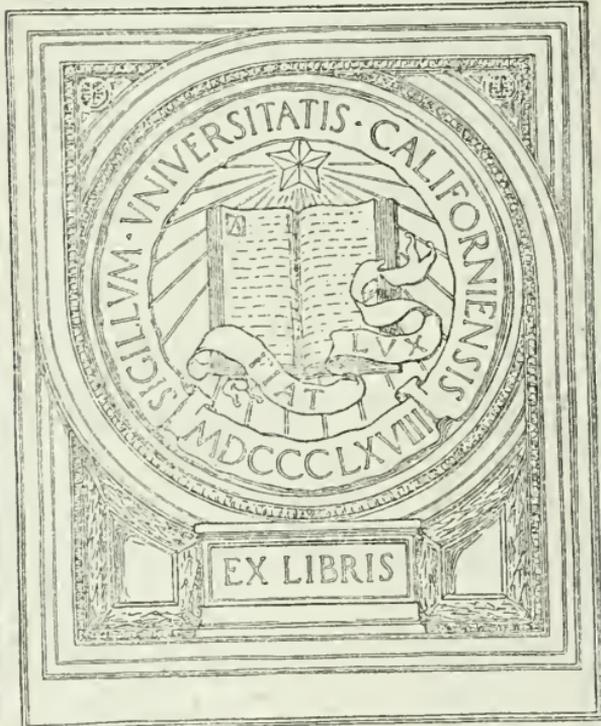


NEW ZEALAND
RULERS AND
STATESMEN
1840 - 1897

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EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD.

NEW ZEALAND RULERS AND STATESMEN

From 1840 to 1897

BY

WILLIAM GISBORNE

FORMERLY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND
A RESPONSIBLE MINISTER, IN NEW ZEALAND

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS

REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

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ERRATA.

Page 26, lines 4 and 13, *for* Nyapuhi *read* Ngapuhi.

Pages 55 and 56, speech of Hone Heke to be in inverted commas, down to end of line 4, page 56.

Page 89, line 4 from bottom, *for* 1865 *read* 1875.

Page 101, line 1, *after* Simon *insert* Maccabeus.

Page 132, line 20, *for* unconditional transfer *read* anomaly.

Page 154, line 16, *for* Waikonaiti *read* Waikouaiti; and, same line, *for* Waigongorau *read* Waigongoro.

Page 200, line 4, *for* 1876 *read* 1896.

Page 202, line 14, *for* hyperbole *read* hyperbola.

Page 215, line 2, *for* 1880 *read* 1889.

Page 225, line 2, *add*, The Earl of Ranfurly has lately been appointed as his successor.

Page 228, line 22, *after* himself *insert* and his House.

Page 231, line 23, *for* not *read* now; line 26, *for* governor *read* council; *erase* rest of line 26 and lines 27 and 28 to full stop in latter line; line 29, *for* present *read* former.

Page 235, line 3 from bottom, *erase* the Right Hon. Sir Charles Syngé.

Page 249, line 10, between was and 1894, at the end of and between 1894 and being, *insert* 1993; and, in next line, *for* 1894 *read* 1893.

Page 258, line 9, *for* authority *read* authorities; and line 27, *for* £4,127 610 *read* £4,127,619.

Page 268, line 11, *for* scenes *read* waters.

Page 283, line 5, *after* Sir William Fox *insert* and in this latter case he was not born to the office in the sense of natural fitness for it, but in the sense of succession to it as the great leader of the Opposition.

Page 284, line 14, *add*, He has lately been appointed by Her Majesty a member of the Privy Council.

Page 304, line 17, *for* Patia *read* Patea.

Page 321, Index, *erase* Richmond, Judge Simon, 101, 232.

Index, page 322, line 4, *for* Seddon, Hon. P. J., *read* Seddon, Hon. R. J.

ERRATA.

Page 121, line 6, *for* these *read* this.

Page 153, line 14 from bottom, *for* repellent *read* repelling.

Page 218, line 5 from bottom, *for* Uriwera *read* Urewera ; also same correction in Index, page 322, in same name.

Page 246, line 8 from bottom, *for* 6745 *read* 6245.

NEW ZEALAND RULERS AND STATESMEN

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—Natives—First colonization—Governor Hobson—Chief Justice Sir William Martin—Attorney-General Swainson—Bishop Selwyn—Colonel Wakefield—New Zealand Company—Captain Wakefield—Wairau massacre—Rauparaha—Acting-Governor Shortland—Governor Fitzroy.

IN 1886, my work on "New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen from 1840 to 1885" was published. My object then was to interweave the political history of New Zealand from its foundation as a British Colony with slight personal sketches of the public characters of the chief political men in New Zealand, who have been prominently engaged, from time to time, in the leading events of that history. And in the hope of adding interest in the personality of those men, I inserted, when practicable, their portraits.

As that work is out of print, I propose now, ten years afterwards, to revise it, and embody it in a new work on the same lines, bringing a series of similar sketches to the close of 1896. The advice of friends, whose opinion I highly value, has induced me to take this course; but

I do so with considerable reluctance and hesitation, owing to the comparatively much greater disadvantages under which, from my lengthened absence from New Zealand, and from other causes, I now labour. I make the attempt with a sincere wish to do my best, and in the earnest hope that my feeble effort may add, however little, to the public interest in a colony for which, from a long residence and many years of public life there, I entertain a strong affection. The Colony of New Zealand has been from the first the puzzle of politicians. Its history is a series of grave and intricate problems. Take for instance the assumption of British sovereignty founded upon what is called the Treaty of Waitangi; the native land question; the mutual relations of the Crown, the natives, and the colonists; the work of colonization in the midst of civil warfare; self-government; internal defence; the union of the two races under conflicting conditions. These problems were, in one sense, worked on a small scale, but their solution involves serious issues, affecting the honour of the Crown, and the lives, property, and welfare of those directly concerned. The consequence has been that public men taking part in political administration of New Zealand have from time to time been called upon to deal with very difficult and important questions. Many of these men have shown, in the performance of these duties, ability, public spirit, and other great moral qualities of no ordinary kind. It is true that they have only been able to prove their worth in a small and remote country, and that their fame, unlike that of great men at the centres of civilization, has not been spread far and wide. But the test of statesmanship is not altogether its exercise on a large stage, and before many witnesses. Statesmanship consists in ascertaining sound principles of political action, and in wisely adapting them to circum-

stances of time and place ; and its reality depends not altogether on the question whether it affects a small colony or a great empire. It is this feeling which leads me to hope that even rough sketches of the personality of prominent New Zealand rulers and statesmen may not only be a just tribute to themselves, but also in some measure interesting and instructive to others. So far as I am aware, no such information has been afforded by any of the books hitherto written about New Zealand, except indirectly in a few cases. Many of the men in question are dead ; others have retired from public life ; and time will soon obliterate the recollections of those who, from personal knowledge, are able to supply what is wanted. A long residence of many years of official and political experience in New Zealand induced me to undertake this work, in the hope that I may be able, however imperfectly, to give some record of those who have taken leading parts in the politics of that country. Portraits of many of them are also given, with the object of adding interest to that record.

The birth of New Zealand as a British Colony was strange and troublesome. Mrs. Mother-Country, as represented by the Colonial Office, did not seem glad that a Colony was born into the world. Outside Downing Street, however, preparation had long been made for this event. Captain Cook, the great English navigator, had for all practical purposes discovered New Zealand in 1769, and in the same year he took possession of the island in the name of King George III. Moreover, when New South Wales was declared in 1787 a part of the British dominions, New Zealand, though not named, was within the proclaimed boundary. Captain Cook found a fine country, sparsely inhabited by a barbarous race of cannibals. Forty years after Captain Cook's death English missionaries occupied the Bay of Islands, almost

at the northern extremity of the North Island, a place which afterwards became historical in connection with the first recognized colonization of the country. In 1830 the natives were roughly estimated to number about 100,000 souls, of whom all but 3000 or 4000 lived in the North Island. The different tribes were scattered over widely separated districts, and their occupation consisted in cultivating fertile patches of land, in fishing, and in fighting each other. They were naturally warlike ; their inter-tribal wars, before Europeans came, were incessant, and their customs in warfare were savage and ferocious. Physically, the natives are middle-sized and well formed ; their skin is of an olive-brown colour, and their hair is generally black. Their voices are pleasant, and their gestures, when not under warlike excitement, are graceful and dignified. They have wonderful memories, and are natural orators. They show great aptitude for European customs. They have always recognized among themselves tribal tenure of land, and each tribe holds communally among its various sections, lands, forests, cultivations, and fisheries, the respective boundaries of which are all named and are well known among the tribes generally. Missionary influence rapidly spread, and whole tribes became converts to Christianity. The tranquillity thus produced gave rise to regular attempts on the part of many persons, mostly British subjects, to settle in the country and to obtain from the natives enormous tracts of land for nearly nominal considerations. The British Government were fully aware of what was going on, and when further inaction on their part became impossible, they took no definite course, but vaguely did as little as they could, and did that little badly. The old farce of allowing their hand to be forced was solemnly re-enacted. A British resident, Mr. James Busby, with no power and with uncertain responsibility, was appointed

at the Bay of Islands. Then the Colonial Secretary for State, at Mr. Busby's instigation, recognized the independence of the native race, and presented it with a National Flag. As a set-off to this international absurdity, Baron de Thierry, a Frenchman, proclaimed himself sovereign of New Zealand. Mr. Busby retorted by creating on paper a provisional government, with himself at the head, of the "united tribes of New Zealand," a proceeding which Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, well described as "a silly and unauthorized act of paper pellet fired off at Baron de Thierry." To make the complication worse, a report soon sprang up that France was about to make New Zealand a convict colony. In 1839 the New Zealand Company, founded with the object of reviving systematic colonization, after long and fruitless negotiation with the Colonial Office, took the bold step of sending to New Zealand a preliminary expedition, under the command of Colonel William Wakefield, with instructions to purchase land from the natives, and to select the site of the first settlement. All this threatening crowd of circumstances at last roused the Secretary of State to the necessity of establishing substantial British authority in New Zealand. Captain Hobson, an officer of the Royal Navy, was forthwith sent out as Consul, with a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor, and with orders to negotiate with the native chiefs for the cession of the sovereignty of the Islands to the Queen of England.

Captain Hobson was the first Governor of New Zealand, and during his brief rule of somewhat less than three years, he found a "sea of troubles." The burden of his office acting on an irritable temperament and a delicate state of health was fatal to him. He died while he was Governor on September 10th, 1843, at the early age of forty-nine. He had many good qualities; he was

straightforward, just, sensible, and anxious to do his duty. Placed in a position of exceptional embarrassment, he was daily beset by no common difficulties. His first duty was to negotiate with uncivilized tribes for the country which he was commissioned to govern. Then he was called on to substitute peace, order, and good government for absolute anarchy ; and to do this under difficult and dangerous conditions. On the one hand an aboriginal race, armed, warlike, jealous of its own position, suspicious of interference and ignorant of English laws, language, and habit, occupied the country. On the other hand there was an ugly rush of promiscuous adventurers, representing in many instances the worst phases of civilized life, claiming to have purchased enormous tracts of native land, eager to acquire more, and offering in return the fatal, but too tempting, gifts of guns and gunpowder. The Governor, without money and without physical force, was expected to combine the conflicting elements and to subject them to a satisfactory system of peaceful administration. Meantime, except for a few months during which he was subordinate to the Governor of New South Wales, he was at a distance of half the globe from his official superior, and could not expect to receive replies to his letters in less, at the earliest, than eight months. To make his difficulties greater, the country itself was practically untraversable, and coastal communication, except by sailing vessel, specially despatched for each trip, was unknown. The New Zealand Company was engaged at the other extremity of the North Island in negotiating, in spite of the English Government, with the natives for the purpose of acquiring large territories and of founding settlements. Under all these circumstances it is not surprising that Captain Hobson should have made mistakes, but it is surprising that he made so few. His

gravest fault was his treatment of the New Zealand Company, but in this course it must be owned he only followed the original lead of the Colonial Office. Far from appreciating the struggle of that Company to introduce systematic colonization and trying to make it useful as a powerful factor in that great work, he regarded it with unmitigated aversion and pursued it with



Te Wheoro (Member of the N.Z. House of Representatives).

unceasing enmity. He felt towards it as Mr. Bumble felt towards Oliver Twist. But the New Zealand Company was no poor suffering workhouse boy. It had influence in the Imperial Parliament and in the English press ; and moreover, whatever were its faults, it had on the whole a just cause. It stood out distinctly and by itself from the mass of those harpies who greedily

clutched at all land for selfish purposes. The aim of the latter was to make money *quocunque modo*, the aim of the Company was colonization. And at last it gained its aim. Curiously enough it is partly owing to the course taken by Captain Hobson and to the persistence of the Company, that New Zealand, differing in that respect from other colonies, has been colonized from separate centres under distinct and different conditions. This circumstance, trivial as it may seem, has been the effective cause of the rapid growth of the Colony and of its wonderful vitality. To revert, however, to Captain Hobson, it is only right to say that in the main his administration was very creditable to himself. He succeeded in quickly obtaining the cession of sovereignty to the Queen in the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. And, however unfavourably jurists may criticize that treaty, there is no doubt that its moral influence has done much to secure the loyalty of many native tribes, and that it has been and is still regarded by them as the charter of their liberties. Captain Hobson also selected Auckland as the seat of government; and, altogether apart from political questions, he selected at the time one of the best sites in the Colony for a large town. His promptitude preserved Akaroa from the French flag. He vindicated the law by the trial and execution of the murderer Maketu. He established government and had excellent laws passed for the administration of justice and for regulating property and civil rights. Governor Hobson died an unpopular man. At Auckland people were dissatisfied because he could not sanction large public expenditure. In the South the settlers of the New Zealand Company detested him because he had not made Wellington the seat of government. But in his case, as in the case of many other public men, justice has been posthumous. His memory

is now generally respected, and the correctness of his judgment under extraordinarily difficult circumstances is generally admitted. At the time of his death the natives who knew him well held him in high esteem. In a petition from some chiefs to Her Majesty for another Governor there were these touching words: "Let him be a good man, as this Governor who has just died."



Bishop G. A. Selwyn. Sir William Martin.

Three men of high standing and closely connected with the early history of New Zealand began their public career in the time of Governor Hobson; these were Chief Justice Martin, Attorney-General Swainson, and Bishop Selwyn. Mr. Martin, afterwards Sir William Martin, was the first Chief Justice of New Zealand. He was a man of high attainments; able as a lawyer, dis-

tinguished as a scholar and linguist, endowed with a mind of great power, earnest thoughtfulness, and possessed of a large fund of information. He had moral qualities of high order, and his disposition was remarkable and modest and gentle. His nature was altogether one of light and sweetness. As a judge he was beyond praise. He was patient, just, sagacious, and firm. He gave invaluable aid in preparing the first legislation of the Colony. His physical frame was weak, and he suffered much from ill-health. To this, and to the requirements of his judicial position, may probably be owing an imperfection in his character. He was too much a man of the closet, and too little a man of the world, and he rather inclined in some matters to what was philosophical more than to what was practical. He had an enthusiastic love for the native race, and he did much for its welfare. He held strong views on the native land question and on the mutual relations of the two races, and communicated those views from time to time to successive Governors. Much of what he wrote on native subjects was based on sound principles; but in many cases he did not make enough allowance for practical necessities. He dwelt more on what ought to be done than on what could be done. It is certain, however, that his views as a whole had a wholesome influence both in the Colony and in England, and aided to restrain public men, who glibly spoke of settling the native question once for all, from rushing into foolish policies and dangerous experiments. Sir William Martin retired from the New Zealand bench in 1857, and after a life of much great and good work died in England in 1880 at the age of seventy-two.

