisure offered, little dreaming of the too ample leisure I was to suffer here. A very warm, close afternoon.

SATURDAY, 22ND.—It was impressed upon me to-day how indeed we are living in the crater of an old volcano. About one o'clock I was puzzled by a noise like that of a big vessel letting off steam, but there was no

such vessel in the harbour to account for it. Nothing but the gunboat always at anchor by the wharf and the little trading schooner which collects copra for the mail boats. Then I found that it must be the switching of rain, only where I sat and on the water and the shore beyond the sun was shining and no drop of rain fell. Then I looked up and saw that the sound came from the mountain tops beyond. There a heavy cloud was caught among the trees and emptying itself in a rush of rain. In a few minutes it had crossed the narrow sea and the hills were hidden from view. Then came thunder echoing from side to side of our deep dwelling, and so in shifting mist lit up by red lightning and pouring rain, the afternoon passed and night fell upon the gloom which seemed reminiscent of the dread scenes of a former world. For once lava glowed red where now the calm water makes a way for native canoes, and steam and smoke filled up the space within the black caldron, where to-day a thousand men, women, and children make their home between the forest and the sea.

SUNDAY, 23RD.—The storm of yesterday has cleared the air, and to-day the sun shines out of a clear blue sky. At ten o'clock I held service in the Court House, there were about forty sailors from the U.S. gunboat and some twenty others, officials, Ac., with half-a-dozen ladies. Moody and Sankey's Hymn Books were provided, and I made a false start by selecting the only rational hymn I could hit upon in turning over the pages, which the Commandant told me they could not sing; so I left the choice to him, and we began with "Rock of Ages." There had been some difficulty in procuring a Bible, the one used for oaths in court, on which I relied, being in Samoan, but there would have been a choice of two or three if the need had been foreseen. I read verses of Isaiah x., and of the sermon on the mount as Jesus' comment on it, and preached on the Gospel as I had been sent to preach it, *i.e.*, that the infinite and incomprehensible God was our Father in Heaven. The last hymn chosen was the American National Anthem, with which I expressed my deepest sympathy, as embodying the highest ideals of all English speaking peoples.

After service we went up to the Commandant's house, built upon the broken down lip of one of the craters, just above the inner channel. For it is evident upon further survey that the gulf is formed out of three or more centres of volcanic activity, each successive eruption breaking into the crater formed by those which went before. Where we live is in the innermost and most perfect. But for the coral insect, which has built up its reef abodes almost to the water's level, so that it is easy to form land by cutting down the hillside and laying the hard basaltic rock upon the coral—but for this tiny builder of islands out of the deep, this place where we dwell and all the shore round, twelve miles in circumference, would have been uninhabitable—steep cliffs descending abruptly into a deep sea, just as the miniature craters at Auckland, perfect to-day as when first formed, some of them, though raised high above the sea, can be made no use of because of their smooth cuplike sides, which afford no footing even for sheep. Volcanic action here would seem to have been of earlier date than at Auckland, and tropical rains have so scored the craters that an abundant vegetation has got hold and clothed them up to the highest summit, 2,100 feet above sea level.

Such were my reflections as I reclined in the verandah of the Residence, now looking out to the ocean beyond the gates of rock, now around to mark on every side the cuplike forms of the enclosing hills, and now rising to look over the parapet into the sea beneath just covering the rugged reef of coral, and beyond to the deep channel by which the great ships go in and out.

We had lunch, cooked by a Chinese cook and served by a Japanese waiter, both belonging to the American Navy, with Captain Underwood and his wife, affable and intelligent people, whom it was a privilege to meet here. Mr. Underwood's father was a Congregational minister, who lived to keep his hundredth birthday in full possession of his intellectual faculties, then, having attained the limit of his desire, gave up and died in three weeks.

MONDAY, 24TH.—Another beautiful day, not so hot as many a sultry summer's day I have had in England. A French war ship had come in last night, so the two ships must needs exchange a salute of seventeen guns, a very juvenile proceeding it seemed to me, but worth hearing for the way the hills took up the loud pop of the small cannon, and flung it from side to side, and I rolled it on from one to another till it became a rumble as of thunder and died away in the recesses of the mountains.

In the morning I walked three miles along the northern shore to the little church of the Roman i Catholic Mission, where I was told I should find two French priests, but church and presbytery were both deserted, the fathers having gone, I presume, to visit the ship. I returned the same way, for it was the only one, between the forest and the sea, and spent a hot afternoon reading of the Mormons and a tale of a Virginian family, lent to me by Mrs. Underwood.

TUESDAY, 25TH.—We are informed that the French cruiser will take letters to Tahiti, where they will catch the mail for San Francisco and give information of us to friends in England a few days earlier than they would get it by the mail boat we are patiently waiting for. A week has now passed since we were stranded here, and we have everything to be thankful for, especially for kind friends who supply us with clothes as well as food and shelter. I have nothing on of my own. In white boots, pants, and shirt, which are more than sufficient clothing for this climate, and all from the wardrobe of my host, I make a figure very unlike that of the Rev.

Charles Hargrove, as known at home. We could be happy enough, spite of the heat and langour of mind and body which comes with it, were it not for the mosquitos, which keep us in a state of constant irritation and alertness. The nimble foe is ubiquitous, and only by careful scrutiny to be shut outside of the curtains which enclose our beds. After dark we can do nothing. A light in the open would be a signal for all the insects of the neighbourhood; and to close our five windows and sit down inside secure from their attacks would be to take a Turkish Bath with our clothes on.

But though a pest, the mosquitos are not in the numbers I have known and heard of them elsewhere, and it is curious how free the island is from venomous creatures of any kind. The cockroaches and spiders, if big and objectionable, are not harmful, and the ants are small and only attack food. Fleas there are none, nor worse human parasites. Centipedes we do not come across, and scorpions and dangerous snakes are unknown. Had we business here we might make ourselves fairly comfortable—and so indeed, up to the present, we have done, though counting the slow days which part us from our home and work.

C. H.

PAGO-PAGO, ISLAND OF TUTUILA, SAMOA.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26TH.—

Sent a letter home with my diary by the French cruiser "Protet," which will leave it for the mail at Tahiti, and so it will reach San Francisco five days earlier, and bring home the first news of our detention. To-day the trade winds were blowing, and the breeze, though warm, was pleasant. I read a clever, amusing, and suggestive story of travel, "The Lightning Conductor," alternately with the too ponderous "Mormons." In the afternoon we went with our host and hostess and four rowers, boys from the Savii Islands, savage-looking men, and, unlike the Samoans, good workers, to the Northern Point, where we got the boat up the reef, and the men carried us ashore. We went up through the bush—for such it really is rather than forest, there being no soil to root or mature large trees—to the lighthouse, whence we watched a wild savage on the rocks below fishing with his three-pronged spear; then to Lavi the native village on the other side of the point, looking out on to the ocean. What a different world theirs from that of their neighbours in the bay! For them the boundless sea and the great waves forever booming on the shore; for us the far-off sound of the surf, heard on still nights from over the hill, and the lap of inland waters on the edge of a path that has no fear of ever being washed away.

THURSDAY, 27TH.—In the afternoon walked alone along the opposite shore and called on one of the priests, whom I found at home. He told me that they had about 800 Catholics, but would have nearly double the number if all who were baptised remained true. "The natives were like others, good, bad, and indifferent. They had a school for Catechists, whom they sent out to teach in the villages. They were difficult to manage, to punish one would involve the breaking up of the school, for all would desert. They thought themselves just as good and better than the whites." He had been ten years at work among them, and seemed to have little faith or hope in him. It was his business and had to be done, and verily, from his point of view, a dreary business enough. Souls ever passing on to hell, and indifferent to the hand reached out to save them! But how far the decent savage may be right in esteeming himself the equal or superior of the white man were a question difficult to answer. Certainly such gentle, cleanly, civil, peaceable people are not to be looked for among the lower classes of our English towns, and the contrast in build and carriage between them and the French sailors lately among us was immensely to their advantage.

On the way back I passed a dwelling where a dozen or more were at prayers, saying the rosary, I suppose, in Samoan. They seemed devout enough, but how much the better, I wonder, for the exercise, or how much the better for white men ever having come among them? The Mormons here make as many converts as the Catholics, and do much better in the way of schools.

FRIDAY, 28TH.—Finished Linn's Story of the Mormons; which I should have never got through under conditions more favourable as respects the choice of the books. It is too long (618 large 8vo pp.) (or the reader who is content with general information on the subject. But what a humiliating story of credulity and fraud! Were those men led to follow Joseph Smith into the wilderness superior to these brown men here? And what an immense success! A poor, ignorant man, without character or apparent gift of any kind, unless that of living by craft, to found a church and maintain it in opposition to the multitude and the country and leave it apparently a permanent institution after him! Who would covet success after such success as Joe Smith's?

Visited the Government School here. Some forty-five hoys under a lady teacher; they sang for us the National Anthem, "My native land," &c., with a show of enthusiasm, though scarce a word could have had a meaning for them.

This evening we had an experience of genuine savage life, so extravagant that I can scarcely believe that it was not all a dream. There was a feast in honour of the birth of a grandson to a native chief, and we heard that

in the evening there would be a "siva," or dance. So about 7-30 we made our way to the village, and were taken to the chief's house. He received us most politely, and we were accommodated with mats and sat down on the floor strewn with broken coral and very clean. The preparation of "kava," the native non-alcoholic drink, was begun in our honour. It is made of a root which used to be chewed by girls selected for the purpose, but is now ground on a grater, fresh water is then poured on it, and the fibre strained out. It is served in a cocoanut cup, which is handed by the cup-bearer to each guest in turn as designated by the chief. I, who had been introduced as a "mijinery," the only kind of minister of religion they know of, was the first to drink, then came my wife and the other English ladies and gentlemen in turn. It is in appearance soapy water, in taste slightly bitter. Partaken of largely it is said to affect the legs, but is otherwise harmless. It is the only made drink of the natives here, for the sale of intoxicating liquor is strictly forbidden.

After we had all drunk we adjourned to the house where the dance was to take place. It was crowded with men and women, all decently clothed according to the fashion of the country, the men with loin cloths of various patterns, the women with some kind of jacket in addition, all of them adorned with necklaces, anklets and bracelets of flowers. A paraffin oil lamp hung from the ceiling. In the centre were seated the chief men, and before them was a clear space. Room was soon made for our party of three white ladies and half-a-dozen men, and there we sat, awkwardly enough, upon the ground, an ungraceful contrast to our brown neighbours. Presently nine men seated themselves in a row, and palm oil was brought, with which they plentifully besmeared themselves. Then began a weird monotonous chant, the woman behind acting the part of chorus. Presently the performers began to sway their bodies and arms, accompanying the song with apparently symbolic action. After awhile four leapt to their feet and danced in a way that reminded me of little boys whom I had seen jumping about and grimacing, as a mere expression of superfluous vitality. There was a pause, and kava was served again. Then on the other side of the open house came in the representatives of another village, perhaps that of the baby's mother, who were participating in the festivities. They seated themselves, and presently entered the Taupa, or Maiden of the Village, adorned with a prodigious head-dress and immense plumes of yellow hair, out of which rose five reeds, with glass trinkets attached. Very queenly she looked, though with legs and arms bare, except of flowers. All the wealth of the tribe was on her well-formed figure, and the head-dress gave her the look of a giantess, so that till I saw her afterwards, uncrowned, I could not believe but that she was at least six feet in height. She sat in the middle of the row, and sedately took part in the song and movements, which began again. Then, with three others, she stood up and went through the same noisy uncouth dance, in which every limb had part. And we sat and watched, crowded in with great-limbed, half-naked men. I had for support of my back a big brown knee, whose owner occasionally patted my shoulders and fanned my wife with our friend's straw hat. He was a great chief I was told, and I felt the honour of his patronage.

After two hours we were tired out, for broken coral is a hard seat, even when a palm leaf mat is spread over it. So out of the hurly-burly we made our way into the silent night.

What may go on when no white visitors are present of course I cannot say, but I can witness to the perfect propriety of all I saw. The clothing was, indeed, scanty, not more so than that which may often enough be seen on the English stage, but there was absolutely no suggestion of anything in the least unbecoming or indecent. Indeed, the decency of this half-naked people astonishes me. I have been to and fro among the villages, and never seen anything dirty or offensive on the part of man, woman, or even child. They seem possessed of an innate sense of propriety and cleanliness. They remind one of well-bred children, and are like children in inquisitiveness. "Where you go?" they will ask if they meet you on the way. "Where you sleep?" follows when you have given them such information as the scanty vocabulary which is common to you affords. Dear, big, lovable, strong, gentle children! They have no idea of saving or private ownership; if a man earns a few dollars, his people come as soon as he is paid and help him to spend it. Food in especial is common property, and no native would think of refusing another a share of whatever he has. "No better than a foreigner" is their contemptuous description of the man who tries to save.

One consequence of this practical communism is that labour is scarce and dear. Why should a man work hard for a wage which will not profit him? Whatever he may earn, his friends will come and share with him. So the Government has had to import labourers from less fortunate islands to do the toilsome work of excavating and road making, which has been needed to make a harbour and wharf and coaling station. They will no doubt learn our ways in time, and each look after his own family and accumulate a bit of money by hard work, and take to petty theft, now almost or altogether unknown among them. They will be more serviceable to the stranger. Will they be as happy or as good, or even as Christian as they now are?

SATURDAY, 22ND.—Dined with the Commandant and Mrs. Underwood, who, I was pleased to find, had formed, from their longer and deeper experience, the same view of the native character to which I had been led from the little observation I had the opportunity of making. They are all children, big and little boys and girls, and their worst faults are those of rowdy undergraduates.

They told me how they wanted to return the hospitalities they had received from the head men, and being in difficulties how to do it, for they would have made their guests supremely uncomfortable by seating them on chairs round a table, they bethought them of having a "donkey-party." The outline of a tailless donkey was drawn upon the wall, and each guest in turn was blindfolded and led to put on the tail. They enjoyed themselves immensely, and the giant chief won the booby prize and went away delighted. He had come in shoes and stockings, but unable long to bear the discomfort, went out and left them with his umbrella in the hall and came back like the others barefooted. Another time he walked up to the station, laughing all the way as he led a rat by a string, dragging it on behind him.

SUNDAY, 30TH.—Service as last Sunday in the Court House. Sang "Lead, kindly light," and three other unobjectionable hymns, the sailors joining in heartily. I preached on Micah's grand definition of religion (vi. 6, 7, 8), and tried so to explain that all might accept it whatever their religious opinions.

Had lunch with Lieut. and Mrs. Parmenter, the former of Newport, R.I., and of Unitarian family, the latter of Boston. In the afternoon one of the United States sailors called on me because he too was called Hargrove, and told me the name was common in Kentucky. His father had fought on the "rebel side" in the great war, he was now serving in the fleet, and very happy and contented. When he had served his time and saved a little money would start out to see the world. In the evening Mr. Smith went with me to pay a call on Governor Maunga, the native head chief of the Island. We found him seated, of course, on the floor in his beautiful house, the finest, I was told, in the island. It is said to have cost 800 dollars, but that would not include the free labour spent on it. Like all other Samoan dwellings it is open all round, except for mat curtains let down as desired. No nails are used in the construction, but rafters and beams are bound together with cord of cocoanut fibre. The chief is a man of immense bulk. He was dressed in the customary lava-lava of bark-cloth about the loins, and for distinction wore white boots and stockings, Mr. Smith gave him a cigar, which he put away for a better occasion, and filled his pipe with native tobacco. In return his wife, a little woman of forty, said to watch over him jealously, produced some very large and excellent bananas which she set before us. There were only five others in the house, seated at a ceremonious distance, and as the conversation languished, for Maunga speaks no English and my friend had but a few words of Samoan, and as the floor of pebbles, though scrupulously clean, was very hard, we were glad to take leave as soon as politeness permitted. I am told that Maunga, as king, gets an allowance of twenty dollars a month (twenty-five shillings a week) from the Government, and as he is expected to give hospitality to all comers he has an additional allowance for food.

MONDAY, 31ST.—In the morning I walked over again to see the priests, and this time found Father Belwood, who speaks English well, at home. He is a very intelligent man, and generally confirmed my previous impressions about the natives, but he says they are already deteriorating under the influence of the white people. The Society of Maristes, to which he belongs, have charge of this group of islands. They have a bishop and 24 priests, four or them natives. When he first came to Tutuila, five years ago, there was no regular communication with the outside world, and they would be five months, in the season of the trade winds, without a boat calling in.

Their little house is the poorest I have seen here, the floor of pebbles, the furniture of the barest, no grace or comfort about it. The other priest, I was told, has contracted elephantiasis, the great scourge of the island, said to be disseminated by mosquitos. What does it matter to men who really believe, and hope in a few years time to be in Heaven?

At four o'clock Mr. Smith and I started for Pago-sa, a village in a deep bay on the other side of the hills. The old path which I saw was very rough and steep, but a comparatively easy one has now been made, in a way illustrative of native habits and character. It seems that a chief's son desired to have the Taupa, or village maiden of Pago-sa, to wife, and made her presents of mats, but the maiden scorned him. Whereupon, with some thirty companions, he attacked the village by night and burnt down two houses. The rioters were had up before the court, in which the chief, Maunga, sits with the U. S. magistrate, and on conviction of riot and arson, were sentenced to five years imprisonment, or, as an alternative, to pay a fine of 500 dollars, re-build the two houses, and make a path six feet wide over the ridge. As was expected, they accepted the alternative. It would have been awkward had they done otherwise, for there is no room in the little prison for so many, even if it were at present empty. Then they sent word to their friends and relations in the neighbouring villages. Two hundred men were presently at work on the new road, which was finished in a fortnight. Two disused houses will be taken over the pass to replace the old ones. The fine will be paid, and the young men having had their spree, are as pleased as undergraduates who having made a bonfire in the Market Square at Cambridge in despite of police and proctors, cheerfully pay the penalty next day, and make compensation to the owners of shutters and fences used for fuel.

TUESDAY 1ST NOVEMBER.—Poorly all day and worse at night, which is no wonder, living as I have been this fortnight, in an hot-house atmosphere. I resolutely kept my thoughts from dwelling on my ailments, and though worse at night, gradually improved.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND.—The boat from San Francisco came in at 8 o'clock and brought all our luggage back from Honolulu, which would have been cheering news to me if I had been in a condition better capable of appreciating anything. My first really idle day, neither "doing or caring for aught.

At 6 p.m. the Maori, the tiny packet which plies every three weeks between here and Apia, took us on board "with the mails and a miscellaneous crowd, white, brown, and neutral. We made ourselves as little uncomfortable as we could on the deck, resigned to twelve hours of tossing in the darkness, but were awakened about two in the morning by a heavy shower, which wet us before we quite knew where we were. So we passed the rest of the night cooped below.

THURSDAY, 3RD, ISLAND OF UPOLU.—Anchored at Apia about six o'clock and went ashore to the Tivoli Hotel, a fine two-storied building, surrounded by a verandah of the same height. In the oppressive morning heat we did nothing, but in the afternoon went to the Mission Station close by and had tea with the superintendent, the Rev. Mr. Sibree, a fine-looking young man, who lost his wife here four years ago. Then we drove with Miss Moore, of Leone, Tutuila, who has sole charge of the school for native girls there and had come here for the holidays, to the school two miles away on a pleasant road paved with coral and lined with palms. We were received by the sisters, two German and one English, most kindly, and after a meal went to join the girls at their evening devotions. A chapter of Acts were read and a hymn sung, followed by a long prayer, all, of course, in Samoan. Then the hundred girls sang a song, composed by themselves after their manner, as a farewell to the English sister, although she is not going till next April. It was a very weird and to me fascinating performance. One or more altos kept the lead throughout, high above the rising and falling flood of almost bass voices, just as their ancestors sang before ever the white man came to their shores. It seemed to me, perhaps quite wrongly, as if the Christianity, Bible, and hymns, was all superficial, and that the deep savagery of their antecedents came out full and strong in their song. So at nine o'clock we left, and were driven home in the mission buggy.

FRIDAY, 4TH.—A sultry morning, followed by an afternoon of heavy rain. From the hotel verandah we look out upon the harbour, its narrow entrance between the coral reefs completely hidden in the mist. The Maori and one or two small yachts were the only vessels in the little port, and high up on a shore reef lay the ghastly wreck of the German war-boat, where she was lifted up and battered to ruin in the great hurricane of 1889. "There she lies high and dry," still as when Stevenson wrote "the hugest structure of man's hands within a circuit of a thousand miles—tossed up there like a schoolboy's cap upon a shelf; broken like an egg; a thing to dream of."

Terrible indeed was the work of that night of March in the reef girt anchorage of Apia, but the destruction it wrought was the saving of the peace of the world. The question at issue was a very little one—whether German or Anglo-Saxon influence should be paramount in this little island of the Pacific—but, as Hamlet says:

*Rightly to be great
Is greatly to find quarrel in a straw,
When honour's at the stake.*

Such is the way of nations and of school boys, and passion ran high between the rival races, whose war-ships crowded the narrow and dangerous harbour. Its capacity is estimated at four large ships. When a falling barometer gave warning of the coming hurricane, it was full up with seven ships of war beside six merchantmen and a number of small craft; all should have escaped to the open sea, and all knew the terrible risks to which they exposed themselves by delay. But none was brave enough to set the example what would seem like running away, and they stayed on, "semi-belligerents, daring each other and the violence of heaven." Only the British ship "Calliope" escaped as by miracle when the storm was at its height and it was too late for the others already wrecked. From the doomed flag-ship Trenton as she slowly urged her way against wind and sea, the Americans hailed the success of the English with a cheer. "You went out splendidly," wrote the American Admiral afterwards to the English Captain, "and we all felt from our hearts for you, and our cheers came with sincerity and admiration for the able manner in which you handled your ship. We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our ships, for in time like that I can say truly with old Admiral Josiah Latnall, 'that blood *is* thicker than water.'" When the Calliope returned to the harbour two days later she found not a single ship afloat of all which had crowded it that terrible day. The Adler's iron skeleton remains as the only monument of what was in its issue a great event of history.

Spent the evening with Mr. Sibree and Mrs. Hawkins, wife of the missionary of Leone, Tutuila, who had come over here to consult the doctors about her little girl. All our talk was, of course, of Samoa and the Samoans and their queer superstitions, and their dread of "aitus," ghosts and spirits who take up their abode in trees and elsewhere, and have to be treated with all deference, or they will bring misfortune on the offender.

SATURDAY, 5th.—Drove out to Stevenson's house by the "Road of the Loving Heart," Ala Loto Alofa,

made by some chiefs, whom he had befriended in prison, as a testimony of their gratitude and love. The house has been repaired and altered by a wealthy German who now lives there three months in the year. We looked up longingly to the summit above, where they laid the body of their beloved Tusitala, teller of tales, as they called him. But we did not dare to expose ourselves to the fatigue of the ascent in the hot sunshine, and had to be content with the view of forest and ocean upon which so often his eyes lingered in the few years of his summer exile.

SUNDAY, 6th.—At eight o'clock in the morning I attended the service at the Native Church. There were more men than women present, and the choir, which sat in the middle, dressed in brown cotton jackets and lava-lavas, consisted almost entirely of men. I was told that the music selected was of a quieter description and the tunes all English, because of its being Communion Sunday; but the tunes were translated into the musical fashion of Samoa, and to me were weird and unrecognisable, the strong alto solo soaring, ever dominant above the forty basses which swelled and fell and rose again as if seeking in vain to prevail. The native preacher was dressed in white, his lava-lava reaching to his bare feet, which were rough and broken, as if the skin were of coarse brown bark. He was very fluent, as they are all said to be, loving to speak on any occasion or excuse. For myself the minister prayed—so it was translated for me by Mr. Sibree, who sat by my side—"Bless thy servant who takes charge of thy work in another country and unites with us to-day. Different is his speech, yet one are our prayers and our praises. Different the section of thy Church to which he belongs, yet one is our faith and our Lord. Bless him here and when he leaves us." The text of the sermon was Hebrews, x. 29, "Of how much sorer punishment shall he be counted worthy who hath trodden underfoot the Son of God." The preacher, the island being now a German dependency and the people familiar with the German National Anthem, showed what it would mean to trample underfoot the son of the Kaiser, did he come to visit them. "So," he said, "do those who refuse to hear the word of Jesus, who take the side of his foes. Here in Samoa are many who once knew and served him. Of what punishment shall they be worthy if they have turned against him? True, God is love. He does not wish to punish. He rejoices not in visiting sin with its penalty. But all sin brings with it its own penalty. Don't be proud if you are a pastor or a church member. Perhaps you are guilty of sin which will bear its fruit in time. So the ruin of Jerusalem was the reward of its sin, though Jerusalem was the Holy City. And we who come to the Communion Service to-day shall not be saved by Communion." These are a few hasty notes made for me during delivery. From an English pulpit such a sermon would be ordinary enough; preached as it was by a man whose grandfather was no doubt a heathen and perhaps a cannibal, his world the Samoan archipelago, to a full congregation of his own countrymen, it was remarkable enough. Of the old religion there is nothing left but some old superstitious beliefs and practices, such as survive I even in Europe after ages of Christian profession. All the people are nominally Christians, and I should say the greater number more really so than is the majority at home. It is considered the correct thing to belong to the Church and even to be a communicant, though none are admitted to Communion without giving satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their profession.

After another hymn and the benediction, some of the congregation, less than half, withdrew, and I gladly accepted the invitation to join in the sacred rite, which is the symbol of the common life of faith of all Christian people. Not a word of reading, hymn, or prayer could I follow, nor know whether I could assent or not. But here was a language we all understood, and as I ate of the one bread and drank of the one cup of the common drink, I felt myself indeed at one with these my dark brethren, and with all followers of Christ throughout the world. I think I had before objected to the service this novel experience would have reconciled me to it. We want something more universally understood, more sacred, more reliable than any language is, to express our consciousness of the deep underlying unity of the Spirit. Wine is not the ordinary drink of the people here, and is, indeed, unknown to the natives, dear, and not easily obtainable: moreover, it would be very undesirable to make them acquainted with its use, or lead them to look upon alcoholic drinks as desirable or permissible. So the milk of the cocoanut, with which they are familiar from infancy, is used instead. It is to them the translation into their mode of life of "the fruit of the vine," which was the common drink of Palestine.

We had a drive in the afternoon into the country past the Mormon settlement, and then to the Observatory, remarking on the way the monuments to British, German, and American marines, who had been killed in the stupid quarrels of 1889.

At 8-30 p.m. sailed off in the dirty uncomfortable little Maori, with a lot of natives, half-castes, and Mormon whites. I was asked to take the service at the Mission Church for the white people, but dare not risk again being late for the boat. Passed a wretched night on deck, lying on the dirty floor or finding a seat where I could.

MONDAY, 7TH.—Saw the sun rise behind the mountains of Tutuila, but did not get fastened to the buoy in the harbour of Pago-Pago till 11 o'clock, fifteen hours for a seventy mile voyage.

TUESDAY, 8TH.—The Oceanic Steamship Company's Boat Sonoma, the sister ship to the Sierra which brought us and left us here, arrived at six in the morning. We were on board by nine o'clock, determined that

this time we would not be too late, but we did not leave till one, a full hour after the time adopted. So ended three weeks of novel, and not altogether unpleasant, experience.

C. H.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY, ON THE SIERRA NEVADA,

November 25th, 1904.

This will be my last letter, for I am making my way homeward by express, and if I wrote again it would not reach you more than two or three days before my arrival. On Sunday I preach at Salt Lake City, the Zion of the Mormons, thence we go to Albany to make the acquaintance of my future daughter-in-law, thence to New York, where I hope to grasp, or rather be grasped by, the big hand of our dear Robert Collier, and on Saturday, the 10th, we sail by the Cunard fast steamer "Etruria," due at Liverpool the Friday following.

We landed at San Francisco six weeks after our departure from Auckland, on Monday, the 21st. We did not know anyone there, even by name, but were not long in making friends, who kept us busy with kindest attentions throughout our four days' stay, and made us regret that we could not spend a longer time with them, as they pressed us to do. On our arrival at the hotel recommended to us we found Mr. Leavitt, the young and very successful minister of the First Congregation, enquiring if we had put up there. He and others had been notified of our coming by the President of the American Unitarian Association, and had been on the look-out for us for the previous six weeks. He took immediate charge of us and showed us over the city, whose roads are the steepest I have ever seen, though the cable cars run up and down them with more rapidity than safety, at least so it appears to a stranger, but accidents, we are told, are of rare occurrence.

The same evening there was a dinner of the Unitarian Club to which I was invited. The Club has a membership limited to 200, and there are always many applicants waiting for election. It consists of Unitarian gentlemen, many of them of the highest position in the city, but, of course, there is no declaration of faith required of candidates, and many liberal-minded men of other denominations are glad to be admitted to fellowship, for here Unitarians are held in high esteem, and the name is no bugbear to frighten would-be sympathisers from enrolling themselves under it. There were about 150 present, and the Chairman kindly called upon me to address them before the discussion on "Nature in California" was given. I was very tired and sleepy, for the day began early for us, and with a thorough and fatiguing Custom House examination of our baggage and other business, and seeing things and people, I had been kept fully employed. All the same, I was very glad of the opportunity of addressing so representative an audience of our American brethren, and assuring them of our goodwill towards them both as Englishmen and as Unitarians.

On my return home at 11 o'clock I found a heap of letters waiting for me, but was too worn out to give them more than a glance and a grateful welcome. I had little time for reading all the next day, for at an early hour of the morning the Secretary of the Western Churches took us in charge and showed us over the University, and took us to two of our churches on the other side of the bay. I had the happiness to be introduced to Mr. Hosmer, whom I have long known through his hymns, several of which are in our Berwick Hymnal, and so we were kept busy all day till dinner-time. After dinner we went to a reception at First Church, a reception not indeed intended for us, though I was told there would have been one if they had been sure what time we were coming. However, it answered the purpose quite as well, and gave us the opportunity of making a brief acquaintance with the leading members of the most influential of the five Unitarian congregations here.

Thursday was "Thanksgiving Day," and a public holiday, and I was very glad of the opportunity of seeing how all Americans joined in keeping up this observance, first instituted by Governor Bradford some 250 years ago. I went to the Congregational Church in the morning, when a joint service was held for our people and theirs—shared with Mr. Leavitt the "thanksgiving dinner" of his household, a kind of holy feast—drove with him in the afternoon through the outskirts of the city and returned in the evening to pack up for the next day's journey.

I had many visitors; the only one I knew already was Mr. Gaunt, a member of our choir twelve or fourteen years ago, whom I married to Miss Grasshara before he left for California. He is getting on well here, for wages are high and the climate makes life easy. He told me the one thing he missed was Mill Hill and its choir, and he often dreamt he was back again. He is settled now at San José, and had come fifty miles to see me.

I heartily thank all the dear friends who have written to me. I have no doubt others would have done so, but they feared to repeat what I have been told already. But assurances of esteem and goodwill from so many are very welcome.

Very soon now I shall be with you, and all this travel will be like a dream of the past. My one desire is that I may, during the few years left to me, be more helpful than I have ever yet been.

C. H.

LEEDS,

30th December, 1904.

At last, the six months for which I was to be absent, the eight months and more to which you extended my leave, are gone by, and I take up my work again, finding it difficult to believe that thirty-six weeks have elapsed, a Spring, a Summer and an Autumn, between my last appearance in the pulpit and my next. There is little to add to my last letter written on the railway, among the mountains which form the eastern border of California. A journey of thirty hours brought us to Salt Lake City, where we were most hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Fish, who are well known to many in England since Mr. Fish was Minister at Kidderminster. They have resided two years at Salt Lake and built up a church, both in the literal and metaphorical sense. I preached on Sunday morning to about 150 persons and attended the Sunday School, which in America is generally held after morning service. In the afternoon I attended service at the Mormon Tabernacle; it was one of the most striking scenes I witnessed on my travels. It was simply the ordinary Sunday service and the regular choir, and the place was by no means full, but there must have been about twenty-five times as many as came to hear me.

On Monday night we left our kind hosts to continue our journey, and at noon of the next day reached the height of 10,000 feet, and began to descend towards the Great Eastern Plain. We stayed a couple of days at Colorado Springs and were welcomed with the kindness we have met with everywhere by Mr. Hill the acting trustee of the little Church, there being at present no minister. Thence a day and a half brought us to Chicago and on Sunday afternoon we reached Albany. On Thursday we left for New York, a four hours' journey, and happily arrived there just in time to share our dear Robert Collier's 81st birthday dinner. We found him the same as ever in mind, a little more infirm in body. "May I tell them in England that you hope to come over this summer?" I asked, "No don't" he said, "I'll come if I feel inclined, but I don't now and I don't know that I shall." But his colleague Mr. Savage is coming, and has promised to preach for me in the Summer.

We left New York in the Etruria on Saturday morning, and rolled across the Atlantic till the Saturday following, when at 7 o'clock at night we landed at Liverpool, and arrived in Leeds at 11-30, at the very platform whence we left in the opposite direction on the 5th of April, having been just 257 days away. Very thankful was I the next morning to take my old place in the pulpit and be privileged to speak to you of the words which came to my mind as I left Leeds, parting with my family and friends, and facing a new world where all was strange and doubtful. There was the possibility that my mission might be a mistake and a disappointment. It might be that I should die far from home. Then I heard as it were an inner voice recalling words once familiar on my lips, "Deus, deus meus." It is so that the 22nd Psalm begins in the Latin version—"O God, my God." Yes it was all right, come what might. That was my faith, my theology, my religion, my whole and satisfying creed. In the uncertainty and impotence of which I was so conscious I fell back upon the Infinite and Unchangeable Good, and was reassured.

And now, beloved friends, I resume my interrupted ministry among you. For how much longer? I know not, and do not much care. I should of course like to be assured that I should be strong and capable of mind and body for ten years and longer. But no one can give me the assurance, and I am well content to live now in the present and let "tomorrow take thought for itself."

C. H.

Letters Home

TO "THE INQUIRER."

I.

PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA,

May 15th, 1904.

We arrived here four weeks to a day after leaving Leeds. We might have left three days later, had we been pressed for time, and come by way of Brindisi in twenty-five days. Indeed, it would scarcely have been possible to have had a quicker, smoother or more comfortable voyage. Our only misadventure was a delay of some eight

or nine hours in the Suez Canal, due to the foundering of a cargo steamer at the southern entrance. So we had to "tie up," as they say, sailors landing in the boat and tying the ship fast to the shore, to let ships bound northward go by. In this way we had to watch one after another pass us, their claim over us consisting in the yellow quarantine flag which floated at their prow. They could not tie up, as none of their crew would have been permitted to land, so we had to bear the penalty of health, and give them way. They mostly came from Jeddah, the port of Mecca, and were conveying pilgrims home to Turkey and Asia Minor. It was curious to watch the pilgrims at their prayers, as indifferent to the eyes of a hundred European infidels gazing at them through glasses, and discussing their devotions, as if we had been so many birds perched in the rigging. Not hypocrites, certainly, for what could it advantage them to be seen of us as we passed and were gone forever. Men rather to whom prayer was one of the ordinary practices of decent life, and who were no more ashamed to be seen praying than we are to say grace at table.

On the whole I was glad of the little delay, for it helped to fix on my mind the impression of the eternal desert, just the same now as it was in the days of Moses, and long before his time. To our right was a narrow plantation of tamarisk and reeds, and the railway running from Port Said to Cairo; beyond, sand and the gleam of distant waters blending with the sky. On the left naught but a desert of sand and clay, here and there rising into mounds, here and there glistening with the white salt left where some sea pool had long ago dried up; on the horizon broken hills, their bases hidden in the mist. A Bedouin family had made their camp for the night beside some dry bushes, as the same people—almost, one would think, the same individuals—did a thousand years ago. And through it all, the timeless unchanging wilderness, we men of these last days have stretched the line and cut a path for our mighty steamships, and laid iron rails for our engines. A little while more, measuring time by the desert standard, will it all have passed away? the canal be filled with the sand which it is so difficult now to keep it clear of, and the rails be covered up, and no traces be visible of our all-conquering might, but the waste stretch far and wide as from of old? We are fond in this day of progress of speculating more or less seriously of the state of mankind in a hundred or two hundred years hence. I do not know that anyone has dared to face the problem of what will be in ten thousand years, but however it fare with man this we may safely assert, that the scene will be unchanged here save for perhaps another broader waterway or more railroads. The waste of sands will stretch then as now to the barren hills, and the desert watch unmoved the clever little animals who score its surface with their lines of travel, as do the ants who make their little paths in the great forest.

We arrived at Aden on April 18, and left in a few hours. There was no temptation to risk a landing, for of all places I have ever seen, from the Shetland Islands to the West Indies, it seemed the least eligible for human habitation. Naked and desolate as it is, a chaos of bare burnt rock, here have 30,000 human beings made themselves a home and hewed out fortifications to protect it against any attempt to wrest it from the possession of the Mistress of the Seas.

Across the Indian Ocean the heat was certainly oppressive, but very tolerable I was assured compared with what it would be later or earlier in the year. The crew had to do their customary work just as if the weather was cool and bracing. We, the idle passengers, because we had nothing to do, found ourselves reduced to a state of utter incapacity, unless exception should be made for bridge-players, who pursued their calling with apparently undiminished ardour.

At Colombo we were greeted just as on the Sunday morning we were stepping into the boat to go ashore by a friendly inquiry as to our identity. It was Mr. Creach, who will, I hope, by this time have made the acquaintance of many English Unitarians. He had come from Melbourne the day before by the German packet, and was on the look-out for us here when our boats happily met. He very kindly took us under his care, having the advantage over us of having made acquaintance with the place the previous day.

Of what we saw there I will mention only a Buddhist temple, a poor little place, for we had no time to go up to Kandy where is the world-famous temple of the Golden Tooth. But in a way it was the more interesting, just the home of worship, the Bethesda of the natives. At the entry was the altar table on which lay the offerings of simple flowers, gathered in the woods and brought there to spend their fragrance and die in sacrifice. So much better, it seemed to me, sweeter and cleaner, than the crowded candles which I had seen flaring before the image of "Our Lady of the Watch" at Marseilles. Further in on a screen were painted the sins men do in this life and the torments which they earn for themselves hereafter—"not everlasting" the priest who showed us round was careful to explain, as if he knew how abhorrent the doctrine of hell was to us, or else would correct our erring Christianity by his own more charitable faith. In the inner shrine was the statue of the Lord Buddha, and the contemplation of the huge figure, lying at rest with head supported on the elbow, gave me to understand, as I never had before, the secret of Buddhist influence in the East and its impotence in the Western world. The expression—if indeed it may be called expression at all—of feature and posture was not of rest, reminiscent of labour and suffering in the past, nor was it of victory, nor exultation, nor joy, nor even love. It was not life, nor yet was it as of one dead. Fear, hope, desire, passion, even the bliss of attainment, were surpassed. He seemed

to Be rather than to live, but to be with a fulness of being which included and was more than living. It was an ideal as far as possible removed from that of the Vision of God which enthralled the devout Christian poet of the Middle Ages—the ecstasy of perfect knowledge, of perfect love, of oneness with the Infinite and Eternal Energy which is the Fount of All Being and All Bliss, which Dante learned of from the great theologians of his age and made popular in his verse. And I could understand how to the teeming millions of the East, who seemed to spring as grasshoppers under our feet, who were doomed from birth to lives of extremest penury and to early death, this ideal of the perfect life as one of absolute impassivity, of being which was almost the same as not to be, would commend itself as the most satisfying to the craving of their souls for the contentment they had never had on earth.

It was in rain and darkness that we came alongside the wharf at Freemantle, the port for Perth. There was no one to meet us, and I knew not what to think or where to go, or whether it were better to leave Perth, where there was no Unitarian Congregation, and go on with the boat to Adelaide. But the next morning, before we were yet dressed, arrived Mr. W. D. Campbell in all haste from Perth. The boat had got in before it was expected, or he would have been there to meet us. He conducted us on to the city some twelve miles distant by rail, and found us a comfortable boarding-house. The same evening we met a number of persons friendly to the movement at the cafe of Mrs. Macdonald, herself one of the warmest supporters it had. The next day I gave a lecture on "The Religion of the New Testament." It had not been advertised, and the attendance was very small. I was doubtful whether it would be worthwhile to spend a fortnight here, as was first intended, and only delayed a decision for the Sunday. I expected little, but was agreeably disappointed. The service was held in the evening, in the Town Hall and I think there would have been nearly 250 present—enthusiastic supporters said 400. But for a first Unitarian service, and in a city in which I was a complete stranger, even 200 was an excellent beginning. The service of the following Sunday, *i.e.*, of to-day, has not been so well attended. The novelty had worn off, and the newspapers had ceased to write of me. But there were a hundred earnest listeners, and I had good reason to be content. I invited those who were interested to meet me on Thursday evening for the purpose of forming a church committee, and if I can get this done I shall depart for Adelaide the next day, not, indeed, elated, but satisfied to have done all that could be done under the circumstances.

This is a charming place to be idle in, at least in this season of the year, which answers to our English November. They call it winter, and tell me how beautiful it is in spring; but were I dropped down here, ignorant of all the differences between the Northern and Southern hemispheres, and of the peculiarities of Australian vegetation, I should guess it to be midsummer. The trees are all green, flowers are abundant, there is plenty of sunshine, and though it is sometimes a little chilly at morning and evening it is rather too hot in the day-time. But it is decidedly relaxing, and I should not like to have to do as much work as I get through at home. The people are very friendly, and the two morning papers have given me kindly notices.

I earnestly hope I may succeed in persuading our friends here not to wait for a minister, but to begin at once regular Sunday services among themselves, however few they may be. If they will do this I have no doubt but that in time they may have a fair congregation, which will increase with the rapid growth of the city. But for an unknown man to come here at once would be a doubtful experiment, and the failure of it would be disastrous to our cause. Unitarian literature there is none. If some friend who can spare his or her *Inquirer* or *Christian Life* would send it to Mrs. Macdonald, City Café, Perth, W.A., it would be appreciated, and lead, perhaps, to others being ordered.

C.H.

II.

ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

May 30th, 1904.

It was certainly discouraging to find a smaller attendance at my second Sunday's service at the Town Hall of Perth than I had at the first, but it was easily enough accounted for. People had come the first time to hear a new man about a new faith. They found the new man nothing wonderful, and the new faith as expounded by him to be the oldest of all religions and the common ground of all. But the smaller congregation was, I think, worth the more, and gave more reason to hope for some permanent result of my short visit.

On the following morning I passed the Salvation Army barracks, and went in to see their hall. The day before they too had an English visitor, a Commissioner from London. They managed to pack 900 into the space seated for 720, and then had to shut the doors upon a crowd eager to come in. Their band accounts for a good deal, their message for a good deal more: "Sinner, choose which you will have, Heaven or Hell" was printed in

large letters upon the wall. We had no attractions to offer and no excitement, and no music except a piano. Perhaps, under the circumstances, we did well to get as many as 150, a larger congregation, from all I heard, than most of the churches were used to.

I invited any who were disposed to help in making arrangements for a regular meeting for worship after our manner to meet me on the following Wednesday evening; and I found some eighteen persons assembled when I went to the appointed place. This was my last meeting at Perth, and it gave me more encouragement than any I had had. They were men and women in earnest, and if they can get over the curious dislike which so many Unitarians have to worship conducted by other than the regular minister, I have no doubt they will begin a congregation with good promise of success.

West Australia has advanced in the last ten years from being the most backward to being the most thriving and progressive of the States. This is, of course, due to the discovery of gold in the interior, but along with the gold has come the awakening to the many other possibilities of wealth which the development of so vast a territory offers. The supreme difficulty is the scarcity and dearness of labour. The immigration of Chinese and other coloured people is strictly forbidden here as throughout Australasia, and so wages are maintained at a high level. Consequently, everything is dear. The working man must pay from fifteen shillings to a pound a week for a small house; provisions of all kinds, even apples, are not to be had below English prices; clothing and all other imported and, therefore, duty-paying goods cost considerably more.

The climate, though perhaps somewhat relaxing in summer, seemed to me delightful, and certainly it must be so in the hills. Life is simpler than in England, and it is rare for well-to-do people to keep more than one servant, whose wage will be at least £1 a week. The community consists largely of young people; I found myself quite a patriarch among them. They are not given to church-going, and if we had a church there we should have to be satisfied with small congregations, and rely a good deal on outside sympathy, which, from all I heard, would not be wanting.

I left Perth on May 18, Mr. Campbell and Mrs. Macdonald, those faithful supporters of the cause who first gave us a welcome, accompanying us to Fremantle, and bidding us farewell only when the boat left.

On Whit Sunday we anchored in the afternoon off Largs Bay, the roadstead of Adelaide. The tug put off from the shore to meet us, and I was cheered by the welcome of a dozen or more members of the congregation who had come down some ten miles by rail to meet the Representative of the British and Foreign Association. It was about four o'clock, and we were conducted to the house of our kind hostess, Mrs. Kay, who as a girl was a member of Mr. Turner's congregation at Newcastle. After tea we went to the church, where I conducted the service and preached. It was very much such a congregation as I should have expected to meet at Mill Hill, and there was nothing to remind me that I was so far away, except, perhaps, that they were evidently unaware that it was Whit Sunday, which people who keep Whit Monday as a Bank Holiday could not be oblivious of, however devoid they might be of any ecclesiastical proclivities. And my first impressions have been confirmed by all I have seen and heard since. They are eminently respectable, thriving people of all classes, merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers; some of them holding a high position in the community. Were it possible to transport a few of the elders to Perth we should very soon be assured of a settled church there.

I lectured on Wednesday evening in the schoolroom, and was flattered by an audience of over eighty in number; a good attendance we should consider it at home when the lecture had been advertised as free, but here it is not the custom to give lectures free any more than entertainments, and a charge of a shilling was made for admission.

On Saturday afternoon the Rev. J. C. Woods and Mrs. Woods gave a garden party in their grounds at Burnside, to which all persons connected with the congregation were invited, and over 160 were present. The Australian May answers in the calendar to our November, but in character it much more resembles a fine September. There are very few deciduous trees, all of them importations from colder climates, and they drop their leaves late, and, as it were, unwillingly. Crysanthemums, roses, salvia, bougainvillea, and other flowering plants made a gay show; and a gay party of young folks walked among them holding forth promise of a good Unitarian congregation when the present supporters of the cause shall have passed away. A sight doubtless never seen before here, or, perhaps, in the Southern Hemisphere, was the group of four Unitarian ministers. Mr. Whitham, who is now the Assistant Inspector-General of Education, came out as a minister in 1874, and still frequently acts in that capacity. Mr. Reid, who was once a Presbyterian, and then, like myself, a University Extension Lecturer, has been minister of the congregation at Adelaide since 1902, and the only fault I can find with him, or can hear brought to his charge, is that he has just kept his golden wedding, and must needs plead guilty to old age, although, indeed, his activity and the amount of work he does for religion and education would seem to indicate a man in the prime of life. Then there was our host, the Rev. J. C. Woods, whose infirmities of body do indeed accuse him of his fourscore years; but in mind and temperament he continues young, and enjoys the meed of old age in the reverence which all pay to him and the affectionate regard which was shown to him by younger members of his connection. He came out here as minister of the church in 1855,

when the congregation was founded, and resigned in 1889, but continued taking occasional services as long as his health permitted. By some accident his name has dropped out of our Essex Hall list of ministers, a mistake which, I hope, will be corrected in the next issue. It was indeed a happy gathering of all ages from three to eighty-three, and I trust that I shall be able to bring home a record of it, as a photographer, coming past the house by chance or sent providentially, took the large group as best he could.

On the Sunday I preached morning and evening. The evening congregation was really the better of the two, though only half that of the morning, for the conditions were such as to deter all but the most zealous. The rain came down in torrents, and the ways were dark, and the distances long, and the gutters over-flowing. For myself, I went into the pulpit with shoes full of water, but I quickly had them off without attracting attention, and preached very comfortably in my stockings. I was sorry for those who could not take the same liberty, and worship for once after the fashion of Mahometans.

So far I have met with nothing but an excess of kindness. I am mindful that it is not Mr. Hargrove, a stranger who has no claim upon them, to whom they show such flattering attentions and respect. It is in my official capacity as representative of English Unitarians and their Association that I am honoured and fêted. And I entertain the hope that this visit may have a lasting effect in drawing the Church of Adelaide into closer fellowship with our churches at home. We are very far apart by measurement of distances, but we hold the same faith, stand by the same principles, use the same books; and, indeed, I could easily forget, as I stood yesterday at the Communion-table between Mr. Reid and Mr. Whit-ham, that I was in a far-away land, and imagine myself among English friends in body as I truly was in spirit.

C. H.

III.

The Church in the Woods.

MELBOURNE,

June 8th, 1904.

We are on our way to Melbourne, and thanks to the care and generosity of our people at Adelaide, are travelling as comfortably as reasonable man or woman could desire, in a first-class compartment with sleeping berths, and, what is more important, well lighted and warmed. Looking back in the quiet of night on the last fifteen days, I am filled with a sense of gratitude and affection for all the kindnesses I have received, and encouraged to go forward on my mission with braver heart. From the hour of my first welcome on board the ship to the last good-bye at the carriage platform as the train left the station, I have been treated as if I were an old friend, beloved for past services and honoured for present worth. It is but a very small portion of the goodwill shown to me that I could possibly conceive to be due to any merit of my own. Arriving an entire stranger, I have been used as might be a dear guest, first because I came to the Unitarians of South Australia as representative of the Unitarians of the Mother Country, bearing the assurance that, parted as we were by half the world's orb, we were one in maintenance of the same principles and in profession of the same faith, unfettered by definition in words of doubtful and changing meaning. At Perth I should probably have had a larger following if I had had something new to tell, some Gospel or version of the Gospel more or less peculiar to myself. There I could but gather together the very few whom I found holding to the old universal faith, and scatter seed which might in the course of months or years come to grow up and bear fruit. But at Adelaide I found myself among old Unitarians before yet I had set foot on land, and before the day closed I had been introduced to a congregation as much like my own at Mill Hill as could be, though, of course, on a scale as much smaller as Adelaide is smaller than Leeds. Oh, the young people, girls and boys, youths and maidens, how dear they were, how kind and good! And how could they be otherwise when their elders and grand-elders set them such an example? They didn't want any doctrine of me, old or new, were quite content with what they had heard from infancy, only wanted to hear it all again in fresh tones and as a message from home.

And then I was not only a Unitarian but an Englishman, fresh come from the Mother Country, not a "new chum" seeking work, nor a tourist come round the world to see the sights, but expressly to convey a message of sympathy and encouragement. And their hearts were open to us both, and they gave us welcome for the sake of England, as I myself have welcomed to my heart a common dust-covered daisy found by some chance growing alone of its kind by the parched road-side beyond the walls of Rome. It seemed to me a bit of life from my own country, and for my country's sake I loved the humble flower. So did we move about here as bits of English

life, a pledge that distance had not divided our hearts.

That the day will come when, in the natural order of growth, Australia will become an independent commonwealth I cannot doubt. The grown-up child does not hold on to the mother's skirt, and even now the tie which binds us is of the slightest, and with a little strain would part. What we have to hope for and to cultivate is not a material interest which will take the place of present loosening attachment. Such interests are of the frailest to bind nations to one another, and they are disregarded directly nobler considerations intervene. No; let us carefully and tenderly cherish the strong ties of sentiment which bind the grown-up children in loving care and reverence to the parents. These ties are appreciated on this side far more than they are on ours. The remark of a West Australian Minister at the time of the war was quoted to me with approval, and received with applause when quoted again by me at a meeting. "We know nothing of the right and wrong of the matter, all we know is that somebody has 'biffed' mother, and we mean to see it through." It is my dearest hope that my mission may do something to bring English and Australian Unitarians nearer together, and if it effects this little it will do something towards the far greater object "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children," to quicken England's love and interest in the nations to which she has given birth.

I have preached five times at Adelaide and have had congregations improving each time, till last Sunday evening the church was crowded. I don't suppose I have made a single convert, nor have I tried to. Unless I greatly deceive myself and others deceive me, I have done what I hold to be better, and what I suppose I was sent for—I have brought some new life and hope to the brethren there. At any rate so they say, and are profuse in their acknowledgments of my services; and the goodwill with which they received me will doubtless return to their own benefit.

The best of many good days was that on which I went with a small party to Shady Grove, "the church in the woods." (There are no "chapels" here as distinguished from "churches," and no "ministers" as distinct from "clergymen.") A well-appointed carriage drawn by a pair of sturdy horses was provided for us by the committee, and we made our winding way up and up into the heart of the hills, till we reached the small township of Handoff, where a German colony had made themselves a home, and in a strange land, among foreign folk and under foreign rule, have maintained to the third generation the language and religion of the Fatherland. There we were met by another conveyance, for the twenty miles we had come was by an excellent road which does credit to the Colonial Government, but now we were on a track through the woods, and must needs divide our load. A four miles' drive took us to our destination—verily "a church in the woods," for all around and close up to the walls grew the gum trees, and there was no building of any kind in sight. The congregation was waiting for us, some fourteen in all, in age from over seventy to under twelve. Our own party brought the number up to twenty, and we had a brief service, singing two hymns from Martineau's well-used collection, with a prayer and short exhortation following. It was to us all, I think, very impressive. The tiny church and the surrounding solitude and the old familiar words, and the two simple memorials to the founders, "John Monks, who died Nov. 7, 1889, aged 74 years, donor of the church and land," and "Francis Duffield, died Dec. 25, 1888, aged 85. He officiated here gratuitously for 27 years."

This is, I believe, the first place in which Unitarians met for worship in Australia.

In this I was mistaken, as Mr. Richard Heape, of Rochdale, showed in a letter to *The Inquirer* of August 6th. The first Unitarian service was held in the Mechanics' Institute of Melbourne, on the 30th of January, 1853, and was conducted by the Rev. Maxwell Davidson, who became Minister of the new congregation.

The first service was held in it in December, 1854. It sets an example which unfortunately has been rarely followed either here or at home, for they have never had a regular minister, but have maintained regular services for now nearly half a century. Since the death of Mr. Duffield, Mr. Frederick C. Smith, who owns and lives on a farm in the neighbourhood, has acted as minister. There is an average congregation of about 24, some of them coming from a distance of nine miles. "There are no seat rents or collection, or fees of any kind, not any charge for burial allotments in the little cemetery adjoining. What is required is done gratuitously, no money is necessary, and none, therefore, is accepted." The trust deed of the building and the four acres of land which belong to it is held by the Adelaide Church.

I will conclude this letter by quoting the admirable words of Mr. Francis Duffield in a brief communication printed in 1872 in "the seventeenth Annual Report of the Unitarian Christian Church, Adelaide." "We have proceeded," he wrote, "through the year in our usual course, and have thus supplied our families with the means of social worship and spiritual progress, in accordance with the great fundamental principles of the Unitarian faith. I make it a prominent feature to inculcate the necessity of individual thought, and a persistent adherence to the personal convictions—this last I consider as peculiarly demanded from us by the signs of our times, when there is so much actual Unitarianism entertained by persons who professedly belong to the orthodox bodies. Another great object of our labour is the inculcation of a thorough spirit of liberality of thought in regard to the professors of other forms of faith." The writer was not a literary man but a farmer out in the bush; the expression might be improved, but the meaning is clear enough, and I am here now to preach the same

principles maintained so manfully by Mr. Duffield thirty years ago.

C. H.

IV.

MELBOURNE,

June 27th, 1904.

During our three weeks' stay here it has been our good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Henry Gyles Turner, the foremost Unitarian of Victoria, who through forty years has been faithful to our church alike at its best and its worst. He will not see these lines till many weeks have passed from my having bidden him a farewell in all probability final so far as this world is concerned, otherwise I should hesitate to write what I think, or rather know, of him for fear of seeming to flatter. As an individual it can be of little interest to English Unitarians to hear of Mr. Turner. They will take it for granted that there are good and true men here as there are in every country, and that such a one bears this or that name will not concern them. What interests me and will interest others is to mark here what kind of character is the natural product of our faith, when firmly maintained and consistently avowed. Roman, Anglican, Quaker, Jew, Buddhist, Mahomedan, every form of religion produces good men and women, but the type of goodness is different in each, and in my host I recognise a type quite distinct from any I have seen or heard of in other churches, and altogether like what I have had happy experience of among Unitarians at home.

He is not what would be commonly called a pious man; indeed, his genuine piety has to be inferred from his life and conduct, for of outward signs he is most reticent. One might live in his house from Monday to Saturday, and put him down for a man who was indifferent to churches and creeds of all kinds. But it would be impossible to spend a day in his company without discovering in him the unprofessional philanthropist, one who was interested in all that tended to promote the welfare of his fellows; a politician, but not much of a party man; a reader without any pretension to be a scholar; a lecturer and even occasional preacher in case of need, but always keeping to the broad way of common sense opinions and practical subjects; averse to speculation and fancy opinions, yet with complete tolerance even of those who, otherwise agreeing with him, follow after such themes: all his life, up to old age, a man of business, dealing in money, yet never hardened by his calling, scrupulous as to the justice of his dealings with his fellows, yet in no wise content with having done mere justice; doing good not as a duty, and not to win heaven, not even to please God, but because his heart inclines him to it; setting no immoderate esteem upon this world's goods, yet in no wise contemning them. Moderately successful in making his way from small beginnings to a position of comparative wealth; eminently successful in winning the recognition of his fellow-citizens as a man distinguished for probity, charity, intelligence, and business capacity. Of such sort have been the laymen who have extorted from the most narrow-minded of other creeds the tribute to Unitarianism, as a religion which in a unique degree combined culture and good works. As long as such men are left to us we need not fear extinction, for each one of them is a host in himself, and a minister should account it more honourable and profitable to exercise a spiritual influence in any degree over such a man than to preach to a crowd of unthoughtful men and women of small account for the regeneration of the world. Of Mrs. Turner it would not be seemly to say more than that she is in every respect a helpmeet worthy of such a husband.

To-morrow we quit this home, in which plain living and high thinking are realised without any discomfort or privation or ostentation of simplicity; it will be our fault if we are not the better for having enjoyed the society of such a host and hostess.

During our stay the weather has been unfavourable both for pleasure and work. It is midwinter here, and most like a rainy autumn in England, except that we are spared the melancholy reflections suggested by the falling leaves; but it has been wet and chilly. One night that I was advertised to lecture at the church "On the History of English Unitarianism," there was a heavy thunderstorm, and on my arrival I found just nine men and Mrs. Turner assembled. It was suggested that I should forego the lecture, and for the sake of my damp and depressed audience I gladly assented. The public buildings are not warmed, and it is difficult to get people out on cold wet nights, for which indeed I do not at all blame them. One way and another, I have been very fully employed and very pleasantly; how far profitably I cannot say.

For, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of our position with which we are so well acquainted in England, there is here that of distances to a degree I have never met with before. Melbourne is a town or rather a collection of towns, of somewhat over half a million in population, and extends five, six, and even in some directions eight miles from the centre. The tramcars do not run on Sunday morning, and apart from the time and

difficulty of getting into church is the expense involved, which would form a serious item in a moderate income. A man who would desire to come in to worship with his wife and say, two children, only once on a Sunday, could not put the cost down at much less than £12 a year, an almost prohibitive charge on a family of small means. The problem, as it presents itself to me, is how to maintain a little nucleus of regular church goers, who would receive the moral support of a scattered flock of occasional worshippers, avowing their connection with us and prepared to give their assistance and encouragement on special occasions. Such an occasion was the welcome meeting given to me as representative of the Association, and I certainly had no reason to complain either of numbers or heartiness. Dr. Rentoul, the Professor of Theology at the Presbyterian College, who some years ago was the stoutest champion of orthodoxy and led the movement which ejected Dr. Strong from the Church, was prominent among the speakers of the evening. I only regret the scanty notice of his speech which appeared in the papers, for it was of a kind which it would do us all good to read and reflect on. He paid a high compliment to Mr. Lambley, and warned him and us against the delusion of counting heads as a test of success. And, indeed, whoever holds the position of Unitarian minister here has need of much encouragement if he is to keep heart and hold on. Melbourne has many times brought to my mind St. Paul's impression of Athens as a city "exceedingly religious." The four chief denominations—Roman, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist—the last really "United," for the various sections which in England compete for favour are no longer separated here—these all have their churches, schools, and colleges. The Anglicans have a fine cathedral, and the Roman Catholics a still nobler one, which would be a conspicuous ornament of any English town. Then, besides Baptists Congregationalists and Friends, every sect known to me, including even Mormons, have their places of meeting. The Salvation Army have obtained a splendid building at the cost of the over-vaulting ambition of the Young Men's Christian Association. It would be a disgrace to us, and a loss to the city, if we gave up our efforts to hold our ground, and proclaim a free and wholly reasonable faith. It is true that Dr. Strong, while abjuring the Unitarian name, which has for him no associations such as it must needs have for those who have grown up with it, or like myself have had the opportunities of their best work in churches which are known by it, preaches the same doctrine; but while in entire sympathy with his work and doctrine one cannot but feel that it has the weakness of being all his own, and if he failed or left Australia, "the Australian Church" would, I fear, cease to exist. Mr. Lambley is much more than an able and devoted minister, a gentleman and a scholar; he is the representative of a body which, if numerically insignificant, is recognised far and wide for its maintenance of great principles. He has grudged no labour in preparing the way for me not only here, but in Sydney and Brisbane, and if I were not grown brazen-faced by the necessities of my position, I should have blushed to read on the walls, "The Rev. Charles Hargrove is coming. Look out for Press Notices," but I reflected that it was just because I was unknown to fame that such advertisements and Press Notices were required. Had I come with the modesty which would befit me as a mere private individual, Melbourne would not have known that I had been here, and the object of my visit would not have been fulfilled. As it is, I have not done much, but I think many will have had Unitarianism brought under their notice who had never heard of it before, and some may be led to inquire, and perhaps join themselves to us instead of "going nowhere," as is the case with so many. Whatever little I may have done, or how much I have failed to do, certain is it that the minister, with the the assistance of a few zealous and faithful friends, have done everything on their part that was possible to make my visit a success. I am told that 8,000 pamphlets supplied by the Association have been delivered by post or by hand, and 5,000 circulars sent out. I am grateful to those who have done so much to help me on my mission, and if the result has not been brilliant it has certainly not been *nil*. The mere assurance which my visit has brought of the sympathy and interest of English Unitarians with their Australian brethren would by itself have justified the cost and trouble which it has necessarily involved. To-morrow I leave for Launceston, thence on the following Monday for Hobart.

C. H.

V.

HOBART,

11th July, 1904.

I wrote in a previous letter of the enthusiastic and almost affectionate greeting which I received from the congregation at Adelaide. There was only one thing wanting, which long experience had taught me not to expect, it was the presence of representatives of the city and of other religious bodies domiciled in it. At Melbourne it was a gratifying surprise to me to find three of the most eminent ministers uniting with Mr. Lambley and his congregation to give me a welcome—Dr. Rentoul, of whom I have already written; Dr. Bevan,

the leading Congregationalist divine; and Dr. Strong, whose name is well known to most of your readers. The latter I was especially interested to meet, for his fate has been curiously bound up with mine. Some thirty years ago, after Mr. Carpenter's resignation, the offer was made to him of the Mill Hill pulpit: had he accepted instead of quitting Scotland for Australia it had been a very different life for both of us. Dr. Strong will not accept the Unitarian name, for reasons which are familiar to your readers and of weight in the minds of many English ministers, but I believe I am not wrong in saying that he is in entire sympathy with what is sometimes called "the advanced school" among us both in religion and in politics. He has, however, held aloof from public association with us up to the time of the present minister; and his presence on this occasion, and still more so that of Dr. Rentoul and Dr. Bevan, was really a mark of the high esteem in which Mr. Lambley is held by thoughtful and large-minded religious men of all the churches.

It is a twenty hours' passage from Melbourne to Launceston, about twelve hours in the Straits, where rough seas are as common as between Liverpool and the Isle of Man—this latter, by the way, the only voyage on which I have been completely miserable with sea-sickness, some forty-five years ago—but we had an exceptionally smooth time. We were met on our landing by Mr. and Mrs. Rolph, to whose assiduous exertions all the success of my mission in their city must be attributed. The same afternoon we had a public reception, the Mayor presiding, and four leading clergymen—there is no Established Church in Australasia, and so no invidious distinction is made, as with us, between clergy and ministers—taking part. Indeed, the most gratifying feature of my short stay at Launceston was the cordial welcome given to me by men and women of all religious sorts and all conditions. The names have been given to me of nine, two of them Anglican, two Presbyterian, two Congregational, all engaged in the ministry who one or another gave public evidence of their approval—not of the opinions I expressed, of course none of them could have done that, or would have come forward if their action could have been so interpreted—of my mission as expressed in my letter from England and in all my speeches. I had come, I said, not to make division and win converts, but to preach tolerance and respect for those who differed from us the most widely, and gather the scattered individuals who were unable to accept the popular faith into a worshipping congregation. Possibly if I had come to stay my reception would have been less cordial, but I don't think it. It seemed to me as if Launceston were a place where the ideal might be realised of a Unitarian Church taking its rightful place as one of many churches, equally with others recognised and respected as representing a form of religion different, but not hostile or reprehensible.

I conducted service on Sunday, both morning and evening. They were not able to make arrangements for music or singing, so that there was only reading, prayer, and sermon. I feared it would be cold and dull, but did not find it so myself, and the quiet attention paid throughout was sufficient assurance of the interest felt by others. The little room, capable of seating about 130, was full in the evening, and there were, perhaps, sixty in the morning. It was the last of my five short winter days at Launceston, and I left the next morning, regretting that I could not stay on a month. The city is beautifully situated on the Tamar; it is lit by electricity, which is provided at small cost by a neighbouring torrent, whose picturesque course would be in itself sufficient attraction to make the fortune of an English watering place. The population, including the suburban districts, is under 25,000, but there are evidences of enterprise and obvious advantages of situation which seem to promise great things. It is the natural port of this island, which abounds in minerals of all kinds, and is celebrated as the breeding place of the finest merinos of the world. The celebrated ram President sold for 1,200 guineas, and I am told that £600 is not an un-common price. There is, too, a yearly increasing cultivation of a grateful soil, and many millions of apples are sent to England and jams to India and China, as well as an immense quantity of potatoes to Victoria. It is true that the island is mountainous and the greater part can never be brought under the plough or even used as pasture land, but the mountains ensure that which Australia so sorely lacks, an abundant and constant supply of water, so that drought is here unknown. Moreover, as a holiday and tourist resort it has all kinds of attractions which have only just begun to be opened up. I have, of course, no pecuniary interest of any kind in Tasmania—her mines, pastures, orchards, forests, loans. Were it otherwise, I might be tempted to exaggerate the value and variety of her resources. But as an impartial observer I am impressed by the contrast it offers to the vast continent of which she is politically a part, a continent of which so large a portion is hopelessly desert, and of which even the more fertile border lands will always suffer from the irregularity and insufficiency of rain and the incon-stantcy of what they do not even presume to call "rivers," for with one or two exceptions they always speak of their water courses as "creeks."

We left Launceston by rail on Monday, in company with Mr. Lovell, Inspector of Education, who had come all the way from Hobart to meet us. It is 130 miles by rail to Hobart, a long ascent to a height of 1,300 feet at the centre of the island, eastward of the great table-land, which rises 3,000 feet above the plain. Thence the descent is rapid to Hobart, where we were met by our kind host, Mr. Justice Clark, who took us to his house and introduced us to his large family. Here we have been entertained with the utmost kindness and consideration, and I have the advantage of the judge's library, which makes me continually forget how far away I am from the world of printers and publishers.

This city is beautifully situated under the shadow of Mount Wellington, which rears its now snow-sprinkled brow over 4,000 ft. above, supporting its summit on basaltic columns visible from afar, and popularly known as "the Organ Pipes." The river Derwent broadens to a lake below, and forms an inland harbour which would accommodate all the fleets of the Southern seas. It has a population of less than 40,000, but the worth and dignity of a city cannot be fixed by a merely numerical test. Hobart and Launceston are to me more suggestive of Edinburgh and Glasgow in embryo than of any British provincial towns of the same insignificant population. Here we have a Governor and a Legislative Assembly, and House of Representatives, and High Court of Justice, and Treasury and University, Roman Archbishop and Anglican Bishop, and all which makes the dignity of a capital city. Yet it is a very quiet place. "Sleepy Hollow" they call it at busy little Launceston. The mountain seems to impress it with a sense of unimportance, as if for ever preaching, "Be quiet, little men; don't worry; live while you may and be thankful. At longest yours is but a little while. I was here long before you came, and shall be here when you have passed away."

The Premier of the Colony kindly took the chair at an "At Home" held to meet us, and he was supported by the Chief Secretary and the Treasurer. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen. I was told that the clergy of all denominations would have been represented, had it been on any other than Saturday night. I hope this is so, but none of them have as yet shown themselves at any lecture I have given, and I do not expect to see them. Perhaps the chief reason of the difference in this respect between here and Launceston is that at Launceston we have never had a congregation, and there was no sense of opposition. Here, thanks to the exertions of Mr. Taylor, the Public Librarian, aided by Mr. Lovell, services have been conducted regularly for seven years past. The clergy know what Unitarianism is, and, naturally, do not like it. On Sunday I gave a lecture, in the afternoon, on "What Unitarians Believe," to a good audience, who listened with marked attention for over an hour. In the evening I conducted service, and preached. The room was full, and I am told that there were 200 present. Tomorrow I give my fifth lecture, and so conclude my work here.

We shall leave Tasmania, with great regret that our visit has been so short, on the 13th, and reach Sydney, I hope, in two days, to begin immediately a new course of meetings, lectures, and services. It is a busy life, but the work is pleasant, and I have up to the present encountered no opposition worth speaking of. Friends are only too kind, they treat me with a deference and anxiety to please which I put down to the account of the Association, for I cannot hold myself in any wise entitled to so much favour.

C. H.

VI.

BRISBANE,

23rd July, 1904.

It was with real regret that on the morning of July 13th we said good-bye to the friends whose acquaintance we had made at Hobart only a week before, for in those few days we had seen much of them, and felt really attached to them. And now we knew for an all but absolute certainty that we should see them again no more, nor Hobart, their charming home. We watched them long waving to us from the quay, till we could distinguish them no more from one another, and they disappeared from view. Then we fixed our eyes on the great bulk of Mount Wellington, which marked the site of their city, till we turned a corner of the bay, and it was gone too, and I thought I had seen the last of it forever. But hours after, far away on the horizon, it showed its snowy head through a gap in the cliffs. I gave it another greeting and bid it a second farewell. But a third time it appeared yet further off, and once again, and it was only in the dusk of evening that it laded from sight. I have seen many mountains, but I think none, except, perhaps, Helvellyn, which has exercised the same fascination over me. And it has the advantage of Helvellyn, not merely in height but in having a city at its feet, and as it were under its tutelage. It is doubtful whether the aborigines of Tasmania had any religion, but if they had conceived of gods at all, they would surely have made this their Olympus, and turned to it to pray for fair weather or a good catch of fish.

The cliff's along the south-eastern coast of the island are magnificent. Columns of basalt, or some allied rock, they seem to have been raised as fortifications against the sea, which is ever beating at their base till one by one they totter and strew the beach with their 400 feet of length. A few harder or more compact stand out together far into the waves, which have torn down all that once stood beside them, leaving only the square pedestal to mark the place where they stood. Still these stand survivors of the serried ranks of old; but they are more exposed than before to the fury of the storm, are broken off in the middle, undermined, sometimes a single one completely isolated. A Giants' Causeway of mile upon mile, interrupted at times by the intrusion of

what seemed to me a sandstone which I suppose it had originally displaced, and then again reappearing. It was a calm, bright day, and we were able to go very near, and see an instance of how creation is the continuous act of God, the world ever being made.

The wind was against us, and the glass falling, and the captain foretold a storm, but the singular good fortune which has hitherto attended me at sea, wherever I was going and on whatever errand bound, still favoured me, and the captain was perplexed to account for his mistaken forecast. The only mishap which befell us was a delay of a few hours, so that instead of arriving at Sydney in the afternoon, we did not get to the wharf till just at the time the meeting to welcome us commenced. And then through some blunder or accident we were kept two hours within a stone's throw of the Quay, yet unable to get alongside. At last—it was 9-30, and the meeting was called for 7-30—we landed, and were met by Mr. and Mrs. Smith, the son and daughter-in-law of my old friend, once minister of Dewsbury, whom I married in his own chapel twenty-six years ago, just before his departure from England to take charge of the church at Sydney. He remained only eighteen months in the ministry of religion, so-called, and then entered another ministry not less honourable and arduous—the ministry of education—and has, I am informed, been a very successful master of a public school some miles up country.

Well, I got to the meeting just about the time it should have come to an end, but they set to afresh; a resolution bidding us a hearty welcome was proposed, seconded, supported and carried with enthusiasm, and after I had acknowledged it and the meeting broke up, I was still detained to shake hands with new friends and receive congratulations on our safe arrival.

On Sunday I preached twice, in the evening to the best congregation I have had since my arrival in Australia. There was hardly any advertisement of my coming beyond the notice at the church doors, but every pew was crowded and seats were placed in the aisles. I suppose about 450 were present. The church is finely situated in a leading thoroughfare and opposite one of the public parks. The greatest credit is due to the Rev. George Walters for the success he has achieved under most trying and difficult circumstances. Had he not come forward after the Worthington scandal and volunteered his services there is little doubt but that the church would have been closed. It is still hard work to maintain it, as some of those who were formerly its leading supporters have been, I fear, permanently alienated; but I am sure means will be found to meet the small debt with which they are encumbered. All promises well, if only Mr. Walters can stand the strain of preaching every Sunday without ever a holiday. This is one great difficulty of our work in Australia. An exchange cannot be arranged under a less cost than £6 on either side and a long journey, so it is only once in three or four years that it is possible.

I lectured in the church on Monday and Wednesday to fair audiences, better than I should have expected to get on a week-night anywhere at home. On Sunday I met the Church Committee to talk over the difficulties, financial and otherwise, of their position. Good men and true they seemed to me, and united in support of their Church and minister.

On Thursday evening we started for Brisbane by rail. It is a comfortable journey of over twenty-eight hours. The greater part of it high up among the hills, up to 4,500 feet at Ben Lomond. All the way through "the bush," with now and again "a township," here and there "a station;" the eucalyptus down in the deep valleys, up over the highest bills, its evergreen just reddened with early blossom. I have seen but just a few spots on or near the coast of this great continent, nearly as large as Europe, twenty-six times the area of the British Isles, and my impressions are not to be relied on. But from all I have observed and heard and read, it appears to me that the whole land was formerly one great forest of eucalyptus, save for the vast wastes where nothing will grow. Man has made clearings of a few acres or of many thousands of acres, but in a territory of three million square miles these do not count for much when taking a general view; and whether they be large or small, the sites of great cities or small farms, the primeval bush surrounds them and intrudes on every side. Here from my windows in Brisbane I look over the railway station and the city lying behind it, and quite near the "gum trees," as they are called, make a dark olive-green border which extends on and up to the hills on the horizon.

There has been a meeting this Saturday night to welcome us, attended by about eighty persons. It is unfortunate that, as at Perth, my visit coincides with a general election for the State Parliament, and all the politicians were too busy to attend. Otherwise I should have had the support of more than one Minister of the Crown, perhaps of the Prime Minister too. But there are several old Unitarians from the Mother Country living here, among whom I am bound to mention Mr. Burkitt, the chairman of my committee; Mr. Tom Loftus, formerly of Hull, the secretary; and Mrs. Miller, of Pendleton, who have done all that lay in their power to make my visit a success.

C. H.

VII.

It is not three weeks since I wrote to you last, on my way to Brisbane, but fresh experiences make the time seem long, though it passes very pleasantly. It seems years ago since we landed at Fremantle, months since I was in Queensland. Week by week I have been making new friends, and, alas! bidding them good-bye, to see them again no more. New faces, new scenes have thronged upon me, and if I can but retain in mind a little of all I have heard and learnt and seen, I shall be a richer man for the rest of my years on earth. I am only sorry that such good fortune has not fallen to the lot of some man who has more years before him in which to profit of it all. I am a poor man of business, but the little money I have spent in travelling has been a grand investment, and yields me a yearly interest secure as long as memory lasts me. And now, as I get near the end, comes to me, little as I have deserved it, this grandest opportunity of seeing and learning which thousands long for the like of and will never have. "What an interesting world it is!" as Dr. Hort said to me the last time I saw him, a few months before he died. The rocks on which it is built up, the seas and skies which close it round, the living things from lichen to mammal which dwell on it, and, above all, its men and women and little children—good, bad, and indifferent, fools and wise, those I like and those I dislike—they are all interesting, their works and ways, what they have done and what they are minded to do, what they have written and what they like to read. Is it credible that so wonderful and varied a scene, almost infinite in extent, is shown to us for just so long that we may appreciate its worth and then is blotted out for ever? No; the more I see of the world and of life the less possible do I find it to believe that death is the doom of it all—death and extinction for the individual, the desolation of everlasting cold and darkness for the earth which has been his home.