Mr. William Swainson, the first Attorney-General of New Zealand, was an able lawyer, but an indifferent politician. He conducted admirably cases in the Supreme Court, and was very skilful in drafting laws in simple

and effective language. But as a statesman he was not a success. He had a prudish horror of publicity, and of the profane crowd. He liked to sit behind the throne and to pull the strings. Sinuous and secretive in his nature, he worked unseen. He prided himself on being a safe man, and yet he was often a dangerous counsellor in public affairs. He almost persuaded Acting-Governor Shortland to renounce the Queen's sovereignty over part of New Zealand. He allowed Governor Fitzroy to issue illegal grants of land, and to waive illegally the Crown right of pre-emption. He induced Acting-Governor Wynyard to play fast and loose in 1854 with responsible government, and to commit grave absurdities. For instance, on his advice that Acting-Governor strained at the gnat of entire responsible government in the absence of official instruction, and yet at the same time swallowed the camel provided by Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the shape of a programme submitted to the Legislature revolutionizing the Constitution just then granted to New Zealand by the Imperial Parliament. Again, Mr. Swainson, who was at the time a member of the Legislative Council in the General Assembly of New Zealand, was appointed by the Acting-Governor to be Speaker of that Council, thus enabling him, as was well said at the time by Mr. James Edward Fitzgerald, "to run to earth in the Speaker's chair." Mr. Swainson once hazarded a definite legal opinion of a startling character. It was in the case referred to as occurring in the time of Acting-Governor Shortland, namely, the limitation of the Queen's sovereignty in New Zealand. The reply of Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary of State, was short, sharp, and practically decisive; he did not enter into technical questions, but broadly laid down the axiom that the Royal Commission under the Great Seal could

not be impugned by the subject, much less the servant, of the Queen. As a rule Mr. Swainson was rather vague in legal opinions on public matters. He could not, like the Delphic Oracle, be read in two opposite ways, but he was rather addicted to mysterious language. When responsible government was established in 1856, Mr. Swainson almost altogether retired from public life. He has written two or three books on the subject of the early colonization of New Zealand. He died at Auckland in 1884.

A notice of Bishop Selwyn as a bishop does not perhaps properly, in strictness, come within the scope of this work, but a few words on the part he took in political questions largely affecting the natives, and generally on the great ability and noble qualities of his character, will not be out of place. His action in respect of native political questions has often been much blamed as an improper and unjustifiable interference on his part as a bishop. It cannot, however, be rightly held that the head of a spiritual mission to an uncivilized race should fold his hands and stand passively aside while the civil power is inflicting, according to his conscientious belief, gross injustice, involving the welfare and even the existence of that race. It is idle to say that a missionary should altogether confine himself to the spiritual interests of his uncivilized flock when civil wrong seriously injures those interests. For instance, there is no doubt that in New Zealand a widely-spread and deeply-rooted feeling in the minds of many native tribes that subjection to civil rule would despoil them of their lands and make them slaves, caused a great falling-off from Christianity and gave rise to partial insurrection. Under these circumstances, it was not only the right, but the duty of missionaries to protest against the policy which, in their opinion, tended to bring about or intensify such consequences. Of course

it is presumed that the protest was made under a due sense of responsibility and within the due limits of discretion. Bishop Selwyn was not one who would shirk his duties ; he was no common man, and his mind was cast in no common mould. His great characteristics were force of will, zeal, eloquence, courage, and moral heroism. His main defect was an impetuous temper,



Bishop G. A. Selwyn.

which occasionally made him dictatorial and indiscreet. He felt it his duty to protest against Earl Grey's instructions in 1846, which he, in common with nine-tenths of those who have read them, interpreted to mean confiscation of native territory. He also remonstrated, in 1860 and afterwards, with those in power, on the causes of, as he believed, a mistaken and fatal native policy which

originated and prolonged the Waitara War. The expression of his views may now and then have been in some respects intemperate and unreasonable, but every allowance ought to be made for the nature of the man, the difficulty of his position, and for the strength of his convictions. He was no selfish critic; he spared no efforts and personal risk to save life and to restore peace and good-will between the two races. Generally, with regard to his character, it must be owned that his great abilities, his devotion to the missionary cause, his self-denial, his energy, his unwearying toil, his widespread influence over the native mind, and his other eminent services, have left ineffaceable footprints on the sands of time in the early colonization of New Zealand. He had qualities and gifts which few possess, and he never spared himself in their use for good. Like other men, he had faults and mistakes. His strong will was occasionally too unbending, and his impetuous temperament made him occasionally rash. Vigorous himself in mind and in body, he allowed too little for the weakness of others. But his character was never tainted by paltry and selfish considerations. He was a noble specimen of physical and moral man. Although later than other missionaries in the field, he laboured more abundantly than them all, traversing on foot the whole breadth and length of New Zealand, unceasing in his spiritual ministrations to the native race, and almost delighting in danger and privation. His indomitable enterprise in spiritual work led him also, in after years, to extend the borders of the mission over Polynesia. His footsteps in that respect have been followed by the late Bishop Patteson, whom Bishop Selwyn specially chose for that purpose, and who suffered martyrdom in that missionary work for which he was eminently fitted. A son of Bishop Selwyn is now missionary bishop over those multitudinous islands.

In 1854 Bishop Selwyn was the chief factor in initiating and establishing a representative church constitution for the Church of England in New Zealand, whereby the Church was endowed with, and has since enjoyed, the great privilege of representative self-government. This was obtained by the labour and influence of Bishop Selwyn from the local Parliament, and was, to my mind, the greatest of the many great achievements of Bishop Selwyn. It conveys, as I think, a lesson, the moral of which should be taken advantage of in the present day by the Church of England in the United Kingdom. Representative self-government is, I think, the key to the solution of the difficulties which now beset the Church of England in the shape of requirement of Church reform and of a position befitting that Church, enabling it to carry out that reform. In the place of its present unworthy and unsatisfactory political position forcing it to apply from time to time for grudging doles of reform from a Parliament in which it is not properly represented, the Church of England in the United Kingdom should, I think, follow the lead of Bishop Selwyn towards self-government, the effects of which has been so eminently successful in respect to that Church in New Zealand. Parliament should be petitioned to grant to the Church of England in the United Kingdom representative self-government within certain constitutional limits on the leading lines established forty years ago under the auspices of Bishop Selwyn for the Church of England in New Zealand. It is true that the Church of England in New Zealand was not a State Church, but there is no reason why powers of self-government and State establishment should not co-exist in the Church of England in the United Kingdom without either of those principles impairing or derogating from the other. The proof of the correctness of this statement is the fact that for

nearly three centuries these two principles of self-government and State establishment have so co-existed in the established Church of Scotland.

Bishop Selwyn died in 1878 at Lichfield, as Bishop of Lichfield, and is buried in the cathedral of that town. His name will never be forgotten in New Zealand; he was a man of whom New Zealand, where he worked as no other man could work for a quarter of a century, will always be proud.

A ruler, however despotic, almost always encounters an opposition; and the more despotic he is, the more dangerous that opposition becomes. Governor Hobson met his opposition in the New Zealand Company and its local representative, Colonel William Wakefield. Colonel Wakefield was a member of the very able family of that name, with which the colony of New Zealand is closely associated. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was practically the founder of the Colony; and it is, in a great measure, owing to him that New Zealand did not become a French colony, and possibly the receptacle of French convicts and recidivists. As he comes afterwards on the local political stage, I shall defer my notice of him at present. Colonel Wakefield, his younger brother, was not unlike him in some respects, but it was rather a watery resemblance. One remarkable faculty of Colonel Wakefield was his reticence. Speech may serve to disguise thoughts, but a close observer often hears much between the words spoken. Silence is generally impenetrable; it covers as with a thick veil the features of the mind; and the man who speaks is at great disadvantage as compared with the man who persistently listens. No one who had an interview with Colonel Wakefield knew what he really thought and what he really meant to do. His manner was attractive and, in outward appearance, sympathetic, but the inner man

was out of sight and hearing. The feeling of the interviewer was that of taking a leap in the dark. Colonel Wakefield, like the mole, did his work underground. At the same time, he was an able and faithful servant of the New Zealand Company, and, in the midst of great difficulties, did good service in laying and building up the foundations of the settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth.

The difficulties which Colonel Wakefield encountered in New Zealand were formidable. Colonization, in the sense of first forming a settlement, is in itself no easy task ; the founder should be intelligent, practical, just, firm, prudent, trustworthy, energetic, patient, persevering, and otherwise specially fitted to be a leader of men. This rare combination of qualities is requisite under favourable circumstances ; and even the planting of a new settlement in any new country is difficult. But the difficulty is immeasurably increased when the country is altogether strange, where land for settlement must be bought from a barbarous and warlike aboriginal race, when the Home Government and their local representatives are hostile to the undertaking, and when those who direct it are so distant from their agents that usually little less than a year elapses between the transmission of letters and the receipt of replies ; more especially so when, as in the case of the first expedition sent by the New Zealand Company, no provision had been made beforehand for the land for the landing and settlement of about 1000 emigrants. Colonel Wakefield showed himself to be no ordinary man in coping with these difficulties. A large territory, the tenth part of which was reserved for the benefit of the natives, was purchased, or rather agreed to be purchased, for a valid purchase required confirmation by the Crown ; and in 1840, within eighteen months from the issue of the first prospectus in

England by the New Zealand Company, 1200 settlers were in Port Nicholson in New Zealand. In the same year the settlement of Wanganui, and in the following year, 1841, the settlements of New Plymouth and Nelson, were formed by the Company. Of course, it was not possible that all this could be done without grave mistakes resulting in a crop of fresh difficulties arising from native claims, from complaints of settlers, from the mutual relations of both races, and from other causes. While, no doubt, Colonel Wakefield and the New Zealand Company were partly responsible for these difficulties, it is equally certain that others must also be justly held responsible. In common fairness to the New Zealand Company and to Colonel Wakefield, it should be said that their action on the whole was creditable and practically successful in the systematic colonization of the southern half of the North Island of New Zealand, and, indirectly, of the whole South Island.

As an illustration of the hostile spirit which characterized the relations of the New Zealand Government established at Auckland towards the southern settlement, I may mention one circumstance. No provision was made or attempted to be made by that Government for the administration of law at Wellington, where at first the settlers, for all practical purposes, found themselves in a state of anarchy. For the maintenance of peace and order they formed among themselves a kind of provisional government. This instinct of self-preservation was regarded at Auckland as an act of rebellion ; and the Governor actually dispatched soldiers to put down what he thought fit to treat as treason.

One great boon which the New Zealand Company has conferred on New Zealand, both directly itself and indirectly by associations formed under its auspices, has been the systematic introduction of valuable settlers.

The general body of emigrants selected was very good ; and in the higher classes, attracted by the scheme of colonization, there were many men admirably qualified by education, ability, and social influence to give a high tone to young communities. It is scarcely possible to overrate this advantage ; its wholesome effect may be traced in every branch of colonial life in New Zealand, and, moreover, it creates an imperishable heritage of good for the future. Colonel Wakefield did not live to see the full success of his work. He died in 1848, not before the seed which he had sown had become a living growth, but before it overspread, as it has done since, the greater part of the South Island.

In connection with Colonel Wakefield, I would mention his brother, Captain Wakefield, R.N., the founder of the Nelson Settlement. He had previously served with distinction in the British navy ; and when he entered the service of the New Zealand Company, soon proved his special fitness for the practical work which devolved upon him in forming and founding a new settlement. His conciliatory manners, his moral worth, his good common sense, and his other many great qualities, gained him the love and confidence of all classes of his fellow-colonists. All who knew him bitterly lamented the unhappy fate which cut short his life in the Wairau massacre, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and on the threshold of a colonial career full of hope and promise.

I give the following extracts from obituary notices of Captain Wakefield, written at the time in the Nelson newspaper. The first was written by Mr. Francis Jollie, and the second by Mr. Alfred Domett ; both these gentlemen were distinguished Nelson settlers, and Mr. Domett, as will be seen in the course of this work, afterwards took for many years a leading part in the public service of New Zealand.

The first extract is as follows :—

“For the task of founding a colony, he (Captain Wakefield) was by nature pre-eminently qualified. It was his forte, one might almost say his hobby. But *hobby* as colonizing might be with him, he had all the requisite strength and breadth of character for doing the thing well and nobly. He possessed the physical temperament for it, that which it would be well for all settlers to have, perfect coolness and self-possession under all circumstances ; small impressionability to those ordinary physical or moral influences which might weigh down the animal spirits ; at the same time there was none of that frigidity and want of earnestness of purpose which generally characterize men of similar temperament ; on the contrary, when known, no man probably ever displayed in finer beauty and proportion those valuable qualities of soul which obtain the esteem of society and the warm-hearted sympathies of the intimate and discriminating few. . . . His judgment in all matters of practical life was remarkably sound ; he had seen the world of life and action, and brought away from it all that was valuable for guidance and conduct in affairs.”

The second extract admirably portrays the inner life of a man heartily and successfully engaged in the practical colonization of founding settlements :—

“That we could give our readers some picture of him as he was ever to be seen among us ! At early morning, chatting with natives gathered round his door, the result generally being a gift of a blanket, or payment of a promised bag of flour or sugar on some old visit ; in his daily progress from the port to the town, stopped at every other step ; listening, with benevolent aspect, patiently to all sorts of unreasonable complaints, unreasonable requests, digging his stick in the ground, or taking a pinch of snuff, the only symptom of emotion shown ; now making some little job of work for this

man on his own account ; putting down another's name for the company's employ ; here, advising the newcomer as to the best employment of his capital ; there, anxious to learn from a country settler the state of his crops, all the details of his progress ; now disentangling with the newspaper editor some puzzling problem of colonization, made a science, with its intricate, ever-varying, yet mutually dependent elements ; then interesting himself in some old woman's fresh litter of pigs, or cabbage, the pride of her heart ; discussing with this man the run of a new boat ; with that the practical probability of a plan for working the flax plant ; assisting every rational enterprise, dispelling every faint-hearted misgiving, with money where possible, with countenance and kindness where not ; ever less anxious to lead than to suggest and assist ; now at a public meeting speaking calmly, earnestly, rationally ; now helping to organize a literary or agricultural society, or visiting and superintending a children's school, quietly overlooking the gradual organization of a new community, helping it forward when impeded, clearing the way for its self-development rather than attempting to construct it on preconceived designs or systematized formulas ; looked up to by all, individually as well as collectively ; his whole heart in the colony, and everything advantageous to it, with high intellectual enlightenment and soul for the most generous theories ; so cautious, prudent, practical ; the tyranny of self thrown off, therefore mild, just, and uncompromising opponent of all other tyrannies of law or custom ; shrewd in discovering character, yet charitable in construing it ; so wise, temperate, and firm ; unassuming, with self-confidence ; commanding respect when seeming to show it ; never for a moment the slave of passion, always the active servant of duty ; he was by nature cut out for the founder of a colony, for a leader of men.

“ Then how simple in his mode of life, how temperate in all his habits ! In a little house, but an open one ; with large hospitality, but plain and unpretending ; rising at midnight from the sea-cot he always used, to watch a ship enter the harbour, then not so familiar to the pilots ; on a boat excursion, wet through and shivering, yet refusing the dram sent round ; setting an example everywhere of indifference to luxuries, of frugality, temperance, yet seemingly so unconscious the while, duty appearing taste or accident, because so naturally, so easily performed ; can we refuse this man the name of *great* because only foremost in an out-of-the-way nook of the world-encircling British Empire, because not dignified with sounding titles, nor rewarded with extravagant salaries ? ”

Captain Wakefield was killed at the Wairau massacre, which took place in June, 1843. The origin of that catastrophe was a disputed claim between the New Zealand Company and some natives to land in the Wairau Valley, near Nelson. Colonel Wakefield, as agent of the company, claimed to have purchased the land in question ; and Rauparaha and Rangihaeta, as chief proprietors, disputed that purchase. Captain Wakefield, relying on his brother's claim, sent men to survey the land ; and the natives burned down the huts of the surveyors, after removing the property within the huts to a safe place for the owners to take away. The police magistrate at Nelson issued a warrant for the arrest of Rauparaha on a charge of robbery and arson ; and an armed party of forty or fifty Europeans, accompanied by Mr. Thompson, the police magistrate, and by Captain Wakefield, set out to execute the warrant. The party came on Rauparaha and a hundred of his followers in the Wairau Valley, and endeavoured forcibly to arrest him. A conflict ensued, and the Europeans, who, with

two or three exceptions, had never before seen a shot fired in anger, became disorganized and panic-stricken ; thirteen fell in fighting, and nine, taken prisoners, were killed in cold blood. Five natives were killed fighting, and eight wounded. Among the Europeans killed were Mr. Thompson, the police magistrate, Captain Wakefield, Mr. Richardson, Crown Prosecutor at Nelson, and Captain England, formerly in H.M. 12th Regiment. There is little doubt that Captain Wakefield, and those with him who organized the expedition, committed a serious error of judgment in taking that course ; but, apart from the fearful penalty they paid for their error, great allowance, under all the circumstances, must be made for them. The Nelson settlers were obliged, owing to the neglect of the Government, to rely altogether on their own voluntary efforts for the execution of law, and for the protection of life and property. They were ignorant of the customs, temper, and warlike nature of the natives, and they fell, not unnaturally, into the mistake that a prompt and bold course would alone suffice to ensure success, and be most suitable to their own national character. This was just one of those critical cases which should not have been left to be dealt with by the popular feeling of newly-arrived colonists, young, enthusiastic, and over-confident, but by the matured judgment of responsible rulers. Bold, or rather rash, courses sometimes succeed ; and success, for the time, uplifts them in public opinion to the level of statesmanship. Cautious counsels sometimes fail, and failure causes their popular condemnation. True statesmanship lies not either in the one or the other alternative, but is found in fixed principles of right suitably applied to particular circumstances. Sometimes it lags behind, and sometimes it anticipates public opinion ; sometimes it succeeds at once, and often it temporarily

fails ; but contemporary popular applause and immediate success are no tests of its truth ; the proof of a true statesman is generally posthumous.

Although New Zealand native chiefs cannot, strictly speaking, be classed under the head of "Rulers and Statesmen," an occasional notice of some of the leading men among them will serve in some measure to explain the influence which, from time to time, they exercised on the colonization of New Zealand, and to illustrate the extraordinary difficulties which their action imposed on the Government of that Colony. A few words, therefore, may now be said about "Rauparaha," who, at the time, stood conspicuous in the foreground of "native difficulties." Rauparaha and his tribe had been, a considerable time before the first colonization of the country, forcibly expelled by the Waikato and Bay of Islands tribes from his native district of Kawhia, on the central western coast line of the North Island, and had, in their turn, forcibly seized and occupied the coast on both sides of Cook Strait. In early youth Rauparaha was famed for skill and courage in native warfare, and especially for wiliness and cunning. As he grew older, unscrupulous and cold-blooded treachery was his predominant quality, but he also showed fertility of resource in critical circumstances, enterprise in his designs, and perseverance in their execution. He bullied the weak and fawned on the strong, while he plotted against both. Colonel Wakefield in 1839 described him as then about sixty years old, as rather under the average height, with a countenance expressive of keenness and vivacity, with a receding forehead and deep eyelids, slow and dignified in his action, and easy in his address except when his wandering and watchful looks betrayed suspicion as to his safety. This suspicious conduct, as nominal ally of the Government, induced Governor Grey in 1846 to arrest him

suddenly and keep him prisoner on board a man-of-war for ten months. Rauparaha never recovered from this blow. When he was released he continued for a time under surveillance, and then was given absolute freedom, but all his influence had gone, and he died shortly afterwards. Imprisonment, in the Maori mind, carries with it irrevocable degradation ; it reduces the prisoner to slavery, and he never is restored to his former rank and authority. I may here notice another remarkable fact which the experience of fighting between the two races in New Zealand has proved, namely, that campaigns, followed even in some cases by indecisive results in our favour, but ending in cessation of fighting, have, as a rule, been succeeded by permanent tranquillity, and that the native insurgents have never resumed hostilities against us, and not unfrequently have become our firm friends. The Bay of Islands war ended altogether in 1846, and the natives who fought against us have ever since been loyal and faithful subjects of the Crown. In the southern parts of the North Island, in Taranaki, in the Waikato country, and on the east coast, the fighting, more or less successful on our part, has led to lasting peace. Generally speaking it may be said with truth, that the natives who have fought against us have succumbed less from any sense of subjugation than from a conviction that it is more for their own interest to be our friends than our foes. No sense of bitterness or injustice has permanently remained on the weaker side as the residuum of contest. The safe conclusion is that the relations between the two races in New Zealand have never been those of the oppressor and the oppressed, or of the conqueror and the conquered ; but that, on the whole, those relations, anomalous as they have been, are gradually approximating to a sound and satisfactory state, and that their occasional disturbance has been owing to exceptional

and temporary, and not to organic and permanent causes.

Tamati Waka Nene was the leading chief of the "Ngāpuhi" tribe. He was a man to whom the Colony of New Zealand owed much. It was mainly through his influence that his tribe were the first to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, by which the Maories acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Her Majesty ; and although a portion of them, under "Hone Keke," in 1845 disputed the English supremacy, yet when subdued by English troops and Native Allies, their own kinsmen, they adhered ever since to their pledges, and since then have well earned their name as the "Loyal Ngāpuhi." "Tamati Waka Nene" died in 1874. He had adhered to the Government with unwavering fidelity, and to the day of his death was the staunch supporter of English rule. His funeral was attended by a large number of both races, and according to his own desire his body was buried in the Church cemetery at the Bay of Islands, notwithstanding one of the most honoured of Maori customs that a chief's remains should be buried secretly in some remote spot known to only a few trusty followers. After his death the New Zealand Government have erected a handsome monument to his memory.

For fifteen months after Governor Hobson's death the administration of the Government devolved on the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Willoughby Shortland. Mr. Shortland was altogether unfit for that onerous duty ; and it was owing to the accidental intervention of Chief Justice Martin and Bishop Selwyn that he did not embroil the Colony in a native war by taking active part in opposition to the advice of the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, in a quarrel between two native tribes arising out of acts of vengeance committed against each other. As Acting-Governor Shortland did not, at the last moment, give

effect to his purpose, it is only necessary to refer to it as an illustration of the growing difficulty in connection with the aboriginal race. This difficulty, small as it seemed at first, soon became formidable, and, owing chiefly to vacillating policy and imprudent action, afterwards gave rise to native wars and to enormous expenditure of blood and treasure. The first question which arose was whether tribes who had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi were British subjects. That question was at once definitely answered by the Colonial Office in the affirmative, but the practical course consequential thereon was dallied with, evaded, and involved in vague, unintelligible, or contradictory instructions. Of course, it would be manifestly absurd to contend that the Imperial Government were bound by the premiss to enforce British law at all hazards throughout New Zealand. But I submit that the Imperial Government were bound to form some definite conception of their duties and responsibilities in relation to the aboriginal race of a country which they made a part of the British dominions, and that they were further bound to give practical effect to that conception by some distinct and continuous line of action. It is comparatively easy to be wise after events; and I shall therefore refrain from stating what policy, in my humble opinion, should have been undertaken. But the general complaint in New Zealand has been that the Imperial Government, when everything was in their hands, had no native policy at all, but wrapped up the whole question in folds of mystery, trusting apparently to providence and procrastination. This it is which has added so much to the difficulties of New Zealand Governments, both when New Zealand was a Crown Colony, and, hereditarily, since it has become self-governed. And, apart from administration, the cost ultimately entailed has been enormous. Millions have been expended by

the Imperial and Colonial Governments in suppressing native insurrections, the occurrence of which the antecedent expenditure of thousands in firmly adopting some straightforward policy would probably have prevented. It is not my wish to throw the whole blame on the Imperial Government. Grave faults have been committed by local men, officials and settlers. I am only arguing that the neglect and the vacillating and contradictory instructions from successive Secretaries of State in the course of twenty years, during nearly the whole of which the Imperial Government had the direction of native affairs in New Zealand, had in a great measure created and aggravated the difficulties under which the Colony laboured.

The Governor who succeeded Captain Hobson was Captain Fitzroy, R.N., who arrived at Auckland in December, 1843. Captain Fitzroy had considerable professional ability, but he certainly was little qualified to govern New Zealand at that time. He had many amiable qualities, but he had not the temperament, the knowledge of men, the force of character, and the rare mental faculties which fit a man to rule in trying times and under difficult conditions. It would have been indeed difficult to select a Governor likely to succeed in the then existing circumstances of the Colony. The points of contact and of probable conflict between the two races were fast multiplying as colonization grew and gradually spread. Land was the chief source of discord. Many persons suppose that the Treaty of Waitangi was the main cause of mischief, inasmuch as it recognized, or was held to recognize, a native proprietorship, stated to be unfounded in fact and unreasonable otherwise, over all lands in New Zealand. That supposition I conceive to be wrong, because I believe that, in the absence of any treaty, the natives would have asserted that pro-

prietorship and have maintained it by force of arms. All that the treaty did in this respect was to recognize an existing fact and to interpose the right of pre-emption by the Crown, as a salutary protection of the natives from ignorantly sacrificing their lands to the greed of unscrupulous speculators, and as probable security for the growth of sound and systematic colonization. The treaty, however, was not unattended by inconvenient and objectionable consequences. Those tribes which had not agreed to the treaty naturally thought that they were still independent of and unaffected by it; and some of those which had agreed to it were persistently taught by interested persons that they would become a conquered race, and that the first badge of their slavery was that in the matter of land they were not allowed to do what they would with their own. This teaching was, of course, a mere cunning device of the land speculator to urge natives to agitate for free trade in their lands; and it was pregnant with great evil. Few natives were able to understand that the restriction was conducive to their own lasting welfare. But, apart from the question of land, vague apprehensions were arising in the minds of many natives that colonization, so far as they themselves were concerned, was a great mistake. New customs, a new language, strange laws, and the accumulating numbers of the in-coming race, would soon supersede and ultimately extinguish the aboriginal people. Misconception, jealousy, and suspicion combined to arouse in several tribes feelings of antagonism, while a conscious sense of their own power as a warlike race, many armed with guns, all thoroughly acquainted with the country, and able to sally forth from almost inaccessible fastnesses against scattered and unarmed settlers, made some tribes eager to resist by force further intrusion, and even to expel the comparatively few settlers who had already come. On

the other hand, there were working amongst the natives in our favour forces which only needed fostering care and encouragement to ensure in good time their peaceful predominance. Among these were the love of gain, the higher influences of religion and civilization, faith in our good intentions and good deeds, the gradual cessation of their own bloody feuds and barbarous habits, and the substitution of settled law and lasting comfort. It was essential, in the interests of peace and general prosperity, at the critical time when these conflicting currents were gathering strength, to settle a policy best fitted to counteract the one adverse to colonization, and to appoint as Governor some one qualified to give effect to that policy. Unfortunately, neither course was followed ; there was no policy, and the new Governor, however good were his intentions, had not capability for his office. There was, no doubt, abundance of good advice in didactic despatches from Downing Street, but no intelligible course, as one to be followed, was laid down ; and if it had been possible for a Governor to frame a policy out of various and conflicting instructions, no means were given to make it practical. Captain Fitzroy, as Governor, had he been endowed with very great abilities, would probably, under the circumstances, have failed ; but, unhappily, his qualities were such as to make his failure certain and complete. He was rash and impulsive, weak and injudicious, and at the same time, paradoxical as it may seem, obstinate and self-confident. He was unskilful in the management of men, unversed in constitutional principles, and altogether ignorant of political economy. His official action was inconsistent and mischievous ; he did much to set race against race, and class against class ; and when he was recalled in 1845, two years after his assumption of office, his administration of public affairs had culminated in war,

misgovernment, financial paralysis, and general confusion throughout the Colony. The responsibility of a Governor in those days was not, it must be borne in mind, shared in the Colony by his advisers or by the legislature, for his function was, in fact, autocratic. His Executive Council was wholly composed of Government officers holding office at his pleasure, and constituting the ma-



Native Chief. Major Ropata.

jority of the Legislative Council, then the only Chamber for enacting laws, and presided over by the Governor, and in which he could also speak and vote, was similarly constituted. It is not, therefore, unfair to speak of the Governor as individually responsible for executive and legislative action, especially as he admittedly exercised his autocratic power to the utmost, even to the disregard

of his instructions from the Colonial Office, to which the Governor of a Crown Colony is subject. The catalogue of his mistakes is a melancholy retrospect. He acted most indiscreetly at his introductory levées at Auckland and Wellington in singling out individuals for his criticism in terms of praise or blame. The pardon of Rauparaha and Rangihaeata for the Wairau massacre was given in such a way as to make it appear unnecessarily insulting to colonists, and to natives as a concession extorted from cowardice. He suddenly waived the Crown's right of pre-emption over native land, first imposing on the private purchasers of such land a fee to the Crown of ten shillings an acre, and then, a few months afterwards, reducing that fee to one penny an acre. He wantonly set aside the award of the Land Commissioner at New Plymouth, thereby paralyzing the progress of settlement there, and ensuring conflict between the two races in the district, when he could easily, by proper exercise of prudence and firmness, have made an arrangement which would have been just to all parties and have secured, in all probability, the future peace and prosperity of all that part of the country. He utterly disregarded law and his instructions in dealing with what were known as the old land claims. Commencing with a ludicrous condonation of the first native cutting down of the flagstaff at Kororareka, he ended by losing the settlement. He issued a variety of debentures, from five shillings upwards, and then unlawfully declared them to be legal tender. In the course of half a year he made one port alone out of many a free port, abolished all customs duties in New Zealand, and re-established them. He treated the New Zealand Company's settlements with culpable neglect, or with mischievous interference.

CHAPTER II.

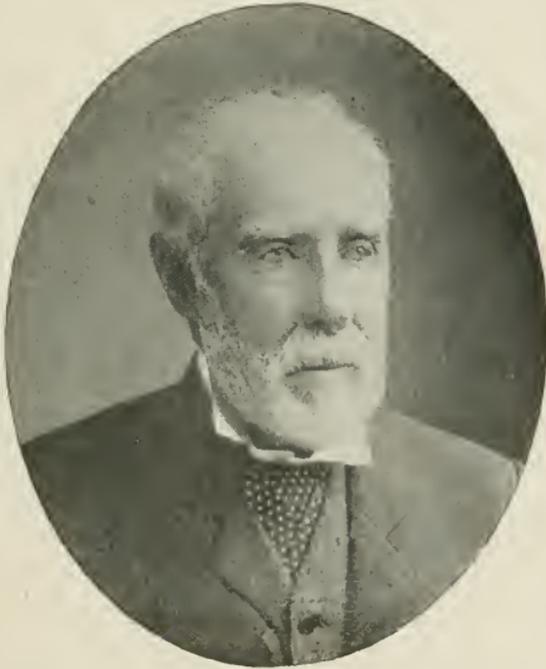
Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.—Lieutenant-Governor Eyre—
New Constitution—Progress of Colonization—Recall of Governor
Sir George Grey.