It was unfortunate that in three States out of the six, I arrived just after a dissolution of Parliament, when all the leading men were engaged on the business of the elections, and all interested in State politics too busy to give much heed to a mere preacher of the Gospel of peace and goodwill. So at Brisbane, as at Perth and Sydney, I missed the patronage of Ministers of the Crown who sympathised with us, and had to be content with the expression of their regret. Other coincidences besides, were unfavourable to the success of my mission in Queensland, and neither my lectures nor services were well attended. But to the few Unitarians, men like Mr. Burkitt, the Chairman of the Committee of Reception, who during fifty-two years that he has been in the Colony has stood to the faith in which he was brought up at home without ever having the opportunity of attending worship after his own heart, and brought up his family in the same principles of free and reverent inquiry in which he was himself nurtured—to such as these my visit was, I believe, one of real value. I could do no more than just to leave behind me what will, I hope, be a permanent committee, who will now and then hold a service among themselves, and be always ready to welcome any Unitarian who may go there on a visit or seek a permanent settlement among them.

Here the kindness of our good friends obtained for me what I have been desiring ever since I came to Australia—a glimpse of real life in the bush. Accompanied by Mr. Charles Loftus, whose name is well known in our congregations in Hull and Leeds, I took the early morning train northward. The journey of sixty miles took three hours, but it was by no means wearisome. The way was cut through the forest, and the monotony of the ever green, or never green eucalyptus was relieved at every one of the many gullies we passed over by the most graceful palms I have yet seen. A slender trunk, perhaps three inches in diameter, rises to a height of twenty or thirty feet, and then breaks over into a spray of beautiful leaves. A single one would be the pride of an English hothouse, and here they crowd wherever there is a little water to feed them. At Nambour, one of the many little stations on the line, we got out, and took the road up into the hills. We were hospitably received at the "humpy" of a friend. A humpy is the beginning of a house, a beginning which, as in this case, may be left for years unchanged. It consists of one small room, with open gable roof, of corrugated iron or shingles. There is a door at either side, and one end is boarded off to make a compartment for a bed. There was no room to sit till the cases of oranges which were being packed for market had been cleared away, and then we were entertained to a cup of tea and the best lunch the house could afford. While I dozed, my companion went in search of horses, and returned with Mr. Robert Blair, who rode barebacked and lent us his saddles and animals. So we started, my first ride since a long day I had thirty-two years ago in West Indian forests. There was no road, only a track which, without a guide, we should have lost again and again. Now we had to dismount to lead our horses down into a narrow gully and make them clamber up on the other side. Then, again, because a great tree had fallen across the path and lay too high to step over, and too low to bend under Then we made slow way up a steep rocky hill. Alone I would not have attempted it, but I trusted my horse and his owner and followed where he led. Presently we came out on The Saddle Back, a narrow pass sloping on each side down into the deep valleys beneath, and so to the summit, where lived an old couple from Manchester. Rugged like the bush in which he had spent half his life was the old man, and he gave us no welcome till he had assured himself who we were and what we had come for. Then he gave a hand to each of us, and invited us into his cottage for a cup of tea. The view was magnificent in its suggestiveness—impenetrable forests stretching to the sea on the one side, and to the broken horizon on the other. Here and there tiny green patches of sugar-cane or lucerne, or an orange grove, or clearances with a little cluster of houses. What will it be in a hundred years' time? What might

it not be even now, if only there were the men to take possession of it, and subdue the land to their service. I do not wish, nor do I feel competent, to form a decided opinion on vexed questions of local politics, but I could not help asking myself as I surveyed the wide scene, the like of which is common all over Australia—where were the harm or the risk of inviting a million Chinese over from their crowded country to come as free settlers and till the ground as only they can, making a green kitchen garden where had been only bush or scrub? But the Chinaman is like, a leper to the Australian working man, and he is barely tolerated where he has got a domicile and not tolerated at all as an immigrant.

Then, as the sun was setting, we went down the hill an easier way. Indeed, I doubt if I had the courage or foolhardiness to return in the dusk by the way we had come. Presently we struck off the road into the bush or open forest. It grew darker, till I could only guide my horse by the light of my friend's white jacket. It was nearly 8 o'clock when we reached Mr. Blair's house. A humpy with additions, a verandah in front, one end of it boarded off for a brother and his wife who had lately joined them from Philadelphia, a lean-to behind for kitchen and another bedroom. Our hostess had prepared for us their own room, and somehow the household of seven adults, including ourselves, and four children were variously disposed of within about the limits of an ordinary drawing-room. But there was plenty of air, each room was open to the roof, and probably the inmates slept more healthily and as decently as in most of our houses at home. We should call them "poor" in England, but the distinctions which follow on the amount of a man's income don't hold their value to the same extent here. Our host and hostess received us as friends, and gave us of all they had without a suggestion that it was anything but right and natural that we should come to them.

Breakfast came before seven, and then we went with Mr. Blair to see his strawberry beds just ripening for the Sydney market. The strawberries seemed to me as good as any I have had in England, and he helped me to them liberally. Then through the bush and cane-fields and past the huts of the Kanakas to the sugar mill getting ready to begin work on the Monday, and so to the train and back, passing on the way the strange "Glass Mountains" which look like a huge ebullition of molten glass-like substance shot up to a height of 1,200 feet, and there cooled and become solid. Such is the common explanation, but I believe it is incorrect.

We returned to Sydney for a week after two Sundays at Brisbane. I wish my stay could have been longer, both for the sake of Mr. Walters, who never gets a holiday nor even an exchange, and also because I think I was of some service to the church, which has had a bad time these last few years. But the worst is over now, and it would be merely mischievous to go back upon past scandals. I think I know all that is to be known, for I have talked the subject over with all the principal, members of the congregation, and I am convinced that Mr. Walters is not to blame (or the past, and that it is through his later action that the church has been saved. When he left to start "The Australian Church," he only did what any self-respecting minister would do; and when, in changed circumstances, he undertook the charge again, he gave himself, and continues to give himself, whole-heartedly to the work. I had heard of the church being merely a lecture-hall; I believe there were connected with it at one time those who would have made it so, could they have had their way, but that is an old story. From all I could see and hear, judging from the hymn-book of Mr. Walters' own compiling, and the order of service, I should say that it is quite as much "a place of worship" as is my own or any other of our chapels. If it be a charge against the minister that he has a popular style, and can fill his church of an evening, it is certainly not to his discredit that he is so far successful.

The great difficulty which remains over from the past is a debt (not a large one) and there are no rich members of the congregation. I trust the means will be found to get this settled, and in that case Sydney will have a fair claim to the first place among the Unitarian churches of the Southern Hemisphere.

This letter will go on by the *Sierra* to San Francisco. We leave at Auckland, and shall stay for six weeks in New Zealand.

C. H.

VIII.

S.S. TAKAPUNA,

August 25, 1904.

We are on the way from Auckland to Wellington and I take the rare opportunity of a quiet hour to write to let friends in England know what their missionary is doing. Not that my days on land are all taken up with hard work; but besides preaching and lecturing—and I am always ready and eager to speak as often as I can get people desirous to hear me—I have so many pleasant duties in the way of social intercourse and visits to the homes of those who do me honour as the envoy of the Association, and seeing the grand and curious sights of

the neighbourhood which neither we nor they should be contented to leave unnoticed, that I rarely find time to give my whole attention to business unconnected with local demands upon me.

To-morrow it will be a fortnight since I landed at Auckland, and all this time Mr. Jellie, our young and energetic minister there, has been unremitting in his attention to me, never wearying me, nor exacting from me more than I could fairly do, but determined to make the most of this rare opportunity, so highly appreciated and so diligently prepared for, of a visit from an official representative of fellow-believers in the Old Country. And the reception I have had has been worthy of a Church which is the youngest, and might put in a claim to be the most promising of all Unitarian communities in this Southern Hemisphere. Not that it concerns itself at all with any such question of priority: it is far too busy with its own concerns to trouble itself about its merits in comparison with others. And for my own part, having now visited each of our churches, and been everywhere received with like kindness and respect, I am not prepared to say of any that is better or worse than another. Each has its own difficulties and its own advantages, and each, I have been fully convinced is trying to make the best of the situation.

But Auckland Unitarians have up to now been marvellously successful, as success is accounted in a body which has never been zealous in the making of converts. It was in March, 1898, that the first meeting for worship was summoned by advertisement, and a brief service conducted by laymen in a small public hall. In October of the same year Mr. Walters came over from Sydney, and did all in his power, by sermons and lectures and visits, to put new life into the infant movement. The next year Mr. Lambley was sent by the B. and F. U. Association and his own congregation at Melbourne, to comfort and sustain the brethren, and report on the prospects of a regularly organised church being founded. He followed up Mr. Walters' first endeavours, and rendered service which is gratefully remembered. It was on his report that Mr. Jellie was sent out in the beginning of 1900, and he held his first service on March 4. The committee could not have chosen a more suitable man; the only objection to him was that urged by our revered leader—Dr. Brooke Herford—that we had need of such men at home; but if we are not willing to give of our best we had better not give at all. Moreover, the special qualities of which he is possessed—youthfulness, energy, geniality, enthusiasm, the "hail fellow well met" address and manner—are of even more importance here than in the Old Country, and he has won the affectionate esteem of all his people. In less than eighteen months from his arrival the foundation-stone of a church was laid. When I say that in less than four months, on December 4, 1901, the church was opened, it will be understood that only the foundation was stone. But almost all the churches here are built of wood, the Anglican Cathedral among the number. The best and most enduring woods are plentiful, while good stone in this volcanic district has to be brought from far. Mr. Walters was invited to the opening ceremony, and preached on the Sunday following. It is still a matter of regret to not a few that Mr. Lambley, who had done so much to help to this consummation of hopes, which, so short a while back it seemed too sanguine to cherish, was not also present, as he certainly should have been but for the very heavy expenses involved. Here a visit from the nearest neighbouring minister means nearly a week's journey, and involves a cost of twenty-five to thirty pounds, no trifling sum out of the pockets of people who had been doing their utmost to get their church opened free of debt. There is much yet wanting to complete the work, especially a Hall for the Sunday school and general purposes. I have no doubt the means will be found in course of time; meanwhile the generosity of Mr. Macky, whose acquaintanceship many will I hope have made in England this summer, has supplied the most pressing need of a church—next to a good minister—by the presentation of an organ, which is said to be the finest in Auckland. My judgment in such matters is of small worth, and I have not sufficient knowledge to describe it properly, but when played by a first-class musician, as I heard it on one occasion, when an evening was devoted to an organ recital, it was a treat to listen to it, and the church was full of an appreciative audience, to whom I had the honour of addressing a few words on music as an interpretation of the religious sentiment.

During my twelve days' stay in the city I preached seven times, and gave three lectures, which were all well attended. The weather was stormy and unsettled, or the numbers would have been larger, but on not one occasion had I reason to regret that there were few who came, or to complain that there was any sign of indifference. Indeed, I was cheered and helped on my way by the evident sympathy and appreciation which I met with. No faintest sign of hostility was manifest, such as elsewhere I occasionally observed. The two newspapers gave me as good a report as any others got, and gave more notice of my movements than I could expect or desired. Whether I ought to regard the remark, in an otherwise favourable notice of my lectures on Rome, that "the lecturer showed a certain knowledge of his subject" as laudatory or satirical, I cannot make up my mind. It was strictly true, however intended. I may mention as a proof of the eagerness with which my visit was looked forward to that some prudent members of the committee, having expressed a fear that it might involve them in expense beyond their means, a sum of £20 was at once sent by an anonymous donor, and over £40 was raised by the collections at my lectures and services, and this be it said from among an audience not one of whom was rich in this world's goods. It was very kindly arranged before our coming that Mr. Jellie should accompany us to Rotorua, "the Wonderland of Australasia," of which all your readers must needs have

heard. Under his guidance (and if we could spare him, or his voice failed, I could cordially recommend him to Messrs. Cook & Son, as a most able conductor) we saw the principal sights of this as yet unformed district (a bit of *primaeval* world it seemed like), though the time at our disposal was very brief; a whole day was spent in going and returning, and so only one day, and that of broken weather, was left to do as much as we could of what would have occupied a week if we had had it to spare. But if our excursion had been an entire failure, I should still have appreciated it highly, as a proof of the solicitude of the congregation to do all in their power, and at their own expense, to make our visit enjoyable. Dear, good people, I grieved to part with them so soon, and look forward with pleasure to meeting them again once more before I bid a final farewell to them and to this pleasant country of rain and sunshine.

From Wellington, where two Sundays are arranged for, we go on to Christchurch and Dunedin, but of what is to be done or can be done there I know nothing as yet.

C. H.

IX.

DUNEDIN, N. Z.,

September, 1904.

My last letter was written on the way to Wellington, where we arrived after dark, and were met at the station by Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand, and Mr. Stephens, the able and energetic secretary of the committee for my reception. There has never been a Unitarian congregation here, though Judge Richmond conducted services in his drawing room, for members of his family and connections, for the space of 20 years, and there are many others who have adhered to the faith which they learnt in the Old Country, and have brought up their children in the knowledge of their parents' religion. Indeed, I have been surprised and gratified to meet or hear of Unitarians in far out-of-the-way places, who get *The Inquirer* or *Christian Life* sent to them regularly by friends at home; and though for twenty, or twice twenty years, they have never had an opportunity of attending public worship conducted after their own mind, they still keep the name and belief, and know all about our controversies and affairs in England. I find that according to the census of 1896, before the Church at Auckland was founded, there were 375 persons who returned themselves as "Unitarians." The number had increased in 1901 to 468, of whom 283 were males and 185 females. This disproportion of the sexes indicates no doubt that women, feeling their need of religious communion more than men, and failing to find it among those of their own way of thinking, had joined other churches. There is no such disproportion among the more popular denominations. The Baptists number considerably more women than men among their adherents, as do the Brethren and the Salvation Army. The Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic have more men, but this is accounted for by the excess of men over women in the total population, their being only 90 women to 100 men.

Many interesting problems arise from the examination of these statistics, but what I would specially draw attention to is the wide field open for a Unitarian Mission, without any sectarian attempt to draw away the adherents of other churches. There were over 8,000 persons who returned themselves as Free Thinkers, Agnostics, Theists, or "No Denomination," and 1,000 as "No Religion." To such as these, and probably to most of the 18,000 who refused to state their belief, Unitarianism might make an appeal as an entirely free and rational faith. We have here the opportunity which circumstances did not allow us in England, of establishing ourselves on a basis neither offensive nor defensive in respect of other religious bodies, but simply offering a form of religion which would commend itself to many who cannot commit themselves to the orthodox creeds.

At Wellington I conducted service, and preached on two Sundays, and I hope to get in another on my way northward again. The audience was not large, but it was eminently "respectable," in the good old-fashioned and correct sense of the word—not a quarter of the number whom I addressed at some other places, but worth much more, as cultivated thoughtful, old and esteemed residents.

I arrived at Christchurch, founded to be a stronghold of Episcopalianism, in pouring rain, and it rained all day and at night, too, during my short visit. Mr. Toogood, a student of the University, and Mr. Williams, of the Customs, were the whole committee to arrange for my reception and lectures, and the result showed how much can be done by even two, when they are really interested and anxious for the success of the cause for which they have volunteered their services. The rain was falling fast when I started—an unknown man—to give my first lecture, "The Message of Unitarianism." The advertisements had been scanty, for economy had to be borne in mind, and I was quite prepared to find a dozen gathered to listen to me. Indeed, I should have been well satisfied, for is it not an honour for any man if a dozen of his fellows are ready to put themselves to some

personal inconvenience and expense to hear what he has to say to them? But I found five times that number present; and on the following night, when the weather was yet more contrary, about the same number came in the wet, dark night, to hear me speak of "Unitarianism: its Spirit and its Doctrines." I was obliged to leave the next morning, but may contrive to stop there next week under more favourable conditions.

Dunedin.—I am sitting on a volcanic hill overlooking the city. Below me is a level isthmus, not half a mile wide, which separates the Pacific Ocean from the Otago Harbour, a sound or fiord some twelve miles in depth. On the one side the breakers roll their foam up the sandy beach, on the other the marsh left by the tide stretches to the shallow waters which deepen towards the quay. Everywhere, thickly crowding the narrow plain and climbing the hills, are cottages, large and small, built for the most part of wood, with roofs of corrugated iron, which, when painted a dull red, has a very good appearance, and, painted or plain, keeps the storm-rain out better than any tiles. Beyond the bay is the city with Anglican and Roman Cathedrals; and more imposing than either, the "First Presbyterian Church," for the early settlers were Scotch, and brought their minister and working plans, doors and windows, and other fittings for a church with them, and first set apart in the city they were founding a site for religious worship. The electric cars speed to and fro through the broad ways, the trains run north and south, and to the suburbs; there are two daily newspapers, like almost all I have seen in this part of the world, ably and respectably conducted; Courts of Justice, College, High School, everything which goes to the perfection of a modern self-contained city. It is wonderful to think that when I was a little boy at school—from the muddy shore up and over the hills which surround the site on every side but that of the narrow sea channel and the marsh which formed its southern boundary, far as the eye could compass, was one great ocean of forest, over whose vast expanse not one break could be seen. Trees and shrubs of many varieties were knitted together by long and strong creepers, entwining and entangling the whole into what seemed a thicket planted expressly to prevent intrusion. Here they landed on March 23, 1848, and, with prayer and perseverance, set to work to subdue forest and torrent, and swamp and sea; they made pasture for their flocks where the thicket had covered up the land; they filled the creeks up by cutting down the steeper hills; they ran roads and built warehouses where the tide had flowed to and fro for ages over mud and rock; they drained the marsh to make room for the growing city; they made channels to control the torrents. And now Dunedin sits enthroned as a queen among her own subject mountains, and ships from the ends of the world unload and load again at her quays. The story is quite a common one here, and yet seems to me so marvellous that I am almost prepared to hear that I have been mistaken, that it was a thousand years ago the first ship's crew landed, and that many generations have contributed to the great achievement. So, indeed they have, but in another place. Our forefathers, who knew nothing of this far-off island, were working, contriving, fighting, thinking for its prosperity and peace. Dunedin was built in Edinburgh, Christchurch in Canterbury. It is the Old Country which has reclaimed the new, and peopled it with its own sons and daughters.

I suppose I have been led to say so much of this city, while I have left the story of others no less interesting untouched, partly because I happen to write from it; more I think because I have little to say of it from the point of view of my own special mission. This is the only place at which no preparation was made for my visit. I had an introduction to one gentleman, who received me courteously, and gave me some assistance in securing a hall. But I found out afterwards that he was a lay-reader of the Church of England, and could not be expected to take any active interest in my proceedings. The friends who have extended to us the kindest hospitality are near relatives of Mrs. Hargrove, but they too are indifferent on the subject of Unitarianism. My hostess's father, now many years deceased, was of old time a member of Mr. Fox's congregation at South-place Chapel, and, when a resident at Stawell in Victoria, conducted service regularly, first in his own house, and then at a public hall. This was kept up for perhaps twenty years, and was so successful that a minister or lecturer was engaged, but he turned out to be a spiritualist, and the congregation became divided, and was brought to an end. This is one of the dangers, which beset the new movement. I have neither the right nor the wish to say anything in disparagement of either spiritualists or theosophists, but while it is quite free for Unitarians to belong to either organisation, it is absolutely essential to the success of our cause that the minister who represents our faith should keep himself free from the advocacy of what is sure to be repugnant to many who agree with him on the broader grounds of Christian Theism.

I engaged the hall recommended to me, which provided accommodation for four or five hundred, though I should have preferred a smaller one, and advertised meetings for Sunday evenings and two week nights. I could get no help with the music, so contented myself with a religious lecture on the Sunday to an audience of about thirty. One of the lectures was on Emerson, and this was very well reported in both of the daily papers, but no notice was taken of what I said on the distinctively religious subjects, nor did I on any occasion have an audience of more than forty. These were no doubt all more or less interested, and I had some inquiries for literature, but I have not met anyone as yet who professes himself a Unitarian.

I leave here after a visit to the Lakes, and shall, I hope, be able to do some more work at Christchurch and Wellington, and then spend a last week before bidding goodbye to Australasia with the dear folk at Auckland.

On October 14 we sail for San Francisco, where we should arrive on the 31st. My passage across America must be somewhat hurried, but not, I trust, so much so but that I may be able to make acquaintance with the Unitarian brethren of the Far West, and renew my memory of Eastern friends.

C. H.

X.

WELLINGTON,

October 4th, 1904.

New Zealand strikes a visitor from the Old World as new indeed. I have long ago got used to understand that when a house is said to be "very old" it is meant at the most that it is nearly as old as I am myself—not quite, for when I was born there were no buildings at Auckland and Wellington except the wooden shanties on the shore, which have long since given place to fine and substantial warehouses and offices, while Dunedin and Christchurch were as yet not thought of. But it is not only the constructions of our race which are so recent, the very land itself is new as compared with the countries we have been before familiar with. I am no geologist, but I must be blind not to see the glacier's course marked by terminal and lateral moraines, as if it had retreated but a few years ago from the valleys now filled with deep lakes and bordered by sheep pastures. The signs of volcanic action are written large on promontory and sound, and the hot springs and geysers show how the force is not yet spent, and warn too-confident dwellers in yet unfinished territory that the eruption of 1889, which destroyed the famous Pink Terraces, will not be the last of its kind. Then the marks of elevation and subsidence of the coast are to be noted even in the streets, and it is not half a century ago that a benevolent earthquake enlarged the too-restricted area for the expansion of Wellington, and turned what had been and is still by name its Quay into a road a hundred yards back from the beach, from which it is now blocked out by numerous business premises; at the same time, it converted the pool reserved for a dock into dry ground, still known as the Basin, but used for cricket. The very coal we are burning tells the same story of newness, for it is a true lignite, and needs a hundred thousand years more to turn it into genuine coal.

Wellington has chosen for its motto "Suprema a situ," referring to the choice of it, though inferior in population to the three other cities of New Zealand, for the seat of government. It has been made "supreme because of its situation," being as nearly central as could be found. But to me it seems that a proud citizen might well attach a nobler claim to the words, and make it his boast that Wellington was supreme among the cities of the colony, second only to Sydney among those of the Southern Hemisphere, by reason of its magnificent position on the ocean and in the midst of the mountains, sheltered from storms and enjoying a sea tamed to be her servant. Indeed, its port has a commerce larger than that of Bristol, and room to shelter the navy of Great Britain.

I climbed to-day the western hills which bound the city. For two hours I walked along the high ridge overlooking crowded streets and busy quays below without meeting a fellow creature. Beneath my feet was grass grown from English seed; above my head sang the lark descended from English parents. Cows and horses of the Old Country stock grazed around. Homes of the moderately rich and the comfortably poor were visible on every hill slope far and near. The view was wide, but of the primaeval bush which only half a century ago clothed it all from shore to hill-top there was nothing left save here and there a scanty remnant, thinned for firewood and invaded by sturdier trees from northern lands.

It was easy to reconstruct the scene as Captain Cook, first of white men, beheld it in 1770, the same as it appeared to the first settlers in 1840. For the main features are, of course, unchanged; and except for the destruction of the bush by fire and axe so converting the hill-slopes to fertile pastures, it is little that civilised men have done or could do to make or mar the prospect. To the south the Pacific becomes visible, on the left stretching uninterrupted to the Antarctic Circle, on the right bounded by the mountains of the Middle Island. A narrow channel connects the ocean with the great inland harbour, a basin among the hills some six miles in length by four in breadth; at this end so deep that large vessels moor to the wharf close to the warehouses; away to the north, silted up by the mud brought down from the high and now snow-clad hills of the interior, which has formed a fertile plain. Here and there along the shore in old time the Maoris had made a clearing and built a "pa," or stockaded village. Two stood where Wellington is now built, and the old names have been kept in the city nomenclature. But the land was then covered with forest impenetrable except for the narrow paths cut by the natives, like Britain as Julius Cæsar found it two thousand years ago, and its tattooed warriors and priests in just the same early stage of civilisation.

And my life-time—and I am not yet a Methuselah—has effected here all the change between modern

England and ancient Britain, so that to-day New Zealand is in no respect behind the foremost of mankind in the arts of civilised life, and in some respects ahead of all the world.

As for religion, there is the fullest liberty, nor have I discovered any sign of the bigotry or exclusiveness which is so common at home. There is no Established Church, possessed, as at home, of ancient endowments and privileges, and maintaining its ex-elusive right to the magnificent edifices which are a nation's pride. All are on a level as respects religion, brought up in the same unsectarian schools, and unused to the distinction of "church" and "chapel," "clergyman" and "minister," which help to perpetuate religious dissension in England.

As your readers know, there is only one Unitarian congregation in New Zealand, and that though flourishing and soon to be independent, of quite recent growth. But assuredly there are numerous Unitarians. The difficulty is to get them to know themselves and come together and recognise the benefit of united worship.

At Christchurch I could do nothing. It is the Athens of Australasia, and its people are ever ready to "hear some new thing." I believe I should have fared better if only the faith I preached had not been so old, if I had come with some new revelation or new interpretation of old Scriptures. But Unitarianism is not without its witnesses even there, and it is of small consequence that they "follow not with us." I had good audiences at the two lectures I gave, although the weather was very unfavourable; and there, as everywhere, I have been met with the friendliest reception.

Here the case is very different. The Richmonds and the Atkinsons, families had in honour for their virtues and their talents and the high places which their members have held in the government of the colony, came here in the early days with Unitarian associations and memories which they have never let go. I am told that Judge Richmond, a lawyer who was known and esteemed in England as well as here, conducted services regularly in his own house, but would not admit others than members of the family, as he shrank from seeming to put himself forward as a minister. Besides these there are others who have brought the name with the faith from the old home, and have brought up their children in it. They have had no choice but either to join in religious worship more or less repellent to their sentiments, as most of them have done hitherto, or to give up public worship altogether. Now, for the first time, Unitarian services have been offered to them, and they have availed themselves of the offer in a way which shows that a regular ministry, if such could be provided, would here be useful and acceptable. On Sunday last, the third which I spent in Wellington, I had about 40 at morning service, of whom 26 were men, and about 60 in the evening, which was wet. There is a ready-made choir and more than one efficient pianist. Last night we had a meeting of sympathisers and supporters, and passed a resolution to form a Unitarian Society, to which over fifty have since given in their names. It was also arranged to make a beginning by holding a public service on the first evening of each month. Altogether, the prospects are decidedly hopeful. The greatest difficulty will be to find the right man.

C. H.

XI.

LEEDS,

January 2nd, 1905.

My last letter, dated October 4, was written from Wellington, and, as I had completed my mission and visited the eleven chief towns of Australasia, seeking out all such as called themselves Unitarians, and ministering as best I could to their religious needs, I did not anticipate that there would be much more to tell of interest to your readers. But were I to write it length my experiences since then, I should have to ask for a number of THE INQUIRER devoted entirely to my doings, which would be to give them an absurdly disproportionate importance.

I mentioned that while I was at Wellington we had a meeting of sympathisers and supporters, at which a resolution was passed to form a Unitarian Society, and hold services once a month until arrangements could be made for a settled minister. This was the most satisfactory outcome of all my journeyings, and I trembled for the life of that infant society lest it should perish from indifference or want of lead, or some indiscretion or division among its members. It was very welcome news which reached me by last mail that at a later meeting the society had been formally constituted, a simple constitution adopted, and officers elected; moreover, that a beginning had been made of monthly services with a result quite as satisfactory as there was any reason to expect.

We left Wellington on October 5th, and reached Auckland on the 7th. Here I spent a last week with this dear congregation, whose story is an example to be loudly proclaimed among us in Great Britain of what may be done by a few people in earnest, with the right kind of man for minister. Of their own accord they have given

notice to the Association that they can support themselves henceforth, and set the amount hitherto granted to them free for the support of other missions. I am informed that at Wellington there were some who advocated the like independence from the beginning, but as this implied that a minister should not be engaged until the whole amount required for the support of the church had been promised, it was wisely determined to ask for help to start with, and aim at independence to be achieved as soon as possible. I wish I could be convicted of wronging some of our home congregations when I say that they have no ambition to be self-supporting. Some I know of which never can be independent. Others, I suspect, are quite content to take all they can get, and spare their efforts and their purses. Some, please remember, Mr. Editor, by no means all, for I know there are those who are doing their best, and it is not their own fault they do not succeed. Nevertheless if the example of Auckland—a very ordinary congregation so far as wealth or talent or social position goes—were laid to heart, our work would advance mightily.

We left New Zealand early in the morning of Friday, the 15th, and so was completed the work which I had been sent out for. "You have done more good than you know," one said to me the last day I spent there, and it was the most cheering of all the kindly and flattering things which had been said to me and of me while sojourning among our fellow-countrymen in this Southern Hemisphere. One learns with advancing years, if not earlier, to deduct a heavy discount off compliments which are often dictated by kindness of heart rather than by deliberate judgment; and in spite of all I have been told, I should find it difficult to give an answer satisfactory to myself to the question, "What good have you done at so great a cost to the Unitarians of England and of Leeds?" But this compliment from one I scarcely knew I accept and cherish. I have not made converts to Unitarianism, and I have not drawn crowds to listen to my word; had such result being desired it is another kind of man should have been chosen. I have brought to the scattered Unitarians on the other side of the world an assurance of the sympathy and interest of their English brethren, I almost dare to hope that I have brought to some a deeper faith in God and righteousness, and a firmer resolve to be true in word and deed to their convictions.

As the steamer made its devious way through the islands and round the headlands which enclose the Auckland Harbour my eyes rested lovingly on the city, my twin in age, where I had received so much kindness and made so many friends whom I should in all probability never see again. For a long time Mount Eden, the very perfect crater, one of a hundred in the neighbourhood, could be distinguished, and marked the site of the city beneath. When it faded on the horizon the cone of Rangitoto, a volcanic island, which, a few days before we had visited on a congregational excursion, drew my attentive gaze, and then, as it was lost to view among the clouds, I bid good-bye to a land which I had learnt in nine weeks to admire and to friends whom I shall respect and love as long as memory lasts. Good-bye, dear friends all, who dwell on the shores of the Southern Sea! To as many as THE INQUIRER reaches I would send my thanks, and tell them how deeply I appreciate all the kindness they showed me. If only they were fewer in number I would write to each, but to so many—from two or three to ten or twelve in each of the eleven cities I have visited—I can only ask them to accept this public assurance of my grateful feelings towards them.

Our first experience after leaving Auckland was one which is to be met with only on the Pacific Ocean, The day after Saturday I discarded my tourist suit, and appeared in ministerial black—oh, why should ministers be condemned to perpetual mourning? why should it not rather be expected of us to set an example in costume as in life, and dress in garments which would show the dirt and be washed of it, instead of in dark clothes which hypocritically look clean with the dirt of months upon them?—well, I was prepared for Sunday and the saloon pulpit, when I was met with the intimation that Saturday would be repeated, so I got for once what I have often desired—another day in the week.

On Tuesday morning we came in sight of the peaks of Tutuila, where we were to take up the mail for San Francisco. Little did I dream as we drew near and marked the palm-girt villages along the coast, and, through a narrow passage between coral reefs, entered the land-locked harbour, how much the place was to mean to me.

We had an introduction from Mr. Smith to his son, the postmaster and ship agent. We went ashore at 3 o'clock, and, finding he was busy embarking cargo on our steamer, we presented our letter to Mrs. Smith, who received us most kindly, and took us, after a cup of tea, for a walk to see a native village. It was further than we thought; alarmed by the ship's whistle, we hurried back, but we were too late by five minutes, and found ourselves left for three weeks at a Naval coaling station where there was not even a hotel, nor, if there had been, had we the money to pay for suitable accommodation! The very light clothes we wore and a few articles left by oversight when clearing our pockets of all superfluous weight, an Essex Hall diary, a pocket book and fifty dollars,—such was for the time being my whole worldly possessions. Thanks to the generous hospitality of our New Zealand friends, we fared as well as the island permitted.

Your space would not permit of my telling of this romantic home to which I found myself so unexpectedly transferred from the very unromantic but comfortable accommodation of an ocean liner. Suffice it to say that my sojourn was not quite idle, for on the two Sundays I spent there I conducted service for the United States

sailors and the residents at the station. time to see appeared tame to us by comparison with the luxuriant vegetation of Samoa.

At last, six weeks later than we had been expected, we reached San Francisco; and having endured the long ordeal of the Customs (everything we had being scrupulously turned over to prove that our written declaration of having nothing dutiable was not a fraud) we drove to the Occidental Hotel and there met Mr. Leavitt, the young and talented minister of the First Congregation, who had come inquiring after us. It was impossible to spare more than four days, unfortunately not including a Sunday, at San Francisco, but thanks to the great kindness of the brethren and the happy coincidence of my arrival just at the right time, I saw and heard much, and made the acquaintance of some whom I shall not forget. The first night I was taken to the quarterly dinner of the Unitarian Club, which numbers among its members gentlemen of the best families of the city. The membership is limited to 200, and there are always applicants waiting for any vacancy which may occur. It is a common belief with us that the name Unitarian is detrimental to the success of our churches or societies: however this may be in England, it is not the case generally. Here, in California, in a city which has a population less than that of Leeds, not only are there more than 200 gentlemen of position found who openly avow the name, but others, who are not Unitarians, are proud to join a club which uses the name in its justly acquired sense of free, rational, religious, liberal, reverent, tolerant. If such men were taunted by their more bigoted brethren with inconsistency I fancy they would reply that while holding Trinitarian doctrine they sympathised with the Unitarian spirit, and were glad to associate themselves with those who made public profession that life was of supreme account and opinion of comparatively small importance.

The word was given to me before the discussion of the evening, on "Nature in California" commenced, and I was glad of the opportunity of assuring our American brethren of our consciousness as English Unitarians of something more than friendship or agreement uniting us—that we felt ourselves one body, owning all of us the same faith, revering the same great names, participating in the same ideals. Channing and Parker, I said, are ours as much as they are yours. Martineau is yours as much as ours. And our Priestley found with you the security which failed him at home. I risk the charge of vanity in reporting my own speech that I may tell how well such sentiments were received. Indeed, I have always found beneath all the little bickerings and jealousies and fault-finding, which the closest ties of blood will not altogether exclude, there is a ready response among Americans of English descent to any reminder how near of kin are we and they.

The day following we were taken under the guidance of the Rev. Geo. W. Stone, Secretary of the Pacific Unitarian Conference. He is a kind of doctor among the churches; devoting his care to any congregation which is distressed or failing, or in debt, working it up to health, and then finding for it a suitable pastor. So that while doing excellent work he is never in charge of a thriving church. Under his kind care we were taken to see the pretty little church at Berkeley. Of the University and of the Greek Theatre there, space does not allow me to write. Then to the neighbouring church at Oakland, admirably equipped for all possible congregational work, but hitherto not altogether successful. On the way home I had the great satisfaction of introducing myself to one well known by his hymns to all of us—Fredk. L. Hosmer, till lately minister of Berkeley. His audience could never have been large by count of heads, but what a multitude in English-speaking lands have his words reached!

Had they known for certain when we should arrive, they would, so we were assured, have had a reception to welcome us at the First Church. But except for the honour we were as well off as if a meeting had been held specially for us, as it happened that the widow of the late well-known and respected pastor, Dr. Stebbins, was on a visit to the city from Boston, and we were bidden to the assembly called to welcome her. So we were introduced to many leading members of the congregation, and learnt enough to judge for ourselves that it must be in the true sense of the word, highly respectable, and happy, and united in its work.

Thursday was Thanksgiving Day, that great family festival, the date of which is fixed by proclamation of the President. It dates back to 1621, when by the order of Governor Bradford it was observed by the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. It was repeated from time to time at more or less frequent intervals during the 200 succeeding years, and since 1863 it has become to expect the proclamation of it annually on the last Thursday of November. Mr. Leavitt very kindly invited us to join his family circle, and to us to whom it was all new, the feast seemed a real communion, uniting, like the Passover lamb, all the people and all the generations past, from the beginning of the nation.

We left San Francisco on Friday morning, and crossing the great desert and the Salt Lake arrived at the famous Mormon city on the following afternoon. Here Mr. Fish, known to many in England as at one time the minister of Kidderminster, met us at the station, and most hospitably provided for us during our three days' stay. I preached on Sunday morning to a congregation of about 120, mostly young people, many of them brought up as Mormons, who in the search for a more liberal and rational faith had here found satisfaction for their spiritual and intellectual needs. Unitarian services were begun in 1892, but after five years discontinued. In 1901 a new start was made under the Rev. Philip S. Thacher, who preached in a hired hall, and prepared the way for Mr.

Fish, who, in less than two years' time, has gathered a congregation, started a Sunday School, and built a church which is now free of debt. Seldom has so much good work been done in so short a time, and it is to be hoped that now that he has returned to Boston, for the climate and the dust was very trying to Mrs. Fish and threatened a serious impairment of her sight—that a successor will be found who will maintain and develop the work. In the afternoon we attended service in the famous Tabernacle, which is said to seat 7,000; there were, I should judge, about 4,000 present. The apostles and elders sat on a raised platform below the grand organ, surrounded by a fine choir of 300 voices. There was nothing in the service to account for the numbers regularly attending. We had some hymns and an anthem, and two very ordinary addresses, one on the freedom enjoyed by Mormons above every other sect!

The following day I made use of an introduction given me before leaving England to a venerable old gentleman, Mr. Masser, the official historian of the Order. It was a novel experience to hear a man talking quite simply of "my dear wives," but I confess I was quite unable to summon up the virtuous indignation proper for the occasion. I had the feeling as if I were interviewing one of the patriarchs of old, and when he spoke of his 35 children and of his ambition that at least one member of the family should always be found in the mission field "till the Lord come," it was impossible not to give him full credit for sincerity and earnestness. "Children! children!" he said, "that's everything," to provide bodies for the souls waiting outside for incarnation as the way onward to higher life. It is a curious and instructive problem, this of Mormonism—its mean beginnings, its absurd pretensions, its bare materialism, its practical morality, and its almost unparalleled success! I felt oppressed by it all the time I was in Salt Lake City, as if there was in the atmosphere something not of evil, but of low and irrational.

Another night and day in the train brought us over the Rocky Mountains, by a pass 10,400 feet in height, to Colorado Springs. Here there is a Unitarian church, but no minister. Mr. Hill, the acting trustee, took kindly charge of us, and drove us about the beautiful neighbourhood. Though situated on the mountain slopes at a height greater than the summit of Ben Nevis, it was bright and warm. The church is a very pretty building. On the Sunday morning it is left to the Christian Scientists, who have a full congregation; in the afternoon there is a Unitarian service, with a very small attendance. But if anyone should be tempted to draw the inference that Christian Science is the truer religion, he must go further, and, comparing its great success under favourable conditions with the far greater success of Mormonism under the greatest trials and difficulties, conclude, if he can bring himself to it, that the latter is far more true.