A GREAT personage now comes on the scene. Captain George Grey, formerly an officer in the army, was suddenly transferred, in the latter part of 1845, from South Australia, of which he was then Governor, to the Governorship of New Zealand. He had eminently distinguished himself at Sandhurst College, and subsequently, while still a very young officer, he had energetically conducted difficult explorations in North-Western Australia, and had, in his published account of his journeys, shown singular powers of observation, and laid down sound principles of conduct in the treatment and civilization of aboriginal races. At the early age of twenty-eight he was appointed Governor of South Australia, when that colony was labouring under exceptional difficulties, and during his administration there for a little more than four years, he gave proof of remarkable ability and judgment. The leaders of both great political parties in England at the time joined in his praise, and in declaring his special fitness to deal with the crisis which had arisen in New Zealand. As Governor Grey was, within three years after he was appointed to New Zealand, made a Knight Commander of the Civil Order of the Bath, it will be convenient to refer to him as Sir George Grey, the name by which he is best known.

It is very difficult to present to the reader anything approaching to a faithful portrayal of Sir George Grey in relation to his public career in New Zealand. He has played three distinct and dissimilar parts in New Zealand. From 1845 to 1852 he was Governor of New Zealand when it was a Crown Colony and when he had autocratic power, subject of course to instruction from the Colonial Office, but still practically autocratic, not because, like Governor Fitzroy, he disregarded those instructions, but because his great ability and influence gradually moulded those instructions to his own will. Again, from 1861 to 1868, Sir George Grey was for the second time Governor of New Zealand, but under the widely different conditions of responsible government, which substantially transferred power from his own hands to those of his constitutional Ministers. And again, since 1874, he has been a leading member of the New Zealand House of Representatives, and was himself Premier for two years, from 1877 to 1879, under two successive Governors. All who know anything of human character know that it is much affected by changing circumstances and conditions, and that, under their influence, many qualities at some times lie dormant, and at others are developed into activity. Hence are seen the distinct and almost irreconcilable phases of character which often one man presents at different periods of his life. This variety of character notably appears in the threefold career of Sir George Grey in New Zealand, and constitutes the chief difficulty of describing at the outset his mental qualities. And yet I think that it is better to try to do so at first in order to aid the reader in tracing through successive scenes, as they are given in their respective places, veins of character more or less distinct and continuous according to surrounding influences, and illustrative of the

inner nature of this conspicuous New Zealand ruler and statesman.

The character of Sir George Grey is an intricate study. It is easy enough to praise all the merits, and to say little or nothing of the faults, or to reverse the process. But neither of those pictures would be true. The difficulty is to show, in true perspective, the compound



Sir George Grey.

nature modified as it is by the mutual action of its parts, and by the influence of outward things, and to give a not unfaithful presentment of the man.

Sir George Grey has extraordinary abilities. His perceptive faculties are singularly keen ; his memory is very retentive, and his mind is stored with varied and valuable information. He is highly intellectual, and his

reasoning powers are of a high order. He is far-seeing, and, if he chooses to do so, he can look deeply into large questions, and form sound conclusions. Cautious by nature, he is, when he makes up his mind, firm and courageous in action. He is persuasive in writing, eloquent in speech, with a considerable sense of humour and pathos, and his manner is at times extremely winning. These precious gifts, joined as they were in the prime of his life with indomitable energy, must have raised him to the highest eminence, but unfortunately they were alloyed with constitutional defects which the surroundings of his public career have aggravated, and which have frustrated his achievement, not of greatness, for great he is with all his faults, but of the highest positions of public usefulness. Sir George Grey is too fond of personal prestige and power, and cannot brook rivalry. His disposition is occasionally inclined to be secretive and unsympathetic, indisposing him to the frank interchange of views and to trust in friends. His controversial powers too often lead him into personal antagonism, and he is too apt to snatch at an immediate triumph, real and temporary though it be, over his antagonist at the sacrifice of exact accuracy in statement and of true logic in deduction. Another fault is that in writing and in speaking he sometimes paints things in exaggerated colours. Although naturally he has a kind heart, he has in politics too little warmth as a friend, and too much bitterness as an opponent. The surroundings of his early life, for at least fifteen years as the Governor of Crown Colonies, with almost despotic powers, and with undivided responsibilities, gave abnormal activity to these defects. Unfortunately when he became again the Governor of New Zealand, constitutional government and the exceptional relations at the time of the Colony to the Imperial Government, owing to the native war, did not, as they might have

done at an earlier period of his life, check those tendencies, but only acted as incentives to their activity, and embittered him in his disappointment of direct personal success. His subsequent entrance, after an interval of six years, into political life as a member of the House of Representatives gave an additional impulse in the same sinister direction. A leader of a political party may become, in a certain time, autocratic, but he must first, as it were, stoop to conquer. He must first gain the entire confidence of his followers, and he must gain that by wise intellectual superiority; he must at first give as well as take; he must earn their goodwill by proofs in his relations to them of trust in them, of deference to their feeling in small things, and even occasionally in substantial concession. I must, however, reserve the descriptions of those three parts of Sir George Grey's public life in New Zealand for their appropriate places in this book. I only refer to those parts now in illustration of their joint effect on his political character. At the same time it is only just to say generally on this subject that, however much outward influences, acting on inward features of character, may have shut out Sir George Grey from some of the highest public positions as a statesman, it is impossible to deny with truth that he has well earned an imperishable memorial in the great good which he has, in the course of a long public life and in different parts of the world, conferred on his fellow-creatures, and in the future work, which he will leave, in human probability, to others, of giving full effect to some of his ideas (in advance of the present age) for securing the greatest good of the greatest number.

The first thing which Governor Grey had to do when he first assumed the government of New Zealand in November, 1845, was to suppress the native insurrections

at Kororareka, Bay of Islands. He took at once active steps to accomplish that object; and within three months the defeated natives sued for peace. In the meantime the southern district of Wellington became the scene of native disturbance, owing ostensibly to disputed claims to land, but, in reality, springing from the mistaken and injudicious action of Governor Fitzroy in relation to the Wairau massacre, and to other causes of discord between the two races. Sir George Grey, who was, at that time, almost everywhere in New Zealand, lost no time in dealing summarily with this more serious and more extended insurrection. He rose to each emergency, and showed alike great ability in military and civil affairs. His energy in pushing forward, where requisite, military operations; his skill in making the most of small means, and in dealing unexpected and decisive blows; his firm but conciliatory attitude towards the native race generally; and his administrative capacity, worked a remarkable change in the condition of the colony. He instinctively saw that the formation of trunk roads was the best means of securing the peace of the country and the progress of settlement; and he used the limited funds at his disposal in prosecuting that object with the aid chiefly of military and native labour. A threefold advantage, in addition to the work itself, was thus gained; the presence of the soldiers was utilized in the peaceful subduing of the country; the natives employed were working towards the same end, and also were taught habits of civilization; and the limited labour of the settlers was not diverted from their own industrial avocations. Sir George Grey acquired over the natives a personal influence which no other single person has ever exercised. Undoubtedly that influence was partly attributable to the power with which he was, as the representative of the Crown, invested in

the direction of all civil and military affairs, including the expenditure of money. But there is also no doubt that the force and other great qualities of his character were mainly the cause of that influence. Power and money cannot alone secure and retain respect. The Maori race is quick in detecting weakness and insincerity, and in imposing on the possessors of those qualities ; but those of that race who came into touch with Sir George Grey at once felt the magnetic power of a master mind, and were soon convinced that it was better for them to be with him than against him. And he showed, on his part, genuine interest in their welfare and civilization. And here I would like to say a few words respecting the native policy of Sir George Grey during his first administration in New Zealand, for there are many who think, as I believe mistakenly, that that policy was only a series of makeshifts and evasions. My view is that, considering the circumstances of the country, and the small means at his command, his native policy was judicious, far-sighted, and founded on sound principles. He fought in order to suppress insurrection, and to secure life and property, but he scrupulously observed the good faith of the Crown, as pledged to the native race in the treaty of Watangi. His legislation and his administration were specially directed to matters directly affecting natives for their real good. At his instance laws were passed to resume the Crown-right of pre-emption ; to prevent the sale to natives of the munitions of war, and also the sale to them of spirituous liquors ; and to facilitate the administration of justice in litigation in which natives were concerned. Administratively, he appointed resident magistrates with extensive powers, under special laws in native districts ; he subsidized native schools, and he laid the foundation of a national educational system, which would ere now, under more

favourable Imperial auspices, have included the South Sea Islands ; he provided savings' banks ; he established hospitals and other charitable institutions with valuable endowments in land ; and he gave special encouragement and aid to the material improvement of the natives, and to their advancement in civilization. In his purchases of native land for the Crown, he introduced the special feature of paying the purchase-money in instalments spread over a number of years. This simple feature was of important use in two ways ; it put a stop to the immediate and too often reckless dissipation of the whole price of the land, and it served as a security for the future good behaviour of the native sellers. It is impossible to prove that this policy, if continued under Sir George Grey's personal direction, would have prevented the occurrence of the subsequent native war ; but certainly this much can be said of the policy, that for several years, while it was in progress, there was unbroken tranquillity throughout New Zealand. And I think that it must be clear to those who have observed this policy closely, and who judge it impartially, that, far from being flimsy patchwork, it had in it the elements of prudence and foresight and of lasting good.

Successful as Sir George Grey was in gaining native confidence, he cannot be similarly congratulated on his relations to the colonists, especially to those in the northern settlements of the North Island. For this result he was not wholly to be blamed. His policy was necessarily unpopular. He was forced, in establishing sound finance, to resort to additional taxation and to curtail public expenditure ; his duty required him to put a stop to profitable speculation in the private purchase of native land, and to lucrative trade with natives in fire-arms and ammunition ; he also found it necessary to disallow irregular and extravagant land claims. In the

southern settlements his chief unpopularity was owing to his possession of almost despotic power, and to the delay, on his recommendation, of the grant of representative institutions. Before I refer to the latter point, I would say that, though Sir George Grey's policy was necessarily unpopular, that unpopularity was needlessly embittered by his constitutional tendency to personality and exaggeration in controversial argument. He had a fatal facility for overdoing his case, however strong it was ; of seeming unfairness by laying too much stress on small points ; and by persistently inveighing against individuals, when it was quite enough to attack the system. Governors should be impartial, and should learn to "condemn the fault, and not the actor of it."

The unpopularity of Sir George Grey in the southern settlements mainly arose from the belief generally and, as I think, wrongly entertained that he was opposed to representative institutions. In 1847, Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent out a Royal Charter, making organic changes in the constitution of the colony. The colony was divided into two provinces ; and provision was made for appointing a Lieutenant-Governor of each, for granting provincial representation, and also for a Governor-in-Chief, and for a Colonial Parliament with a representative chamber. This new constitution had been prepared without any previous consultation with Sir George Grey ; and, on his earnest representation after it had been promulgated, the greater part of it was suspended for five years. Reflection and experience have, I think, generally sustained the soundness of the view which Sir George Grey took, that the introduction then of such a fundamental change in the constitution of the colony would have been hazardous to peace, and would have led to great administrative confusion. The condition of both races was critical ; and the transfer of

political power to a handful of colonists was unjust to the numerically greater native race. That transfer would have actually taken place, for the charter limited the franchise to those who could read and write in the English language—an attainment which, at the time, not a dozen native adults possessed. It is a misnomer, therefore, to call that charter representative in the true sense of the word. Earl Grey had, moreover, accompanied his gift with a long despatch elaborately setting forth the impolicy of recognizing proprietary rights in the natives over what he called waste lands. This despatch contained, interspersed here and there, a few copybook cautions to keep specific promises, but its whole tendency was repugnant to the honourable understanding on which the two parties had agreed to the treaty of Waitangi. This despatch and the charter would have soon set New Zealand in a blaze from north to south, but, fortunately, the great influence of Sir George Grey, who quietly set them both aside, reassured the native mind. No subsequent attempt to appropriate for the Crown, as of right, the native waste lands in New Zealand has been made. I wish that I could also say that the mistake of leaving the natives, practically, without the means of self-government had also been put right. But, anticipating somewhat the progress of events, I must say that, although the foolish electoral restriction in Earl Grey's charter was done away with, the succeeding constitution did little to supply that fatal want. For many long years the natives justly felt that they were constitutionally outlawed, and that there were no seats left for them at the great feast of representative institutions. To this cause may be fairly attributed much of the native difficulty that afterwards arose, in the "King" movement, in land leagues, and in actual insurrection in some districts.

Contemporaneously with the new charter, Mr. Edward John Eyre came as Lieutenant-Governor of the southern province of New Zealand. His position was at once anomalous, for substantially the constitution of which it formed a part was in abeyance. He remained, however, for three or four years as Lieutenant-Governor to administer the affairs of the province under the direct control of the Governor-in-Chief; and he also had a nominated Provincial Council to make local laws subject to the overriding power of the Colonial Legislature, consisting of a nominated Legislative Council. The administration of Mr. Eyre was only nominal, for he was not allowed by Sir George Grey to exercise any real authority. Mr. Eyre became afterwards well known as the Governor of Jamaica during the riots in 1865; but with that portion of his life I have nothing to do. He was, however, a remarkable man, and though he was not able in his subordinate position in New Zealand to do much there, a few words about him may not be uninteresting. He was ambitious and full of energy. Both qualities led him into and through dangers and difficulties to which ordinary men would have succumbed. But, on reflection, even his warmest admirers felt that he was too rash, and that, however much he proved his own courage and fortitude, he often did so without any corresponding prospect of public good. This was the general impression produced by his overland journey from Adelaide to King George's Sound, on the western coast of Australia—a feat which first made him famous. A good story is told of Mr. Eyre's boyhood, which, if true, is typical of his character. He was, it is said, very fond of fishing; and he was so anxious to devote every moment of daylight to that pursuit that he took it into his head, after a day's fishing, to go to bed in his wet clothes, in order to lose no time in dressing at daybreak.

This youthful excess of zeal nearly cost him his life, but still it showed itself in other shapes in his maturer years. His ability was not of a very high order, but it was considerably above the average standard. His faults were that he was too impulsive, fussy in details, rash, obstinate, and too fond of much writing. He had, however, many estimable qualities ; and in New Zealand he had not, as I conceive, fair play. The suspension of the charter left him officially stranded ; and Sir George Grey did not treat him generously, or even with strict justice, though it must be owned that Mr. Eyre was often irritating and injudicious. The unfairness on the part of Sir George Grey towards Mr. Eyre consisted in publicly making little of him, in worrying him officially, and in aggravating each anomaly of his position till it became absurd and intolerable.

Another constitution for New Zealand was soon in course of manufacture ; and this time it was framed, with a few alterations, on a plan proposed by Sir George Grey. This constitution was based on the broadest popular principles consistent with the status of a British colony. The Colonial Legislature consisted of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was composed of members nominated by the Crown for life ; and this, I may observe, was the main alteration from what Sir George Grey recommended, his proposal (a much better one, in my opinion) being that they should be elected from time to time by the Provincial Councils. The House of Representatives was elected for five years, but it was subject to dissolution by the Governor at any time. The franchise (a small property one) was liberal, but though it was not restricted (like that in Earl Grey's charter) to those who could read and write in the English language, it practically excluded for a long

time to come the bulk of the native population, because technically the general native tenure did not come within the term "property." Power was given generally to the Legislature to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the colony, provided that they were not repugnant to the law of England, that they did not levy duties on the supplies of Her Majesty's forces, and that they were not at variance with Imperial treaties. Acts were subjected to disallowance by the Queen within a limited time ; and, in a very few cases, they were required to be reserved for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure thereon. Except in regard to certain payments specially authorized by the Constitution Act itself, the whole revenue was made subject to the control and appropriation of the colonial legislature ; but any revenue unappropriated was made divisible among the provinces in like proportion as the gross proceeds of such revenue should have arisen therein respectively. The Legislature was also given, with a few exceptions, ample power to alter the constitution of the Colony ; and since the constitution came into force the colonial legislature has made, from time to time, under that authority, or under authority granted by subsequent Imperial Acts, various changes in the constitution. The Colony was also divided into six provinces, each of which was allowed to have an elective superintendent and an elective Provincial Council. In each case the election was for four years, but the power of dissolution at any time was vested in the Governor ; and, on its exercise, a fresh election, both of the Council and of the Superintendent, was requisite. The Superintendent was eligible by the electors of the whole province ; and the members of the Provincial Council respectively by those of electoral districts. The franchise was the same as in the case of the election of a member of the House of

Representatives. A qualification to vote in any of these cases was also a qualification to be elected. Acts of provincial legislatures were subject to disallowance by the Governor, or, when reserved, to the signification of his pleasure thereon. There were some subjects, such as customs, superior courts of law, coinage, postal service, lighthouses, Crown and native land, &c., on which provincial legislatures were not authorized to make laws. On all other matters their legislation was liable to be overridden by any act of the colonial legislature inconsistent therewith. Otherwise, the provincial legislatures could legislate for the peace, order, and good government of their respective provinces, provided that their laws were not repugnant to the law of England. I have given the foregoing summary of the leading features of this constitution, because it is the groundwork of the political history since, up to the date at which I am writing, of New Zealand. And this important fact leads me to make a few general remarks on the subject.

On the whole, the Constitution was admirably suited to the Colony, so far as it affected the colonists, but, as I said before, it should have been supplemented by some special provisions for the government of the natives. The franchise was more liberal than that proposed by Earl Grey, but the communal tenure of land by native tribes practically precluded individual natives, with few exceptions, from its enjoyment. It is true that the Act provided that the Crown should have power, if it thought fit, to maintain the laws, customs, and usages of the natives, so far as they were not repugnant to the general principles of humanity, in all their relations to and dealings with each other, in particular districts to be set apart for that purpose. But that provision was quite inadequate to what was really wanted, and has never been acted on. The proper object was not to segregate the

natives, and so to stereotype their own uncivilized habits, but to endow them with simple regulations for the conduct of their relations in local matters both towards each other and towards the settlers, and to enable bodies of both races, where practicable, to adjust these regulations, from time to time, to changing circumstances. And further, provision should have been made for facilitating the special representation of natives in the colonial and provincial legislatures and in municipal councils. Every effort should have been made to work up towards the complete political union of both races. Unfortunately, as it was, the natives were left in a comparative state of anarchy, while the colonists were in the full enjoyment of free institutions. Experience of the constitution has shown some other defects, to which I shall shortly allude. The provinces were left too much in a state of financial and legislative dependence on the colonial legislature. This precarious state was made worse by the perpetual conflicts going on in that legislature between parties representing, more or less, provincial or colonial views. As Provinces were mainly fed from the crumbs which fell from the colonial table, the provincial party was always trying to upset as much as possible, while the colonial party, anxious to starve their opponents, ate what they could and wished to pocket the rest. The consequence was that finance, legislation, and administration were thrown into lamentable confusion. Ultimately, this led to the premature overthrow of Provincial institutions ; but I reserve my remarks on that subject for their fitting place in this work. Sir George Grey, who probably did not care to administer a constitution which would wholly strip him of personal power, left the Colony in December, 1853, before the constitution came into full force. Supposing it were the fact that he wished to avoid the work of his own hands, it is curious how " the whirligig

of time brings in his revenges," for he returned as Governor in 1860, and administered the constitution for seven years under responsible government ; and again, in 1876, he became a member of the New Zealand House of Representatives, and fought the hopeless battle of the provinces. He did much, however, in 1852 in the way of introducing the new constitution ; and, in my view, his preliminary arrangements were marked by some serious mistakes. The reasonable course would have been to summon first the New Zealand Legislature, and to leave to the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled to determine the colonial policy in relation to the provinces financially, and in other important matters. Instead of doing this, he took on himself to make land regulations of a sweeping character, to bring first the provincial portion of the constitution into active existence, and to make financial and other arrangements tending to throw as much power as possible into the hands of the superintendents and the provincial councils. Whatever may be the merits of that policy, it was, I conceive, clearly wrong in him to forestall the action of the House of Representatives, the constitutional exponent of the wishes of the people.

I must now shortly refer to the colonization of the South (or Middle) Island in its central and southern parts—colonization which began during the first administration of Sir George Grey, and which has exercised great influence on the political condition of New Zealand. The settlement of Nelson had been formed by the New Zealand Company in 1841, but that settlement was merely on the northern fringe of the island, and was quite isolated by the natural features of the country. Akaroa also, on Banks' Peninsula on the east central coast, had been formed by a French company, and had a few French residents. With these small exceptions, the

whole island, it may be said, was almost an unknown land till 1847. Only about 2000 natives in all lived there, and they were thinly scattered, some in the Nelson district, some on the west coast, some on Banks' Peninsula and on the adjoining mainland, and some in the southernmost parts of the island. Sir George Grey for a very small sum of money bought the rights of the natives, after the reservation of ample blocks for themselves and for their descendants. This judicious course opened up nearly the whole island for European settlement ; and the New Zealand Company, in whom at that time the colonization of the waste lands of the Crown in the southern half of the North Island, and in the whole of the South Island, was vested, availed itself of the opportunity by arranging for the foundation of the settlements of Otago and Canterbury.

The settlement of Otago, on the south-eastern extremity of the South Island, was founded by a body of men belonging to, or sympathizing with, the Free Church of Scotland. This association bought from the New Zealand Company a block of 400,000 acres ; and the first emigrants arrived in March, 1848. The settlement grew and soon enlarged its boundaries ; and in 1853 Otago became under the new constitution a province comprising all the southern portion of the island to the south of the river Waitaki. Canterbury, on the central eastern coast of the South Island, was founded by the Canterbury Association under a special arrangement with the New Zealand Company ; and the first emigrants arrived in December, 1850. The original design was to establish a settlement composed entirely of members of the Church of England ; but this exclusive idea was soon given up, and the settlement became a flourishing community of all denominations. In 1853, Canterbury, comprising the central portion of the South Island, also

became a province in New Zealand. Another important event in connection with the colonization of New Zealand took place in 1850. For some time previously the New Zealand Company had been falling into financial difficulties ; and the Imperial Parliament had not only transferred to the company an immense territory for the purpose of colonization, but had advanced to it above 200,000*l.*, with the proviso that if the company could not repay this money in 1850, it must surrender its charter and property to the Crown. This surrender took place accordingly, and, as compensation for the property, a lien of five shillings an acre was imposed by the Imperial Parliament on all Crown lands sold in the Colony, and was made payable to the company, up to the amount of 268,370*l.* This imposition was grossly unjust to the northern settlements in the North Island, as they had been formed not by, but in spite of the New Zealand Company. I may here observe that Sir George Grey resisted this demand, and practically ignored the Imperial Act under which it was made. For this he received from the Colonial Office the first serious reprimand which it had ever administered to him ; and this "little rift" did much, I think, to bring on the discord which in after years prevailed between himself and that Department. To return, however, to the New Zealand Company, it is only just to say of it that, whatever may have been its faults in details, it has done a great work. Its action at first secured New Zealand as a British possession ; and afterwards, in the face of great political and financial obstacles, it successfully laid the foundations of the settlements of Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury.

One other very important act which Sir George Grey did a few months before his departure requires a few words beyond the slight allusion which I have made to

it. That act was the issue of his land regulations of 1853. It was questionable in law whether he had the power to make of his own will these regulations ; and, even if he had the power, it was not constitutionally proper to anticipate the action of the Colonial Parliament which was about to be assembled ; and certainly, in so far as the real interests of the country were concerned, the regulations have been a failure. The leading feature of these regulations was the reduction of the price of Crown land from one pound to ten shillings and five shillings an acre. The intention, no doubt, was to place the acquisition of freeholds within the reach of every man ; but the result, over the greater part of the Colony, was directly the reverse, and should have been anticipated. Runholders and speculators were only too successful in monopolizing at nominal cost enormous territories ; and those of them who were not rich enough or who could not borrow enough to do this at once, "picked out the eyes of the land," to use an expressive phrase, in order to render the remainder of the land of little or no value to any but themselves. No one more than Sir George Grey should in his heart deplore the effect of these land regulations, for he is an earnest advocate of the multiplication of small freeholds ; and that effect has been to lock up large estates in the hands of comparatively few landholders.

New Zealand, in the course of the eight years of the first administration of its affairs by Sir George Grey, underwent a great change. The cessation of native disturbance, the restoration of finance, the revival of colonization, the growth of prosperity, and the establishment of free political institutions were the chief characteristics of that change.

It is not flattering, but simple truth, to say that that change is mainly attributable to the wise and far-

sighted policy, as a whole, of Sir George Grey and to his able administration.

The recall of Governor Sir George Grey, from the Governorship of New Zealand requires special notice. It was one of those discreditable manœuvres to which occasionally men, dressed in brief authority, resort with the object of getting rid of some high public officers who are subordinate to them, and who have the misfortune to differ from them.

Removal is effected under a false pretext, and degradation is inflicted without open accusation and opportunity for self-defence. It is the art of punishment without the trouble of trial and conviction. The process is easy and safe to those who do not scruple to use it. An incidental line in a despatch tells the obnoxious officer to repair to some other place, or that his successor is just appointed. The latter intimation, giving a month's notice, was made to Governor Sir George Grey in about a dozen words written in a despatch on another subject. And afterwards a wretched pretence of apology was recorded that "the intimation given for your convenience at the end of your term of office, that your successor would very shortly be appointed, seems to be mistaken for a premature recall." This is merely insult added to injury. Certainly it was only due to a man in the position of Governor Sir George Grey, who had for twenty-six years, almost continuously, rendered great services to the British Empire, and who had twice been specially sent to New Zealand, owing to native insurrections having broken out there, either that he should plainly have been told that he was removed from office because he had lost the confidence of the Home Government; or, if that were not the cause, that he should have received some acknowledgment of his services, and have been at the same time told that he was only replaced

because his term of office was considered to have expired. With respect to this after-thought, or after-statement, as to the expiration of the term of office, I may say there was no legal limit to that term, and it has not, I believe, been usual to apply, as a matter of course, the customary limit to the case of a Governor specially sent to a colony to deal with special circumstances, in the midst of his labours. It may also be reasonably asked why this reason was not given together with the curt intimation that a successor was, or very shortly would be, appointed. Altogether, it is evident that Governor Sir George Grey was treated with less consideration than is accorded in a gentleman's family to the humblest menial. New Zealand, I am glad to say, made some amends for this cruel injustice to Sir George Grey. On the first intimation of his recall, both Houses of the Legislature, by simultaneous addresses, marked their high regard for him personally, and their appreciation of his distinguished public services; and numerous bodies of colonists reiterated those sentiments. Later on, the Executive Council, consisting of the Ministry of the day, bore witness in the following words to his devotion to the Empire and to public duty during his long and distinguished career:—"Again and again during the last twenty-six years, when there has been danger and difficulty in the administration of colonial affairs, your Excellency's aid has been invoked by the most eminent statesmen of the day. Sacrifices you have disregarded, and trials have served as opportunities of evincing devotion to public duty, and we cannot but regard it as indicative of the indifference, if not positive disfavour, with which the colonies of the Empire are regarded when loyalty, zeal, and high intelligence displayed in the administration of their affairs are passed by without even the courtesy of a cold acknowledgment."

In 1877, Sir George Grey became Premier of New Zealand, the colony to which he had been twice specially sent by the Imperial Government as Governor in times of emergency, and where he had rendered such signal public services. His Ministry was only in office for two years, but it left the permanent impress of its policy, the principles of which, as stated in the Governor's speech opening the second session of the New Zealand Legislature in 1879, were Manhood Suffrage ; Triennial Parliaments ; representation proportioned to population ; facilities for occupation of small farms, or rural allotments ; and purchase of native lands on terms fair to both races. Each of these principles is at present (1897) in force in New Zealand.

Since 1894, Sir George Grey, owing to old age and increasing infirmities, has retired from New Zealand politics, and has resided in England. On his arrival in England, he was appointed by Her Majesty a member of the Privy Council. In New Zealand, on September 5th, 1895, the House of Representatives unanimously passed the following motion on the retirement of Sir George Grey :—

Motion made, and question proposed, "That this House desires, on the retirement of the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B., P.C., from his seat in Parliament as member for the city of Auckland, to place on record its high sense and appreciation of the great services rendered by him to New Zealand, as Governor, in obtaining for it a free Constitution and conducting its affairs in times of great difficulty ; and, as a member of this House, in promoting beneficent legislation and displaying the deepest interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the Colony ; and that this House trusts that he may long be spared to enjoy the repose which he has justly earned for his services to his country."—(*Hon. Mr. Seddon.*)

A singular incident in the debate on this motion was that Mr. Hone Heke, a grandson of the celebrated John Heke, the leader of the native insurrection in the Bay of Islands in 1844, and who was fought and conquered by Sir George Grey in 1845, made the following speech in praise of Sir George Grey :—

Mr. HEKE : "I desire to add to the eulogiums made by the leaders of the House, speaking, as I shall, from the native aspect of the resolution. It has been often expressed by the natives that throughout the Right Hon. Sir George Grey's career in New Zealand in the early part of its history he undoubtedly gained the respect of all the natives throughout New Zealand, although in several parts of this island, including the Bay of Islands and against my own people there, he opposed them as it was his duty to do so—although, in my opinion, those troubles could have been averted by more peaceable means. However, the time has now passed for comment, and on this occasion I desire to place on record my appreciation of his kind endeavours to further the interests of the natives in New Zealand. In conclusion, I may also state that, although some of the chiefs were opposed to his actions and his desire to bring about reforms among the natives, they were in the end, I believe, some of his strongest friends. I also further desire to add that I am echoing the feeling of all the natives throughout New Zealand when I say that they had, and still have, a very sincere and strong respect for the ability and kindness with which Sir George Grey has looked upon them and cared for them throughout his whole public career in New Zealand. Indeed, many amusing and very interesting incidents have been told to me by my own elders regarding the right honourable gentleman and themselves in the early days of this colony. However, those scenes and the memory of those days are

gradually fading into oblivion ; but I hope there is one thing that will not fade from our memories, and that is, his great ability and the good works that he has left behind him."