We had only a night and morning to spare for Chicago, but I saw "the pit," so thrillingly described in Frank Norris's "Epic of the Wheat." A wonderful sight, indeed, or rather sound; sober men of business, fathers of families, shouting, gesticulating, frantically bidding for futures; and the price of wheat all the world over falling and rising by fractions of a penny as this great dealer or the other persisted or withdrew.

At Albany I met the Rev. William M. Brundage, who, after nine years' strenuous work there, lifting the church out of debt and difficulty and into a satisfactory position, is going on to do similar good work, best work indeed, elsewhere.

And at New York it was our happy fortune to arrive just in time to join with Mr. Savage in congratulating our dear and reverend Yorkshire brother, Robert Collyer, on his eighty-first birthday. Less active in body certainly, just the same in spirit; his company, as of old, every time I have met him these thirty years, was exhilarating as mountain air. One day with him, and then we rolled back across the Atlantic, reaching Liverpool just in time for the last Saturday night train to Leeds.

The next morning I was again in my own pulpit, after thirty-six Sundays' absence. Thank God there was not one missing of all whom we had parted from in April; and the welcome to us was not marred by any Word of dissatisfaction with the brethren who had so admirably supplied for me and maintained the credit of the Mill Hill pulpit. Dr. Hicks or Mr. Jacks?—which they liked best, that was the only note of difference of opinion; and as I hate futile comparisons, I am content to set down both as excellent, and am proud to have a congregation which can fitly appreciate two such men—not that the others who filled in the intervals were any of them inferior men, or failed of sincere appreciation.

"So I awoke, and behold, it was a dream!" Such was my feeling that same evening, as I mounted the pulpit stairs and looked again on the familiar scene.

C. H.

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Front Cover

Evidence

Given by John Heslop to

Land Commission

Sitting at Stratford, 1905.

Hawera, N.Z. C. O. Ekdahl, Caxton Printing Works, Fringes Street. 1905

Evidence for the Land Commission.

Constitution of Land Boards.

Contrary to opinions held by some I consider that members of Land Boards should be appointed, as at present by the Government solely, as the land policy is the Government's, and it is responsible for the administration. Members of Land Boards should be broad minded men with a good and sympathetic knowledge of all the conditions under which settlers have to work and live, and having intimate acquaintance with the Crown lands of their districts and their requirements.

In my opinion Land Boards should be carefully constituted, should be given large discretionary powers, enabling them to deal with various cases on their merits, even to the extent of rent reduction, and subject to the consent of the Minister of Lands only. I have long observed that the arbitrary enforcement all round of the Land Acts provisions has a most unequal and crushing effect on the prosperous settlement in certain places, due solely to the unequal primary conditions of such things as climate, land configuration, location, personal circumstances, etc., and I see no way of adequately dealing with the matter except by giving the Land Boards greater and more extended powers.

land tenures.

I consider that existing land tenures could stand considerable alteration in the interests of the individual and the State alike. The following are my suggestions:—

(A) That the lease in perpetuity tenure, except under the Land for Settlement Act should be amended so as to give tenants the same privilege to exchange tenures as that held under the occupation with right of purchase tenure (Sub. 3, Clause 152, Land Act, 1892) on the condition that the occupier under the former tenure pay the 1% difference between the two rates of interest as rent from the date of the original occupation of the land. Owing to the conditions disassociable from leasehold in perpetuity, such as the perpetual over lordship of the proprietor even in the matter of the willing of the tenants interests, as well as the small borrowing power of the tenure, together with a sense of insecurity caused by the agitations of so called land reformers, in such proposals as the Fair Rents Bill, there is very great discontent and unrest among settlers under this tenure. The latter have found the tenure other than what they were originally led to believe, and in the case of these unimproved lands, their interests exceed so hugely in value those of the proprietor (*i.e.* the State) that the position is anomalous and deserving of rectification in the manner I have suggested. I uphold the terms I have indicated for rectification in distinct opposition to those who contend that the tenant so treated would be given an unearned increment. In my opinion there is no such thing in the case of the settler on the bush and swamp land under Act 1892. He has had to pay rent on the unproductive areas of the land from the date of occupation, has suffered large losses in the way of bad burns, the destruction of fences and grass by fire and landslips, stock lost or killed by accident, never to speak of the deprivations from the social and educative point of view, as well as his loss of participation in the benefits of state institutions to which as a colonist he contributes, and which remoteness bars to a man and his family.

These and many other things I earnestly contend if taken proper count of would leave the State in financial and moral debt to the pioneer settler, and that he under the L.I.P. tenure should be permitted, if he chooses, to enjoy the same privileges and benefits for the same price as his fellow settler of the O.R.P. tenure, who, better advised and perhaps wealthier, started by providing for the right to purchase freehold.

With tenants under the Land for Settlement Act the case is entirely different, there the interests of the proprietors are and will always be in large excess of those of the tenant, the land has been purchased for cash and is leased in a state of high improvement usually capable of immediate returns to the tenant, mostly through the dairy industry, all the advantages of civilised life are usually at hand, and the worst disabilities of losses of the pioneer life conspicuous by their absence. Besides, lands under this Act are generally acquired under pressure of the local public and do not require the same incentive for occupation as the remote and unimproved lands of the Crown.

(B) That under the O.R.P. tenure provision should be made whereby the occupier may surrender his tenancy if he desires the same as under the L.I.P. tenure.

(C) That in the case of the lands disposed of for cash, a proportionate amount, equivalent to the thirds of land fund in the case of leasehold, should be expended on the roads giving access to the land from which the money is derived.

(E) That as regards the reintroduction of the homestead privileges it may be found advisable under certain conditions of quality and location to place some lands under this tenure.

(E) In my opinion that optional system in the Land Act of 1892 should apply to all bush swamp and uncultivated Crown lands, and that in the case of mineral areas provision for resumption by the State on

equitable terms could be made.

(F) That no transfer of interest in any lease should be granted inside three years from the date of original occupation.

Residential Conditions.

I consider the residential conditions of the Land Act of 1892 not in the interest of the State or occupier. In my opinion residence should in no case be compulsory until there is a fair summer cart road to the section.

In some instances from various causes and at the discretion of the Land Board, it should be dispensed with altogether, in the case of rough lands having no adequate homestead sites, etc., etc., double improvements on the said rough lands and the residence of an employee there, should be sufficient for the tenants exemption from residence, subject to area limits. It is desirable to have all classes represented in land settlement, the richer providing very acceptable employment for the poorer, and there are many rough lands capable of being made productive in the above manner which it would be madness in a poor man to occupy. In all these matters in the interests of prosperous settlement land boards should have large powers.

The Ballot System.

While acknowledging the many disadvantages of the present system I consider there is absolutely no better substitute for it, and that the remedy is to be found rather in improving it. This can be done by the examination of intending applicants on the part of the land board, as in the case of those under the Lands for Settlement Act, when the purely speculative and otherwise unsuitable class would be detained from monopolising the ballot. I am of opinion that the present system cannot well be improved on with the exception of the modification that applicants who have never held Crown lands should have preference over others, and more especially over those who have sold their interest in Crown lands formerly held by them. I am aware that in this there is a modification of views recently held by me, but I think it after all a necessary change, and granted discretionary powers to land boards there should be little difficulty under examination of determining who ought to be eligible for the ballot and who ought not.

Land Loaded for Roads.

I am unable to give the information sought which no doubt is available from the records of the Roads department, but in a great many instances the loading has been quite inadequate from the nature of the country to provide roads, and has been spent in making and keeping open six feet tracks, which rapidly degenerate into narrower and more dangerous ones. Failing then a grant from Government, the settlers have to find interest for a loan with which to form a summer cart road, thus complaining with some degree of truth that no roads to their holdings have been provided, though the land was loaded for same.

The whole question of roading Crown lands is perhaps one of the most vital in the interests of successful settlement, and requires early and most careful revision.

Borrowing Disadvantages of Crown Tenants.

Latterly the operations of the Advances to Settlers Office seem to have been largely curtailed, it is alleged through lack of funds. This has had the effect of throwing the impecunious class of Crown tenants into the hands of the money lenders at high rates of interest. Especially is this with tenants under the L.I.P. tenure, who from the nature of their security fare worse in the matter of high interest on a restricted advance, having usually also to mortgage their stock. It is a matter of common report that in many cases the rate of interest on these loans is 8 to 10%, which has an absolutely ruinous result. With regard to valuation of lease in perpetuity holdings, for Advances to Settlers purposes, I consider the recognition of more than merely the lessee improvements should be made. Surely the goodwill of a 999 years lease is worth something. In my opinion a valuation on the basis of selling value of the lessee's improvements together with his goodwill in his lease should be made, and an advance up to three-fifths of that amount granted. At present advances do not represent more than one-half the value of improvements and often not that, which makes the Advances to Settlers Office of little use to L.I.P. holders.

Condition and Position of Crown Tenants.

Speaking for the Taranaki land district I consider there is wide variation of the above. In some instances where the occupier has been possessed of adequate capital and sufficient experience, progress has been steady and satisfactory and with the revival of the sheep industry, in which this class mostly engage, the prospect is hopeful where the land is good and there is reasonable access.

On the other hand there are large numbers of small tenants on Crown lands who have an extremely hard struggle to make ends meet, they are mostly engaged in dairying to a certain extent, and the grazing of a few young cattle, the revenues from which at present are restricted owing to lower prices and the roughness and remoteness of their holdings. When the nature and condition of the Taranaki back country are considered, the necessity for giving every possible help and encouragement to its struggling settlers will be only too apparent, and every case of misfortune or undue hardships should have the careful consideration of a land board, endowed with a large remedial power.

Opening and Roding New Blocks of Land.

In doing this I consider the first operation to be the laying off of the best road line obtainable as near the centre of the block as practicable. Then in rough country the survey of the sections should be proceeded with, boundaries being only on road lines, ridges, and rivers where the latter are good enough to fence in cattle. On surveyed road lines where practicable an average width in all of 5 chains of bush should be felled, burnt, and grassed, allowing wind and sun to reach the track and keep it dry, the bridging of streams should then proceed with the formation of the bridle track 6 feet wide in the solid. This would leave some grass frontage to each section giving a place to build a hut and keep a horse and cow, besides allowing intending settlers a better view of the land to be allotted.

At present the selection of land is more or less a leap in the dark. The cost of the foregoing work would of course be added to the price of the section. The formation of cart roads should be done after allotment, giving an opportunity to those settlers who desire work to get it, residence on the land not being compulsory before these cart roads are formed and in any case not earlier than four years. I am quite aware that up till now circumstances have made it impossible for a policy of this kind to be carried out, but at the earliest possible moment it should be begun and persevered with and I feel convinced that its results would be satisfactory.

Alleged Unearned Increment.

In the course of things which has led to the appointment of this Royal Commission, there have been many references, chiefly by townspeople, to what has been called the unearned increment in rural land values, and a strong disposition exists on the part of urban dwellers to secure from the settler, for state revenue, part, if not the whole, of what they term increment unearned. It has often struck me as curious that so few settlers trouble to adequately present their side of the case to the public, and, allowing for the usual apathy of the rural classes to politics and political economy, I can only account for their silence by their contempt for the hollow arguments of their opponents and their conviction that the community as a whole takes too sensible a view of things to be long misled by casuistry. But the opportunity for the ventilation of these matters being now created, it is well to set forth the bearings of the so-called unearned increment question. If such a thing exists at all, I am of opinion it is to be found almost exclusively in urban centres. Business enterprises and property values in towns are directly created by increase of population, not only of the towns themselves, but of the country as well, and the more prosperous the country settler, the greater the benefit to commercial concerns and, as a consequence, to urban property. Then there are the people who retire to the neighbourhood of towns, some of them farmers who have acquired small settled incomes, who go to swell urban populations and values. This can hardly be said to apply to rural districts, their values having an origin entirely different, being affected almost exclusively by demand for land due to what can be made from the land and in this colony by markets over-sea for our wool, mutton, beef, dairy produce, etc., so that if anyone is due a share in the sale value of New Zealand rural land it is the rural population of Great Britain, whom our success as producers has almost ruined. If there have been fabulous prices paid for rural land in most instances these will be found due to temporary inflations, traceable in some instances to the swelling success of some industry, or to speculative mania and the financial manipulations of the numerous horde of land agents, originating, again let me remark, from the towns. But apart from this there are in Taranaki for instance sound reasons for much of the enhanced land value, running frequently from three to four hundred per cent, over original values. The growth of the dairy industry, due to over-sea demand, the adaptability of the lands and climate along the coast and round Mount Egmont, the energy of the large population of mostly small freeholders and the metalling of roads everywhere—a requirement of the industry—for which these settlers have become responsible through the "Loans to Local Bodies Act," all these things added to the possibility of a regular monthly income and the utilization of family labour have raised values to fairly well what they are, and I fail to see where the credit for enhanced values can be claimed by any others than those engaged in the industry. As I have stated, metalled roads alone have indisputably contributed to higher values and I may instance that even such an arterial road as the one between Eltham and Opunake was metalled by loans raised by the settlers, though the road is used enormously by the travelling public, among whom no doubt are many of our would be land reformers who view the farms from the pleasant comfort of their hired buggies and estimate the farmers' supposed unearned increment, forgetting the toil, the sweat, the hope deferred, the financial worry, the hard living and poor housing that have been gone through to make those farms and roads what they are to-day.

Then turning to the swamp lands and the rough bush lands of the back country, suitable for sheep and young cattle only, one has merely to engage in the breaking in of it to know how hardly earned everything that is got out of it is. A settler on one of those blocks, under the Land Act of 1892, which is the system mostly in force here, has to pay rent on the total area of such from the date of occupation; he can only bring in a certain portion of the land each year and has to suffer large losses through bad burns, destruction of fences and grass by fires and landslips, embracing re-sowing, then the long list of stock lost, and killed by accident, never to speak of lost time and the tear and wear to man and beast and gear through the rough condition of the country and its

roads or tracks rather. The hope of things improving alone encourages him to hold on and persevere through the years of what his town friends call his exile in the bush, years in which though a citizen of the country and a subject of the King, he shares in no social benefits nor participates in the advantages of the many public institutions which are at hand for others. Surely his lot is worthy of consideration and his grit and energy of any backing up a Government can give them in the way of the option of freehold at original values level with right of purchase ones around him, better roads if possible, and the great-amount of freedom from official restrictions consistent with conserving the State's relatively small interest in their lands when improved, for these settlers are often all coming valuable producers adding their quota to the colony's prosperity and, were need to arise, would be the first looked to for its defence. The fact is in those rough bush and swamp lands no market value yet reached has even compensated for the outlay properly reckoned, and in my humble opinion, with few exceptions, the State is left a financial as well as a moral debtor to the pioneer settler. Could our city land reforming agitator be only induced to take up a section and become one of that class, his agitation would be turned in the direction of obtaining a bonus for bringing in the waste lands of the Crown, and yet at the present moment one of the Labour League platform planks is periodical revaluation of all Crown lands held on lease, this not to apply to existing leases until the death of the present leaseholder or the transfer of the lease to another as the case may be. Now this means that the 999 years lease is only for a man's life time, which might end at any moment, when his family's interest would also die just perhaps as by their combined efforts they were getting on a safe footing so that receiving value (an uncertain thing and not cost) for their improvements, possibly mortgaged, they would be turned out of their home to face revaluation, or I suppose the congenial prospect of another lease of unimproved land under the same conditions. I consider no more scandalous proposal was ever submitted in a professedly moral community.

Of course it is obvious that in some instances, such as the expenditure of State money on the construction of railways, there is an enhanced value of adjacent lands in which at first sight it might be claimed the community at large should directly share. But I question the wisdom of even making such a distinction as ordinary land taxation deals effectively with this. Railways in this colony are laid down in arbitrary routes to suit our national development, and are not wholly indispensable in a well roaded stock raising district, so that in my opinion the community's share should be in their earning power which should justify their existence and we would have to turn our eyes to our large cities and towns for direct benefit to their land values, in numberless cases greatly exceeding three or four hundred per cent., by the ostensibly indispensable expenditure of State funds,—a betterment in which, if anywhere, the Colony's public has a direct claim. Why then should the ultimately successful leasehold settler be deprived of part of his increased yet modest wealth by a special State claim while even his freehold neighbour is exempt? Let everyone in the country pay a fair share of taxation according to his wealth, but let there be no special class taxation especially of those who are taking up the rough broken Crown lands which are useless until brought into production at the expense and hardship of the settler of which the town dweller takes little thought and has no conception. The fact is that of recent years it has been the fashion with a certain section of politicians to single out the settler and Crown tenant as a fit subject for fresh taxation, for in reality this is what the talk of "unearned increment" in rural lands means. Population in Great Britain has increased continually and land in cities risen to enormously enhanced values while the value of rural lands has largely decreased. If this should come to pass in the Colony, would our land agitators agree to the State making good to owners and occupiers the decrease in the value of farming lands?

Freehold Option to Crown Tenants.

I am entirely in favour of all Crown tenants having the option of freehold, except land under "The Land for Settlement Act," at the value of the land at date of original occupation provided the difference of one per cent, in back rents as against the O.R.P. tenure is made good by the purchaser. When the unimproved value of a Crown leasehold in which there is no right of purchase, exceeds the original value, the tenant under present law becomes liable for land tax on the increased value, thus admitting that the increase belongs to the tenant, or else he is being taxed unjustly. It also shows that the interest of the State remains at the original value on which it receives four per cent, on 999 years as rent, unless there is a change in legislation as proposed in such measures as the Fair Rent Bill which our city land reformers have in view, one of whom advocated that the Old Age Pensions ought to be provided for by an increased tax on lands. As these city land reformers are increasing in numbers and probably will increase still more, as city population increases more rapidly than that of the country, their power in Parliament will increase accordingly, and in this lies the danger to the Crown tenant in the uncertainty of the value of his 999 years lease, a danger so apparent as to be the cause of much of the dissatisfaction and unrest now existing.

For other reasons the lease in perpetuity has been found unsatisfactory such as in financing, when even the Government Advances to Settlers Office recognises and proclaims the inferiority of this tenure as security by its restricted advances. If land is placed on the market now, under the optional system, no one with his wits about him ever thinks of adopting the L.I.P. tenure, under which on unimproved land, with so many drawbacks, his

improvements would so soon overwhelm in value the relatively small interest of the State in the land. Considering everything I strongly urge that L.I.P. tenants be allowed the same privilege of exchange (by paying the one per cent, difference in rent from date of occupation) as the O.R.P. tenants have under Sub. 3, Clause 152, Land Act, 1892.

By granting this the State would be a gainer not only to the extent of the one per cent, but when the freehold is obtained the full unimproved value would become liable for land tax, so that the State would receive the value of the land and retain the right to tax the same. It would have the effect of giving a feeling of greater security and contentment to the struggling settlers, and an incentive to first class and lasting improvements on their holdings.

The argument that the granting of the option of freehold would throw L.I.P. tenants into the hands of money lenders, I consider beside the question. As it is these tenants are obliged to deal with money lenders, and under a penalty by reason of the nature of their tenure that does not obtain in the case of their fellow settlers with O.R.P. tenure. And if there is a certain amount of sentiment in the settlers' desire for freehold, I would respect it; it would be a poor world without sentiment and if the option of freehold will make the settlers more contented with their lot, and industrious in founding their homes on the lands and bringing the latter into productiveness I would have no hesitation in granting it.

Tenure.

I strongly advocate the O.R.P. tenure as being indefinitely in advance of deferred payment or any other, and in granting the option of freehold to the Crown L.I.P. tenants, I can think of no better method than the exchange, under the conditions stated above, to the O.R.P. tenure, and accepting as fulfilled for the latter tenure all the observed conditions of the former, with the exception of the one per cent, in back rent to be met. In my opinion this would be infinitely better for the State, the tenant, and the money market, than granting freehold at once on application or under the deferred payment system, where money has to be found at once without going into self-evident detail. I think the great advantages of the O.R.P. tenure over any other should be apparent to everyone.

Valuation of Unimproved Crown Lands.

In the case of rough broken bush lands where it is not practicable to make a fair valuation of the unimproved value, I would advocate that a temporary value within certain limits be placed on the land, liable to readjustment within five years. In many cases it has been found that too high a value has been placed on the land which has turned out much more rough than was anticipated, and vice versa, in such cases revaluation when the bush is down would readjust matters. In this rough gorgy country it is almost impossible to see what the country really is until the bush is cleared, as it is very deceptive in many instances, concealing gorges and gullies which make this rough country so very expensive owing to the loss of stock in them and in the heavy landslips that occur on their sides.

(Signed) John Heslop

C. O. Ekdahl, Caxton Printing Works, Princes Street. Hawera.

Bisley 1904 and Afterwards

By Colour-Sergt. Irvine

Price: Sixpence.

note to Robert Stout regarding pamphlet, dated March 28 1905

BISLEY 1904 and Afterwards

By Colour-Sergt. Irvine

Price, Sixpence.

Proceeds to the Nelson Battalion.

Chapter I.

Bislisy Bound.

Early in 1904, when it became known, amongst the riflemen of New Zealand that a team of 12 men was to be sent to England to compete for the Kolapore Cup and the King's Prize, great interest was aroused as to the principle of selection.

On the opening day of the N.Z. Rifle Association meeting for 1904, Colonel Collins announced that the

men would be chosen from amongst the highest scorers of that gathering, "subject to certain powers which the Executive Committee reserved to themselves," and general satisfaction was thereupon expressed.

Ultimately the team was composed of A. Ballinger (who went Home with the team of 1897), R. King, and G. Hawthorn. from Wellington; W. Cox. from 'Auckland; W. Drnmond, from Dannevirke; and of Nelson, Ching. and Irvine (the present writer); Sandford. from Christchurh; McKenzie, from Oamaru; Shanks and Domigan, from Gore; and Smail, from Kaitangata. These, under the command of Colonel Collins, sailed for England in the R.M.s. Athenic on April 26.

It has been said that voyages are as much alike as "peas in a pod." It is to be hoped that this was exceptional in one particular how to be mentioned. Influenza of a somewhat severe type attacked the vessel in such a style that out of 250 passengers hardly 50 escaped the onslaught. The doctor's hands were full. Of course, we had the usual rough weather as far as Cape Horn, and rounding it the waves were freezing as they fell on deck.

And afterwards, as might be expected, cold and influenza and all misery vanished like magic before that beneficent north wind. A note was made of the coincidence that the Equator was reached on the very same day of the month that the '97 team crossed it seven years before.

On entering the harbour of Rio de Janeiro even Ave New Zealanders were struck with the grandeur of the hills, which, ranged in tiers, surround the town. Many of the peaks were almost perpendicular, and the morning sun was showing them up in their rainbow colours.

Like many a city largely inhabited by people of Latin descent, Rio looks best at a distance. Its population of 800,000 appears to the stranger to combine the vagabondage of all nations under Heaven. In and around the town much of the natural beauty is spoilt by the indolence and filth of the people. "Where every prospect pleases and only man is vile."

The vegetation is tropical; palms grow in profusion, and to a great height. Very large and sweet oranges during the fruit season sell at 6d per 100.

The Cathedral is said to be the richest in the world, much of the wealth of the late Emperor Dom Pedro, being deposited there. Most of the internal trouble of the country is caused by the slaves, who, freed in 1889, are not yet capable of taking their places as citizens and colonists. From a defensive point of view Rio Harbour should be one of the strongest in the world; it has room for an immense number of ships, and owing to its shape might easily be made a second Gibraltar.

From Rio to Teneriffe some trying weather was experienced; tropical showers were followed by a hot sun, and while the decks were drying the moist heat was almost intolerable. Early in the voyage a Sports Committee was formed, and amongst the items of a highly satisfactory programme were a fancy dress ball, a trial by jury, and about 20 different kinds of tournament games.

The members of the team won a very large share of the prizes; cricket was the only game they could not hold their own in. Owing to the accuracy and precision necessary for a successful shot, under present-day conditions, it is a rare thing to find a man first rate as a rifleman and successful at field games. However this may be three matches were played—team versus the other passengers. The team lost two and won one.

Teneriffe was reached on June 6, and the passengers went ashore for a few hours. Almost on the spot where we landed Lord Nelson lost his arm when he tried to surprise and capture a fort.

A stone in the fortifications is to this day shown which, when struck by a cannon ball, broke and splintered. It was one of these splinters which nearly cut off his arm, necessitating amputation.

Owing to his boats getting scattered, and losing their way in the darkness, the attack failed, and Teneriffe possesses in its 500 years old cathedral mementoes not very pleasing to British eyes—two flags, which were captured from our great sea captain, and are placed in the sacred building. This latter was erected when Spain promised fair to become the great ruling Power of both the Old and New Worlds. The town is now very small, and has little of interest to strangers. A short distance outside is an arena large enough to hold many thousands of spectators; here, on occasional Sundays, bull fights can be witnessed.

Now we came in for one of the pests of travelling—beggars. Many of the inhabitants seem to drive a thriving trade in mendicity. A sad case was pointed out to us by one of the team, who in 1897 saw a cripple who could only move about on his hands. The same man was shown to us near the same spot, still begging, in 1904. His seemed to be a genuine case.

To mere strangers passing through, the place is chiefly noted for its excellent tobacco, which can be bought at 2/ per lb., and also for silk, which while some so-called is worthless, yet other is very fine, and is worked up into graceful shawls.

Numbers of invalids from the Old Country spend the winter here, or in the group—places which Pliny, nearly 2000 years ago, christened "The Island: of the Blessed." They are just five days' sail from England.

It may be noted that our boat was carrying 80,000 carcasses of frozen mutton, and we were much gratified when on leaving Teneriffe we were shown the refrigerating machinery. All being interested in the industry, we were pleased to see the meat in excellent condition. Three kinds of machines may be used. Perhaps the safest

and most popular is the dry air machine made by Haslam, Bell and Coleman. With this machine the air is first drawn from the hold where the mutton is stored, and put under a pressure of 50lbs. to the square inch. After going through the compression it is hot, and it passes through brass tubes still under pressure, with cold water on the outside of the tubes. Thus the moisture is separated from the air, and drawn off. The air is then put into an expansion cylinder, and used to help in driving the engine, and now being free from moisture and heat passes into an exhaust cylinder, and from there to the snow box, where it reaches a temperature of about 40 degrees below zero. Then it is forced into the hold amongst the carcasses. After absorbing the heat from the meat, it is drawn out, and goes through the same process all over again.

From the Canary Islands right to the Thames we were in the midst of historic scenes dear to the heart of every Briton, for it is the battleground where for a thousand years we have struggled for supremacy on the sea with France, Spain and Holland.

As we pass Vigo, Finisterre, and Camper down, we must agree with Campbell, and say, "The spirits of your fathers shall start from every wave." The Athenic reached the Tilbury Docks on Sunday, June 12. From there we went by train to London, a journey of about an hour.

Chapter II.

Bisley: The Ranges.

After staying a few days in London, while arrangements were being made at Bisley about lodgings, we went out to the great rifle range of the British Empire, each with our own anxieties as to how we should succeed. Our New Zealand Defence Department had arranged with the War Office that we should be supplied with Lee-Enfield rifles, and we felt great anxiety about using these, since practically all the leading shots of Great Britain use rifles of private make, at an expense of about double that of the service rifle as issued to us. Several members of our team bought the private rifles, but in the end it was found that, provided the rank of service rifle is a close shooter, it could quite hold its own with the best private makes; in fact, the King's Prize was won with a service rifle.

Colonel Collins, who neither slumbered nor slept where the interests of his seam were concerned, allowed us a few days' practice before we began competing for our places in the Kolapore Cup Team, and also competing as to the one man to be admitted into the Prince of Wales match, for only one man from New Zealand could compete in the actual contest itself.

During this time a great deal of experimenting was done. The first shot was fired by Colonel Collins at the 200yds range; our commander securing a centre was the official opening of our practices. But before this two New Zealanders, in an informal way, while looking over the long ranges, came upon two British army officers practising at 900yds. On their learning that these were colonials they were invited to fire one shot each with the officers' rifles; almost a gale of wind was blowing, but the New Zealanders each "put on" a bull's-eye, and instantly explained to the officers that the hits were not quite in the middle, as they were absolutely first shots on that range, not yet having started practice; to which one of the officers laughingly replied: "precious little practice you need." From the very first one and another of the team "put on" fine scores, which had a tendency gradually to rise, until the maximum was in sight. On the first day's practice Smaill topped the list with 98 out of 105. Next day Smaill and Domigan "tied" for first with 99 each. The following day McKenzie "put up" 100, which was shortly afterwards replied to by Irvine with 101.

As the distances at which the Kolapore Cup is fired for are 200, 500 and 600 yards, our six competitions for places in the team were at the same ranges. The competition was made to extend over two weeks, firing three times a week. From the colonel downwards the very keenest interest was taken, and until the last shot was fired no one could be sure of a place. The total number of shots were 126. At the finish Irvine was first with 69 over centres, and a score of 573; McKenzie, who finished with a possible at 600 yards, and a score of 100. was second with a score of 561; Ching came third with 554; Hawthorn, 551; Ballinger, 549; Smaill, 549; King, 548; and Drummond. 546.

The competition as to which man should be the New Zealand representative in the Prince of Wales' match was a keen business from start to finish. The ranges were 200 and 600 yards; five matches were fired, with a total of 76 shots. In order to win Irvine had to get a centre at 600 yards for his last shot, which he did finishing with a total of 336, just 32 points over centres; King was second with 335; McKenzie, 334; Shanks, 333. As mere training experiments there were now six practices at the long ranges. 800, 900 and 1000 yards, where a total of 89 shots were fired. In this Irvine was first with a score of 375. or 19 over centres, the second man being 17 points lower.

At the end of the practices, in spite of the colonel's care that we should not be over-fatigued, several of the

men who distinguished themselves at the start now began to fag. while Sandford and Cox. who had not been able to hold their own at first, were now in good form.

The Bisley range is divided into four parts. The first, known as "The Century Butt," where the firing line is 500 yards long. 300 men shooting in a squad at a time; the distances at which this butt is used are from 200 to 600 yards. It is very difficult to make good scoring here at from five to six o'clock in the evening; the setting sun behind the targets is blinding.

The long range, known as "Stickle-down," is about half a mile away in another direction. Here fifty targets are used. The third section of the range is known as "Siberia." a name given by riflemen, who object to its distance from the central office. It has 24 targets, being used at distances between 200 and 800 yards. The fourth section of the range is for the short distances, mostly 200yds, but including the "running man" and "running deer" targets; also revolver ranges.

A tram runs round the range in a half-circle. Members of the association are carried free to their respective firing points.

Unlike the different colonial rifle associations, the National Rifle Association of England is wealthy, having, it is said, about £30,000 as a reserve fund. For the first few days of the prize meeting the competitions were in most cases not open to colonials; but each day there was a sweepstake; also matches where the entries are unlimited; that is, if a man is dissatisfied with his score he may repay his entry, and shoot again, keeping in the end his best score throughout the day's "shoot." Amongst New Zealanders there was some difference of opinion as to whether it was advisable to expend energy over these second-rate matches. The most successful of those who went in for them were Sandford, Shanks and Cox.

The Kolapore Cup "shoot" was fixed for 2.30, Friday, July 10th. It was agreed that the team should meet at the Colonel's headquarters, "Ivy Cottage," on Thursday evening. Everything was talked of but the morrow, yet a stranger might have seen that all the men had a load on their minds; each time conversation drifted near the fateful subject the Colonel changed its course, and we parted late that night, leaving the morrow to take care of itself. There was no carelessness in this, for all plans and arrangements had been made a week before. At 2 p.m. all the teams were in their places at the firing point: England was on our left, Natal on the right, Canada was some distance down the line. Each team was allowed coaches or instructors. Ching and Ballinger, assisted by Mr Willoughby, of Victoria, were ours.

A strong, tricky left-rear wind was blowing, and a New Zealander, not competing, was told off to sit and smoke a cigar at an angle where he could watch certain flags, invisible to the coaches, his information being signalled to the firing point by an umbrella.

The day proved a very trying one, but Ching, at 200 yards, put up the only possible made in the match.

At the finish of the first range New Zealand had a substantial lead, which was slightly increased at 500 yards. At 600 yards the weather was awful, and we lost some ground, mostly owing to the English coaches' knowledge of the range in such weather being greater than ours. Naturally, the great crowd of spectators were behind their own Home team.

The newspaper reporters went up and down the line like bees. The excitement was the keener since it is the only team test match open to the different colonics against the Mother Country, meaning by that term England, Scotland and Ireland combined.

A very large blackboard showed the score of each team to the public. "Kia Ora" was on the head-line of the New Zealand board, and good luck it proved to be. The excitement became more intense when Ballinger and King went down to shoot. On their success or fail-tire our chances hung. These two veterans had been kept to fire last in case we should be in a tight place, and steel nerves be needed.

When all the shots were gone but three, an officer of the English team came up and congratulated Colonel Collins, saying, "We are four points ahead of you, but with three shots to go you must win."

When the result was officially announced, it was a study to see the different ways the news was received by one and another of the successful competitors; few spoke at all, but shook hands one with another in silence; then our hands were nearly wrung off by our comrades who had not been shooting; afterwards came showers of congratulations, first from New Zealand spectators and friends, and next day from New Zealand and Australia.

There are three men. to whom most credit is due for our success. The first of these is Colonel Collins, who, by his splendid tact and foresight, made things go like clock-work. With the exception of one day, when he had to go to London to look after our interests, he watched every shot fired right through all practices. His devotion to duty can be seen by the fact that he was refusing invitations to dinners and parties on all sides. As a body, the N.Z. riflemen owe Mr Willoughby, of Victoria, a very great deal; he is perhaps the best conch to riflemen in the Southern Hemisphere, and he gave us the full benefit of his knowledge. Much of the result also was due to J. W. Ching who, besides coaching in excellent style, put up our top score; in fact, he was bracketed "first, place" with a member of the Jersey team right through the competition. In this match Scotchmen were strangely unfortunate. By the poor scores put up by three of them the English team lost its chance. Likewise, in the N.Z.

team, of four Scotchmen, three had to take very poor places, and Irvine got a score in this match lower than any other during his six weeks' shooting in England.

The day after the Kolapore Cup the Daily Telegraph" match was one of diamond-cutting keenness. The ranges were 200, 500, and 600 yards, with a possible of 105. About 1600 men entered, and there were fourteen scores of 100 and over. The two top New Zealanders were Irvine 100. and Sandford 98.

In the "Graphic" match McKenzie and Irvine tied with 25 other men for first place, all of them having secured the highest possible score. In the shoot off Irvine got fourth place and McKenzie sixth. So much for the great news-paper matches.

The meeting wore on with varying success to the New Zealand team. In one long range match Sergt. Shanks came second against the whole Empire.

Sandford worked on step by step, until he won the Colonial Aggregate, a first-class rifle, and about £80 in cash. Owing to the rules for the King's Prize and the St. George's being so severe that they weed out riflemen by hundreds, we all felt great anxiety as to whose lot it would be to be sifted out. We felt this the more especially as they are the two greatest individual matches in the Empire. In each case there were about 1000 entries.

The King's is fired in three stages—the first at 200, 500 and 600yds. The highest 300 competitors in this match are allowed to fire in the second stage, the range being 600yds, 20 shots. Five New Zealanders got into the 300; the second stage was then fired to get the highest 100. The 20 shots in troublesome weather proved a harrowing test, and three more New Zealanders went out, and to the disappointment of all hands Ching was amongst them.

The third stage for the King's 100 was at 800, 900 and 1000yds, ten shots at each; this was a great event to the public who came in thousands. Amongst the principal visitors were the Prince and Princess of Wales, Lord Roberts and a number of British Generals. The match began at 2 p.m. A wind of about 15 degrees was blowing from the left, but, unfortunately, was not quite steady; however, the light was good. At the first range, 800yds. out of the possible 50, Irvine "got on" 40; at 900yds he got 47. which placed him a tie for first place with the Indian Chaplain, Ferguson Davies. As the last range (1000yds) was taken in hand, a heavy shower could be seen creeping across the plain towards the range; Irvine's first three shots were bulls'-eyes, while the Chaplain did no good; this gave Irvine a lead of several points, of which he knew nothing at the time; just then the rain burst over the range, and at the same time the news ran down the line that Perry, of Canada, had finished with a score of 321. The rain lasted about 15 minutes, making fire-sight and target almost invisible. While it lasted the association made a harvest in challenges, as they keep the fee deposited to have the target examined—should the shot be a miss. At least two men out of every three firing missed one shot or more after the rain began. Irvine's first shot in the rain (his fourth) was a magpie or a three, then a miss, then two more threes, then as the light improved and the rain stopped he finished with a four and two fives; his break during the rain forced him back to sixth place.

Sandford who could not quite get hold of the wind, was also caught in the rain, and did not improve his position. In fact, the first prizes went to those men who finished early. The St. George's first stage was fired in very stormy weather, which hit the New Zealanders hard—Hawthorn alone got a clear place. Irvine "tied" with 57 others for the lowest place, and in the "shoot off" got in. This match has only two stages in it, and as only 100 may shoot in the second stage, about 1400 men had to be weeded out in the first stage. The second stage is 15 shots at 900yds. Both the New Zealanders worked well to the front in this, finishing four points behind the leading man, Irvine getting sixth place and Hawthorn tenth.

In the "shoot" for the Belgian Cup, a team match, ten men aside, New Zealand tied for first place with the London Scottish, but was counted out in the tie. Eight or nine teams competed. The Princess of Wales presented the prizes. The Prince of Wales in his opening speech specially complimented the New Zealanders, and said that it was the most successful colonial team that had ever visited Bisley.

Chapter III.

Shooting Off A Tie.

One of the everyday occurrences at Bisley is the shooting off of "ties." Where the entries are by thousands, in almost every match a large number of men get exactly the same score, and as there are a limited number of prizes the only way is to shoot off the tie. The most exciting "tie" of all is for the last place or places in the King's Hundred. Sometimes as many as 50 men will tie for the last place. These are told off in twos, to fire at certain targets, the range being 600yds. Each man understands that failure will put him out of the running for this year, perhaps forever. It should be understood that at the targets the highest success, a bull's-eye, is represented by five, and that other results descend to four called a centre, three a magpie, and two an outer (of

course there is no one). They fire shot for shot until each has fired seven times; then there is a pause while the range officers sort out the scores. If the weather conditions have been favourable nothing less than 34, or one short of the possible, has a hope. An officer announces, "All those below 34 may retire." Seven men remain on the firing mound, each has made 34; two of these have finished with a four, and are weeded out their score not being considered so good as those that began with four and finished with six fives.

Then the five remaining men each keenly watching a variable wind with one eye and their opponents' movements with the other, fire one shot each; by some freak of fortune each scores a four. Another cartridge is handed all round, this time four men make fives, and one man a four, and the latter has to retire, the remaining four each again get bulls'-eyes. Another round is issued, and the first man gets a four, and he is out of it, his three opponents each getting fives.