The public career of Sir George Grey is now, in all human probability, ended, but history will record it as one of the most remarkable in the English Imperial Service witnessed during the present century. Gifted with extraordinary abilities ; thrown from early youth, almost continuously, into varied situations, requiring all the qualities of a great statesman, he has shown himself equal to the most critical emergencies, and his public services in Australia, in New Zealand, and in South Africa are countless in number, and incalculable in worth. His practical knowledge of the principles of mercy, truth and justice on which the treatment of an uncivilized race by a civilized race should be based, when colonization brought both together, was admirable. As an explorer, as a naturalist, as a writer, and as a speaker, apart from politics he will ever hold a distinguished position. His generous gifts to public institutions at Auckland and at Cape Town of his priceless collections of books are of immeasurable public utility. It is, however, as a statesman that he will chiefly be judged. And though he may be censured in details, the general verdict will, I am confident, be, and be justly, highly favourable, as, on the whole, entitling him to a very high position in statesmanship. He was ever in advance of his age, and met, as usual in that case, with frequent and bitter opponents. Time, however, the prover of all things, has generally shown his opponents to be wrong, and himself to be right. When the mist disappears things will be seen in their true proportions ; and that justice which has been denied to himself will be accorded to his memory.

CHAPTER III.

Representative institutions—Acting-Governor Wynyard—Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield—Mr. James Edward FitzGerald—Dr. Featherston—Mr. Henry Sewell—Sir Frederick Whitaker—Sir Francis Bell—First Parliament—Responsible government—Native policy—Sir Edward Stafford—Mr. William Richmond—Mr. James Richmond—Sir Harry Atkinson—Richmond-Atkinson family.

ANOTHER era in the political history of New Zealand began with the departure of Sir George Grey. Self-government succeeded to autocratic rule, and the change was sudden. Provinces which had been administered by officers appointed by the Crown, and for which laws had been made by councils nominated by the Crown, were at once called on to elect their own Superintendents and their own Councils; and these superintendents and councils at once entered into their respective duties of administration and of legislation. Unchecked, without experience, and revelling as it were in political freedom, some naturally seemed at first as if too much license had made them mad. But there was this method in their madness: they strove to get into their hands as much power as they possibly could; and there was no proper restriction on their excess in that respect. Sir George Grey only encouraged their ambition; and his immediate successor, Colonel Wynyard, who, as senior military officer, temporarily assumed the administration of government, did not care to take a different course. It was left to Colonel Wynyard to summon the General Assembly,

as the Colonial Parliament was called, but he fixed the day of its meeting in May, 1854, five months after he assumed office. Accordingly, altogether, for nearly twelve months, elective superintendents and elective provincial councils did almost as they pleased ; and the representative of the Crown was playing into their hands, while the Colonial Parliament, which included the House of Representatives of New Zealand, was forced to stand out in the cold, and look helplessly on the scene. It was as if a man who succeeded to a large estate found that for a whole year after his succession he had no voice in its administration. Another strange spectacle was seen in the person of Colonel Wynyard. Although in command of a regiment, and senior military officer, he had contested and won the election of Superintendent of the Province of Auckland ; and he actually retained that elective office for seven or eight months, while he was also at the same time Acting-Governor of the Colony. It is true that there was no special enactment in the Constitution Act against the combination of those offices, but the Secretary of State, on being appealed to, most properly declared its incompatibility with the spirit of the constitution. I am fully sensible of the value of political freedom, and I do not blame Superintendents and Provincial Councils for doing what they could and what they thought best for provincial interests ; or the electors of the Province of Auckland for electing the man they thought most fit for the office of Superintendent. It seems, however, to me repugnant to the true sense of the free institutions which were given to New Zealand that the Provincial Councils should have been allowed by the action of the Governor to forestall the Parliament of the Colony ; and that, though this is a minor matter, the Acting-Governor of the Colony should also have been the Superintendent of a Province.

I have little to say about the public character of Colonel Wynyard. He was a good soldier, but he was wholly unused to politics. He was fonder of the show of personal power than of personally deciding how to exercise it ; and, accordingly, he was always willing to be guided by what he thought good and safe advice. As Acting-Governor he was led by the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson ; and, as Superintendent of the Province of Auckland, he was led by the Auckland Provincial Solicitor, Mr. Frederick Whitaker. The Secretary of State did not consider these joint offices compatible, and Colonel Wynyard resigned the office of Provincial Superintendent. He soon afterwards left New Zealand for the military command of the Cape of Good Hope. He died in England in January, 1864. His departure from New Zealand was regretted by many personal friends.

The quadruple position, while it lasted, of the Acting-Governor, the Superintendent, the senior military officer, and the officer commanding a regiment, had occasionally its ludicrous aspect in the interchange of official and, sometimes, controversial correspondence between those high authorities. But the serious anomaly was the combination of the offices of Acting-Governor and of Superintendent, inasmuch as it materially added to the undue bias already given by executive action to provincial institutions. I heartily appreciate the worth of those institutions, and their admirable adaptation, in their constitutional place, to the peculiar condition of New Zealand ; and, at the same time, I fully recognize the practical colonizing work done under them during their twenty-two years of existence. My contention is that they would have done better work, and would have existed longer if artificial stimulus had not been unconstitutionally applied to them in their earliest days, and if they had been left to their natural and legitimate

growth. It is of course impossible to prove what might have happened under other circumstances, but it is not unreasonable to believe that the strength and success of provincial institutions would have been better ensured by allowing them to take operative effect under political conditions fixed, within constitutional limits, by the representative Colonial Legislature, than by forcing them, through executive action, into precocious activity in forestalment of that Legislature. I have great faith in the self-adjustment of constitutional machinery, if left to its own proper working, but no faith in its manipulation by an outsider. Had not that machinery been thrown out of gear when first set in motion, the Colony would have been spared infinite civil discord, enormous waste of power and of money, and the premature abolition of an important factor in its system of self-government; and would have made greater progress. I do not believe that the first New Zealand House of Representatives, if it had had a clear course, would have unduly favoured central power. The members were leading men, and, coming as they did together from different and distant portions of the Colony, they were quite aware of the necessity for real local self-government. At all events, they would have given effect to the popular will on some distinct and definite principles. As it was, they found everything in confusion. Politically, the Colony resembled the traditional midshipman's chest in which everything wanted lay at the bottom. A lavish hand had scattered among the provinces colonial revenue and power. The constitution was a chaos. The superintendents and their supporters, when elected as members of the House of Representatives, formed a provincial party anxious to keep all that they had been given, and eager to get more. Their policy, as a whole, was to extort everything possible from a paralyzed Parliament. Another party,

resenting what had been done outside Parliament, unduly leant towards centralism. Thus were sown seeds of bitter discord, which afterwards bore baneful fruit. No doubt, under any circumstances, conflict between centralism and provincialism would have taken place, but it would have been free from those evil influences which arose from the two-fold feeling, on the one hand, that the Governor had forestalled the Parliament ; and, on the other hand, that what had already been given should not be taken away. Unfortunately, this bad state of things was aggravated by special difficulties which, during the session, were brought about by the weak and injudicious conduct of the Acting-Governor, and which made the first Parliament a *fiasco*, and its action a complete failure.

The position of that Parliament was singular. The elective chamber, which was of course the mainspring of the whole, contained no representative of the Government ; and, owing to the Parliament being the first, there was nothing to show which members possessed, or were likely to possess, the confidence of the majority. Moreover, the old Executive Council still existed ; and it was notorious that none of its members would try to conduct the public business through the Legislature. In fact, the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, who was appointed by the Governor a member of the Legislative Council, had also been appointed by the Acting-Governor to be the Speaker of that body ; thus wholly precluding him from taking part in the debates and ordinary proceedings of the Council. The whole situation seemed to have been carefully planned with a view to a deadlock, or, at least, to great embarrassment.

Bearing in mind, however, that the purpose of this work is, primarily, to give short sketches of the leading public men in New Zealand, and, secondarily, to interweave with those sketches some account of the chief

events in which those men respectively took part, I proceed to give the sketches first of those now coming on the political stage. In this way I hope to enable my readers better to understand, and to take more interest in, the succession of events, and in the proceedings of the actors ; and, at the same time, I hope thus to describe in a more connected form, and in more consecutive order, the chief features of the political history of New Zealand.

Undoubtedly, the principal member of the first New Zealand House of Representatives, when it first met, was Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. His reputation was known throughout the British Empire as the author of systematic colonization ; and as the founder, practically, of the Colonies of South Australia and of New Zealand. He was the first to lay down the great principle of selling Crown lands in new territories at a substantial price, and of devoting its proceeds to the colonization of those territories. His name also was closely associated with the mission, in 1838, of Lord Durham to Canada, and with the introduction there of responsible government. The colonizing work of the New Zealand Company was mainly owing to his foresight, energy, and great abilities ; and that work would probably, but for his serious and protracted illness, have lasted longer and been more successful. Wishing to recruit his strength by change of scene and climate, and to take a part in the new representative institutions, he came to Wellington, New Zealand, in 1853, and was elected both to the Provincial Council of the Province of Wellington, and to the Colonial House of Representatives. Naturally, he occupied a large space in the public interest. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield had a large and vigorous mind ; and his writings are remarkable for original thought, lucid expression, and logical power. He did more than any other man in placing British Colonization on the basis of economic principles and in

its systematic advancement. Unhappily, the moral force of his character did not correspond with its intellectual strength. His great defect was untrustworthiness. He was always trying to manage men, and in the pursuit of his object he was unscrupulous. His deceptiveness was ineradicable, and, like the fowler, he was ever spreading his nets. Always plausible, and often persuasive, he was never simple and straightforward. He was calculating and self-contained, and had no particle of generous chivalry in his nature. Skilful in handling puppets in high places, he was the last man to draw together a political party and inspire it with enthusiasm and with confidence in himself as its leader. Had it not been for these fatal faults he would have taken the first place in the representative ranks of local statesmen in New Zealand, and he would not have, as the result showed, brought on himself discreditable failure. It is, however, probable that he was never, after his long illness in England, the same man that he was before in power of mind; and certainly in New Zealand his health was weak; and age and infirmity must have impaired the vigour of his intellect. After 1854 he took no political part in public affairs, and was scarcely ever seen outside his house. He died at Wellington in 1857.

Another distinguished member of the first House of Representatives was Mr. James Edward FitzGerald. This distinction was not owing to what he had already done, but to the promising ability which those about him could not fail to recognize, and the proof of which the perusal of his speeches and his writings, since his arrival in the Colony, gave to others. Mr. FitzGerald, then a young man, came, in 1850, with the first emigrants to the new settlement of Canterbury. In 1853 he was elected first Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury. Short as the time had been since his

arrival in New Zealand, Mr. FitzGerald had proved himself to be no ordinary man. He wrote very well, and his speeches were those of a real orator. He was at the same time a good debater, and he had considerable power of humour and pathos. His mind was imbued with large principles, and was richly stored with information of various kinds. A thorough Irish gentleman, he was, like his countrymen, quick, impulsive, witty, and winning in manner and conversation. There were no rising statesmen of the day in New Zealand of whom greater expectations were formed. The pity of it is that those expectations were not fulfilled. In politics Mr. FitzGerald has been a brilliant failure; his parliamentary career has been the flash of a meteor—dazzling for the moment, but leaving no lasting trace behind. He would not give, and he could not command, confidence. In 1865 he wrecked the Ministry which he joined. As Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury for three years, he did nothing of mark. The truth is that, with all his great gifts, he was impracticable and unpractical. He was rash, impetuous, and inattentive to good advice; he had too much faith in himself and too little in others. In the House, he was “the Rupert of debate”; and his attacks were grand, but they were nothing else; and, especially, he never possessed in adequate measure that rare attribute of a statesman, the art of playing a losing game. Either too jubilant or too depressed, he never knew that “golden mean” of temperament which moderates elation in victory and sustains hope in defeat. After the resignation of the Weld Ministry, of which he was a member in 1865, he may be said to have suffered political collapse; and shortly afterwards he became Controller of the Public Accounts. He showed great ability in his administration of that office, and his comprehensive grasp of the subject with which he had to

deal, and his remarkable lucidity of expression, characterized his whole treatment of the public accounts.

Mr. FitzGerald died in New Zealand, while holding this office, in 1896, universally regretted. In his death the Colony lost a public man of great worth. He was a consummate orator, and endowed with great intellectual gifts. Had he possessed more persistency of



Mr. James Edward FitzGerald.

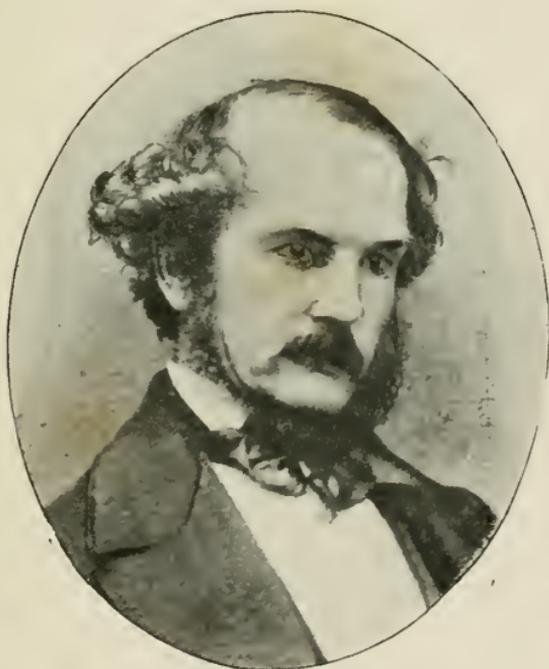
purpose, he would, if he had devoted himself to Imperial politics, have attained one of the highest positions.

The study of human character shows that often in men, endowed generally with like abilities, an apparently slight divergence of faculties serves to make those abilities comparatively useless, or effective. The want, or possession, of one particular quality determines whether the

bundle of sticks shall be loose or bound. This thought forcibly strikes me when I turn from Mr. FitzGerald to Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston, the Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, and also a member of the first House of Representatives of New Zealand—a man who fills a large space in the politics of the Colony.

Like Mr. FitzGerald, Dr. Featherston had great intellectual abilities and a strong love of personal power ; but he had also what the other had not—steadfastness and force of purpose. It was that distinctive quality which gave Dr. Featherston energy of will and concentration of strength, and which enabled him for twenty-five years to be a great political power in New Zealand. He was one of the early settlers in Wellington, and for several years before the establishment of free institutions he strenuously fought in the public press and on the platform for the great cause of constitutional freedom. He was the leading public man in Wellington ; and when the Province of Wellington was created he was chosen as its Superintendent, and, by repeated re-election, continued to be its Superintendent for eighteen years. Dr. Featherston had extreme views on some political subjects. He was an ardent Provincialist. He believed that every province should be a distinct self-governed territory, with which the central government of the Colony should interfere as little as possible ; and that in the few cases where its action was required in special terms by the Constitution, it should act on the advice of the Superintendent. Like most men with strong wills, he was naturally autocratic, but he had sense enough to see that in a democratic country he must have public opinion on his side. Accordingly, he was despotic through, and not in spite of, the people. But he was no vulgar demagogue. He was a refined and highly-educated gentleman, somewhat reserved in his general manner, and not at all

given to hunting for popularity. His influence over men was almost magnetic, and his party was ever faithful and devoted. One quality, essential to leaders of men, he specially possessed, and that was unswerving loyalty to his political supporters. He never deserted them, never betrayed them, but was their firm friend through good report and through evil report. Faith in him on this



Dr. Featherston.

account did much to attract and secure for him public support. Another characteristic feature, which always earns general respect, was his thorough unselfishness, in the lower sense of the term ; there was nothing mean or mercenary about him. He was fond of power, but his sole aim was to use it for what he thought was the public good ; and in that cause the object of his life was to

spend and be spent. Often suffering from ill-health, his mental energy was such that, in the fulfilment of his duties, nothing daunted him, and in that course he cheerfully underwent toil and suffering with a spirit of thorough self-devotion.

There were, however, failings in Dr. Featherston, which lessened his usefulness. He was apt to be extreme in his views, and, with constitutional obstinacy, he refused concession or compromise when it could be fairly yielded without surrender of principle. In this way he sometimes unnecessarily placed himself outside the pale of practical politics. He was rather too much a party man, and disposed to give up to party what was meant for mankind. High politics also were often more to his taste than the more commonplace task of colonizing the country; and, unfortunately, occasions arose when his controversial proclivities intensified opposition, and precluded the union of contending parties, when otherwise it might have taken place, on common ground of public good. This characteristic belongs more to the earlier period of his public career. As I proceed in my work, the reader will have opportunities of seeing the influence of Dr. Featherston, as well as of other leading men, on political events. It is enough now only to add that in the course of time, when party contests were fought on a broader stage, and personal feelings of earlier days had gradually subsided, a fairer estimate was formed of Dr. Featherston; and it was generally admitted that, with some failings, he was a man of great public worth; "a man, take him all in all," those who knew him in New Zealand cannot hope to "see his like again." He was appointed in 1872 Agent-General for New Zealand in England, and the news of his death in 1876 was received in the colony with universal regret.

Mr. Henry Sewell was another leading member of the

first House of Representatives. He was an English solicitor, and he had been actively connected with the formation of the Canterbury Settlement, where he resided. He was a man of culture and of considerable ability ; and his conversation sparkled with cleverness and wit. He excelled in happy classical quotations. With aptitude for official administration, he combined



Mr. Henry Sewell.

good debating power. He was remarkably quick in seeing the points of a complicated subject, though in treating it he used too much the arts of an advocate. His speeches, though occasionally eloquent and effective, often had the flavour of forensic insincerity. But this fault points to more serious reasons why Mr. Sewell was not able to secure public confidence. His nature was

supple and pliant; it was not robust enough to stand alone, but clung to natures of stronger fibre and of firmer growth. His mind had breadth, but it was slippery, and unable to grasp closely great principles; its strength was dissipated on small things. He never took a step forward without first planning within himself how he could, in case of change of mind, go back again. There was in him no fixity of purpose. The political stage was to him what the warren is to the rabbit: he was ever dodging in and out of holes. There was an utter want of repose in his temperament. He was fussy, restless, too easily impressionable, and full of false alarms. Probably this natural disquietude taught him to be, what he certainly was, fertile in resource and skilful in evasion.

He was fond of office; and he was not exclusive in his political associations. Besides being a member of a hybrid Ministry, partly responsible and partly not, in 1854, he was a member of eight Ministries from 1856 to 1872, both years included. For many years he was, as it seemed, the only alternative Attorney-General, the other being Mr. Frederick Whitaker. In opposition Mr. Sewell was altogether out of his element. He was irritable and aggressive. He threw out clouds of skirmishers in the shape of embarrassing questions and of aggressive motions. He excelled in guerilla warfare, but he had not weight and force enough for direct attack.

Mr. Sewell was at different times a member of the Legislative Council, and a member of the House of Representatives; and although he never took the lead in politics, he did, both in and out of office, much useful work. His great intelligence and his unwearied industry were always available in the public service; and he had many warm friends. He left New Zealand shortly after

his retirement from the Stafford Ministry in 1872 ; and he has since died in England.

The Legislative Council was composed of men appointed by the Crown for life ; but they were at liberty at any time to resign ; and in some instances members resigned, and afterwards became members of the House of Representatives. At the time in question Mr. W. Swainson, the Attorney-General, whom I have already noticed, was a member of the Legislative Council ; but he, to quote again the expressive phrase of Mr. FitzGerald, "had run to earth in the Speaker's chair." There were two other members, even then well known as public men, to whom I wish now specially to refer. These men are, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Whitaker, and Mr. (now Sir) Francis Dillon Bell, each of whom afterwards received, in consideration of his public services, the knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Sir Frederick Whitaker was probably the most remarkable public man in New Zealand, not because he has been most in the foreground, but rather because in the background he has exercised great influence on the political affairs of the Colony. He has been the rudder more than the figure-head of the State vessel. For forty years, from the time when he was a nominee member of the Legislative Council during the administrative of Governor Fitzroy to the date of his retirement from the Premiership in 1883, he has been an appreciable factor in the history of New Zealand. He has often held office, colonial and provincial, but he has never been prominent, in the popular sense, even when he was Premier, though in reality always a power in office and out of office, both before the throne and behind the throne. In order properly to understand what a man does, it is necessary to understand the man. I propose now, in the case of Sir

Frederick Whitaker, as in that of others, to sketch first his character in its broad outline, leaving what he did to subsequent notice in its proper place. He was a member of the legal profession, which in New Zealand combines the functions of barrister and solicitor ; and he had, from the earliest days of the settlement of Auckland, ably and successfully practised in that profession. His ability to devote much time to politics was owing to his enormous capacity for intellectual work. Although not a man of high culture, nor a genius, he had a rare combination of compensating qualities. He was shrewd, cautious, farsighted, persuasive, patient, watchful, persevering, and most industrious. He was not an eloquent or moving speaker, and his persuasiveness was felt more at interviews than in public debate. Few lawyers make effective speeches on the platform, or in popular branches of the legislature. The reason is, I think, because they speak too much in the forensic style of addressing juries ; and that style widely differs from those which the masses and their representatives respectively appreciate. Sir Frederick Whitaker was seldom effective in addressing a multitude, or the House of Representatives of which he was occasionally a member. He succeeded better in the Legislative Council, where debate more resembles mild conversation in a quiet room. His chief fault in speaking was the reiteration of the same idea in different words, a practice which he probably learned at the bar. He can be clear and forcible, when he chooses to be so ; and, when he had a bad case, few could surpass him in mystification and in the art of saying nothing in many words. He overdid what he drew, and in his invective he was apt to be somewhat coarse when he only meant to be satirical. As a public man, however, he was not by any means ill-natured or vindictive. In his official correspondence he was rather verbose and inelegant. He excelled

in drafting bills ; all the clauses were admirably arranged, and their language was simple, comprehensive, and precise. He had good administrative knowledge, but he has shown it more in advice than in actual administration.

The singular characteristic of Sir Frederick Whitaker throughout his long public career in New Zealand is that he has always done more as an adviser of others than as



Sir Frederick Whitaker, K.C.M.G.

a performer in his own person. He has been a man of many counsels. He has made elaborate plots, but generally some one else has been the chief actor in them. As Prime Minister he comparatively failed ; and the same may be said of him as Superintendent of the Province of Auckland, although while he was only an ordinary Minister, or only Provincial Solicitor, or even in

Opposition, he was influential and effective. I can only attribute this curious fact to the quality of secretiveness which he possessed in no ordinary degree. A person may be a capital stage manager, but yet be unable to take the principal part. Sir Frederick Whitaker can work well unseen, but he has no taste for public performance. He sits in seclusion, and invisibly weaves the warp and the woof for public use. This leading feature in his character was much to be regretted. It is dangerous to divide responsibility and action ; good influence is lessened, and intrigue, insincerity, and imprudence are engendered by that division. The public soon ceases to place trust in policy and conduct liable to be controlled by those sinister conditions. This want of trust has been felt in relation to Sir Frederick Whitaker. He has been too much the shadow of a statesman. In February, 1884, the Order of K.C.M.G. was conferred on him by the Queen. He died in December, 1891.

Sir Francis Dillon Bell, the other member to whom I wish to refer, may be said to be co-equal with Sir Frederick Whitaker in political knowledge of New Zealand, though that knowledge was acquired under different conditions. Sir Francis Bell, in early youth, sat at the feet of the founders of the New Zealand Company's settlements, before the actual colonization of those settlements had begun. It was there that he imbibed the official experience which, in the course of years, has become his second nature, and has distinguished him as one of the best public officers which New Zealand has ever known. He went to that colony soon after the formation of the settlements of Wellington and New Plymouth, and was agent of the New Zealand Company till 1850. He then entered the public service as a Commissioner of Crown Lands, and was holding that office when he was a member of the Legislative Council in

1854. Throughout his whole official career, in the various public offices which he has held, including his late office of Agent-General in London for New Zealand, he has rendered eminent services to the Colony. As Commissioner of Land Claims, from 1856 to 1862, he unravelled with unwearied industry and with great skill an intricate and confused entanglement of land questions seriously affecting the interests of both races. And as a Special Commissioner on the West Coast of the North Island, from 1879 to 1881, he, conjointly with Sir William Fox, enabled the Government to adjust most difficult land questions which had been for twelve years the source of continuous discord between the Europeans and the natives in that district ; which had paralyzed settlement, and threatened immediate war. His political career, though by no means unimportant, has not been so distinguished ; but I may hereafter have occasion to refer to portions of that career. What I want now shortly to do is to sketch the leading features of his character ; and I have alluded to his two-fold career as an official and a politician, because I hope that the sketch may serve, in some measure, to illustrate the two-fold aspect of that character.

Sir Francis Bell has a mind remarkable for its perceptive faculties and for its analytical power. Although not what is called a deep reasoner, he is seldom illogical ; he is diligent in collating facts and arguments ; and he is skilful in marshalling them in support of his conclusions. His industry is indefatigable ; his fondness for work grows by what it feeds on ; and, in fact, he often makes work for his own enjoyment. Patient, painstaking, and exact in his investigation, he delights in making clear what is dark, and in making simple what is complicated. His official reports are able and exhaustive ; their main faults are too much stress on details, and too little condensation.

In fact, the general failing of Sir Francis Bell is abnormal facility in writing and in speech. That facility intensifies his natural impulsiveness and indecision ; his words run away with him. In official matters the failing is minimized by the direct pressure of a distinct duty, and is inconsiderable ; but in the political sphere, which is larger and less definite, the failing becomes a serious drawback to his usefulness. He is apt to waver in his political views, and is not adhesive in his political attachments. He cannot bear to lose any part of his freedom to go where he wills, and to do what he likes, and is loath to subject it to the exigencies of party, and to the interference of other men. Moreover, his political mind is somewhat nebulous and indistinct. Sir Francis Bell was for twenty-four years in one House or the other of the Colonial Parliament ; and was for five years Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was also for some time in the Provincial Councils of Wellington and Otago respectively. He has also been thrice a member of New Zealand Ministries. In Parliament, his speeches were generally good, and occasionally eloquent, though, like his writings, they would have been more effective if they had been more condensed.

The proceedings of the New Zealand Parliament of 1854 are a painful illustration of time wasted, force frittered away, and a great opportunity lost. Acting-Governor Wynyard, or rather Mr. Attorney-General Swainson who pulled the strings behind the scenes, was mainly to blame for what took place. The delay in summoning the Legislature had aggravated the difficulties of the situation ; but that delay had given an opportunity for obtaining from the Secretary of State in England instructions as to the course to be followed in the event, which certainly should have been foreseen, of the House of Representatives requesting responsible

government. Advantage had not been taken of that opportunity ; and at a critical juncture everything was allowed to drift. The only measure which the New Zealand Government had prepared in the course of two years for the consideration of Parliament was a Dower Bill consisting of five lines. The importance of due preparation must be measured by the then existing circumstances of the Colony. The provinces severally were distinct settlements, scarcely known to each other, and without any partnership of social and mercantile interest. Intercourse between them at that time was difficult and most infrequent. As an instance of that infrequency I may say that a month elapsed before the first proceedings of the Parliament at Auckland were known at Christ Church in the province of Canterbury, and probably a few days longer at Dunedin in Otago. The trouble and the cost of bringing together at one place the representatives of all parts of the Colony were enormous ; and the sacrifices which those representatives were called on to make in leaving their homes and occupations for several months were very great. Moreover the whole time was out of joint. General government had been reduced almost to an absurdity. The colonial coachman had thrown away his reins ; and the six provincial horses were pulling, each its own way ; there was no room for the native race inside or outside the coach. Politically, all was confusion ; and care seemed to be taken to cause the first Parliament to be the means of making that confusion worse confounded. At first there were gleams of hope. The House of Representatives politely asked for responsible government ; and the Acting-Governor affably offered to add three members of the House to his Executive Council. The House gratefully accepted the offer ; and it was arranged that the old members of the Executive Council should resign, when

called on to do so by the Acting-Governor, and on the condition that a suitable pension should be granted to them upon their retirement. Mr. FitzGerald, Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Frederick A. Weld, afterwards Sir Frederick Weld, became the new members of this hybrid council. I have already noticed Mr. FitzGerald and Mr. Sewell ; and as Sir Frederick Weld in 1864 took a more prominent part in politics, I defer my notice of him till I come to that year. It is most improbable that these gentlemen thought that such an anomalous arrangement could succeed even during the session. In fact their explanation subsequently was that they were led by verbal understandings to believe that the Acting-Governor would call on the old members of the Executive Council to resign as soon as the new members advised him to do so, on condition, of course, that a Pension Bill would be passed. Like many other verbal understandings, this alleged one brought with it disappointment. After a painful experience, for a few weeks, of carrying on their backs the politically dead body of old officialdom, Messrs. FitzGerald, Sewell, and Weld resigned. The intrigues of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and the secret advice of the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, had probably much to do with this collapse of the new ministers who were still enjoying the confidence of a large majority of the House of Representatives. Much also was due to the weakness of the Acting-Governor ; but it is only fair to say that Mr. FitzGerald, the so-called Premier, contributed to the cause of his own failure, by his flightiness and want of tact and judgment. There was, moreover, the latent adverse element in the House of strong Provincial feeling, which was awakening into life at the first symptoms of the growth of a substantial Colonial Government. Provincialists cared nothing for the old Executive, but they were determined to resist to the utmost any

real ministry which did not altogether play into their hands. The collapse of Parliament and of a Colonial Ministry was the opportunity of Provincial Councils and of Superintendents. Mr. FitzGerald, though a Superintendent, was not an extreme Provincialist; neither were his colleagues; but there was an extreme Provincial party represented by Dr. Featherston. Dr. Featherston had been prevented by illness from taking any part in the proceedings of the House; but he was watching what was going on; and at his signal armed men would spring up like the clansmen of Roderick Dhu. It was probably this known antagonism, awaiting its opportunity, that alarmed the new ministers, and convinced them that they would need all the status and strength of really responsible position to carry their measures through the Legislature. Be that as it may, the catastrophe soon came. Colonel Wynyard prorogued the Parliament for a fortnight; and the prorogation took place amid sensational scenes of discreditable excitement. The Legislative Council, I may observe, had taken no active part in the crisis except by passing a resolution approving of responsible government, and adding that the Acting-Governor had done in the matter as much as he could do. I may also state that Mr. Thomas Bartley, a barrister residing at Auckland, had been appointed a member of the Legislative Council, and had been added to the Executive Council for the purpose of representing the Ministry in the Legislative Council.