Amongst the spectators excitement becomes intense; the actors feel it, yet show no sign. For several rounds in succession each of the three warriors now score bulls'-eyes; in breathless expectation the onlookers wonder whether the record is to be broken. Untrained observers would suppose that first-class shots, having struck the bull so often, could continue to do so. The expert thinks differently, and wonders whom Fortune will frown on first. Down in the heart of each contestant excitement is struggling upwards, but is sternly repressed as fatal to marksmanship.

To reach the struggle is fierce as mortal combat fought in an amphitheatre of old, only that the result does not go to brute strength, or even to skill alone, for even when intelligence is pitted against intelligence there always is the possibility of what goes by the name of luck ruthlessly intervening. The best man may have to fire in an unreadable gust of wind, or he may use a weak cartridge. All this tends to deepen the individual interest of the match.

The general excitement is now at full tension. The rifles again ring out, and two men secure bulls'-eyes, while the third is badly beaten by the wind and gets a magpie and retires.

The expectation is keener than ever when, in the next round, two competitors only being left, the first man gets a 4; he does not therefore disappear, for his one opponent may also stumble, and as this man's shot, when signalled, turns out also to be 4, and they are no "furrader," the spectators are excited beyond measure. A minute is usually allowed for each shot—that is to say, the shot must reach the target within a minute of the notice to shoot, but on a superbly critical occasion such as this, the rule is tacitly and mercifully ignored—that is to say, no one hurries him. Both having got the clue to their previous blundering—namely, a change of wind—each is brilliant in securing a number of bulls'-eyes in succession.

If in ordinary affairs our duty to our neighbour is to "keep our eyes on him," it is emphasised on an occasion when a hair's breadth departure spells failure to obtain a crowning success; for should one competitor omit to notice that his opponent's last bull's-eye was very much aside, he will not make allowance for a further rising or tanging wind, too imperceptible to ordinary sight or feeling, but fatal (or other wise) to the bullet, and he secures only 4 (a centre). The other will profit by his opponent's sad experience and win a 5, upon which to know what kind of enthusiastic cheers burst forth, nothing but a visit to a big rifle range will suffice. The ovation the second man receives sometimes is hardly even second to that of the winner, for his splendid fight is recognised on all hands.

Chapter IV.

Bisley Wanderers.

When the shooting was finished the team was dismissed, and broke up into twos and threes; all were free to return home when and how they pleased.

All spent a week in seeing something of London. Then some visited friends in England, others went to Ireland, Scotland and France, But before this all spent a most enjoyable evening at the New Zealanders' Club. The warmth of that welcome and the number of fellow-colonials we there met fairly surprised us. Still another pleasure awaited us all—Mr and Mrs Donnelly, of Hawke's Bay, gave a dinner in our honour at the Hyde Park Hotel. One thing that struck us was the noiseless movements and elegant waiting of the Indian servants here employed. A colonial seeing London for the first time is struck with its marvellous wealth, the immensity of the street traffic, and the splendid system by which it is regulated. There are some electric trams, but most of the passenger-carrying is done by omnibuses, accommodating 28 passengers. From these a very fine view of the streets and shops can be obtained especially from the top. In fine weather few travel inside. These 'bus horses are a surprise to strangers; in their class, two out of every three would take a prize at New Zealand shows; also the draught and private carriage horses are a show in themselves. The four-in-hand horses are truly superb. Such are seen to perfection in Hyde Park. London's great promenade, which is exceedingly gay for some hours

each day. Here the great men and women of England are well represented, and magnificent dresses, especially for some days after a big race meeting, such as Ascot, may be seen.

Although these ladies' dresses and jewellery must cost hundreds and thousands of pounds, it is not altogether flattery to say that New Zealand girls can hold their own in beauty.

Two of the first places usually visited by colonials are St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey; both are disappointing in that owing to the size of the buildings not more than half the congregation can hear the preacher, unless he has an exceptionally clear utterance.

When within those sacred walls awe steals into the soul, quite apart from the divine associations of the place. You are recalling past history, you are face to face with England's mighty dead—all around are the tombs of statesmen, soldiers, poets and kings.

Westminster Abbey, or Church of St. Peter, was, according to legend, consecrated by the spirit of St. Peter himself in the year 616. The church, as we see it to-day, is the growth of five centuries; part, built by Edward the Confessor is now incorporated into the present Abbey. Here William the Conqueror was crowned; the same can be said of every King and Queen since his day. Not far from the Abbey is Whitehall Museum, once a royal palace; here Charles I. was beheaded, on a balcony facing the street; the window through which he stepped on to the scaffold, and the balcony, still remain. The exhibits in this museum are all military. Several pieces of Wellington's and Napoleon's uniforms, also carriages belonging to each, are on view. A small rifle belonging to Queen Elizabeth's time is of great interest; it is sighted and grooved on the same principle as the present-day weapon, yet the idea would seem to have been lost sight of for hundreds of years.

From the top of a 'bus we often gazed at the Bank of England. It covers eight acres, and is a strong rather than a showy building. Its wealth practically rules the money markets of the world.

Madame Tussaud's Waxworks Exhibition shows the celebrities of the world for the last 200 years. The figures are so life-like, and the dress so exact, that there is constant danger of mistaking wax figures for live visitors.

The National Art Gallery draws visitors from all nations. If a newcomer went to it every day for a week he would have little more than an idea of what was to be seen. The English excel in landscape pictures, but in art generally the Italians and French leave us behind.

In Regent's Park are the Zoological Gardens, where 2500 animals, if birds and fish be included, may be seen. So great is the care taken that animals from the frozen Arctic thrive as well as those from the Tropics. Over a hundred men are employed to attend to these animals.

It would be tedious to write in detail of the House of Parliament, the British Museum, the Crystal Palace, the Italian Exhibition, etc., but a word must be said about the King's stables. They would delight all New Zealanders. As stables they seem to have reached the acme of perfection; they are so spacious. There were 130 horses in all. The eight cream-coloured ponies used on Coronation and such occasions were carefully scrutinised. The harness mounting was of 22 carat gold; that which the King ordinarily uses is of 0 carat. Except in the matter of the metal needing no polish whatever, neither the 0 carat, nor (as a matter of fact) the 22 carat, seemed much finer than the brass-mounted harness specimens of which were hanging round the harness-rooms.

The roar of the street-traffic, which was deafening, is so splendidly managed that accidents are very rare; once only did we see inconvenience caused by a slight misadventure; in turning, a traction engine locked, and in about five minutes vehicles of various kinds were jammed together waiting to pass along the blocked street.

The police are a fine body. Every man in it knows his district almost to the number of windows in every house. He has the maze of streets on his finger ends; and with the precision of a machine he manages the street traffic, and is strictly obeyed both by drivers and pedestrians.

In many of the best hotels and restaurants waiters receive no wages, and even pay the owner a premium. They are recouped by the "tips" of the visitors: work is so arranged that a different waiter does each separate piece of service required. The visitor at the hotel—even though he stay one night—for his bed and breakfast will have to pay anything between 8/ and 20/. This is all understandable, but—when he goes through the hall to make his exit, four or five waiters will be lined up with all expectancy, and all the demands of expectancy, written large on their face—"Tips." This terror is creeping into the public and Government offices, and should be ruthlessly dealt with. It may be mentioned with bated breath that tips have been found efficacious in the Customs department of Old England.

As it cannot be imagined that New Zealanders are uninterested in sheep, of course we went to the London wool sales, and learnt something from them. We should state here that there are six sales in the year, and that each one lasts about three weeks. We learnt that whether the quantity of wool sent by each grower be one bale or one hundred, every bale is opened out to the view of the buyers, and that they often complain of the way the farmer classes his wool. We were made to understand that unless an expert is employed it pays the grower better to make not more than two classes of his clip; yet, at the same time, speaking generally, two classes

should be made. During the progress of a sale there awaits newcomers a scene of bewildering animation. The auctioneer's policy is to sell as many bales per hour as possible; sometimes as many as fifty buyers, and these of mixed nationalities, will be frantically shrieking at the same time the same offer. Time is indeed money to the auctioneer, and intolerant of delay, the first man to catch his eye is the lucky buyer. Of course there is a reserve below which the wool cannot be sold. The sale usually begins at four in the afternoon, and often continues until midnight.

Nearly half the wool from the colonies goes to French and German buyers; Americans can only buy certain classes, as there is said to be a duty of 5½d per lb on greasy wool going into America. The London sales are declining. Foreign buyers find it pays better to come to the colonies and buy in Melbourne and Wellington and send what they buy direct to their own manufactories. Thus they secure the wool in better condition and avoid the injurious appearances following on shipment and English handling, the latter of which is very rough.

Those interested in the welfare of the colonies get some idea of the needs of London by a visit to the Smithfield meat markets. Each market consists of what [*unclear: n*] only be described as acres of meat; in fact, in a walk of two solid miles there was nothing but meat. Great entities of colonial grown mutton are [*unclear: td*] here.

When placed down at Smith field [*unclear: ef*] or mutton is clean, and generally in excellent condition, but before reaching the consumer it is subject to several [*unclear: ave*] disadvantages, such as thawing and continuous handling—and has no chance of favourably comparing with what is grown in Great Britain. In fact, after it has got into the retailers' hands, owing to its usual damaged appearance, it is placed at such a disadvantage that most inferior Home grown meat is of [*unclear: en*] made to look better than colonial. This poor, tough stuff is sold for New Zealand thereby seriously injuring our industry. The price given by the whole-ale butchers is unreasonably low. But the combination of large buyers, with millions at command, have so far prevented (and it is feared will prevent) [*unclear: lonial*] freezing companies successfully carrying on stores to reach the consumers without the expensive medium of the middleman. Considering the consumer pays double the wholesale price, it is to be hoped that shops in the interests of colonial farmers, as well as of the English people, may yet be prosperous.

Next to the damage done the industry By the too large profits of the middleman is the uneven supply, which, if the different colonies had shops of their own could be regulated.

Chapter V.

To Scotland and the North.

After seeing something of London some of us went by train to Scotland. The railways are all in the hands of private companies. In England these do not work to the same extent with one another as they do in Scotland, and tickets are confined to one route, but in both countries passengers can break the journey where they please.

It must be confessed that manufacturing towns such as Sheffield and Leeds are not very interesting to casual sight-seers and that, notwithstanding their great commercial value, they leave on the memory mostly impressions of smoke and dirt; at any rate, this was so in our case as we journeyed North.

At Garsgill, in Westmoreland, we stayed a couple of days and saw something of English farming. Here is a man of 25. He is a farm labourer. His wages are from 12/ to 18/ per week; but, observe, nothing is found; out of this he keeps himself. A strong girl is paid from £6 to £12 a year. She willingly works indoors or out. In consequence of the cheap labour work is not "rushed" as with us, and what is lacking in expedition gains in thoroughness. The hedges are faultlessly kept. But in the management and handling of sheep they are nowhere. In shearing, often one man holds the sheep while another works the shears. Also, it is usual for one man to lead the horses while another holds the plough. Primitive indeed!

Such is the force of custom that, although the farmers admit that in dry weather it is unnecessary, all cattle are housed for three months during the winter.

Cattle and sheep fetch about double the New Zealand price. Horses in Westmoreland are about the same price as with us. The sheep are mostly of Highland breed. The wool is almost as coarse as goats' hair. They are black faced, have horns, are very hardy, and of about the same weight as our Romneys.

Cattle and sheep vary with the varying conditions of the country. Westmoreland is very stony and hilly, and most of the cattle raised are pure Polled Angus, while throughout both England and Scotland the principal cross is Shorthorn and Polled Angus.

In this English county numbers of old Highland cattle are kept. Their colour is red, with long hair, and long horns. They are rather smaller than the Angus. Here both houses and fences are of stone, and are generally two or three hundred years old.

Another thing English farmers can do and we can't—grow Swedes for stock fattening. Part of their success lies in a better rainfall, and part in the way the land is managed, and part in a rotation of crops. From the railway we saw hundreds of crops, and not a single poor one.

Before leaving Westmoreland a word must be said as to its surrounding scenery. An old castle we passed should be mentioned, "for castles are such curiosities to colonials." It was that of Kendal, or rather the ruins, once the home of Catherine Parr, the last wife of the much-married Henry VIII. We saw this ruin on the way to the Lakes—there are about twenty in all. The country around is thickly wooded with sycamores and oaks. As everyone knows, Windermere is the largest lake. As for Ullswater and Coniston, it is impossible for an ordinary pen to find words to describe their wild beauty. Even New Zealanders concede that there is grandeur indeed in Lake Wastwater. Boats can be hired on any of the lakes. In the summer months small steamers make daily excursions, carrying from 20 to 50 passengers. Coaches run from the different landing-places between the lakes. The neighbourhood thrives on tourists. That is the industry. In each place there are some very fine hotels.

Grasmere may be called the Literary District, since many famous poets and authors made it their home half a century or so ago. We saw in the churchyard of this place the graves of Wordsworth, Ruskin, and Hartley Coleridge. The oldest church in the Lake Country is that of St. Oswald. The present building can be traced back 800 years. Leaving this Lake District we next stop at Carlisle, near the Scotch border. In the neighbourhood a wall built by the Romans to protect the town from the Picts and Scots still stands, and looks as strong as ever.

In the Museum is a collection of Roman stones, some thousands in all. Their inscriptions give detailed accounts of Roman doings in Britain, accounts which did not figure in their books of history.

At last we reached Scotland's commercial capital, Glasgow. From a distance the city looks a perfect collection of smoking chimney stacks. In order to carry the smoke away factory chimneys are compelled to be 200ft. high. Here we visited the great ship-building yards on the Clyde. Alcohol is still a very serious menace to the stability of the Scotch working classes. It is true more drink is consumed in England, but there it is of a lighter kind. Whisky, which is as cheap as beer with us in New Zealand, is the common drink. The severity of the climate is said to account for this in part. In both England and Scotland it is almost as usual to see women drinking as men.

Just a word may here be offered as to the British Workman. Speaking quite generally, and as a mere recorder of facts, to an onlooker he seems to be narrow, altogether selfcentred, and wanting in all-round sight. In such cities as Glasgow and Liverpool especially, owing to foreign competition, trade of all kinds is very dull. It is putting it very mildly to say that this is every bit as hard on the employer as on the workman. But the latter does not see this, or won't, and insists upon the observance of a code of labour rules according to which a workman only does about a quarter the amount of work per day that was accomplished 20 years ago, while he draws higher pay. Competition is keener, profits cut down to a vanishing quantity, labour more exacting than ever. In their attempts to "corner" large contractors, on several occasions lately, workmen have counted without their host. He has retaliated and put his contract through with American labour, paying, of course, passages to England and back. Unless there is a good working co-operation between Capital and Labour there is not the ghost of a possibility of things improving. The British workman's grievance is very real, because although his pay is good his employer cannot afford to keep him going more than half-time. Master and man never needed so much as they do to-day a good large fund of common sympathy to fight the common foe—foreign competition. Unless Chamberlain's policy, or something like it, is carried, England's outlook will not be more reassuring as the years roll by. The situation looks nearly hopeless, since there are any number of politicians on the war-path with a party cry—any cry. It is not at all intended to imply that England is pre-eminently the country for such adventurers: in fact, the very opposite is true. But there they are. They swarm in every land. The above is all a digression, and can be taken for what it is worth, and viewed as utterances poured out while visiting various factories in Glasgow. This city is a great centre from which to make trips into the Western Highlands. A visit to Loch Lomond, a lake 21 miles long, with an area of 27 square miles, and a depth in parts of 630 feet, made us feel uncommonly clannish. For its shores were the home of nearly all the clans in their infancy.

But since the history of clans would drive any but the Scotch stark mad, we pass over the subject, but do so with [unclear: eep] regret. We sorrowfully record the fact that it is an irreverent age. [unclear: n] haps even irreverent ones would find of interest to learn that on Loch Lo-[unclear: ond] itself steamers are built to carry passengers. The clans will peep in not, for on the spot where stood the home of the McGregors there is now a first class hotel; it is the con-[unclear: ting] link between this lake and Lech Katrine; close by is the cave here King Robert Bruce hid for sometime after an unsuccessful brush with the Douglas clan.

To anyone interested in Scotch history the whole district teems with [unclear: laces] and things associated with the wild old clans. In 1724 George I. sent General Wade to report on the district, He found 22,000 fighting clansmen who believed the Scotch Lowlands to be their inheritance. In 1747 the jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished, roads here made through the country, and [unclear: rts] built. The first to take command of these

forts was General Wolfe, who afterwards won Canada to our Empire at the battle of Quebec.

From Glasgow to Edinburgh, the distance of about 70 miles is easily reached by train. Sir David Wilkie, who knew European cities so well, said, "Here is combined the architectural beauties of all Italy and Greece." In fact, on all sides this "modern Athens" one hears spoken of as the "prettiest city in the world," at any rate all Scotchmen say so: of course, Italians might not agree. But it would be worth a long journey to see one more beautiful.

Colleges abound, and they are not empty. In them are to be found students from the whole civilised world. A fine view of the city can be obtained from the Castle, which rises on a rock high above the city. It is so built that before the days of 4.7 guns even Highlanders themselves could only take it by surprise. But the vantage point for a bird's eye view is Arthur's Seat, a high cone overlooking the town. Parts of 12 different counties can be seen. A fine carriage drive winds round it nearly to the top. On the slopes of this hill the old Scotch hillside services are still held. It may here be stated that Edinburgh is a city of churches, and that two-thirds of the people, are regular attendants. Few visitors leave without seeing the monuments on Carlton Hill. That to Nelson is very fine. It is worthy of note that there are more monuments to the memory of the Prince Consort and Queen Victoria in Scotland than in England.

Holyrood draws great numbers of visitors. Its chief attraction is its connection with the sad story of Mary Queen of Scots. Her apartments remain almost exactly as on the day she left them; great care is taken in preserving everything. Looking back from the vantage ground of time, we now see how the ill-advised connection of the Stuarts with the French Royal Family changed the course of Scotch history.

In 1840 a monument was raised to the memory of Sir Walter Scott, at a cost of £16,000. It is 200 feet high. There is a fine view from the top. It is said to have invited the admiration of the best judges of Gothic architecture in Europe. Another of the sights near Edinburgh is the Forth Bridge. It is nearly a mile and a quarter long, and is 450 feet high, the highest in the world. The masonry piers on which it is built are from 50 to 90 feet under water. It has two sets of rails, so that two trains may cross at once; 10,000 tons of steel were used in its construction. It is painted to check rust. The surface is 25 acres, which takes 250 tons of paint. It was seven years in building, and cost £3,500,000.

While we were in Scotland the decision of the House of Lords was announced in connection with the Scotch Church case; much of the money involved, some millions, is laid out in colleges, churches and manses.

A great number of ministers and their families will be homeless unless the decision of the House of Lords can be upset. The great majority of the nation is opposed to the decision, and feels that the Lords, by ignoring the existing Church, have trampled upon Scottish freedom. The nation is angry, but the ministers of religion throughout the country are working hard to guide their congregations into a right way of viewing the subject. There is a very general feeling that the case is yet a long way from settlement. The hope is growing that ultimately the House of Commons will be able to deal equitably with the matter.

At St. Andrew's we were fortunate enough to see the annual fair or market. People come from all parts, and in this respect it is not unlike one of our agricultural shows. But the principal business is the hiring of farm servants for the year.

Chapter VI.

Scotland.

We proceeded north by train. Before, reaching Dundee the Tay Bridge is crossed. It was the scene of a terrible disaster in 1879. An excursion train, full of passengers, in trying to cross at night in a gale was lifted off the rails by the wind. Part of the bridge gave way, and the train fell into deep water. Being locked in the carriages, every one of the passengers was drowned.

The piles of the old bridge are still standing, and look very flimsy beside the present magnificent foundation and structure. Like the Forth Bridge, the line is double, so that no delay is caused in the traffic. As to the speed of trains, the highest is from 60 to 65 miles an hour. The brakes are exceedingly powerful, and a train can be stopped at very short notice. The third-class carriages are most comfortably cushioned, and patent springs are used, so that the motion of the train is not unlike that of a ship, yet without producing any feeling of sickness.

From Dundee we went out by a branch line to Alyth. We went over agricultural land, and looked at some very fine cattle and sheep. Where the country is richest the best breeds of English sheep are kept, also shorthorn cattle. Farming pays neither the landlord nor the tenant—whether it be agricultural or grazing. On this system with both parties it is a bare matter of living from hand to mouth. If a man could own his farm and work it as is done in New Zealand, grazing would pay well. But nearly all the land is owned by old families who have been

wealthy and will not now bring their sons up to farm work. Thus the land is left to tenants, who each year are able to pay less and less rent, and who also proportionately lower the wages of their labourers.

Foreign competition is responsible for this.

The question is, "Do tangible advantages to the majority in the large towns compensate sufficiently this agricultural distress?"

On the way to Aberdeen we saw a band of Gipsies camped on a vacant piece of land; they are looked upon as a great nuisance. The law can do little to check them. In the neighbourhood we saw numbers of wealthy men fishing, but never heard of a fish being caught.

Great sums are paid for fishing rights to the owners of land through which rivers and streams run. The number caught is so few that they cost the sportsman their weight in gold. This same thing (except in the case of royalty and such like—small results on the top of big outlay) applies to shooting. It pays the owner better to let his land out to the highest bidder for sporting purposes than it does to farm it. With most of the farms plenty of game exists, but like some armies, mostly on paper. Many of the would-be "shootists" come from America, of course, also from England. Thus the land-owner is able to secure fresh sportsmen each season.

If our New Zealand Acclimatisation Society have not already done so, it would be to the interests of sportsmen to import grouse. These are nearly as large as pheasants, and increase at a marvellous rate. Both the English and Scotch climates suit them, and there seems no reason why that of New Zealand should not be equally favourable. Aberdeen, which is very prosperous as a seaport, does perhaps the largest business in Scotland in sea fishing—the fish being sent by train all over the country. We were very much struck with the price of all kinds of goods exhibited in the shop windows, the rates being decidedly below those of London—qualities being equal. The railway to Ballater runs along the banks of the Dee, a little river not unlike the Maitai in Nelson. The Dee valley varies in width from two miles to 200 yards. Except along the river bank the country is very poor, and the hills grow little else than birch. From the railway quite a number of big country houses can be seen perched on commanding positions.

We did the nine miles from Ballater to Balmoral by bicycle through a birch forest, so dense that the road gets little sun and was in a very muddy state. On our way back we found a much drier, better road.

The situation of Balmoral Castle much resembles a certain locality on the slopes of our New Zealand Ben Nevis, built on a promontory formed by the winding Dee, almost surrounded by [unclear: s,] on one side high and heathered (heather which we saw for the first time and in full bloom); on an [unclear: er] as far as the eye can see, are high, birch-covered hills. The King and Queen stay here for a short time on [unclear: veral] occasions during the summer. It may here be stated that out in New Zealand many people have no idea what busy life the King leads. Little time left him for pleasure or that can be silled his own.

Chapter VII.

Gay Paris.

Before leaving New Zealand we had made up our minds to visit, if possible, the French capital. Leaving Scotland, we now set out on [unclear: r] way to Paris. But previously in making arrangements, we defied to place ourselves in the hands of Cook's Tourist Agency. Their head office is in London, with, as everyone knows, branches all over the world. This plan may be rather more expensive, but it is thoroughly satisfactory, especially when the time is limited and the language unknown. We paid a lamp sum in London. This included English railway, steamer, French railway, hotel bill, and carriage drives.

Leaving London at 9 o'clock at night, we reached New haven in about two hours. The Channel steamers, built to [unclear: arry] about 100 passengers, travel at a great pace.

We reached Dieppe, the French seaport, at 3 in the morning. Early though it was, our things were soon inspected by the Customs' officers, and after getting some breakfast we started by train for Paris, passing on our way the old town of Rouen. The country we were speeding through is not nearly so fine as that which most parts of England can show, while the cattle, sheep, and horses are a long way inferior. Near Rouen, as early as 5 o'clock in the morning, we saw great crowds of workpeople going to their daily toil in the factories. By 7 o'clock we had reached Paris. The first thing was to find our hotel, the "London and New York." At last, by showing a policeman the printed address, he pointed out the building. Here we found English-speaking people from all parts of the world. Staying there was a professor in a Scotch University, who assured us that his experience of wide travelling in Europe led him to see that the English language was becoming so generally known that in fifty years' time it would not be necessary to be familiar with any other—for purposes of travel.

Cook's Agency have a number of conveyances, each carrying about 30 passengers (nearly all English-speaking people), taking whole day excursions around Paris.

Through the summer months there is a constant stream of these tourists.

A great feature of the throbbing daily life of this gay city is its cafes, or restaurants. How to live outside in the open air the French know to perfection. In summer small tables for four people stand out often half-way across the pavement. Each cafe will provide 20 or 30 such tables. Numbers of Parisians make a rule of spending half an hour when business is over smoking cigarettes, sipping coffee, and listening to music at their favourite restaurant. Throughout the evening there is a scene of great animation and gaiety. If London can be seen to advantage from the top of a 'bus, an hour at one of these tables affords a fine chance of studying Parisian life. It is said that the annual amount of wine sold in this city is 100 million gallons, yet it should be added that during our stay we came across no one the worse for drink.

The omnibus and tramway systems are admirable. Both trams and railway are worked by electricity. Several of the railways are underground, and rival, if they do not excel, the London Underground and "Twopenny Tube" railways. Travellers can get swiftly and cheaply to almost any part of Paris by these lines. Another cheap and pleasant way of travelling is by the river; it must be understood that the Seine runs right through the city, and that there is a fine steamboat service. The river is spanned by forty bridges, the finest Port Alexander III., whose foundation stone was laid by that Emperor in 1896, commemorating the alliance between France and Russia. No other bridge crosses the river in one span. It is 360 yards long and 130 wide.

Among specimens of fine architecture are churches. Although religion sits lightly on the Parisians, there are plenty of places of worship. About twenty of these are English, all of our leading denominations being represented. The Salvation Army has not succeeded to the same extent as the McAll mission, the latter especially being a great evangelistic power.

In the Roman Catholic churches fine organs and excellent music can always be reckoned on. The great Notre Dame Cathedral has the second largest organ in the world. Strange to say, Sydney, New South Wales, has the largest, or had up to the time of the St. Louis Exhibition. Prodigious sums of money are expended in decorating the interiors of the finer churches with carvings and pictures. A carving representing the Last Judgment, another the Burial of the Virgin, both superb works of art, are in this Notre Dame. This cathedral, founded in 1103, is capable of holding 20,000 people. Amongst its relics are said to be fragments of the Crown of Thorns, and a nail from the true Cross. In 1793, during the first revolution, the terrible edict went forth that this glorious pile of buildings was to be destroyed. To the gain of piety and art the order was rescinded; but Notre Dame has had its vicissitudes—it was then turned into a Temple of Reason. Restored by Napoleon in 1802, by the Communists in 1871 it was used as a military depot. Afterwards these vandals tried to burn it.

Perhaps the finest church is the Madeleine. It, too, in its chequered career has had painful reminiscences of war—of civil war. In that same fatal year, 1871, it was held by the Communists against the Government. Bullet marks are still plainly seen. When the Versailles army finally prevailed some hundreds of these Communists were bayoneted in the very church itself.

Amongst the many buildings to arrest attention is the Grand Opera House. It is the largest in the world, and covers nearly three acres. Five hundred houses were pulled down to make room for it. The material with which it is built was gathered from every country in Europe. It cost £1,500,000. It may be mentioned that our guide (part of Cook's contract) was a Dutchman, speaking nearly all the languages of Europe, including "first-class English." He next took us to the Place de Concord, a great square. In its centre is the obelisk of Luxon (sister obelisk to Cleopatra's Needle, now in London). This obelisk, placed there in 1830, is a solid piece of stone 76ft high, and weighs 240 tons. It is erected on a granite block weighing 96 tons. It stands on the spot where the guillotine was fixed which, in 1793, finished the earthly life of King, Queen and 2000 citizens. In this square there are eight fine statues, representing the chief towns of France; the one in honour of Strasburg, which became German after the war in 1871, is draped in mourning once a year. Here in this square foreign armies have three times encamped, and amongst them the English in 1815. It is well worth seeing at night, when it is lit by innumerable jets of gas.

"Now," said our guide, "for the palace of the French President." Built in 1718, it has been occupied by every ruler of France since that time. The last royal personage to enter it was the German Emperor, in 1871, while his armies were in Paris. After that we visited the Eiffel Tower, known as "The Nightmare of Paris." Its height, 985 feet, leaves all other constructions in the world 430 feet lower than itself. It is a lattice work of steel. What is its appearance? In shape, at any rate, rather like a great tree with all its branches stripped off. On this tower are three platforms, the first about the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. London. Visitors by the hundred congregate here. For their convenience are various shops, restaurants and cafes—and, in fact, on all three platforms, even of the third, which is 863 feet high, there is a theatre, and a post office. Think of the roaring trade therein carried on in post cards despatched to friends in all parts of the earth, with the Eiffel Tower post mark stamped large on them. The city below, creeping, so to say, all round the tower, and then outwards, and still again inwards, looks like a map. When the light is favourable the country for fifty miles round can easily be distinguished. A hydraulic lift takes visitors right to the top; return fare 2/6. Should anything break in

connection with the lift, what happens? Nothing. It is impossible that there should be a fall of more than a few inches.

From the Tower one thing caught our gaze—the fortifications of the city. In the past a wall 33 feet high, with a moat 18 feet deep, extended for 45 miles round the city. Modern military conditions have rendered all this obsolete. The present defences have been built further out. There is an impression amongst Englishmen that they are tremendously strong, and that the French artillery is the best in the world. The largest and strongest fort is Mount Valerien. it [unclear: used] great destruction amongst the [unclear: German] invaders in 1871, and when, as sequel to this invasion, there was [unclear: ongst] the French themselves that body struggle between anarchy and Government. this fort helped to decide a the interests of order.

Chapter VIII.

The Conclusion of Our Continental Holiday.

What is known as Versailles, about 20 miles from Paris, is hard to describe, The palace covers acres, and has been so built on and added to for the last 300 years that its symmetry is completely spoilt. Here Louis XIV. and Louis XV. lived and died. Here the mob, in 1791, after they had killed the Swiss Guard to a man, seized Louis XVI., with his Queen, and carried them to Paris, to die for the crimes of their ancestors. In 1815 it was pillaged by the Prussians; later it was occupied in succession by every French Royalist who filled the throne. The guide pointed out Louis XIV. 's state-room, where, in 1871, William I of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany. The gardens are about 100 acres in extent, and every tower of Europe is cultivated. The principal sights are a Swiss lake, formed at enormous cost, and the large number of fountains. One, known as the Great fountain, throws water to a height of 74 feet. Monuments and works of art adorn every niche and corner.

Within the city the Vendome Column such resembles the Trafalgar Monument in London. It was originally built to commemorate Napoleon's victories over the Russians and Austrians in 1805. It is 142 feet high and 13 feet in diameter. It is built of masonry, and covered with iron plating made from 1200 guns which were captured in the 1805 campaign; on the iron are worked scenes in the different battles. A statue of Napoleon surmounts the column.

Before 1871 the greatest sight in Paris was the State-owned manufactory of the Gobelin tapestry and carpets, but a fire destroyed part of the great works, and Now only 150 hands are employed. The tost of these fabrics is so great that few but royalty can buy them. We watched the work for some time. A man's task for a whole year is one yard of carpet. In the tapestry work, the pattern is behind the worker, with a mirror in front. About two inches is done each day. So much for manufacture; now for art.

The first building usually visited by tourists is the Louvre, founded in 1233. On the first floor are sculptures so lifelike that one almost expects the figures to speak. Those from Italy far and away excel those of other nations. Further on was some Sevres china, baked in 1800 degrees of heat, and worth much more than its weight in gold. Here are preserved the sword and crown of France, silent witnesses of the Royalty of the past, and which even now might have been—but we must not moralise. By the side of them is exhibited the Regent diamond, the market value of which is £600,000.

We were very much interested in a model of the palace of Darius at Shushan, mentioned by Daniel the prophet. In excavating amongst the ruins of Babylon, Frenchmen (who are to the front in all such work) have found that Daniel's account was minutely correct. Quantities of the material used in the model had been carried all the way from Babylon to Paris. A statue of Venus, the work of an artist 200 years B.C., causes even the most time-pressed tourist to pause in admiration.

The pictures are a marvel to the whole world, except to the Americans, who. of course, have better at home. France to-day has 200 great artists, all struggling for fame, and these find the greatest difficulty in getting one of their pictures accepted for exhibition in the Louvre. About the time Marengo was fought the best pictures in the galleries of Venice, Rome, Florence and the leading cities of Italy were seized by the French and placed in the Louvre. By the treaty of 1814 all these had to be returned; to a great extent this clause was evaded, and the pictures are on exhibition at the French capital today.

In the course of two hours we went through some of the principal rooms of this vast building, but our guide assured us that we would need to go every day for six months to see the Louvre properly.

Paris has many libraries; the greatest, "The National," is the largest in the world, containing 3,450,000 books and maps. French nautical maps and charts are said to be the most complete and accurate known. The French people erected a fine institute in memory of M. Pasteur, to whom the world owes so much for his microbiological researches.

Tourists are reminded of the St. Bartholomew Massacre—"a greater disaster to France than any war she has

ever engaged in"—by the monument erected to the memory of Admiral Coligny, the famous Protestant officer killed in that ruthless slaughter.

The abattoirs of Paris cover 67 acres, besides the market yards, which have an area of 250 acres; here 4000 cattle and 10,000 sheep are killed weekly. A few shops sell nothing but horse flesh; this is only eaten by the poorer classes. Poverty there may be, but not the poverty known in the large English towns. Amongst all classes art and pleasure seem to be the only objects in living. If gaiety and beauty make a bright city, then Paris is the brightest in the world. But Time is the enemy that will show the French nation in its true light. Children are becoming so scarce amongst the well-to-do people that soon they will be shown in museums.

Our guide next took us to see the graves of some of France's great dead in the Lachaise Cemetery. Its area is 110 acres. It has 18,000 monuments. Wealth can be seen in the tombs of the Rothschilds; here they are very costly. Fine monuments mark the graves of President Thiers and Marshal McMahon, the two saviours of France in the disastrous years '70-'71. The monument to the "Dead Who Have No Burial" draws crowds, and makes people think and think. So does "The Disappointed Lovers' Tomb"; at any rate, it did Mark Twain.

Amidst these weird surroundings, and quite unexpectedly, we came across the grave of Sir Sidney Smith, the hero of Acre. This was the man Napoleon blamed for spoiling his Destiny. And in connection with that Destiny, before we bid adieu to this fascinating city, we will view his place of burial, which is, not merely to Englishmen and Frenchmen, but to all Europe alike, the building that calls up tragic memories indeed—The Hotel des Invalides. (The word "hotel," as everyone knows, has in French a much wider meaning than in our language.) Originally intended for a hospital, part of this great building is now a church, surmounted by a beautiful gilded dome 340 feet high. But it is not the gilded dome that attracts countless tourists of all nationalities in ceaseless pilgrimage to this sanctuary, but the ashes of Napoleon. His tomb is magnificent. Beneath the dome is a circular crypt 35 feet in diameter, and 20 feet deep. The walls are of polished marble, and fine is the effect when the sun, shining through the stained glass windows, throws his gleams on the precious stone. In the bottom of the crypt is the sarcophagus itself. Nothing but marble still; only here it is variegated. It is in this place that all the mortal remains of the once dreaded—dreaded and loved—Conqueror and Captive can be found. "I desire that my ashes may rest on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people I have so well loved." This clause in his will was carried out when in '40 his embalmed body was removed to Paris. His elder and younger brothers are also buried quite near. It is in another part of the church the tomb of his first wife is to be found—the unfortunate Josephine. His Destiny! Yes. as we again looked at his palace, it was not easy to realise that less than 100 years ago within its walls the mightiest intellect that ever gave itself to the study of war was framing the most tremendous combination of the armies of Europe to wreck England as a free nation. Had this succeeded, what would have been our present state as a people? Had Acre gone down, had Nelson lost command of the sea. had Russia succumbed to Napoleon's armies in the winter of 1812, would Britain be Great Britain now? And whose flag (if any) would wave in New Zealand? The mighty Emperor has gone. The families who for a thousand years have been the nobility of France are gone. Religion is a mere shadow.

In their place has arisen a godless France, a childless France, a great nation drifting downwards, blind to its fate. So gay, one would suppose a bright drama was being enacted, instead of a tragedy on a tremendous scale.

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The Feeding of Plants and Animals

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By F. Truby King, M.B., C.M., B.Sc.

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The Feeding of Plants and Animals

By F. Truby King, M.B., C.M., B.Sc.

One of Charles Reade's heroines says, "My mother was an ideal woman; she taught me three rarities—attention, observation, and accuracy." Why rarities? The judicious cultivation of these faculties, neglected and almost entirely left out of account in our ordinary practice of education, even where nominally provided for, would do more to advance the interests of the farming community than any other measure. We are the fortunate owners of a country which embraces within a small compass a wider and more important range of geological and climatic valuations useful to man than any other country in the world—a country of infinite potentialities. There is almost no limit to the degree to which our resources could be extended and developed if we had a rising generation trained in the exercise of attention, observation, and accuracy; habituated to calling in the senses and the reasoning faculties to direct their manual work, and able to keep pace in practice with the

trend of advances which are being made at the thinking centres of the world in the systematic development of the practice of farming. There is nothing formidable, complex, or difficult to understand in the practical application of modern scientific ideas. Everything needed would be well within the compass of our average youths if they had the necessary faculties cultivated at school, instead of being crammed with a vast amount of scholastic detail which is as distasteful to themselves as it is useless in practical life. We want to humanize the school, and we want to humanize our country life. Professor Robertson says: "The appalling waste of child life in thousands of our rural schools in Canada is little less than a crime against humanity.... We have a lot of people who are mentally starved, who are thin in their interests because they have not been given the chance to identify their thoughts with the interesting things that are about them all the while. That part of their nature has not been cultivated. In the elementary schools a boy's faculties and powers should be so quickened and trained that, when he grows to be a man and follows agriculture, he will do it in a masterful, intelligent way as a man should, not in a hind-like, animal way." Those of us engaged in trying to advance agricultural knowledge and practice find ourselves handicapped, not by what can fairly be called the stupidity of the farmer, but by the stupidity of the system which has neither habituated nor fitted him to think or act along the lines of modern progress.

The Feeding of Plants

I am asked to write on the broad subject of feeding plants and animals, but, to convey any precise ideas at all, I must employ the alphabet of science.

My ABC must be, on the one hand, Phosphates, Alkalies, and Nitrogenous salts; and, on the other hand, Proteids, Carbon-hydrates, and Fats. Take the simpler case first. What food does a plant need? Mainly air and water. Given these, an ordinary plant, with reasonable protection, will grow and flourish in the presence of sunshine, provided it has a suitable medium in which to push out its root system and to serve as a basis from which to rear the stem and leaves. Air, water, and sunshine are common property; and mere land, apart from the question of quality, is cheap enough. What, then, is there left for the farmer to supply when he has given his plant a suitable mechanical basis of support? What does a plant need to take out of the soil that land should vary so much in price? The common notion is that a plant builds most of its solid structure out of the solids it absorbs from the soil, though a moment's reflection over what remains after the burning of a tree or a field of ripe corn would point to the true conclusion, namely, that the whole plant—root, stem, leaves, and seed—is made out of mere air and water, with a trace only of solid mineral matter. But it is just this trace which it is important for the farmer to know about, because, while Nature has been liberal enough to supply him without charge with an inexhaustible stock of air and water, she has left it largely to himself to keep stored up in the soil with his own labour and money the proper proportion of mineral matter and nitrogen needed by the crops which he elects to grow.

Much can be done by systematic rotation and thorough tillage to keep the land in good heart—in other words, to induce Nature by means of sunshine, frost, rain, bacteria, etc., to keep on liberating from the upturned soil and subsoil year after year a sufficiency of the special salts needed for each succeeding crop. Proper rotation and tillage form the basis of all good agriculture, and really constitute the best means of manuring the land; but, when we desire to make specially paying crops take their turn more rapidly than Nature is able to renew her supplies, we must be prepared to make up the deficiency ourselves. In one soil the potash will tend to run short, in another the phosphates, in another the nitrogen; and this result will be much affected by the nature of the crops grown.

The purpose of the science of economic manuring is to learn to add each season for the particular crop we intend to grow just what is lacking in our soil, and nothing more. It requires no thought or knowledge to buy a manure labelled "Potato Manure" or "Turnip Manure," as the case may be; but this is mere wasteful empiricism, because such compounds can be specially adapted only for a particular soil in a particular condition. They contain all the manurial constituents, where, perhaps, only one is markedly lacking. Attentive, accurate observation and experiment alone can determine what is really needed, and every farmer can find out this for himself without expense if he will take a little trouble.

Consider the case of a particular crop—the potato. At the present time this is especially important, on account of the "blight," which is Nature's messenger warning us that, if we do not keep our crops in robust health and vigor, she is going to back a lower form of life to destroy them. Our only response in the face of the enemy is the expensive one of arming ourselves with spraying pumps and poisons to kill the organisms as they come on year after year. The precaution is a proper one, but more essential things to do are (1) to grow only the hardiest and most resistive types of potatoes; (2) to procure good medium-sized seed from vigorous crops in other localities; (3) to keep the seed properly, so that it may not use up its strength by loss of first growth before planting; and, finally, to plant early in well-tilled ground containing the proper manurial constituents. We are

fortunate if we happen to have a new bush clearing or a lea paddock which has not borne a potato crop for many years, but in the best potato districts such conditions are becoming rare. At Oamaru, for instance, I find farmers engaged in growing potatoes over and over again, almost without intermission, and with the addition of little or nothing in the way of manure. The steady decrease in the quantity and quality of the crops, which the farmers all admit and deplore, is inevitable.

Diagram of Potato Showing Sources of Ultimate Components. The Shaded Area below Indicates the One Per Cent. Derived from Nitrogen and Mineral Matter Absorbed from the Soil.

Surely it would be worthwhile to find out precisely what is lacking. Nature contributes free everywhere at least 99 lbs. of the weight of every 100 lbs. of potatoes grown. We are called upon to supply only what she fails to make up, viz., at most, about one per cent of the weight of our crop. In other words, if we manage to increase a five-ton crop to a ten-ton crop by manuring, we shall have contributed to the tubers only about one cwt. per acre of pure phosphoric acid, potash, and nitrogen, at a cost of about £2 8s. 6d. This sum would provide a quarter of a ton of manure made up of 3 cwt. superphosphate, 1¼ cwt. of sulphate of potash, and ¾ cwt. of sulphate of ammonia, which allows a margin for impurity of commercial manures, for what is carried away by drainage, for what the plants fail to absorb, and for what they employ in building their roots, stems, and leaves. It will have cost us thus £2 8s. 6d. for the yield of an extra five tons of superior potatoes, and we shall have done much to render our crop vigorous and to save it from the ravages of disease. Such a compound manure as I have indicated would tend to largely increase the yield of potatoes on any land impoverished by cropping, because it contains all the necessary manurial constituents and is rich in potash, which is the special requirement of all the solanum tribe—potatoes, Cape gooseberries, tomatoes, native proper (bull-a-bull), etc.—which we know to revel in our bush clearings, rich in the potash of fallen leaves and burnt trees.

Some soils lack little but potash. In such cases why should we incur great expense in providing full proportions of nitrogen and phosphates? Usually all three constituents are beneficial, but they need to be supplied in proportions varying widely according to the soil. The problem of economic manuring can be solved in one way only, and it can be approximately solved very simply. When drilling a paddock for potatoes, mark out a small, even-looking patch for testing. Say the rows are 31 inches apart: select 10 drills and put pegs 15 feet apart in each drill. Each short row between the pegs will then represent 1-1120th of an acre, and will serve for 10 potatoes placed 18 inches apart. A quarter of a pound of manure to 15 feet is, then, equivalent to 2½ cwt. per acre. Treat the patch as follows:—

No. of Row	Manure	Weight in ozs.	Equivalent to cwt. per Acre	Cost per Acre	Total	£	s.	d.	£	s.	a.
1	No manure	—	—	—	2	1	0	0	2	8	6
2	Superphosphate	4 4/5	3 16 6	Sulphate of potash	2 1/4	1	0	0	1	6	6
3	Superphosphate	4 4/5	3 16 6	Sulphate of potash	2 1/4	1	0	0	1	6	6
4	Sulphate of ammonia	4 4/5	1 1/5 3/4	16 12 6	0 1 8 6 5	Sulphate of potash	2 1/4	1	0	0	Sulphate of ammonia
5	Sulphate of ammonia	1 1/5 3/4	12 0 1	12 0 6	No manure	...	—	—	—	—	—
6	No manure	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	Superphosphate	4 4/5	3 16 6	16 6 8	Sulphate of potash	2 1/4	1	0	0	9	10
8	Sulphate of ammonia	1 1/5 3/4	12 0 12 0	10	No manure	...	—	—	—	—	—

row prepared seacliff seed - cut

Experimental patch of British Queen Potatoes planted at Seacliff in August of the present year with a view to ascertaining the advantage of keeping seed in shallow trays partially exposed to light and freely exposed to air, as compared with keeping the seed in bulk on a cellar floor or in pits.

The fore-ground area, below the white line, was planted with seed kept in the ordinary way, and procured from a first-class seedsman in Dunedin. It was an excellent sample, and had the advantage of coming from a district remote from Seacliff. The seed was picked and weighed, and the four rows were planted in succession from left to right with potatoes weighing respectively 2oz., 3oz., 4oz., and 5 to 7oz. The same order of weight was continued above the white line, but using potatoes grown at Seacliff. In this case, therefore, there was not the advantage of a change of seed. On the other hand, these potatoes had been stored, from the time of lifting the crop, in shallow trays, exposed to air and diffused light. The trays were essentially similar to those shown in the diagram to the left, but were made rather deeper and with skeleton frames, in order that there might be a free passage for light and air between the successive layers of potatoes when the trays were piled up to a height of four or five feet in a shed. The battens, &c., needed for making a thousand trays, cost £20. The labour of making was very little indeed, and could be done by any boy who has learned to use a hammer and saw. With reasonably careful usage, the trays should last ten years. A thousand trays suffice for storing about a hundred thousand tubers—say enough to plant about ten acres. The crop shown above is almost ready to dig, and, at the present high prices, would bring over £130 per acre. The three potatoes in each row between the lower transverse white line and the stakes higher up, were intentionally deprived of the shoots they had formed at the

time of planting, and had to start in the same apparent condition as the potatoes planted below the white line. The seed planted with the sprouts intact came up with almost perfect regularity in September, a month sooner than similar seed deprived of shoots. The coming up of the seed kept in the ordinary way was extremely irregular, and was delayed from another month to two months; and in some instances the shoots are only appearing now, in the middle of December. This delay is partly due to the unusual wetness and backwardness of the season. Our neighbours' potato crops have in some cases failed almost completely, owing to the tubers rotting in the ground. It will be noted that one row of the seed kept in trays was cut. As this row runs right through the patch, it can be directly contrasted, in the fore-ground, with the comparatively feeble growth of the ordinary seed on either side. In further reference to the fore-ground patch, planted with ordinarily-kept seed, it may be noted that the potatoes between the transverse white line and the white pegs below were uncut, whereas those below the pegs were cut. The cutting, therefore, seems to have exerted comparatively little influence. The true test, however, will be the actual yield of potatoes. In the meantime it is interesting to study the diagram to the left, taken from a child's primer, published by Macmillan's twelve years ago, and to read what experience and observation had then taught on the other side of the world.

I would further point out that over half a century ago—after the potato disease had ruined Ireland—a London market gardener showed in a series of letters written to the *Times*, that while the potatoes all around him were a prey to the blight, his crops were unaffected, simply because he had taken the trouble to keep his seed exposed to light and air. Yet our New Zealand practice is still in the dark ages!

Seed Potatoes and Resulting Crops.

Prepared Set (as in tray) and its crop on the left; Weakened Set and its crop on the right.

PREPARING THE SETS.—The preparation of the seed begins when the crop of the current year is lifted. Sound tubers, of medium size, are then taken and set on end—the eyes kept upward. Gradually, during the winter, a shoot as stout as one's little finger appears on the upper end of the tuber; by the end of August it is surmounted by a crown of leaflets, and rootlets protrude from its base. When required for planting the sets are carefully removed and placed in the ground without the shoots being injured. Growth follows with marvellous rapidity, none of the pristine vigour of the tuber having been wasted. A full crop of fine large tubers is a certainty, other conditions being equal. This is very different to the old method of placing the potatoes in a heap covered with straw and soil, or piled up in a dark room or cellar. Yet that was once the only way. the crowded tubers making long white weakly growths which were rubbed off, in some instances repeatedly, till planting came, to be followed by a weakly uneven growth of haulm and an inferior crop of tubers.—(See the illustration above.)

At the end of a single season a farmer who carefully carries out this simple experiment with an equal sample of potatoes will have learned more about the science of economic manuring in relation to his own farm than any books or professors can tell him. I have supplied sets of weighed packets of manures, with directions, to two schools and to a number of persons interested in progressive farming, both in the North and South, this year, and shall be glad to do the same next season. Our object is to try to stimulate interest in farming as a profession, and to acquire and diffuse reliable practical information as to the special manurial requirements of various parts of the colony. We hope also to enforce attention to the great truth that the highest wisdom lies in sparing no pains to maintain the young organism throughout in the best possible condition. In plants, just as in the case of animals, the inroads of disease are best prevented by keeping the organism well nourished, vigorous, and healthy. It is better to be prepared to fight one's enemies rather than poison their wells. The potato plants which suffer most from various blights are those which have the least vital energy and resistiveness—the turnips attacked by aphides in a field are not, as one might expect, the healthiest and most appetising, but the weakest and least resistive; so also with human beings and consumption or any other disease. The broader principles of life apply equally to plants and animals. Such laws and principles ought to be conveyed to the rising generation, could be easily illustrated to children in schools, and would be appreciated by them.

The Feeding of Animals

The system and accuracy which science demands in Chemistry and in the feeding of plants is equally necessary in the feeding of animals. The fact that animals will subsist, and even thrive, on dietaries differing vary widely in their components misleads people into regarding the body as a kind of alchemist's laboratory capable of transmuting everything into flesh and blood.

In reality, there is in every case a definite proportion in which the nitrogenous (flesh-forming) and the non-nitrogenous (heat-giving) elements ought to enter into the composition of food. If an animal continue to do well though given twice the proper proportion of proteid food, it can only be said to thrive in spite of, and not

because of, its dietary. It would thrive better, grow quicker, and be more healthy if properly fed. The excess of nitrogen must double the work of the kidneys, which are called upon to eliminate what should never have been introduced into the system. It is folly to impose on an animal this stress and waste of energy.

Calves fed on skim-milk are a case in point. They receive too much proteid and too little fat. It is easy for the farmer, by judicious addition of linseed meal and oatmeal, to make up a cheap food, which, though far from identical in composition with new milk, would yet contain similar proportions of the nitrogenous and non-nitrogenous elements, and would serve satisfactorily. We have fed our calves in this way for the last eight years, and they grow and appear to thrive nearly as well as when suckled.

Pigs fed on whey, without the addition of peas, beans, vetches, clover, or some other food rich in proteids, suffer conversely from proteid starvation, and tend to do badly.

Every farmer should have at his finger-ends an approximate knowledge of the proportional relationships between the various vegetable foods he grows or buys and what can be got out of them in the form of flesh, milk, and eggs. It has been established, for instance, that a vigorous pig or ox will increase about a pound weight for every five pounds of cereals given as food. I find, on reckoning the matter up, that a hen will supply about the same proportionate weight in eggs; but eggs will fetch in the market an average of 8d. to 1s. per pound, as against 3d. to 4d. for beef or pork. In other words, taking grain at ½d. per pound, we find that the return for 2½d. would be in the one case 8d. to 1s., and in the other 3d. to 4d. The intrinsic value of eggs as food is not greater than the value of an equal weight of beef or mutton; the difference in price is merely a question of luxury and human preference. Of course, in each of the cases cited we effect in practice great economy by utilising cheaper forms of food than cereals, which I quote merely as a standard for comparison. Consideration of the above fundamental facts shows why poultry ought to receive more and more attention from the farmer as holdings become smaller and dearer, and he finds himself obliged to secure the highest-possible return in money from a given quantity of vegetable material.

Feeding of Children

If it is necessary to be guided by the laws of nature, and to be systematic and accurate in the feeding of plants and the lower animals, such carets surely doubly incumbent on us in the rearing of human beings. Yet what do we find in practice In spite of the fact that suckling is the only perfect method of feeding any young mammal, it has become the exception, and not the rule, for human mothers to so nourish their own offspring. No farmer contends for a moment that he employs artificial feeding in the case of calves, because he thinks it as good as natural rearing. He knows that the calf which runs at its mother's heels has more spirit and vitality and greater resistiveness to disease than any hand-reared calf. There is more involved for both parent and offspring than mere identity in chemical composition of food. Nutrition given by the mother in the natural way is always best, and the wisest breeders will continue to let Nature have her way where they wish to keep their pure-bred stock at the highest pitch of health for the perpetuation and improvement of the best strains. When the farmer resorts to hand-rearing he does it simply because there is profit in removing butter fat valued at a shilling a pound and replacing it with vegetable starches and fats which cost him about a penny. But this is not the attitude or feeling of the mother who rears her child by means of a bottle. For the most part she is densely ignorant of the duties of maternity, and does not realise the injustice she is doing to herself and her offspring. She has no knowledge of or respect for the laws of Nature, and imagines that advertising charlatans have superseded Providence in the feeding of babies. Even cows' milk, which can be modified so as to serve reasonably well for the rearing of infants, becomes of secondary importance in her eyes to cheap vegetable substances, sold at high prices. The following table is more eloquent than anything I can say on the subject:—

It will be seen at once that cows' milk contains a great excess of proteids. To avoid this, dilution is commonly resorted to, which results in a deficiency of fat and sugar. Some vegetable sugar is usually added, but with no attempt at accuracy or precision, and the mother feels content if the child manages to struggle through with such a diet; very often it dies. There would be no extra trouble involved in preparing an approximately correct food as follows:—

- Set a glass jar containing a quart of fresh cows' milk in a cool place for nine hours, and at the end of that time remove the upper half-pint of cream.
- Dissolve two ounces of sugar of milk in boiling water; add two ounces of lime water, and make the mixture up to a pint with boiling water. Add this to the half pint of cream, and heat to a temperature of 155° F. This will prevent fermentation for 12 hours. The heating can then be repeated. Boiling impairs the digestibility of milk.

If mothers resent the trouble of using a thermometer, and deliberately and knowingly choose that their offspring shall draw in with their milk active living organisms to fight against them and weaken or kill them, the matter is one for the maternal conscience; no law intervenes to prevent the maiming or killing of children.

The use of patent foods is even more fatal than the ordinary misuse of cows' milk. The table gives a clue to this. The 87 per cent, in the third column is not even sugar; it is mainly starch—a constituent that should not enter into the food of any young infant. One per cent, of fat as compared with 29 per cent, needs no comment.

I trust that the summary statement I have given of some of the more essential relationships between the requirements of plants and animals may serve to direct attention to the unity and simplicity of the laws of organic Nature and the need for rational education. In appealing to farmers we are appealing to that large section of our population to which we must look mainly for the development of our material resources, and the evolving of a strong, healthy, capable race. Civilisation is tending everywhere to undermine humanity, and, as I have said elsewhere, we have no reason to be proud of the fact that, apart from dairy calves (which we treat rather worse than our own offspring) there is no young creature in the world so ignorantly and cruelly nurtured as the average infant. There is no death rate in Nature arising from maternal neglect and improper feeding that can be compared with human infant mortality. In this colony alone a generally diffused knowledge and recognition of infant requirements and maternal duties would save to the community at least one life per diem, and would correspondingly increase the strength and vitality of the rest of the rising generation. Statistics reveal the appalling fact that with artificial rearing infant mortality may be as high as from five to thirty times the death rate of children nourished by their mothers. Yet careless bottle-feeding is still resorted to by the majority of women. In the face of such facts one could wish seriously that, as Zangwill suggests, infants should be allowed the privilege of selecting their parents; then, as he says, "When children begin to be fastidious about the families they are born into, parents will have to improve or die childless. ... In their anxiety to be worthy of selection by posterity, parents will rise to heights of health and holiness of which our sick generation does not dream. If they do not, woe to them! They will be remorselessly left to die without issue."

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John Knox and Liberty of Conscience

A Discourse By the Very Rev. P. Power

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John Knox and Liberty of Conscience

Blessed is the man that findeth Wisdom..... Her ways are beautiful ways, and all her paths are peaceable.—Prov. iii: 13, 17.

Some short time ago a sermon on "John Knox" was preached and published in Hawera by the minister of the local Presbyterian Church. The author assures us that he respects the religious convictions of all his fellow-citizens. This assurance is, I know, quite heartfelt, and is reciprocated by all well-meaning men. His motive in making a panegyric of the "Reformer" was not to stir up religious strife, but to warn his hearers and readers against that easy-going attitude towards religious differences which leads men to believe that one religion is as good as another, and that, so long as they live a morally good life, it matters very little what form of religion they profess.

Now, no motive can be more praiseworthy than this, since it points out the danger of that Indifferentism which, becoming in many lands the parent of scepticism and unbelief, threatens to undermine religious belief altogether. For, to say that one religion is as good as another is really to say that there is no religion at all; that there is no certain body of revealed truth outside the human mind which man is bound to search after and believe. The wish to get on well with our fellow-men and help the social wheels to roll smoothly tempts us to make little of those unhappy differences that make Christianity a byword on the lips of even halfcivilised races. It is more than a common pleasure, therefore, to be warned against this temptation from an unexpected source; to be reminded that one religion is not so good as another, and that something else besides such admission must constitute the bond of friendship that binds fellow-citizens together.

Actuated by the same motive, and with a like profession of goodwill to all, I propose to throw some additional light upon the character of the Father and Founder of Presbyterianism. I am urged to this by the fact that I have been able to secure much up-to-date information on this most interesting subject, which not many in Hawera are likely to have for yet a little while, and which was certainly not in the hands of the author of the sermon now in circulation.

Of this information, however, I shall bring forward only what I have gleaned from non-Catholic authors; for, since I am not eulogising, but criticising, a eulogy on Knox, I think it will be expected that I should bring forward witnesses who are not likely to be biassed towards Catholics, rather than follow the example of the writer of the sermon, who drew all his information from an author who was not only a pillar of the Early Free Kirk, but also a writer whose treatment of Knox shows a gentleness and a mildness altogether out of harmony

with his subject. In saying this I do not wish to convey the impression that the preacher has followed an unfair course in confining himself to Dr McCrie; for, in collecting matter for a panegyric, one naturally seeks inspiration from a sympathetic source rather than from a cool, impartial, and critical historian. It would have been better, however, if he had not declared McCrie's history to be "an altogether reliable source" of information. I judge it to be the production of a strong partisan, in which the truth is too often flagrantly and dishonestly suppressed.

Reserving some points for future consideration, I propose in the present discourse to throw some light upon the statement—repeated no less than nine times in the sermon—that Knox was one of those who had laboured for liberty of conscience and freedom of worship. My only object is that the truth should be known and should make us free.

Liberty of conscience and freedom of worship are rights to love and to labour for; and he who labours and dies in their defence will have the aureole of the martyr set upon his brow by an admiring and grateful people. But such a one was not John Knox. Rather was he one who spoke and wrote and laboured strenuously to keep from others those rights which he claimed for himself, and in the name of which he apostatised from an un-divided Christendom to become a spoiler of the Church and of the Christian Commonwealth, and to leave to his countrymen at home and abroad an inheritance for which they have little reason to be proud. One who kept "The Diurnal" of such events as he deemed important, makes the following cautious record for November 24, 1572: "John Knox, minister, deceased, who had, as was alleged, the most part of the blame of all the sorrows of Scotland since the slaughter of the late Cardinal." And making this record the text of his book, "Knox and the Reformation," just published, Andrew Lang begins his first chapter thus: "The sorrows, the 'cumber' of which Knox was 'alleged' to bear the blame, did not end with his death. They persisted in the conspiracies and rebellions of the earlier years of James VI.; they smouldered through the later part of his time; they broke into far spreading flame at the touch of the Covenant; they blazed at 'dark Worcester and bloody Dunbar'; at Preston fight, and the sack of Dundee by Monk; they included the Cromwellian conquest of Scotland, and the shame and misery of the Restoration; to trace them down to our own age would be invidious."

Had the great Scottish non-Catholic writer traced the history of his country's sorrows to the present day, every page of that history that was foul would be seen to be so through the making of the "Reformer" who urged persecution and death against Catholics, but whose own flights from suffering and the sword were as unmanly and ludicrous as they were frequent and effectual.

That the state of the times and the sins of Catholics gave Knox a pretext for his war upon the Church, and made the Church an easy prey to the violence, treachery, spoliation, and persecution which he used as the weapons of his warfare, nothing can be gained by denying. The personal character of Knox does not explain the triumph of the Revolution which he led. The hero of Presbyterianism, like the hero of every form of Protestantism, was made so by his environment rather than by his personal sanctity or zeal for souls. He marked the social condition of his age, he studied its tendency, and when the moment of crisis came, he was able to turn to the use which his fierce and relentless nature suggested, a condition of things which he himself could never have created.

There has been no religious revolution in Europe in which political interest has not had a great part. Schiller tells us that "Protestantism was helped in Germany by mistrust of the rising might in Austria, and in Holland by hatred of Spain and fear of the Inquisition. In Sweden Gustavus Vasa destroyed a dangerous conspiracy along with the old religion, and on the ruin of this same Church the British Elizabeth made fast her shaking throne. Had Schiller turned his eyes to Scotland, he would have told us that there, too, the movement was as much political as religious. A Catholic Regent in Scotland, governing the country for her Catholic daughter, and employing French Catholic advisers, could not, in the confusion of the times, be suspected of wishing to make Scotland a province of France without at the same time having her religion—which was that of the House of Lorraine—suspected and rendered odious also. In the days of Knox, Catholicity was an essential element of social and political life. One could not well be disturbed without the others, and so the desire to upset the political order of things and to rob Scotland of her independence and make her a province of England lest she should become an appanage of the King of France, was cleverly seized upon to revolutionise the religious order also.

Then the hands of the revolutionists were strengthened by the ignorance and corruption of the age. There were ignorant and corrupt nobles in Scotland in those days. And there were, no doubt, bad priests. Knox was one of them. It was inevitable that some unworthy men in such times should hold high office both in Church and State. The anarchies caused by the long minorities of the Stuart Kings and by the interminable wars with England, the difficulties of communication with Rome, and the fact that owing to his unpopularity at a time when feudalism was being discredited and overthrown, the Pope could do little or nothing in the way of correcting abuses in distant nations, gave the kings and nobles in Scotland, as elsewhere, power to rob and deprave the Church. There was no freedom of ecclesiastical election, the kings put their own creatures—though

these were often only laymen—into vacant bishoprics and parishes; and the nobles in turn followed, where they had the power, the kings' example. King James V. made his illegitimate sons abbots of Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, and St. Andrews; and many of the highest offices were filled by mere infants, in order that their fathers might be able to draw the revenue.

No wonder the standard of learning and morality became lowered. It was ever thus in such circumstances, and ever will be. Throughout the whole history of the Middle Ages, and in the days of the Revolution, with hardly a single exception, nations have been found to be corrupt precisely in proportion to their removal from the influence of the Pope; and wherever temporal rulers have the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, these offices will be often filled by mere favourites; and the favourites of princes become so more by subserviency than by talent or virtue. Thus, then, Knox found his pretext and his opportunity in the political unrest and in the sad condition of the Church. And the brethren and the turbulent spirits that followed him all cried out against the existing order—some against the rulers because they were Catholics, others against Catholics because they were the ruling power. But which party wished to upset which order it was hard in the confusion and anarchy of the time to discern.

But there were many only too eager to attack the Church for the sake of the spoils. Do you think that the turbulent spirits of the day cared much for the luxury of dogma-making? Dogma-making would be as dry work for the Scot of those days as of these. Do you think that their hearts were set on fire by the heartless doctrine of justification of faith, or by the denial of free-will, or by the doctrine of total depravity, or by the rejection of good works? By no means. It was a stroke of genius on the part of Knox to point to the wealth of the Church and of those who held high office in it, as it was a stroke of genius on the part of Luther to throw out the same bait to the bankrupt barons of Germany, and as it was again a stroke of genius on the part of the French Masonic sect to imagine first, and then point out, the "fabulous wealth" of the monasteries of modern France. This was the secret of the enthusiasm which dismal doctrines could never by themselves arouse. Even Dr McCrie himself would admit this contention: that political intrigue and the thirst for gold had a large share in the making of the religious revolution in Scotland. "It has often been alleged," he writes, "that the desire of sharing in the rich spoils of the Popish Church, together with the intrigues of the Court of England, engaged the Scottish nobles on the side of the Reformation. It is reasonable to think that, at a later period, this was so far true,"

It had not hitherto been an easy matter to get a true estimate of the character and the principles of the founder of the religious revolution in Scotland. Here, history has certainly been a conspiracy against the truth. Nearly all our information has been drawn from Knox's own "History" and from those who imitated the Platonic style of thinking and writing about him introduced by Carlyle. But, thanks to the industry and researches of the great Scottish writer, Andrew Lang, Knox's "History" is entirely discredited, and we are permitted to see for the first time some of the "shocking principles" of the "Reformer." "That Knox ran so very far ahead of the Genevan pontiffs of his age in violence; and that in his 'History' he needs such careful watching, was, to me," says Lang, "an unexpected discovery. He may have been 'an old Hebrew prophet,' as Mr Carlyle says, but he had also been a young Scottish notary! A Hebrew prophet is, at best, a dangerous anachronism in a delicate crisis of the Church Christian, and the notarial element is too conspicuous in some passages of Knox's 'History.' His 'History' is not more scrupulous than that of other partisans in an exciting contest, and examples of his taste for personal scandals are not scarce."

In reference to Knox's detailed account of the truce in January, 1547, between the assassins of Cardinal Beaton and the besiegers of St. Andrew's Castle, and the alleged violation of the conditions of the truce, Lang says: "There is no proof of this accusation of treachery.... or none known to me. The constant aim of Knox, his fixed idea, as an historian, is to accuse his adversaries of the treachery which often marked the negotiations of his friends." Nor can Lang find much truth in the account of the subsequent surrender of the Castle. "Now, much of this narrative is wrong; wrong in detail, in suggestion, in omission. That a man of 50 or 60 could attribute the attacks on Beaton's murderers to mere revenge ... is significant of the spirit in which Knox wrote history. Wherever he touches on Mary of Guise, he deals a stab at her name and fame. On all that concerns her personal character and political conduct, he is unworthy of credit when uncorroborated by better authority. Indeed, Knox's spirit is so unworthy that for this, among other reasons, Archbishop Spottiswoode declined to believe in his authorship of the 'History.'... The actual facts were NOT those recorded by Knox."

Knox himself gives two contradictory accounts of the destruction of the monasteries at Perth, on May 10, 1559. Only one of these accounts, of course, can be true. In the "History" he says that the rascal multitude, without the gentry and brethren, broke into the monasteries, wrecked and robbed, etc. But in a letter to his friend, Mrs Locke, he claims the honour for the brethren, who (he says) levelled to the ground the three monasteries, burned all monuments of "idolatry," and commanded the priests, under pain of death, to desist from their "blasphemous Mass."

"If the menace against the priests and the ruin of monasteries were not seditious," asks Lang, "what is

sedition? But Knox's business is to prove that the movement was not rebellious, was purely religious, and all for 'liberty of conscience'—for Protestants. Therefore, in the 'History,' he disclaims the destruction by the brethren of the monasteries—the mob did that; and he burkes the threat of death to the priests, though he told the truth privately to Mrs Locke." The learned Dr McCrie, "an altogether reliable" historian, forsooth, does not mention one word about this letter to Mrs Locke. And Professor Hume Brown, another admirer of Knox, blames the mob, and says nothing about the brethren. In fact, as Lang says, Knox must have given his biographers medicines to make them love him. A pretty sample of the loving way in which he is treated by those who would convince us that "he was a man sent from God," "appears," says Lang, "in a biography (1905) of the Reformer by a minister of the Gospel. Knox summoned the organised brethren in 1563 to overawe justice when some men were to be tried. . . No proceedings could be more anarchic, or more in accordance with the lovable customs of my dear country at that time. But the biographer of 1905, a placed minister, writes that 'the doing of it was only an assertion of the liberty of the Church, and of the members of the commonwealth as a whole, to assemble for purposes which were clearly lawful'—the purposes being to overawe justice in the course of a trial." A truly wonderful effect have these love-potions upon some historians! "Freedom from a persecuting spirit," says one, "is one of the noblest features of Knox's character." And another—the "altogether reliable" McCrie—referring to the Act of August 24, mildly remarks that "under certain penalties the celebration of the Mass was prohibited." His "loving admiration of the man," whom he wished to prove a lover of liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, made him careful not to mention the graduated scale of penalties enacted against Catholics who would worship in the old, Divinely-appointed way—for the first offence, confiscation of property; for the second, exile; for the third, death.

These same loving admirers seem not to have seen the letter from Scotland in which Knox upbraids his former congregation at Dieppe for their laxity in permitting the Catholic religion to be practised in their town. They appear not to have seen his written statement that the Mass is much more abominable in the sight of God than murder, and that he would rather face ten thousand enemies than know that one Mass was said in Scotland. They seem not to have seen his expressed and heartfelt repentance that he had not caused an armed struggle on the day when her chaplain said Mass for the faithful Queen in her own private chapel. They appear not to have seen the Knoxian assumption of the right, as a prophet, to preach treason, which appeared in his letter to the Faithful, of May, 1554: "The prophet of God sometimes may teach treason against kings, and yet neither he, nor such as obey the word spoken in the Lord's name by him, offends God." His loving admirers seem not to have seen any of these, but—"Love's blind, they say! "

There can be no doubt that this "lovable man" preached death to Catholics. "He regarded Catholics as idolaters in the same sense," says Lang, "as Elijah regarded Hebrew worshippers of alien deities, Chemosh and Moloch, and he drew the inference that idolaters, as in the Old Testament, must be put to death. Thus his was logically a persecuting religion." Here is a specific declaration in a letter of 1554, that every Protestant King should massacre all his inconvertible Catholic subjects! "Some shall demand, 'What, then, shall we go and slay all idolaters?' That were the office, dear brethren, of every civil magistrate within his realm." "To invade them (Catholics), and every one of them, to the death," was the ideal (embodied in law) of the brethren in 1560. Knox goes still further and declares it to be the duty of even private individuals to take the lives of Catholics. "I would your Honors should note for the first, that no idolater (Catholic) can be exempted from punishment by God's Law. The second is, that the punishment of such crimes as are idolatry, blasphemy, and others that touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to kings and chief rulers only, but also to the whole body of the people, And to Every Member of the Same, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done against His glory, what time that impiety is manifestly known.

Who dare be so impudent as to deny this to be most reasonable and just?" Men may reason against this doctrine; but Knox replies: "When commandment is given to execute God's judgment, all creatures stoop, cover their faces, And Desist from Reasoning." This is very fine, in good sooth, coming from "a man sent from God"!

It would be easy to fill page after page with fresh evidence from Andrew Lang's book on the various points I have touched upon—viz. (1) On the untruthfulness of Knox's own "History"; (2) on the conspiracy of silence on the part of his biographers; (3) on the violence, treachery, spoliation, and persecution preached and practised by Knox in his effort to take from others that liberty of conscience which he claimed for himself; (4) on his justification of death to Catholics at the hands of the Civil ruler; and (5) even by private individuals: (6) on his open defiance of justice; and (7) his defence of treason. But I have already brought forward sufficient evidence to show that John Knox was not a man sent by God. Whatever else he did from the day on which he broke his vow of chastity and took to himself a wife, he never Spoke a word or performed a deed in favour of liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, unless it was for liberty or, as we should say, "license"—for his own miserable self. God does not send men such as John Knox—whom the famous Dr Johnson used to call "the ruffian of the Reformation"—to do His work. The virtues of the Apostles were quite other than those

manifested in the life of the "Reformer," and the fruits of their labours differ from those of his by the whole range of the heavens. "We have," says Lang, "no reason to suppose that sexual morality was at all improved, though it was easy to impose Sabbath observance. A graduated scale of admonitions led up to excommunication, if the subject was refractory, and to boycotting with civil penalties. The processes had no effect, or none that is visible, in checking lawlessness, robberies, feuds, and man-slayings; and after the Reformation, witchcraft increased to monstrous proportions—at least executions of people accused of witchcraft became very numerous, in spite of provisions for sermons thrice a week, and for weekly discussion of the Word."

"Scotland," says Dr Shaw, quoted in "Christian Missions," "claims the honour of standing pretty near first in the catalogue of crime." "Nearly every tenth Scotsman," says another witness, quoted in the "Times" of July 17, 1858, "is illegitimate." The 1860 report of the Scottish Registrar-General reveals "the excessive incontinence" of this Knoxian nation and deplors that "the immorality is not confined to the humbler classes." The decaying influence of religion in Scotland, in spite of the fierce and peremptory tone of its "self-confident and pharasaical teachers," is attested by two eminent Scotchmen who were, perhaps, better qualified than most of their countrymen to speak with authority. "If we are to believe one-half of what some religious persons themselves assure us," says Lord Cockburn, "religion is now almost extinct." "A people," says Hugh Miller, "sunk into an abyss of degradation and misery, and in which it is the whole tendency of external circumstances to sink them yet deeper, constitute the weakness and shame of a country." This is being revealed by "the ominous increase which is taking place amongst us in the worst class." And again: "It is not fashionable in the present age openly to avow infidelity, save in some modified rationalistic or pantheistic form, but in no age did the thing itself exist more extensively."

The same melancholy story of the decay of faith and good morals in the land of John Knox goes on to the present day. In his best-known work, published in 1892, Dr Leffingwell—a non-Catholic and prominent member of the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography—shows, by reference to official statistics, that "every year in Scotland there are FIVE TIMES THE PROPORTION of illegitimates that see the light in Ireland." Three years later—in 1895—the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave further sad evidence of the loss of moral fibre among the adherents of their faith by the publication of the report of a Committee appointed by it "to inquire into the religious condition of the people." I take the following extract from a summary of the Committee's report that appeared in the "Weekly Scotsman" of May 25, 1895: "Inquiry this year has been restricted to districts chiefly rural and agricultural. Chief of the moral blots on the face of the country is sexual immorality. The statistics from Banffshire and Wigtownshire are still too alarming to admit of any improvement being recorded. In Banffshire from 15 to 16 per cent, of the births are illegitimate, and it is reported that 'sexual immorality has so permeated family life and is so prevalent in the community that it is difficult to arouse a healthy and vigorous public opinion against it.'" Year by year the Criminal Statistics give an evil prominence to the land of "the Great Reformer." The official report issued in January of the present year, for instance, records that, "while minor crimes are decreasing, the more serious crimes are increasing." It lays special and sorrowful emphasis on the enormous number of convictions recorded against children—both boys and girls, but most especially boys. "Ireland," says the same report, has a population almost equal to that of Scotland, but in Scotland the imprisonments are nearly double those inflicted in Ireland." And this disparity is by no means to be accounted for by any supposed differences in the nature of the sentences imposed, since no such differences have been shown to exist; and, moreover, there are in Ireland an aggressively active police force, and large classes of indictable acts which are not regarded even as misdemeanors in any other country under the British flag.

This argument from results is overwhelming. "By their fruits you shall know them." "Men do not gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles" in the twentieth century any more than in the days of Christ; and flowers of eminent sanctity and rich fruits of undivided truth may not be expected from the character and teaching of Knox and the brethren. Their grand mistake was in not being able to discern the element in the Church that needed reformation. For there is one element that may not be reformed, and another that is in continual need and in continual process of reformation. There are two elements in the Church—one Divine, the other human. The Divine constitution, the Divine doctrinal and moral teaching, the divinely-appointed government and Sacraments—these, once and for all fixed by the Divine Founder of the Church, are unchangeable forever more. But the human element—the very human men and women who make up her body—these always stand in need of reformation, sometimes in very much need. But no matter how corrupt or apparently irredeemable they may be, the Church is incapable of despair in their regard. There was scarcely a spot in Europe where, in the days of Knox, bad men were not found; but let the followers of Knox look round about them and see the miracles of sanctity wrought by the legitimate reformation ever going on within the bosom of the Church. Let them compare their own country with Ireland, which should be dear to them, and let the sweet purity of that Motherland of the fore-fathers of many a Scot teach them the beauty of Catholic

doctrine and of Catholic morals.

Had Knox remained within the one Church founded for all ages, and done penance there for the sins for which he had been degraded from the priesthood, the soothing touch of the Sacraments and holy ordinances of the Church would have given peace to his troubled spirit, and calmed down those ferocious passions, and taught meekness to that befouling tongue that brought such sorrows upon his native land and left her cut off to-day from the grand unity of the faithful, with a sterile and unlovable religion as a heritage.

But no! With the Gospel, interpreted according to his own narrow fancies and turbulent passions, in one hand, and with a flaming brand in the other, this eminently bad man—sometimes the agent, sometimes the tool, but never the dupe, of others—went like a wild demagogue or maniac through his unhappy country, burning churches and monasteries as he went, reducing to ashes the grand libraries which held the accumulated treasures of Catholic days and the priceless works of Christian art, firing the rascal multitude with his own zeal for burning, and urging them on to do such sacrilegious deeds as Scotland had never witnessed before, till hearts of malice, and tongues of treachery, and hands of blood were made to stand for the essential elements of sanctity, and hatred began to scourge a land where love alone should reign.

No man knew better than Knox that there was no idolatry in the Mass; for it is not to the elements of bread and wine, but to the adorable Person of Christ believed to be present, that adoration is paid. And yet, with sublime hypocrisy, this seditious rebel to his country would misrepresent the doctrines of the Church of which he had been a member, and slander the character of the clergy which his life had first disgraced.

If the facts which I have quoted from Lang's great work are strong, and if my language is plain, I have been compelled to use them to guard you, dear brethren, and any others whom my words may reach, against the unreal picture of Knox put before us in the pamphlet now in circulation. And I have spoken, not for the sake of keeping alive religious strife, but that the truth may be known. Since the saddest truth is more desirable than the most pleasant lie, there is a duty imposed upon everyone who can do so, to contribute something towards the truth. This is why I have not felt at liberty to let the false picture of Knox go unchallenged.

May the truth shine upon us all and make us free! May it strengthen us all in unity and grace! May it bind us all as is its province, in the bonds of a common brotherhood, to meet and battle with a common foe. For our brotherhood, to meet and battle with a common foe. For our warfare to-day is not with the disciples of Knox, or Luther, or of any other of the sixteenth century heresiarchs, but with a foe that is theirs as well as ours—with that infidelity that is stalking like a blighting, withering spectre, through this age. Oh! that we could all rise up as one man against it! Oh, that Presbyterians would forget Knox, or see him in his true colours! that Lutherans would forget, or once and for all make a true study of Luther! that all those who are outside the One Church of the One God would not be content with a tradition of conspiracy and deception, but would examine the sources of history for themselves and find their way back into the old paths—into the Church of the martyrs, of the saints, of the virgins, the City of Abiding Peace, where alone security can be found! Thus saith the Lord: "Stand ye on the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, which is the good way, and walk ye on it; and you shall find refreshment to your souls."

Imprimatur.

#Francis. Redwood, S.M., D.D.,

Archbishop of Wellington and Metropolitan.

Front Cover

An Impeachment or the Seddon Administration.

By T. E. Taplor, M.H.R.,

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"The Character of a City is Known by the Character of the Men it Crowns."

"Let us speak plain—there is more force in names
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk

Behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.
Let us call tyrants *tyrants*, and maintain
That only freedom comes by grace of God,
And all that comes not by His grace, must fall:
For men in earnest have no time to waste
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."

—LOWELL.

The Character of the Issues.

The fact that the political judgment of the colony in regard to public men, political issues and the character of its Government will have to be expressed at the general election within a few weeks is my justification for approaching the electors by means of this pamphlet.

The unavoidable confusion between men and issues on the occasion of a general parliamentary election is a further justification for an attempt to deal fearlessly and impartially with both matters before the excitement is aroused, which is an inevitable condition of the political atmosphere on the eve of election day.

Legislation v. Administration.

In the following pages I propose to draw a clear distinction between legislation and administration. Generally speaking legislation comes from the people, and its character is determined by public opinion, which originates outside of the parliament.

In the whole range of legislative enactment no important statute can be quoted, the principles of which were not carefully cultivated by public argument and discussion before the legislative stage was reached. Only after the enthusiastic individual reformer has become the centre of a group, when the group has increased to a multitude, when platform, petition and widespread contention have each done their quota of education, when the proposal for legislative reform has won the warm sympathy and support of platform, press and people—only then do political parties seize upon proposals popularised by forces to which, in a majority of cases, they contribute nothing, and a Government and a party becomes the channel through which an irresistible public opinion flows until it assumes the form of legislation.

The land, labour, liquor, old age pension and women's, franchise, laws of the past 12 years, for the passing of which the present Government claim exclusive credit, were all subject to the evolutionary processes described. All these reforms were practically passed by a fully-developed public opinion before they became law. Those earnest men and women who earned the opprobrium of their opponents—who spoke and wrote on behalf of their convictions, who sacrificed leisure and means on behalf of the "faith that was in them"—those are the real authors of legislative reform, and in pronouncing judgment upon the claim of conflicting parties at the approaching General Election, I submit that the claim that any particular group of public men are entitled to the exclusive credit for this or the other law deserves to be deliberately weighed, and, if fairly tested, in many cases the claim would be rejected.

I do not contend that the public is not indebted in some measure to members of Parliament who give expression by their political efforts to the people's demands for reform, but in all great movements the bulk of the hard educational work necessary to lift them on to the legislative plane is not done by Parliament, political parties or by Government, but by the rank and file of private citizens, and for these unanswerable reasons I urge the electors to remember that they are the actual authors of legislation, and only concede a just measure of credit when any political party makes preposterous claim to the authorship of beneficial legislation.

The general character of a country's legislation measures the character of the people and discloses the ethical standard of their political ideas.

The People's Share in Progress.

Not only are we entitled to demand a recognition of the important part played by the people themselves in a country's legislation, but we should carefully scrutinise the claims made by political parties as to the influence

they have exerted upon the material progress of the colony's industries.

It is a trick with some professional politicians to demand the confidence of the people because:

- The population in New Zealand between 1894 and 1904 has increased from 686,128 to 807,539;
- Cultivated land has increased in area from 10,128,076 acres to 13,868,074 acres;
- Horses have increased from 237,418 to 314,322;
- Cattle have increased from 964,034 to 1,736,850;
- Receipts from railways have increased from £1,150,852 to £2,209,231;
- Butter has increased from 60,771 cwt. to 314,360 cwt.;
- Frozen meat has increased from £1,194,545 to £2,793,599;

And so on.

This line of argument is very popular, but it is very impudent as frequently used by political parties.

Political parties might with equal justice be held responsible for the; potato blight, anthrax or plague.

The Real Factors in a Country's Progress.

The claims just named ignore the fact that the natural increase in population results naturally in an increased production at all points affected by human labour. They ignore the fact that the increases in production are more due to the industry of our people as applied to land and to our manufacturing industries than to the efforts of any politicians. It quietly ignores the contribution made towards material prosperity by inventive genius, such as originated and developed the freezing and cold storage systems.

We recognise that the Parliament of a country may, by its actions, foster production and encourage people in their labour for material progress. We admit that the New Zealand Parliament has in recent years endeavoured to do these things, and to some extent has succeeded, but we contend we are justified in asking electors, when judging the claims of political parties, to remember the share that

Soil, Labour, Climate, Individual Industry,

And the general intelligence of the people have taken in the progress of the past ten years, for which progress political parties are so apt to claim exclusive credit.

The real character of a political party, or of the Ministry it supports, is tested by the quality of the Ministers administrative acts, and by the attitude of the political party to such acts,

The legislative work of every Ministry is effected during a session of Parliament, and is done with the co-operation of the whole Parliament. In its final form it usually represents the judgment of the whole Parliament more than of the Ministry introducing it, and invariably measures the pressure of an outside public opinion.

But the tone of a Ministry's administrative acts is determined by the individual or collective character of the Ministry.

A man can easily under the pressure of an enlightened and eager public opinion legislate above his own moral level But an act of administration invariably measures the natural instinct of the administrator.

The Character of a Nation is its Most Enduring Quality.

The character of its public men and of its government should be the chief concern of a people.

During recent years the material concerns of our people have engrossed their attention to the practical exclusion of all keen criticism of an interest in political affairs. Acts of administration calculated by their low moral tone to demoralise the public service, and prove destructive to democratic or popular rights, have during recent years been committed, and the public attention, being directed towards other, more exciting or immediately profitable concerns, has scarcely found time to notice, much less to punish, such actions.

This laxity upon the part of the electors towards administrative wrongdoing has dulled the edge of the public conscience, and has encouraged contempt for moral ideals on the part of the Ministry.

Who is Entitled to Public Confidence?

At the approaching Election the present Government will seek a renewal of the public confidence. I admit the great natural ability of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, but propose to give reasons showing why he is no longer entitled to control the colony's political destiny. The test must be the character of his administration. It is that alone which reveals the real man.

The legislation for the passing of which the Seddon Ministry claims credit would have been enacted by any group of men vested with Ministerial authority, because public opinion is omnipotent, and Parliament and Parliamentary parties are simply the channels through which public opinion flows in finding legislative expression.

That Mr Seddon displays great skill in knowing when to concede the demands of the public is not denied, but such skill is but a negative virtue. The defects of legislation can be remedied as they are ascertained, and such defects do not persistently exercise a deleterious influence upon the character of the public or upon the public services of the colony. If, however, the moral tone of the Ministry's routine acts are at a low level; if party, personal and selfish motives determine their actions instead of national considerations; if the position of responsibility they occupy is misused and abused, the political degeneration in the character of the people and the deterioration in public institutions inflicts, permanent injury upon the colony's public life.

A Continuous Ministry has Degenerated.

I propose to give reasons why the Continuous Ministry presided over by the right Hon. R. J. Seddon should be superceded by a new Administration. The United States of America, recognising the inevitable tendency towards despotism and abuse which always accompanies an unchecked and lengthy period of power, has decreed that no man can occupy the Presidential chair for more than two consecutive terms. In New Zealand, by one means or another—by artifice and a method of Cabinet construction designed to serve his personal ambition rather than to secure the best administrative talent for the public service—the Premier has dominated the Cabinet for over twelve years.

In support of the contention that every interest of the colony would be benefitted by a revolutionary change in the Cabinet, we ask your consideration of the following arguments and facts, all of which tend to display the real personal character of the Premier and his colleagues forming the present Ministry:—

It is the duty of every elector to test the merits of this controversy, and to so act that high ideals shall become the chief concern of those entrusted with the administration of the colony's affairs.

*We are not worse at once—the course of evil
Begins so slowly, and from each slight source,
An infant's hand might stem its breach with, clay;
But let the stream get deeper, and Philosophy—
Ay, and Religion too—shall strive in vain
To turn the headlong torrent.*

—SCOTT.

A Breach of National Trust. A Misuse of the Power You Entrusted to the Government.

What sense of national responsibility has the Seddon Government displayed in its use of the power of nomination entrusted to it under our Constitution, and by the use of which power our Legislative Council is created?

This great power of nomination should be exercised in a judicial spirit. It was never designed as a perquisite of political parties. The interests of the nation only should dominate its use. If, as trustees for the people, a Ministry uses its opportunity to bestow responsible legislative power and distinction upon its personal friends—upon incapable or disreputable men—who can plead no higher merit than faithful party allegiance—if a Ministry is so defiant of its high obligation to the people—then it is guilty of a breach of national trust for which no political penalty is too severe.

How has the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon Discharged this Trust?

Out of 43 members of the Legislative Council in 1905 the Government nominated 28 members.

With a few brilliant exceptions the Government has—by nearly every exercise of its power of nomination—deliberately lowered the Upper House in the public esteem, and it is to-day regarded with contempt by a great majority of the people.

Of one recent appointment the following biting satire was passed as a motion by one of the Colony's Trades and Labour Councils:—

"That this Council heartily congratulates Mr Seddon on the appointment of Mr——— to the Upper House, and trusts that henceforth all appointments to the Legislative Council will be made from the ranks of the Liberal and Labour Federation, which is neither liberal or labour, but solely a body representing the brewing interests. Such appointments form the best arguments for the abolition of such an absurd appendage to our Constitution as the Upper House. Mr——— has only been known in——— as a forlorn trailer at the heels of——— politicians and has never once been returned to a public or semi-public position by the public voice."

When the seven years' term of office of certain Legislative Councillors recently expired the Government bowed to the growing public indignation and refused to reappoint anyone to the vacant position.

Speaking at Masterton on June 16, 1905, the Right Hon. the Premier said: "With respect to the question of the Legislative Council, regarding the two vacancies that will occur in the membership of that branch of the Legislature in the course of the next few days, the Government had considered the matter, and decided that, as the Council was the subject matter of controversy at present, it was not intended to fill the vacancies." The announcement constitutes an un-answerable impeachment of the morality of the Seddon Government's administration, because neither the people or Parliament control the Ministry in its use of the power of nomination which calls the Legislative Councillor into existence.

If a Ministry confesses publicly its wanton abuse of such an important function as the creation of the second legislative chamber involves—what is probably the moral tone of the great number of administrative actions upon which the light of public or Parliamentary criticism never rests, owing to their being buried in departmental offices and records?

The Right Hon. the Premier practically created the Legislative Council as it now exists.

By his abuse of the power entrusted to him he has degraded the Council and so lowered its efficiency that today he declares, in the face of an indignant public opinion, he will make no more appointments, and that he will let the institution die a natural death. One chief cause of the lowered tone of the Legislative Council—of its failure to command the public esteem—is that the Premier has used it to reward those who have fawned upon or flattered him or who have in some way lent themselves to further his narrow political ambitious.

The Premier appears to have always permitted personal and party interest to dominate the use he has made of the power of nomination entrusted to him, and he has thus been false to national interests.

The Science of Cabinet Construction.

Let us test the manner in which the Premier has used the power of nomination by the use of which the Ministry is created.

The Ministry should comprise those members of Parliament whose character and ability are most conspicuous, and whose judgment, as brought to bear upon the affairs of the department under their control would best serve the public interests.

By this test how has the nominative power to create the Ministry vested in the Premier been exercised?

When the Liberal party came into power its ministry contained the strongest men in its ranks, and the combination was well balanced and forceful. The Ministry embraced Messrs Ballance, Reeves, McKenzie, Ward, Seddon, Cadman, Carroll and Buckley. This combination was obviously made by Mr Ballance, in the interests of the Liberal party, and because he believed the great state department would be vigorously and efficiently directed by the various Ministers.

Since Cabinet construction has been carried on by the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, what rule has been observed?

Of the Ballance Cabinet, only Sir J. G. Ward, Jas. Carroll and the Premier remain. Sir J. G. Ward was not

originally chosen for Cabinet position by the Premier, but by the late Mr Ballance, and when he rejoined the Cabinet in 1897 it is well known that it was under the direct influence of the late Sir John McKenzie, and not to satisfy any desire of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon. The Premier looked with small satisfaction upon the re-admission to Cabinet rank of a man whose ability was of an order that would justify him in holding his own opinion regarding the work connected with his department, and who might challenge the Premier's caprice or will.

The only other Minister originally in the Cabinet formed by John Ballance, there remains only the Hon. James Carroll. He is Native Minister, and having little or nothing to do he does it fairly well. All the remaining Ministers are the exclusive creation of the Right Hon. the Premier. How has he used the power of nomination entrusted to him? Have personal or national interests influenced his use of power?

I unhesitatingly affirm that all the evidence proves that he has deliberately abused the power entrusted to him to "isolate" himself in the Cabinet and magnify his personal qualities. No man has been honoured with ministerial rank whose strength of character, education or ability were of an order such as would entitle him to challenge the Premier's will or contest with him the dominating position he holds in the Ministry. Lacking force of character or dignity, the Ministers who are exclusively the choice of the Premier are treated contemptuously by most members.

The Hon. C. H. Mills has been aptly described by one member as an "amiable inefficient." Another member declared with earnestness that "members all like him, but all laugh at him." Naturally of an easy-going and kindly disposition, the position he occupies as a Minister emphasises his natural defects, and subjects him to many irritating indignities. No doubt he has served the purpose his political creator designed, by emphasising the importance of his chief, but his elevation into his present trying and unhappy position is a reflection upon the quality of Parliament, and an irrefutable condemnation of the use the Premier has made of the power entrusted to him.

Of the Hon. James McGowan, Minister of Mines and Justice, it may be said that he also serves the purpose for which he was created. His every word and action accentuates the superior natural qualities of the Premier. Mr McGowan is always earnest by virtue of his temperament, and nearly always wrong because of his intellectual limitations and his narrow prejudices. Honest stupidity is but a slight compensation to members who have to wrestle with him for what would be instantly conceded by a Minister possessing Ministerial qualifications and judicial instincts of a high order.

The Hon. W. Hall-Jones, whether active or in repose, is not an inspiring object. Imitation is said to be the sincerest form of flattery, but the form of flattery related to imitation is one that this Minister should never indulge in. His imitation of the vocal and physical qualities of his leader are superlatively ridiculous and never fail to excite the mirth of members. He reaches the high-water mark of mediocrity as a Minister, and his industry is of an order that would win him distinction in China. Sensitive to a degree, he is obviously devoted and grateful to the power that elevated him into his present position, and by these qualities, and his natural lack of positive merits, he adds lustre to the Premier, as it was intended he should when he was drawn from the obscurity where his endowments suffered nothing by the test of comparison with other public men of like merit. He exhibits a sort of sensitiveness which always suggests a consciousness of the difficulty of living up to the position he occupies.

The Minister of Lands is just Tammas Duncan, and it would be cruel to criticise him. Possessed of neither grace of mind nor manner, he just holds on to office with both hands. His contempt for the rebuffs and indignities imposed upon him by the Right Hon. the Premier is magnificent. The Premier may push him aside and introduce and explain the provisions of a bill dealing with his department—he may waive him down whilst he is explaining some matter connected with his department in those mellifluous tones which are so well known to members. The Premier may tell members that *he will* or *he will not* allow such and such things to be done in the Lands Department. When these and other infringements and invasions of his Ministerial domains are committed by the Premier, the good old Minister of Lands blinks contemptuously at his Chief from the seat upon which he reclines. It is this forceful Minister who presides over the destinies of the great department of State connected with land. But he does certainly emphasise the importance of the Premier, and in the science of Cabinet-making this purpose is the only one which the Premier apparently considered to be of paramount importance.

Of the systematic and open slights passed upon his colleagues, with the exception of the Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, much could be recorded. My reason for recording anything is because it is necessary that those of the people who are not permitted to know of Parliamentary conditions, except through the spectacles of some newspaper correspondent, should learn in what manner the power of creating Ministers has been exercised by the Premier.

Again, as in the case of the Legislative Council, I submit that the power of nomination entrusted to the Premier—a power which he should have exercised for national purposes—has been exclusively used to

strengthen his personal position in the Cabinet and to magnify unduly whatever administrative ability he himself possesses.

Such use of power is a breach of trust, and justifies us in demanding the constitutional reform which is later on advocated under the title of the Elective Executive. We contend that the deliberate choice of the whole Parliament is certain to produce better results than the arbitrary choice of one man can possibly do.

The Premier's plan of Cabinet-making proves that he fears the competition of capable men as Ministers as much as he covets artificial distinction due to the magnifying effects of mediocrity.

Just as the people themselves are the real authors of legislation, so the people themselves can, through the newspaper reports and Parliamentary discussion of legislative proposals, check legislative folly or excess. Legislation is performed in the full light of public opinion and the electors exercise a salutary influence upon it.

Administration is, however, so far as the electors are concerned, carried on in secret. During each session of Parliament some administrative actions performed during the period between one session and another come under review, and criticism from the people's representatives; but only fragments of Ministerial actions in any year ever form subjects for Parliamentary action. It is, therefore, all the more urgently necessary that a generous attitude should be assumed by the people towards those of their representatives who have the ability, inclination and courage to vigilantly scrutinise the quality of the Government's administrative acts. The Government is the trustee for the time being of the colony's affairs, and of its reputation, and your representatives should continuously and strenuously assert their right to protect popular rights and interests.

A Standard for Testing Administration.

One has no right to judge a man or a party by one isolated act, but if the individual or the party is guilty of continuous wrongdoing, one is justified in criticising any or all the actions within the period of their activities.

My contention is that the unanswerable facts prove that a low moral standard has governed the actions of this Administration from the time the Premier assumed his present position after the death of Mr Ballance.

Let us test this contention by facts.

The defiance of statute law displayed by the Government when the late Colonel Fraser was appointed Sergt.-at-Arms in 1894 was a prelude to many subsequent administrative actions of a questionable character. The law then and now declares that no man can be appointed to a position in the employ of the State within twelve months of his having been a member of Parliament. This provision was made to prevent jobbery in the manipulation by a Government of candidates at Parliamentary elections.

Immediately after the general election in 1893 Colonel Fraser, who retired in favour of a Government nominee, and who had been a member of Parliament up to the 1893 elections, was given the position of Sergt.-at-Arms. A vigorous protest was made by the section of the Liberal party desirous of preserving the party honour unblemished, but it was without avail against the desire of the Ministry and the weight of the party majority.

This act was a defiance of statute law. A man who will flout statute law is not possessed of the keen sense of honour necessary to enable him to administer with dignity the affairs of a democracy.

In 1897 the police force of the colony had become so dissatisfied, disorganised and inefficient that the House, following upon an indictment of the department made by the writer, forced from the Premier a Royal Commission, charged to investigate and report upon the condition of this important public service. The police authorities would be deservedly censured if, after arresting a criminal, they deliberately permitted him to destroy the evidence necessary to convict him when arraigned for trial.

On October 19th, 1897, the Right. Hon. the Premier announced that a Royal Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the organisation and administration of the police force. From that moment, the force was in the same position as any case would be that was under consideration by the Supreme Court. The then condition and character of the force was the issue. Now came attempts to destroy evidence, the production of which was essential to prove the discontent of the men—the disorganisation resultant upon uncertain, inequitable and delayed promotion.

Within sixteen weeks after a Royal Commission had been announced, and before it actually commenced its sittings, an unprecedentedly large batch of promotions was gazetted:—

Twenty-five 2nd class constables promoted to 1st, February 10th, 1898.

Twenty-seven 3rd class constables promoted to 2nd, February 15th, 1898.

Three constables promoted to 4th class detectives, December 1st, 1897.

Seventeen sergeants promoted, January 1st, 1898.

Seventy-two in all.

The only possible effect this remarkable spasm of righteousness could produce would be to silence

seventy-two men, whose just claims for promotion had been ignored for years. And the evidence of the negligent administration of the Police Department at this point was completely destroyed, so far as the possibility of producing it before the Royal Commission was concerned. No fair-minded man can view this action of the Government or the Commissioner in any other light than as an unwarrantable interference with the course of justice.

If the purpose of these promotions was to burke inquiry into legitimate grievances, it partially succeeded; but no sophistry of Commissioner or Minister can justify the promotion at that juncture of nearly

One-seventh of the Entire Police Force of the Colony,

after a Royal Commission, ordered by Parliament to investigate all matters affecting the police force, had been announced. Such tactics were smart, but not such as honest men will approve of, It will inevitably prove as conclusive to the public mind, as indisputable evidence of the scandalous absence of promotion, as a recital of their grievances by the seventy-two fortunate recipients of this delayed and inopportune bestowal of promotion would have done.

Commissioner Tunbridge freely admitted, under examination, that these promotions would have the immediate effect of removing discontent.

This action was as improper but as politic as would be the destruction or removal of a *Voucher*, or of any evidence filed in an action after it was entered up for the consideration of the Court. The police force of the colony had been entirely controlled by the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon from January, 1891, and the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1897 put his administration of that department on its trial.

Let us look at some details which shed a lurid light on the Premier's administrative ideals. I quote now from the official report of the Royal Commission of 1897.

On the 5th November, 1890, Capt. Russell was Defence Minister. One of the constables doing duty on the Christchurch racecourse on this date was helplessly drunk at 3 p.m. The history of the affair is clearly set out in the following extracts from the report of the Royal Commission (p. 39):—

Mr Taylor to Colonel Hume: "Would you read the report in connection with the case?—This is from Sergeant McDonald, who, I think, was in charge next to Inspector Pender at Christchurch: "Police Station, Christchurch, 5th November, 1890.—I beg to report that at 4.20 on this date Constable Cullen informed me that he had been sent from the racecourse in charge of the constable named marginally (first-class constable No.—) by Sergeant Briggs, who was in charge on the course. I saw the constable, who was under the influence of drink, and unfit for duty. I informed the constable that he was to consider himself suspended, and remain at the station until further orders. Later on, I told the constable he could go to his station, and that he was to report himself at this office at 9 a.m., 6th November, 1890.—Alex. McDonald, Sergeant-Major." Then my minute follows: "Inspector Pender.—As Constable———has failed to appear at your office at 9 this morning, and as he was absent from his station last evening when under suspension, he has only aggravated the first offence, which is of itself the most serious; but as he has very long service, I will not dismiss him, but his services are dispensed with from date of suspension.—A. Hume. 7th November, 1890."

The Chairman to Colonel Hume: Is that man in the service now?—Yes.

Mr Taylor: You dispensed with his services, but you did not dismiss him; you allowed him to resign?—Yes. That appears clearly to indicate that at that time I had power to dismiss. That was the 7th November, 1890.

Was that under Captain Russell's administration?—Yes. Captain Pus-sell was in office until the 24th January, 1891. The next paper on the file is a telegram, dated 13th November, 1890, as follows: "Colonel Hume, Wellington.—Regret Con-stantle———been discharged through breach of regulations. Have known him several years. Always thought him most efficient officer. Pleased if could reinstate.—S. Manning, Mayor of Christchurch.

Were there any other requests for his reinstatement?—There is a petition here, dated "Christchurch, 17th November, 1890." The first signature is J. Ollivier, formerly Resident Magistrate for the district, and there follow eighty-four other signatures.

What was the result of that?—There is a letter, dated the 5th December, 1890, as follows: "Re petition dated Christchurch, 17th November, 1890, to the Hon. the Minister of Defence. The same has been submitted to the Hon. the Defence Minister, who has directed me to inform you that Police Regulation No. 62 states that drunkenness on duty will invariably be punished by dismissal or enforced resignation, and in Constable——'s case it was a bad case of drunkenness, on account of its being in a public place—namely, the racecourse—and in the sight of a large concourse of people. The constable was, in consequence of his long service, allowed to resign instead of being dismissed, but the Hon. the Defence Minister (Captain Russell) is unable to grant him compensation, and declines to reinstate him.—I have, etc., A. Hume, Commissioner.—To J. Ollivier, Esq., J.P., and those who signed the petition." When this petition came in, I wrote to the Defence Minister as follows: "This matter has been already before you, and you were pleased to approve my decision. The constable was

allowed to resign on account of his long service, and was not dismissed. I know of no Act that admits of a man being granted compensation on resignation." This was minuted, "Approved."—H. A. A.

When Mr Manning, Mayor of Christchurch, asked for this reinstatement, Colonel Hume replied by wire as follows:—"Am sorry to say that Constable—'s offence is so serious that the punishment, which is in accordance with Clause 62 of the Regulations, cannot be altered. As the offence was so public, *his reinstatement would be disastrous to the discipline of the force.*"

When petitions were presented from certain Linwood residents, urging reinstatement, Colonel Hume remained firm in his decision. It will be observed that both Captain Russell and Sir Harry Atkinson declined to do a thing which Colonel Hume rightly said would prove disastrous to the discipline of the force.

In January, 1891, two months after the racecourse episode, a new spirit entered the administrative affairs of the colony. The watchword of the Defence Department was no longer "discipline and efficiency."

Constable——had been a crony of the Hon. Mr Seddon at Kumara, before either the colony or Her Majesty discovered him, and a "disaster to the discipline of the force" was a trifle light as air in comparison with the necessity for keeping a friend in his billet.

One of the first administrative acts of the Right Hon. Mr Seddon was to reinstate a drunken policeman—inflict a "disaster upon the discipline of the force"—and to accomplish his purpose, he practically coerced officers into furnishing reports, the existence of which might, in the absence of the facts now elicited, have enabled him to say *he was guided* by departmental recommendations.

At how many points ill the public service of this colony the Premier has successfully defied the laws of decency and order in the interests of "party"—a term synonymous with "himself"—the future only will reveal.

That this transaction exhibits the "spirit" of things political during his control of the Colony's affairs, I have no doubt, and being strongly convinced of this, I speak my conviction.

After the facts were all dragged into the light, I asked Colonel Hume whether he did not consider this affair a great discouragement to other men in the force. To which he replied:—

"It was not for me to Think at all: I did as I was told."

Colonel Hume further stated that the telegram ordering——'s reinstatement "was sent directly under the instructions of the Defence Minister, Mr Seddon."

Colonel Hume was forced to cater to the new political power presiding over his department, by recommending the adoption of a course in May, 1891, which, in November, 1890, he declared would be "disastrous to the discipline of the force." I now continue the evidence:—

Was there further correspondence in regard to his reinstatement?

Yes. The next is a petition from the dismissed constable to the Premier, who was then Defence Minister, dated 30th April, 1891.

What was the result?—Mr Seddon minuted the petition as follows: "I think Inspector Broham knows Constable——. Ask his opinion. Also ask Inspector Pender to report—(1) On the charge for which ——was called upon to resign; (2) generally upon——'s conduct as a police officer; (3) whether the offence has been, by the constable being out of the force now some twelve months, sufficiently punished."

What was the date of that minute?—12th May, 1891.

When was he dispensed with? On the 7th November, 1890. The next paper is a memorandum from myself to Inspector Pender, carrying out the request of the Minister, and the Inspector replied.

The Chairman: What was the result of this reply from Inspector Pender?—There is a telegram, sent on the 28th May, 1891, to ex-Constable ——, as follows: "Referring to your petition dated the 30th ultimo, and addressed to the Hon. the Defence Minister, I am directed to inform you that if you report yourself at the Police Station, Wellington, you will be appointed to the Police Force as a first-class constable from the 5th June next.—John Evans (for Commissioner)."

Mr Taylor: Was he a first-class constable when he was dismissed?—Yes.

And he was reinstated in his old rank?—Yes.

Do not you consider that a very great discouragement to other men in the force?—I must decline to answer that question. It was not for me to think at all. I did as I was told.

Mr Taylor: I want to ask whether that telegram, ordering his reappointment, was sent directly under the instruction of the Defence Minister, Mr Seddon? Colonel Hume: Yes.

Do you know if Constable——was formerly stationed on the West Coast in the township of Kumara? Some-where on the West Coast, but I do not know where.

All the above quotations from the official report are taken from my examination of Colonel Hume before the Commission.

In the case just recorded the Premier made his personality felt immediately he succeeded Capt. Russell as Defence Minister, on the 25th January, 1891. His action in this affair was the keynote to the administrative spirit that was to mould the affairs of the Defence Department.

Is it a matter for surprise that the police force was so unspeakably corrupt and inefficient in 1897 that it had to be cleaned up, in answer to an indignant people and Parliament, by the appointment of Com. Tunbridge and a Royal Commission, costing the colony about five thousand pounds.

My contention has been that whilst a man of low character can, under the pressure of public opinion, legislate above his own level, no man can administer affairs above his own level. Administrative Acts always disclose the real character.

The whole police force soon realised that the code of honour observed by Sir Wm. Russell, whilst administering the police force as Minister of Defence up to the 24th January, 1891, had been succeeded by a new spirit. It was not long before "political pull," personal friendships, party considerations and the interests of the trade became the principal factors in decisions emanating from the Defence Department.

Let it be remembered that it took a Royal Commission, and my personal attendance before that Commission as public prosecutor for nearly six months, to bring to light the "Vouchers" which demonstrated the existence of the gross corruption and utter confusion which the administrative methods and personality of the Right Hon. the Premier, as Defence Minister, had introduced into this important branch of the public service.

In view of the exceedingly onerous duties which the police have to discharge, the public are justified in exercising the closest scrutiny of their character and efficiency. The protection of property is popularly regarded as the principal function of the force. As a matter of fact, it is of quite secondary import in comparison with the tremendous power the police possess over the individual citizen. Men and women's liberties and reputations are, in a great measure, at the mercy of the police.

The Premier's Standard of Veracity.

Public men whose duties force them into controversies with the Right Hon. the Premier, either in Parliament or on the public platform, are at a great disadvantage if they observe the ordinary code of honour.

Let me cite some illustrations.

Page 655, "Hansard," October 19, 1897. Speaking during a discussion relative to the composition of the Royal Commission, the Premier said:—"He (the new Commissioner Tunbridge) has been consulted, and, as a result of that consultation, we have decided to set up an inquiry, and we have decided that inquiry shall be in the shape of a Royal Commission. I may say now, that *the new Commissioner thinks it would be his duty to take part in that inquiry. I quite agree that he should be on the Commission.*

Lest anyone should think Mr Seddon, in the statement just quoted, only intended to intimate that Commissioner Tunbridge should be present at the inquiry in his official capacity, let me clear up the ambiguity of the passage by quoting from "Hansard," page 9, Nov. 16th:

"Mr Monk: Is Mr Tunbridge being included as one of the Commissioners?"

"Mr Seddon: Yes that is our intention at present."

On May 20th, 1898, I examined Commissioner Tunbridge—unfortunately for the Premier, as the following will show:—

Mr Taylor: Did the Premier wish you to go as one of the Commissioners?

Mr Tunbridge: It was mentioned, and on account of witness's slight experience of the colony, he left the matter to the Premier. He did not decline to act, *but expressed the opinion that it would be a mistake if he was put on the Commission.* He was taken at a disadvantage, being asked to express an opinion so soon after his arrival in the colony.

In its report the Royal Commission had the following special finding upon one case it investigated. *Charge* by Mr James Brown against Sergeant Hannan, of Stafford, of acting dishonourably in reference to the purchase of certain property of Miss Conway, at Stafford Town, West Coast.

Finding:—We find this charge, so far as it relates to Miss Conway's property, fully proved, and are of opinion that the circumstances show that Sergeant Hannan should no longer be retained in the Police Force of the colony. Miss Conway, of Stafford, by the death of her mother, became under her will entitled to a certain hotel, land, billiard-table, and other property. Sergeant Hannan was Clerk of the Court and agent for Public Trustee at Stafford at the time of Miss Conway's mother's death, and was on friendly terms with the family. His wife was at Mrs Conway's death-bed. He led Miss Conway to believe he was her friend, and represented to her that he knew someone who would buy the hotel property, but that he could not get more for her than £135 for the whole property. He represented, further, to her that one Henne, a rival hotelkeeper at Stafford, would not buy her property from her. On the other hand, he had represented to Henne, for whom he had undertaken to purchase a part of the property—viz., the license and billiard-table—and who had authorised him to give £160 for such part, that Miss Conway would not sell same for less than £170. Sergeant Hannan subsequently told

Henne that Miss Conway had sold the property to him, Sergeant Hannan, and he agreed to sell the license and billiard-table to Henne for £160, who agreed to buy same at that price after he knew that Hannan had bought for himself. Upon Hannan's representation that he could not get more for her, Miss Conway agreed to sell, and did sell, the whole property to him for £135, so that he got the whole property (including land and buildings, estimated for stamp duty by his solicitor at £45) for £135, and sold the license and billiard-table only to Henne for £160. In short, we find that he deceived both Henne and Miss Conway, each of whom Hannan led to believe he was acting in their interest, and that he acted fraudulently towards both of them." In 1899 this man, who had been summarily dismissed from the police force for acting "fraudulently" towards certain persons, had the audacity to petition Parliament for compensation for loss of office.

His petition failed, as it should have done.

In 1901, when the supplementary estimates were being put through, there appeared upon them an item of £183, which it was proposed to pay for loss of office to this man who had been jerked out of the force because of his fraudulent conduct. The "Hansard" record shows what occurred.

Page 1249, "Hansard," November 7th, 1901.—Mr Symes, Egmont, said, in reference to David Hannan, ex-Sergeant of Police, for whom there was £183 put down as compensation for loss of office: That officer had several black marks recorded against him, and it had been proved that he was connected with some business that no police officer ought to have been mixed up in. If he was entitled to it at all the amount should have been put on the estimates some years ago.

Right Hon. the Premier said: "As to Constable Hannan, that officer was not mixed up with anything at all. The transaction upon which he was called upon to resign was some business transaction altogether unconnected with his duties as a police officer.

"There had been no black murk against him."

Could any statement have been more at variance with the truth than was that made by the Premier in his defence of an undeserved vote of public money to a man who had been guilty of such dishonourable conduct, but who had been an acquaintance of the Premier for years on the West Coast.

The Premier forced through the House, this payment to Hannan, but many deserving men who have lost health and strength in the service of the colony have petitioned in vain for relief from the same Ministry that perpetrated this job, a job that only succeeded when supported by a gross untruth as to the man's conduct.

The National Purse Untruth.

It will be remembered that a great and fittingly representative send-off was tendered to the Premier in Christchurch on the eve of his departure for London to represent this colony at the Coronation ceremonies in 1902.

For months before everyone knew that a collection was being made throughout New Zealand to enable a national purse to be given to him as a token of the colony's appreciation of his Imperial services in despatching contingents to the Transvaal. When the farewell meeting was held it was generally understood that as the amount the promoters desired to raise (£5000) was not then in hand, it was decided to postpone the presentation of the money until the Premier returned from England. The farewell meeting was, therefore only used to present an address signed by 20,000 men and women of ealand.

I was in England in 1902, and knowing what had happened in New Zealand on the eve of the Premier's departure from the colony, you may judge of my surprise upon reading in my morning London newspaper on June 18, 1902, the following staggering statement, published at the Premier's request:—

"Mr Seddon requests Renter's agency to state that before his departure from New Zealand a report, which he finds has also gained currency on this side, was circulated, to the effect that he had been presented with a sum of money in recognition of his services to the Empire. The report is unfounded. The presentation which actually took place was that of an illuminated address signed by some 20,000 New Zealanders. As a matter of fact, there was a movement in the colony for presenting the Premier with a sum of money, but at his request it was not proceeded with."

"It was not proceeded with."

Can any words be clearer? In the Old Land, where patriotism is not yet a thing to be bought and sold, where men are yet to be found whose sense of honour is greater than their love of gold. A national purse in payment for patriotic services rendered would be equivalent in its effect upon a man's social opportunities to an act of cowardice on the part of a soldier in the face of the enemy—either, act would mean social ostracism. It was therefore politic that an emphatic denial should be given to the national purse movement, and it was given. The Premier said to the people of England whose hospitality he desired to enjoy: "It (the purse) was not proceeded with."

What was the sequel to this declaration that at his own request the movement to give him money for patriotic services rendered had not been proceeded with?

The Right Hon. the Premier, upon his return from London at the end of 1902, proceeded at once to rake up the "sum of money" the proposal to present which he told the English people had been abandoned "at his request."

In Wellington, on Dec. 22, 1902, he seized the first instalment—a cheque in a silver urn amounting to about £857. At the other chief centres semi-public gatherings were held, at which his hunger was appeased. In the aggregate about three thousand pounds were handed over to the Right Hon, gentleman as the result of the movement which he told the English people upon his honour had at his request, not ben proceeded with.

How did the Right Hon. gentleman defend his cupidity or explain away the assurance he had given to English people on this score?

Read his statement made when he received the first instalment of the payment for his patriotism in Wellington on Dec. 22, 1902.

"For your information, I beg to say that pars. had been cabled er-

Members of the New Liberal Party.

Messrs H. D. Bedford, F. M. B. Fr George Laurenson and T. E. Taylor.

roneously to the Home press prior to my leaving for the Mother Country that a purse of sovereigns had been presented to me at Christchurch. This being incorrect, I, through the medium of the press, corrected the error and stated that it had been intended to make me a presentation of *a tangible souvenir* at the same time as the address at Christchurch had been presented, but at my request this was not *then* proceeded with.

Note the word in italics—"then."

Well done, Mr Seddon!

In London.: "It was not proceeded with." In Wellington: "It was not *then* proceeded with."

When "Marguerita's" vanity caused her to fall a victim to Faust's "jewel" presentation, one could not withhold pity from her.

For the man who sacrificed this colony's love of the Motherland upon the altar of his personal greed one can only feel contempt.

There were scores of women whose sons died for what they conceived to be the need of the Empire in New Zealand—some widows contributed the children of their affection to their instinctive love of country. In their need they could easily establish claims upon this money far stronger in their equity than those of this mercenary patriot. Did any of them share this *souvenir* with the great Imperialist?

Premier Coerces Police and Magistrate, and Lets them Know at What Level He Desires them to Administer their Duties at.

The Lawliss Scandal.

Justice Tampered with Successfully.

No greater crime could be committed by the executive of a democracy than to tamper with the course of justice. It is a boast of Englishmen that all men stand equal before the law, despite the inequalities which abound in other directions.

When aristocracies worked the State as a close "preserve," interferences with justice were *not* of rare occurrence. Under democratic rule; it is of the most vital moment to the most obscure citizen that justice should be blind to the social or political distinctions of those who appeal to her.

One premeditated, deliberate interference with justice would, if the people were alive to their highest interests, guarantee the expulsion of the offender from any place of trust.

The history of what is known as the Lawliss case has never been fully stated. Fragmentary discussions have occurred in Parliament. I have arranged the documentary evidence so that it forms a complete narrative.

The refusal of the Premier to give evidence before the Royal Commission in 1898 was, doubtless, due to his dread of the bare truth being elicited about this and similar incidents.

Unless the very theory of regulation in connection with our licensing laws is to be abandoned, the laws regarding the "fitness" of character of licensees should be strictly enforced. Colonel Hume's telegram, quoted further on, was practically an instruction to Inspector Emerson to withdraw his opposition to, and facilitate the issue of the license, and his expression of the hope that Lawliss *should not be hounded down*, was equal to an instruction to suspend the operation of a statute law. *Vide* Section 12 of the Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Act, 1895.)

The Lawliss Case.

On 30th January, 1895, Nonstable Lawliss, stationed at Napier, was dismissed from the Police Force for "immoral conduct," and duly gazetted as "dismissed from the force."

In March, 1895, Lawliss arranged to buy the Royal Oak Hotel, at Weber, near Dannevirke, and on the 26th March applied to Mr R. L. Stanford, S.M., at Palmerston North and Chairman of the Licensing Committee, for a certificate of character, under Section 12, sub-section 2, of the "Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Act, 1895."

Section 12 of the Act of 1896 provides that before any person can be the holder of a publican's license, he must obtain a certificate of character, signed by a Stipendiary Magistrate in the following form:—

"I, the undersigned, Stipendiary Magistrate, do hereby certify that (A.B.) is a person of good fame and reputation, and fit and proper to have granted to him a publican's license.

"(C.D.) Stipendiary Magistrate."

Mr Stanford, in accordance with the usual practice, sent the application to the police at Napier for the Inspector's report. On 19th April, Inspector Emerson, who knew all the facts, returned the application to Mr Stanford, with the following report:

"19th April, 1895.

"Mr Stanford, S.M.

"I cannot express an opinion as to this man's fitness to conduct an hotel. He was dismissed from the force for immoral conduct.

"Jno. Emerson."

On 8th May (more than a month after the date of the application), Mr Stanford determined to refuse to give Lawliss a certificate of fitness, and informed him of his said determination by letter as follows:—

"Magistrate's Court, Palmerston North,

May 8th, 1895.

"Sir.—*Re* Mr lawliss' application for certificate of character. In reply to your letter of 3rd inst., I am instructed to inform you that *Mr Stanford, the Stipendiary Magistrate declines to give the certificate asked for.* I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"W. Maltravers,
Clerk, Magistrate's Court.

"R. M. Blakiston, Esq.,
Solicitor, etc., Dannevirke."

On receipt, or probably prior to the receipt, of Mr Stanford's decision, Lawliss went to see, or wrote to, or in some other way communicated with, the Premier in Wellington, with the view, apparently, of getting him to bring his influence to bear on the Magistrate and police in his (Lawliss') favour.

On 10th May, 1895, the Commissioner of Police telegraphed, no doubt at the public expense, to Inspector Emerson, as follows:—

"Wellington,

10th May, 1895.

"Inspector Emerson, Napier.

"Ex-constable Lawliss is applying for a license for a bush house in the Napier district, and I understand the police are opposing it. Why? Is it because he was dismissed from the force? If so, this looks like persecution. If necessary, let the Committee know why he was dismissed from the force. It appears to me he should not be hounded down. Immediate action should be taken, as the case is to be decided on the 14th. *I hope you will be able to see your way to withdraw the objection.*

"A. H. Hume, "Commissioner."

This telegram must have been based upon Mrs. Lawliss' interview with the Premier, because Colonel Hume had not been officially informed of what was happening between the Magistrate and Lawliss.

Inspector Emerson was away from Napier when this telegram arrived, and Constable Norwood, who was apparently in charge there, sent the following telegram, no doubt at the public expense, to the Commissioner in reply:—

"Napier,

10th May, 1895.

"To the Commissioner of Police, Wellington.

"*Re* Lawliss. On 10th ult, Mr Stanford, S.M., applied to the police for report as to Lawliss' character and fitness to hold a license. Inspector Emerson wrote that he could not express an opinion, and that Lawliss had been discharged from the force for immoral conduct. In consequence of this report, I understand Mr Stanford refused to issue a certificate under Section 12, sub-section 2. Alcoholic Liquors Sales Control Act. Inspector Emerson is, I believe, at Galatea, and there are no means of communicating with him. Please instruct what you wish me to do. *I would suggest your writing to Mr Stanford.*

"S. P. Norwood,
"Constable, Napier

(for Inspector)."

On 11th May, 1895, the Commissioner sent the following telegram to Mr Stanford. S.M.:—

"Wellington,

11th May, 1905.

"R. L. Stanford, Esq., S.M., Palmerston North.

"*The Defence Minuter (the Premier)* wishes me to invite your attention to the case of ex-Constable E. J. Lawliss, who is applying for a publican's license, but, I understand, is likely to be refused, because he was dismissed from the force. Inspector Emerson is at Galatea, and, therefore I cannot communicate with him, and do not know what he reported; but it seems that Lawliss paid the penalty of his improper conduct by being dismissed, and if the police are going to hound him down, and prevent his obtaining a livelihood, it looks like persecution, and *I trust you will take these matters into your favourable consideration* before deciding on the 4th.

"A. Hume, Commissioner."

On receipt of this telegram, Mr Stanford sent the following telegram to the Commissioner:—

"Palmerston North,

11th May, 1895.

"To the Commissioner of Police, Wellington.

"Police report Lawliss was *dismissed from force for immorality* Hardly see how I can do otherwise with such a report before me. Know nothing of the circumstances.

"R. L. STANFORD, S.M."

[Note.—The certificate had been refused on 8th May.]

On the same day (11th May), Constable Norwood wrote to Mr Stanford as follows:—

"R. L. Stanford, S.M., Palmerston North, "Sir,—

Referring to memo, of 19th April, 1895, from Inspector Emerson, in reply to yours regarding the transfer of license of Weber Hotel to E. J. Lawliss, I beg to inform you that *the police do not desire to raise any objection to the transfer of this license to Lawliss.*— I am, etc.,

"S. P. Norwood, District Clerk (for Inspector.)"

It does not appear under what authority this letter was sent. Constable Norwood had wired to the Commissioner of Police on 10th May *for instructions*, but it does not appear from the correspondence that he received any "instructions" before writing to Mr Stanford.

On the same day he (Constable Norwood) telegraphed to the Commissioner as follows:—

Napier,

11th May, 1895.

"To Commissioner of Police.

"Have written to Mr Stanford that police do not desire to raise any objection to the transfer of the license to Lawliss.

"S. P. Norwood, Constable, Napier.
(For Inspector.)

On the same day (11th May) Constable Norwood wrote to the Commissioner enclosing a copy of his (Norwood's) letter to Mr Stanford. The following is a copy of the letter:

Napier,

11th May, 1895.

"To the Commissioner of Police.

"Referring to your telegram of yesterday and my reply thereto, the above is copy of a letter sent to Mr Stanford on this date, which should reach him this afternoon.

Constable Drake, of Dannevirke, will also be instructed not to raise any objection at the annual meeting of the Licensing Committee at Dannevirke.

"S. P. Norwood, District Clerk (for Inspector).

On 13th May, Inspector Emerson returned to Napier, and on being shown the telegram which had been sent to him by the Commissioner on 10th May, he sent the following "urgent" telegram to Mr Stanford:—

"Napier,

13th May, 1895.

"To Mr Stanford, S.M.

Urgent—He Lawliss license for public-house. I beg to withdraw all objections, having made further inquiries. I believe he will make an excellent publican

"John Emerson."

On the same day (13th May), Mr Standford, *without making any independent inquiry*, signed a certificate in favour of Lawliss in the usual form, and sent the following telegram to the Commissioner:—

"A. Hume, Wellington.

"Police have notified me that all objections to Lawliss are withdrawn. Certificate will now be granted.

"R. L. Stanford, S.M."

On 14th May, the Licensing Committee sat at Dannevirke, when the transfer of the license from Ryan to Lawliss was approved, on the production of the certificate of character from Mr Stanford, S.M. The police, "*acting under instructions*," made no objections to the transfer, nor did the chairman (Mr Stanford) or the police apparently even inform the members of the Committee of the facts.

If the spirit and letter of the licensing law was not outraged in this case, by order of the Right Hon. the Premier, who was Defence Minister, I should like to know what other view can be taken.

The police and magistrate both bowed to the requirements of the new spirit administering the Defence Department, and with a knowledge of such defiant acts of maladministration as this filtering through the police force, is it any wonder that its deterioration became so rapid and its disorganisation so complete as to make necessary the Royal Commission which sat in 1898.

Some One May Say there is No Clear Proof that Colonel Hume Was Not, on his Own Motion, the Author of the Lawliss Scandal—read his Sworn Testimony.

On Friday, the 18th February, Colonel Hume was under examination in Wellington. (Page 53 of the Official Report):—

Mr Taylor: You remember the correspondence with Inspector Emerson over the subject of granting a license to a man named Lawliss?

Colonel Hume: Yes.

Mr Taylor: You remember writing one letter suggesting that the police should withdraw their opposition to the granting of a publican's license to this man?—Yes.

Who authorised you to write it?—I said I was directed by the Defence Minister.

Who was the Defence Minister then?—Mr Seddon.

You did not interfere with the police in regard to the issue of a license to this man of your own motion—it was distinctly under instructions? —Yes; I think the correspondence says so, too.

Can any thins: be *more concise*?

Could anything be *more astounding* than the fact that, on the very next day, the Commission sat, and, during my absence, Colonel Hume was put under examination by Commissioner Tunbridge on this matter, with the following results:—Speaking of the wire sent to Inspector Emerson on the 11th May, he said:—"That particular telegram I *imagine* I sent myself, but *I may have* spoken to a Minister before I sent it. I am not sure. *I am quite willing to take the responsibility.*

Speaking of the wire sent to the Stipendiary Magistrate on the same day, he said: "*I am positive* I showed the papers to the Minister before I sent that telegram, *because* I had no authority to telegraph to a Stipendiary Magistrate without a Minister's consent."

Then Commissioner Tunbridge asked Colonel Hume, "Do you say that you recommended that telegram?" and the Colonel, despite the testimony of the 18th February, said 'Yes.' And then, to complete the farce, Commissioner Tunbridge asked him, "And you take the responsibility for it?" "Undoubtedly," replied the Colonel.

On pages 24 and 28 of the Official Report, Colonel Hume describes how he got "*wigged*" for something he did without the permission of his political master, and I cannot explain his marvellous somersault in this matter, except upon the hypothesis that he got wigged by his political boss between my examination of him one day and his next appearance before the Commission. His candid admissions of Ministerial interference with the Courts of Justice were fully reported through the newspaper press. The Wellington bye-election was approaching, the interests of the great party spelt with a capital "I" were jeopardised, and, therefore, the Colonel's *first day's evidence must be modified*. What other conclusions can one come to?

The truth of the suggestion that Colonel Hume's memory was refreshed by a wiggling from the Premier could only be ascertained from the Right Honourable gentleman himself, and it is, therefore, to be deplored, that for *State reasons*, he declined to come before the Police Commission in 1898. Had Madame Roland lived to-day, instead of during the period of the French Revolution, she might have exclaimed, "Oh, Democracy! what things are done in thy name!"

The report of the Royal Commission on the condition of the police force, from which we have been

quoting, is a sorry record of tammany methods in full blast. The one person whose personality had been dominating the police force from January, 1891, when Capt. Russell retired was the Right Hon. the Premier.

As we have already seen, Colonel Hume, the then Commissioner of Police, when asked whether the reappointment of a constable to the force without loss of rank or pay, within seven months of the date he had been dismissed for gross misconduct under Capt. Russell's rule, would not create heartburning and disorganisation amongst members of the force, replied: "It was not for me to think at all. I did as I was told. Although in connection with efforts made by the public to get this man reinstated just before Mr Seddon became Defence Minister, Colonel Hume had written and said: "As the offence was so public, his reinstatement would be disastrous to the discipline of the force."

For details of those corrupt, incapable and drunken members of the police before 1898 who were sheltered, promoted or reinstated by the Premier whilst Defence Minister, I refer anyone wishing details to the pages of the report of the Royal Commission or to the summary of that report published at the time.

How heavily the political machine, as operated by the Premier, weighed down upon the intelligence and authority of those public servants under his control may be judged by these extracts from the official records.

Colonel Hume said: I think it is not fair to the Commissioner trying to bring pressure to bear on the department. In my report for 1896 was the statement, "I do say however, that interference with the administration of the force, without due cause, must result in the breaking of the bonds of discipline. This influence is brought to bear on the Minister, not on the Commissioner. Of course, it is *hard for the Minister to resist*. and, I suppose in some cases, he yields. I think the Minister's yielding to this influence affects independence of management on the part of the Commissioner. The will of the Commissioner is *subservient* to the Minister.

Inspector Broham, Christchurch, said: "The first step necessary to the improvement of the police force is, as I have already stated, that the Commissioner should have complete control of the force."

The Chairman: What do you mean by complete control?—No Ministerial interference.

The Last Five Years.

During the whole five years, I have had a *large* number of men physically weak; they had often to go on the sick list. A large number were not of sufficient intelligence to satisfy me, and a large number *were in no way fitted* for the Police duties they had to perform. There were men, too, who had no sense of duty, and in them there was no spirit of obedience. The powers of Inspectors have been very much curtailed of *late years*. They have not been consulted of late years regarding promotions, nor as to the transfer of men under their charge. They knew *nothing whatever* of the transfers until the men were told to go to the different places, *everything being controlled from Wellington*. The constables knew that the Inspector's powers were largely curtailed; they knew that it was *not by steady attention to their duty* that promotion was to be obtained or advancement given, and they sought promotion and advancement by political influence. This system directly bred insubordination and the spirit of disobedience throughout the force. The men ceased to look to their officers for advancement. The men are now appointed to the force without the Commissioner of Police or any officer of the police seeing them. The Commissioner of Police knows nothing of the men he appoints to the force. He does not see them, and no inquiry is made by anybody connected with the police regarding the character of the men who are appointed to the police force.

Inspector Pardy, Dunedin, said:—Political influence has been going on for the last twenty years. *It grew so it went along*. It has been the same under every Commissioner; the same under every Government for the last twenty years.

Certainly, under Captain Russell there was very little of it. It has been worse since he retired, there is no question about that. I have not felt so much of it the last six months, since the attach on the Department. An order has been given, and it has been obeyed. This political influence naturally causes men to be insubordinate. They do not have that respect for their superiors that they should have, when they know there is power behind the throne. If men know they can go to a member of Parliament and upset everything an Inspector or Commissioner directs, it is only natural they will do it repeatedly, and I cannot help seeing it.

Men have told me they would overrule me. Aitcheson did so. He has been dismissed since. Henderson, the detective, defied me in my office. He is still in the force. I was finding fault with him about something in regard to which he had neglected his duty. In fact, I had little or no control over the man while he was here. He intimated to me that he had greater power than I had. By this he means political power.

*We are not worse at once—the course of evil
Begins so slowly, and from such slight source,
An infant's hand might stem its breach with clay,
But let the stream get deeper, and Philosophy—
Ay, and Religion too—shall strive in vain
To turn the headlong torrent.*

If the people of the United States of America had taken a keener interest in the character of the country's administration between 1840 and 1900. If instead of the race for wealth which carried its people in a mad rush, "Westward Ho !" there had been exercised a keen criticism of and control over the quality and tone of its political administration. American politics would not be synonymous with corruption and low cunning today.

I have pleaded for high standards for our political administration before and since entering politics, and in spite of the pitiful whinings of party apologists who describe plain speaking and hard facts as "vituperation and abuse" when such plain speaking and hard facts threaten the well-being of their political deities. I shall, I hope, not cease to discharge what I conceive to be my duty and to follow a course in politics which, although frequently an un-pleasant duty, I am convinced is in the highest interests of my own family and those of my fellow colonists.

The overhauling of the Police Department in 1898, although very costly to the taxpayer, did much good, and Commissioner Tunbridge speedily put the force on to a better footing than it had been for years previously. Let it be remembered that the evidence given before the Commission, demonstrated conclusively that the Premier had permitted the degeneracy of the force to take place during his term of office, and had in most of the cases examined accelerated the deterioration by the exercise of his will.

Seven years have not passed since the last Royal Commission investigated the police force, and yet in August, 1905, its condition is again the subject of investigation by a Royal Commission. Commissioner Tunbridge, it is believed, because of Ministerial interference with his authority, left the colony, and under the same Ministry the colony is again paying heavily to find the remedy for the inefficiency inseparable from the administration which controls it.

No Man can Administer Above his Own Level.

The Ministry has No Keen Concern for the Safe Custody of the People's Ballot.

The Question of Returning Officers.

Mr H. D. Bedford, M.H.R., Dunedin, speaking in the House of Representatives on June 30th, 1905 ("Hansard P. 133) made the following indictment of the Government for its laxity in safeguarding democratic rights so far as the careful custody of the people's votes are concerned:—

"I will now proceed to another department of the State.

I come to the Department of the Colonial Secretary, which is by no means free from the appearance, at any rate, of maladministration. I will draw the attention of the House to one or two appointments as Returning Officer or Registrar. In the first speech I made in this House I drew attention to the continuance in office of a Registrar in Invercargill named McEwen. I pointed out that this man McEwen had been convicted of wilfully and knowingly violating his duty as Registrar, and yet he was not removed from office, notwithstanding that an election was coming on in a few weeks. Even after that election he was retained in office and allowed to act as Registrar of a licensing-committee election that was held some months after the general election. I know that that man has now been discharged. I have referred to it that I might lead up to the case of a Returning Officer named Bird at Westport. I make no apology for referring to this man by name, because I consider that the Government have been guilty of a gross breach of duty—indeed, of treachery to the interests of the colony—I am not using language too strong, as will abundantly appear—by keeping this man in office. I will give the

man's history—the history of a man upon whom lies an important responsibility with respect to the election of members of Parliament and licensing election. This man is still in office, but he must be removed. If not, the country ought to be roused to indignation at the continuance in office of a man with a record such as he has. In 1890 he was dismissed from office. The "Gazette" states,—

Notice of Dismissal from the Civil Service. "Department of Justice, Wellington,

July 23, 1890.

"It is hereby given notice that His Excellency the Governor in Council, has been pleased to dismiss Frank Bird from the offices of Resident Magistrate, Coroner, Warden, Judge of the Assessment Court, and Returning Officer at Westport, and from the Civil Service of the Colony
"(Captain, W. R. Russell."

A man is not removed from these positions except for some gross misconduct. In the same "Gazette" we find,—

Justice of the Peace removed from Office. "Department of Justice, Wellington,

July 23, 1890.

"His Excellency the Governor has been pleased, in terms of section 7 of "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1882," to direct the removal of the name of Frank Bird, of Westport, from the Commission of the Peace, and that such removal will take effect on and from the 28th of July instant.

"W. R. Russell."

Further we have this:—

Member of the Westport Harbour Board removed. "Marine Department, Wellington,

August 4, 1890.

"His Excellency the Governor has been pleased, in pursuance and exercise of the power and authority conferred upon him by section 4 of "The Westport Harbour Board Act, 1884," to remove Frank Bird from his position as a member of the Westport Harbour Board.

"Thomas Fergus

(For the Minister having Charge of the Marine Department)."

With these facts within his knowledge, Mr. Seddon was approached by deputation—I think in 1896—and he then declared that Mr. Bird was "not exactly dismissed "Those were his words, and yet we have the records in the "Gazette" of his dismissal from these important positions. Everyone knows what he was dismissed from office for: it was for corrupt practice. The mere fact of his dismissal from these positions is sufficient proof to any one that he was guilty of some misdemeanour. That man is today in charge of the people's Parliamentary and Licensing ballots. Now, I want to know if that man is going to be removed? I would not like to damn any man for what he has done in the past, for I believe that it is possible for any man to retrieve his past; but you must not put a person with such a record into a position of such responsibility. A man with such record must be removed from the position of Returning Officer. We have had enough of such Returning Officers. There has been Mr. King in Auckland, and Mr. McEwen in the south, and now we have this man in Westport, and an election approaching. This is not what I call clean and pure administration."

This session several complaints have been voiced by members of the indifferent character of a number of returning officers who are responsible for such onerous duties in connection with both the Parliamentary and licensing polls. These appointments are administrative acts, not acts of legislation.

In 1899 the lax administration in the Marine Department necessitated the appointment of another expensive Royal Commission to investigate serious charges of grave irregularities in that department.

The result of the investigation showed conclusively that the tone of the administration of the Marine Department was at a low ebb, and a regular clean-up had to follow the Commission's work.

What of To-Day?

Is There Yet a Need for Administrative Reform?

I submit there is urgent need for a revolutionary change in the Cabinet. To-day the Cabinet represents

The Memories of the Liberal Party.

It has no inspiration for its supporters. It has lost its grip of ideals. It rolls heavily among the fragments of the policy and promises which at its birth in 1891 gave it vigour.

This Ministry has been Too Long in Office.

Fourteen years of unchecked power has brought on a political decrepitude. National ideals gave way to purely party ideals several years back; to-day even party ideals no longer are its standard of action or a guide to its political proposals. It is now a mere crowd whose personal interests jostle each other, and from the Right Hon. the Premier down, the Liberal party gropes blindly and without any sense of shame for a means of political subsistence.

Where is its Policy To-Day?

The Royal Commission, on that greatest of economic questions, the land question has been seeking to find a policy for this Ministry, the lineal descendants of the Liberal party of 1890, whose high purposes and aims on this very land question stirred the pulses of every man who hoped for reform and loved his country in 1890. A subterfuge, like nearly all subterfuges, the Land Commission failed in its purpose, and the only tangible result of this act of cowardice on the part of the Seddon Ministry is that the taxpayers have to pay the cost of the Commission—a cool twenty thousand pounds in hard cash—because the Premier has no conviction to guide him or has found his own preservation of greater importance than the declaration of a definite land policy.

To-day. August 23th, weeks after the report of the Commission is placed in members' hands, the Premier tables a series of vague "fishing" re-solutions, and by means of the discussion upon these inanities he hopes to manufacture sufficient patches to make up a new Land Bill.

Surely this Ministry has been in commission so long that it requires to be docked for a complete overhaul. The barnacles which have accumulated during its long voyage retard its progress, and it has degenerated from the clipper of 1891 into the clumsy barge of 1905.

New Times Demand New Measures and New Men.

The great question of land reform is not one that can be safely left in the nerveless hands of a Ministry or party who are more concerned for place, power and pay than for any political ideal, however fraught with importance to the public wellbeing the realisation of the ideal may be.

The Colony Wants a New Liberal Party.

A party that will place the interests of New Zealand first and last, and who will strive to legislate on all questions from the ideal stand-point that all the people in the colony are members of one family.

The Spirit of Pelf is Upon the Government.

It has been proved by members of the New Liberal party during this session of Parliament that the

Government has permitted, encouraged and committed breaches of their trust with regard to the telegraph and telephone systems of the colony. Free telegrams and telephone messages, without let or hindrance, have been sent over the telegraph system of the colony by members of Ministers' families and by their relations. The revenue of the colony should have been benefited by every one of these messages being paid for.

Members of Ministers' families have no more right to send telegrams and telephone messages free than they have to demand free postage stamps. They have no more right to the privileges they have so improperly used than any ordinary elector has; they have presumed upon their position. Honesty is not a question of degree, and petty pelf or peculation soon cuts a track down which the more confident and bold operator will carry away spoils of magnitude. The franking system and the excessive use of the memo system of telegrams have become serious abuses under the fostering care of this Ministry.

Robbing the Telegraph Revenue.

In April of this year free telegrams were sent containing about 5000 words each, to several strongly partizan Government newspapers. These telegrams contained nearly verbatim reports of the Premier's Pahiatua speech in reply to Mr Massey. Most newspapers in the colony received their reports of this meeting through the Press Association and paid the usual newspaper rates for such telegrams. And we urge that the partizan newspapers (amongst which were the "Lyttelton Times," "Evening Star" and "Oamaru Mail") to whom the lengthy wires referred to were sent, have no right to use the telegraph system of this colony without paying for such use, not even if their opportunity to defraud the revenue is due to the Premier's abuse of his Ministerial position.

"An Insatiable Greed.

The unhappy exhibition of greed, as evidenced by the national purse affair, was a major operation. Let us consider a minor financial operation indicating a similar love of pelf. The facts relating to the following transaction were laid before the House as late as July 28th, 1905, during the debate on the Imprest Supply Bill. Under section 4 of the Civil List Act, Ministers, whilst travelling within the colony on public service, shall be entitled to an allowance not exceeding thirty shillings a day for each day they shall be so engaged. On the 7th May, 1904, the S.S. Hinemoa left Wellington for her annual inspection of the northern lighthouses. The Premier was not in first-class health at the time, and to get fit for the approaching session he decided to take the trip in the Hine-moa, accompanied by several members of his family and by Dr Valentine, a medical officer of the Health Department. He left Wellington on May 7th, and returned in the Hine-moa on June 21st. The legal allowance of 30s a day that Ministers are entitled to draw whilst absent from Wellington on the public service is for hotel expenses, etc. During this health and pleasure jaunt in the colony's steamer, extending over 46 days, the Premier and his friends were at no expense for hotel, etc. The taxpayer paid the cost of both food and lodging for the whole party, including Dr Valentine's salary, and despite this, the Premier could not resist the temptation to seize the 30s a-day allowance, and was actually paid £69 of the colony's money.

He was probably acting within his legal rights and defended the transaction because he said it was legal. Assuming that like Shylock he only seized his legal pound of flesh, would not the tax-payer if he was as greedy as was the Premier in this instance, be justified in saying to him: Well, at least you shall refund to the Treasury the expense the country incurred for the board and lodging of yourself and family during the time you were using our steamer and supplies.

In replying, the Premier made a halting effort to claim that he transacted some public business at each of the harbours the Hinemoa visited, or, at least, sufficient to justify the payment of the £69: In reply to which puerile and transparent sophistry it may be said that even if he did receive or despatch a telegram or letter at any of these places he was handsomely paid for it because he was drawing his salary of £1600 a year at the very time he clutched the £69 referred to.

"Ministers Families in the Public Service."

The presence of members of Ministers' families in the public service is threatening the liberties of members of Parliament. When any of these numerous offices come up in the estimates members hesitate to criticise the expenditure or appointment for fear they are charged in bitter terms with making a personal attack upon the Minister through his family.

I contend no Minister has a right to appoint a member of his family to the Civil Service during his term of office. They are an embarrassment to members of Parliament, and also to the other members of the public service whose freedom or rights are influenced because of the danger of offending a Minister's relative.

No Minister has a right to give a public position to relations because chance has placed him in a political position where a breach of trust may confer unfair advantages upon such relative.

Low Level Administration of Law.

Of other aspects of Seddonian administration much could be said that no honest man can refute. The aggressive friendliness towards the interests of those engaged in the liquor business in this colony made this Government's administration of the licensing laws in the King Country, Crutha, Sydenham, Newtown, and elsewhere a reproach to a democracy. In Sydenham and Newtown licenses without legal status were permitted to remain operative until an indignant public opinion forced from the Government an enforcement of statute law. Quibbles and wretched legal technicalities were permitted to rob the people of Bruce, Newtown and Chalmers of their victories in social reform. This Ministry moved no finger to assert the people's right to rule against the power of vested interest.

Every legislative proposal connected with licensing as drafted and introduced in the Parliament by the Seddon Government has been in spirit and letter a licensed liquor trade protection Bill. The Prohibitionists in the House of Representatives, always alert and vigilant, have been successful in asserting popular rights, and, after tremendous efforts, and by means of a superb organisation, have converted many of the Premier's proposals into measures conferring some power upon the people.

The success of whatever further experiments in the suppression of the liquor business the people may decide to make will be limited, discounted and largely destroyed if the spirit of the Seddon administration is to continue to control the forces in this colony responsible for law and order.

A Summary and a Plea for Reform.

In 1890 the Liberal party came into power, amid the acclamations of the people. Good work has been accomplished by it under the impulse of reform generated at various points. To-day, after 14 years, the inevitable consequence of long-continued and practically uncontrolled power are aggressively in evidence.

- Refusal to give information to Parliament respecting details of the public accounts.
- Contempt for Parliamentary rights.
- Partizan administration of statute law.
- Distribution of positions in the public service amongst members of Ministers' families.
- Abuse of the power of nomination to create the Legislative Council.
- Elevation of the mediocrities of the Liberal party to the position of Ministers in charge of the great departments of State.
- The straining of the law in the efforts to appropriate travelling allowances and other perquisites.
- The indifferent and unsympathetic administration of public services and departments resulting in the

Police Force, State Coal Mines and Land Department

being the subjects of investigation by Royal Commission within the past few weeks, and even that greatest of all State departments, the Education Department, is crying aloud for investigation and reform. The interests of the Liberal party, of the public service, of Parliament, and of the colony all warrant me in contending that

"The Time is Ripe and Rotten Ripe for Change."

I believe the New Liberal Party is a nucleus around which a party may gather at the approaching elections that will revive the ideal of Liberalism, and put vigour into the political life of the colony.

Why a New Liberal Party?

The primary object of the formation of the New Liberal Party is to win the constitutional reforms necessary to complete and render harmonious the system of government which has its basis in adult suffrage and by insisting upon clean and efficient administration, save the political life of this beautiful country from the maelstrom of corruption which has grown rankly in older lands, owing to the neglect of the people to keep a "strong hand" upon the moral tone of Parliament., and because party and not national interests have dominated the individual politician.

These objects are amongst the ideals of the small group of members of the present Parliament who are striving to arouse an interest in political issues and to win the return of men at the approaching elections whose love of country means sacrifice of time, health and money, and who will act always as though the people of this colony were *really* members of one family.

New Zealand for New Zealanders. The nation, not the party, must be the watchword of any party worthy of being entrusted with the power of controlling the destinies of the Britain of the South.

The "indecision" and "lack of resolution" in the cause of reform displayed by the present Ministry is so universally admitted as to need no detailed argument. The consequences of the Government's abuse of the power entrusted to it by which the Legislative Council and the Cabinet is created has hastened the demoralisation of the Liberal party. During the last five or six years the whole efforts of the Ministry, as the official head of the Liberal party, seem to have been directed to securing the perfecting of the party machine, the design of which machine is to perpetuate the Ministry of the day, without any regard to the question of any political principles they may represent. The increasing tendency to approve of candidates who desire to enter Parliament under the nomination of the Liberal party, simply because they pledge themselves to loyally support the personality of the Premier renders it impossible for anyone inside or outside Parliament to know what fate is likely to befall any proposal brought before the House.

Emerson has rightly said that "personality perpetually corrupts party," and New Zealand politics have supplied brilliant proof of his contention during recent years.

The vital forces of the Liberal party of 1890 have exhausted themselves, and if a period of power is not to pass from the people, the men and women who desire progress and who are willing to strive for the adoption of high ideals in the administrative sphere should be prepared to give a cordial, generous and strenuous support to the men who are fighting at this general election for the success of the principles enunciated by the New Liberal party and the men who fight under the banner of the new party.

A few months ago some eight members of the Liberal party arranged to co-operate to secure certain reforms which are embraced in the published programme of the New Liberal party. Four of the eight members stipulated that they should, on questions involving the fate of the Ministry, act independently. Since that arrangement was made the turmoil arising out of (and which has been deliberately fanned into a blaze by interested newspapers and politicians) what is known as the voucher incident has induced them to withdraw from the arrangement, and they have practically resumed their allegiance to their former party. Believing in the honour, experience and integrity of the four officials in the Christchurch Post Office and acting upon their sworn testimony, Mr F. M. B. Fisher, a member of the New Liberal party demanded information regarding the payment of money represented by the voucher, to the existence of which the officials referred to testify. A flood of editorial and political vituperative abuse has been directed towards the New Liberal party in this connection. It is not my purpose here to discuss the details of the voucher affair, but I am certain that, despite the seeming solidity of the certificates of Treasury and Defence officials, and the emphatic report of the Auditor and Controller General, the departmental and secret inquiry of which the report referred to is the outcome, has failed to give the public satisfaction. The positive testimony of four living, experienced, honourable and capable Civil servants cannot be destroyed by the negative testimony of any tribunal departmental or otherwise. The hysterical journalistic outbreak over the affair lacks dignity and real force, and is one of the most disgraceful attempts ever made in this colony to silence a Parliamentary minority in the discharge of their Parliamentary duties. The attitude of the journalistic and political antagonists of the New Liberal party on this question has lowered the tone of Parliament, and seems to have been designed to intimidate members who have hitherto dared to challenge the quality of the Government's administration.

To-day, in spite of the storm of invective directed against them, Messrs Bedford, Fisher, Laursen and Taylor continue to urge upon the electors the need for a complete change in the colony's administration. We don't want a few patches upon the unhappy conglomeration known as the Seddon Ministry. We want a New Liberal party and a new executive that shall be the choice of such party, fourteen years of continuous power is too long in a democracy for any set of men. It has resulted in New Zealand in a Ministry, lacking in efficiency,

initiative, courage, and moral character.

The New Liberal party appeals to the young New Zealand elector to enter this general election contest with vigour, and assist in returning men to the next Parliament who stand for ideals which embrace the constitutional and legislative reforms for which the New Liberal party is contending, and for an administration that shall not be comparatively honest, but absolutely honest, and as efficient as the deliberate judgment of the Parliament can secure under the provision of the elective executive reform which is a crying need of the colony's political life.

The Programme of the New Liberal Party.

Administration: The honourable and efficient administration of the colony's affairs, free from party bias.

Constitutional Reform.

- Elective Executive: The people elect the Parliament and the people's representatives should elect the executive. The present system by which one man selects the Cabinet has in practice produced results that render it certain that the judgment of the whole Parliament must raise the tone of Parliament and secure more capable men to administer the large departments of State.
- Legislative Council Reform: That the present method of appointing the members of the Legislative Council be abolished, and if a second Chamber is to continue in existence it shall be appointed by the people's representatives in Parliament.
- Referendum and the Initiative: difficulty of getting any one of the many issues always prominent on the occasion of a general election directly before the people renders it necessary that the people should have powers directly to initiate or veto a legislative proposal.

Land Interests.

- Existing freehold and leasehold titles to be preserved in their integrity.
- Land required for close settlement or other public necessities must be purchased from the owner, as is done under the Lands for Settlement Act.
- The fulfilment of all engagements to backblocks' settlers by completion of roads and improvements for which roads have been loaded.
- No further sales shall be made of Crown lands, or of lands purchased by the Government for closer settlement.
- Existing 999 years' leases: If Parliament decides to grant to the present holders of these leases the right to acquire the freehold, such right to convert their leaseholds to freeholds should only be granted upon the basis of the full market value of the land at the date of conversion, subject to the tenant having full value for improvements; all receipts from the conversion of the 999 years' lease to freehold to be used strictly to purchase further lands for close settlement under the leasehold system.
- Administration of the Land for Settlements Acts, and extension of its provisions. The need of a more rigorous administration of the Land for Settlements Act, and in congested districts an extension of its provisions in the direction of acquiring land for workmen's homes, together with greater facilities for advancing money for the erection of homes thereon.

Taxation.

The readjustment of taxation by increasing the graduated land tax on large estates and reducing the Customs duties now levied on the necessaries of life.

Education.

The reorganisation and improved administration of the Education Department, and the extension of primary, secondary, agricultural and technical education. The adjustment and proper linking of primary, secondary, and university training till free education is within the reach of every scholar of ability. The

maintenance of Boards of Education and the extension of their powers. The educational system of this colony must be made as good as that of any other country, and, if possible, better.

Local Franchise.

The abolition of plural voting.

Industrial Interests.

The maintenance of the colony's labour legislation, and by every possible means foster and encourage the colony's manufacturing and industrial interests

Forestry.

The protection and conservation of our native forests with a view to our future requirements and the encouragement by the State of tree planting on private and public lands.

Liquor Legislation.

To maintain the people's direct control over the liquor business.

Superannuation.

The initiation of a definite superannuation scheme for all public servants.

Old-Age Pensions.

The removal of the disability now existing by which the possession of a home valued at £270 deprives otherwise deserving persons of all pension.

Since the New Liberal party was formed it has succeeded in forcing from the Government a concession, which provides that "bona fide" homes not exceeding a value of £150 do not disqualify persons from the receipt of the full pension of £26 per year.

Defence.

The Defence Department to be reformed and reorganised by the sweeping away of useless excrescences, however ornamental, and confining the expenditure to the support of an effective naval squadron and the maintenance of an efficient volunteer and rifle service.

Parliamentary Business.

The public business of the country should be transacted between 10 a.m. and 10.30 p.m.

Public Service.

No member of a Minister's family shall, during the Minister's term of office, be appointed to the public service.

Public Accounts.

Members of the House of Representatives must have the right (under proper safeguards as to the safe custody of documents) of inspecting any voucher connected with the payment of public money.