After the interval of a fortnight, the Parliamentary curtain was again uplifted for another tragic farce. A promiscuous ministry was got together by Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who took care, however, to omit himself, and was added to the original Executive Council. The Vice-Regal speech opening the second session, and unanimously approved, it was said, by that Council, was

the climax of absurdity. Among other schemes, it was proposed to make the Legislative Council elective, to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for the Province of Auckland, to enable Superintendents to dissolve Provincial Councils, and to form a kind of federal convention apart from the General Legislature. Colonel Wynyard and his old Executive went in for revolution. They had scrupled to introduce complete responsible government pending the receipt of instructions from the Secretary of State ; but they did not scruple without his knowledge to propose to the Legislature a policy which not only in some respects was *ultra vires*, but which, if passed, would destroy the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the ink of which was scarcely dry. This piece of extravagant folly was received by the House of Representatives with deserved contempt. A vote of want of confidence was forthwith passed by a majority of two to one ; and the House determined to grant supplies to the old Executive till responsible government could be completely established, and to pass certain urgent measures. Twelve Bills were scrambled through in a fortnight ; the most important was one which practically gave to Superintendents and Provincial Councils the entire administration of the waste lands of the Crown in their respective provinces. The session of 1855 was merely nominal ; it was only held with a view to passing an Appropriation Act ; and it was officially announced that it would be followed by an immediate dissolution. Only five or six members from the southern settlements attended at the session. Two important incidents occurred before its close. The Secretary of State intimated that the Home Ministers had no objection to the establishment of responsible government in New Zealand, provided that the old executive councillors got suitable pensions ; and the new Governor, Colonel Thomas Gore

Browne, afterwards Sir Thomas Gore Browne, arrived in the Colony, and in proroguing the Legislature announced his intention to carry on the Government by responsible advisers. A proclamation was shortly afterwards issued dissolving the Legislature, and a general election ensued.

In the meantime the paralysis of the Colonial Government and of the Colonial Parliament had caused much mischief. On the one hand, the irregular way in which provincial institutions had been forced into precocity, though at first it gave them the show of great success, sapped their natural strength, and ultimately shortened their existence. A conflict between colonial and provincial institutions began, and never ceased till, eighteen years afterwards, the provincial institutions succumbed; but then nothing satisfied the conqueror short of their absolute extinction, and thus a great political disaster was consummated. The prudent and wise course would have been to have adapted the institutions to changed circumstances; but prudence and wisdom are rarely listened to in the flush of long-contested victory. It is impossible to measure the enormous damage which public interests have suffered from the continuance of the conflict and from its result. Had provincial institutions been brought into force constitutionally and under legitimate direction, there would have been co-operation where there was discord, and there would now be better local self-government throughout New Zealand. The two political forces, colonial and provincial, should have been adjusted to each other on some general plan, and have been made to work together towards one common end—the advancement of the whole country, and not have been allowed to act in mutual antagonism,—in fact, to be pitted against each other in a duel of death. The problem must, under any circumstances,

have been extremely difficult ; but the first steps taken in the attempt to solve it made it practically almost insoluble. The sword at last may be said to have cut the knot.

On the other hand, the Native question began anew to grow into a formidable difficulty. The increasing alienation of native land under the system of land-purchases by the Crown, the virtual exclusion of the natives from representative institutions, and the growing want of local government in native districts intermingled with, or bordering on, European settlements, led, on the part of many tribes, to the Native Land League and to the Native King Movement. The Natives felt that they were gradually becoming landless and outlawed. I do not mean to say for one moment that they were treated with intentional injustice, or were an oppressed race. All the land they sold was fairly paid for, and none was bought without the consent of the owners. Much also had been done to provide them with courts of justice adapted to their special wants. The chief fault lay in the constitutional system which failed to provide them with suitable means of local and general government. The proper supply of that primary want would, I do not doubt, have soon led to the adequate protection of their interests as landowners by means which would have been more effective than those of a Land League, and not antagonistic to the progress of colonization and to the welfare of both races. As it was, the Land League and the Native King were, throughout a large portion of native territory in the North Island, the symbol of national self-preservation. The Land League was first formed in 1854 among some of the Taranaki tribes, for the purpose of preventing any further sale of native land ; and in 1856 this league and the sphere of its influence were largely extended. The "King Move-

ment" began in 1856 contemporaneously with the extension of the League, and was on the face of it intended to consolidate the league as well as to impersonate self-government.

Although it would probably have been impossible to avert altogether, by timely measures in respect of Native government, the outbreak of Native difficulties, I venture to believe that prudent policy in the direction of that government would have in a large degree restricted the extent and mitigated the pressure of those difficulties. The critical time was during the introduction and first establishment of the Constitution of 1853, during the transition of power from the hands of the Governor to the hands of the Colonists; and three years were then allowed to pass away without any real endéavour to make proper provision for Native government. As soon as representative institutions were supplemented by responsible administration, efforts were made to remedy this serious neglect, but, in the meantime, the loss of much precious time had aggravated the evil, and had greatly increased the difficulty of its cure. Moreover, other circumstances, to which I shall take future occasion to allude, intervened to make these efforts abortive, and to plunge the country into a protracted civil war. Again, but in this case with terrible reality, the sword was called on to cut the knot.

Governor Gore Browne landed at Auckland on the 6th of September, 1855. He was an officer of distinction, having commanded the 41st Regiment during the Afghan campaign of 1842. He was appointed to New Zealand from the government of St. Helena. The change did not hold out an agreeable prospect to any one who disliked troublesome work, but Sir Thomas Gore Browne was not a man of that kind. He was always ready to do his duty conscientiously and with

quiet determination. Naturally simple and retiring, he was quick, intelligent, and had great moral courage. He was a high-toned English gentleman, endowed with "that chastity of honour which feels a stain like a wound." His weak points were that his mind lacked robustness, and that he had a too nervous temperament, one almost femininely sensitive. He felt more than he reasoned. He could never be coerced to do what he thought wrong, but he was apt to be misled by adroit persuasion. And his chivalrous loyalty to those with whom he had once made common cause was unquestionable. Always willing to sacrifice himself, and to bear more than his own share of the burden, he would sooner cut off his right hand than play fast and loose with his allies. His soul abhorred meanness and all duplicity. The misfortune of Sir Thomas Gore Browne was that his administration in New Zealand was not wholly based on the responsible system. When he first established responsible government, he felt himself bound to except what he considered as included in imperial questions, namely, the purchase of native land, and other matters directly affecting the native race. This exception, I think, was a mistake, but, under the circumstances, it was very pardonable; and I am bound to say that my present view of it has been formed by the light of what afterwards took place, and not by what existed at the time. The Natives were not then represented in the Legislature; and, looking at the relations subsisting between the natives and the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi, and in other ways, it seemed at that time more reasonable that the Governor, as the representative of the Crown, should directly deal with matters specially affecting the natives, than that dealing should devolve on men virtually chosen, from time to time, by the majority of the House of Representatives. The original

mistake lay in not properly providing for Native representation ; but, even independently of that, I believe that it was a mistake to try to separate responsibility and power ; for, whatever nominal arrangements might be made, the Governor could have no real power unless he had also, what he had not, the command of the purse-strings ; and the Ministers, as the representatives of the



Sir Thomas Gore Browne.

Colonists, would practically be held responsible for any serious mischance resulting to the Colony from the independent action of the Governor, for native questions also, more or less, intimately affected the Colonists ; and, on any serious point of difference with the Governor, the Ministers would not only be bound to remonstrate, but, if he persisted in his course, also to resign. The

confusion of two incongruous systems is fatal to good government. For these reasons, it would have been better at that time to entrust the administration of all native affairs, like all other affairs, to responsible Ministers. The Secretary of State, however, to whom the question was referred, agreed with the Governor, and the exception was confirmed. The Governor did his best to make this two-headed system a success, but he could not do impossibilities. He would have been a good Governor of a Crown Colony ; and he would have been a good Governor of a Colony with responsible government ; but he could not be both at the same time. By the way, I may observe that it is a mistake to think, as many still think, that the Governor of a constitutional Colony has little to do, and that an ordinary man can well enough discharge that duty. Setting aside the question of social functions, it is no easy task to hold the balance fairly between two or more contending parties, and to give responsible government fair play. Great knowledge of constitutional principles and of human nature, great tact, good judgment, and strong self-control are essential to the office. Moreover, there are innumerable opportunities of which a wise and experienced Governor can, even in politics, avail himself, while at the same time he remains strictly impartial, with great advantage to the whole country. Governor Sir Thomas Gore Browne failed, as I said before, in administering an impossible combination of two systems. The failure soon came. He allied himself, in a most important portion of his Native policy, with his responsible Ministers ; and, independently of the merits of the question itself, he necessarily became a party man, and his usefulness as a constitutional Governor was destroyed. The merits of the question will come, in their proper place, under consideration. For the present purpose I

need only refer to the two-fold system of government as the root of the evil. Whatever opinion is come to on the whole subject, I cannot conclude this short general sketch of Sir Thomas Gore Browne in connection with his government of New Zealand without bearing witness to his singleness of heart, his self-devotion to what he held to be his duty, and to the many sterling and attrac-



Sir Edward William Stafford, G.C.M.G.

tive qualities of his character. Sir Thomas Gore Browne, I regret to add, died in England in April, 1887.

The General Election of 1855 brought into the House of Representatives some new members who afterwards took distinguished parts in the politics of New Zealand. Among them was Mr. Edward William Stafford, now Sir Edward William Stafford, G.C.M.G. He was at the

time Superintendent of the Province of Nelson, and was looked upon as a rising man; but no one then would have ventured to predict that he would be twice Prime Minister of New Zealand, within the next thirteen years, for periods of five and four years respectively. Superficially viewed, Sir Edward Stafford would not be thought to be a man likely to have great public influence. His faults are outward, and it needs a closer search to find out his latent fund, which he has in large measure, of political ability. He talks too much, puts himself too much in the foreground, and is wanting in suavity of manner. But behind these rather repellent features there is in him a large reserve of genuine public worth. It is not that he has unusual talents, but that those he has are suitably proportioned to each other, and are so well combined as to ensure their greatest usefulness. And after all, proportion is the secret of success, because, in other words, proportion is the due adjustment of cause to effect. Sir Edward Stafford has a well-balanced mind, characterized by what is called the "golden mean," that rare and valuable statesmanlike quality. Cautious without timidity, bold without rashness, self-confident without jealousy of others, and not unwilling to take good advice, fond of personal power, but careful to use it legitimately, he has good judgment, a tenacious memory, a broad grasp of politics, and a fair knowledge of men. He showed discrimination of character in choosing colleagues, and in making public appointments, and he understood and rarely swerved from constitutional principles. He was a very capable administrator, and, in Parliament, he was the best leader of his party, when he was in power, that has been known in New Zealand. He was too voluble to be eloquent; but his speeches, on great occasions, were often effective for their clearness, their argumentative power, and their breadth of scope;

although in general debate he was not careful enough to avoid irrelevant matter, sophism, verbiage, and misconstruction of his opponents. His political knowledge was not deep, but it was remarkable for its capability for practical use. He was clever in making a little information go a long way ; he could skim, better than most men, over thin ice ; and when, as it did sometimes, the ice broke under him, few could recover themselves with better assurance, and make the fall appear as a part of the performance. His politics, like himself, were characterized by moderation. He would have done excellent service, had there been a clear field before him, in adjusting the mutual relations of colonial and provincial institutions. Fully appreciating the respective advantages of general and local self-government, he would have been the last man to turn their forces against each other. His object would have been to secure the unity of the Colony, while he gave ample local power to its outlying parts. Unfortunately, when he came into power, the field was already occupied by contending parties, and he was forced to range himself on the side of the colonial party, whose cause on the whole he thought was best. The question at issue was whether the Colony should be divided into six (so to say) small republics, or the six provinces should form one colony. But that question had been forced into issue by the anomalous course taken by Sir George Grey in introducing the Constitution, and by the injudicious action of some of the provinces themselves. Sir Edward Stafford foresaw what would, sooner or later, take place ; and, in his time, tried to effect a compromise, but no compromise would then be accepted ; and when, in 1845, the colonial party, not then led by him, determined on provincial abolition, he joined, as one in the ranks, in that summary proceeding. Had he been then Premier, it is probable that his better

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judgment, acting on his official responsibility, might have made him pause at the eleventh hour, and induced him to propose modification instead of destruction. But it is doubtful whether even his influence, in that hour of excitement and exasperation, could have changed the result.

Sir Edward Stafford, on the whole, held sensible views on the Native question ; but again, most unfortunately, during his temporary absence from New Zealand in 1859, events took place which committed him to a particular course. I am not aware that he differed from his colleagues as to that course, though there was an impression in some quarters that he did so. But, at all events, he did not consider any such difference, if it did exist, sufficient to justify him in resigning and in breaking up his Ministry at a critical time. Although he was in that instance, as he always was, thoroughly loyal to his colleagues, I think it probable, judging only from a general view of his public character, that the course to which I refer, namely, that which led to the Waitara war, would have been materially modified, if he had been able to be present when the adoption of that course was considered by the Governor and by his Ministers.

As a financier, Sir Edward Stafford, without any pretension to the status of an expert, was sound and practical. His mind was so constituted that it could grasp leading principles, and his common sense, of which, notwithstanding some foibles, he had a considerable share, enabled him to give good effect to those principles. And, in that way, the satisfactory solution of many complicated problems of political economy will often be found. It is, however, a rare faculty to be able to throw off technicalities and extraneous matter, and, seizing hold of the pith of a question, to deal with it simply on the sure ground of truth. That is the difficulty, for we are always apt to stray from the right path and seek

great things which are misleading, overlooking small things which point out the right way.

Sir Edward Stafford had also a wonderful power of doing public work. He was not one of those who take a pride in perpetually poring over official work, and who are always saying how much they have to do. He was naturally rather indolent, but not so much that he could not be, when the occasion required it, industrious in the true sense of the term, namely, doing work that was needed and bore fruit. He had a good eye for the general features of a country, and he could broadly sketch out the line which should be taken, leaving it to others to fill up and connect the particular details.

Another thing remarkable in Sir Edward Stafford was that, with all his success as a premier in a party sense, he failed altogether as a good leader of his party in opposition. In the latter position, he was apathetic and inactive. His followers really led him, and made him go first in spite of himself. When he lost official power, he was like Samson shorn of his locks. I attribute this singular fact to a lack of energy and combativeness in his mind. Once in possession, he would fight well to hold the citadel, but, when he lost it, he took no pains to lay siege to it again. Out of office he knew not how to labour and to wait. Possibly, after a long experience of office, he became somewhat tired of politics, and it may be that he never very much cared about them, though the dislike of defeat was strong enough to keep him to his post. If so, it is a pity that this should have been the case, for there is no doubt that Sir Edward Stafford has in him great capabilities for political usefulness, and is essentially a statesman.

Another very eminent man, elected to the House of Representatives in 1855, and a member of Sir Edward Stafford's first Ministry, was Mr. Christopher William

Richmond, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Zealand. He was a member of the English Bar, skilled in pleadings ; and had then lately become a settler in the Province of Taranaki, or New Plymouth, as it was then called. Mr. Richmond was a man of large intellect, original thought, and high culture. His mind was quick, subtle, and penetrating. He had an almost instinctive power of thoroughly grasping a subject, and of extracting its essence. He read much ; and what is more, he digested what he read. His faculty of reasoning was of a high order, though occasionally more disposed to draw fine distinctions and philosophical theories than to rest upon great principles and practical conclusions. He sometimes forgot that this world is not a system of pure mathematics, but one in which for practical purpose constant allowance must be made for variation and parallax. He was a man more fitted for the study than for the rough work of political life. Earnestness pervaded, I may say saturated his whole nature ; and every word and act came straight from the heart. His speeches and his writings were admirable for their force of expression ; he was fastidious in the choice of appropriate language ; and he was a master of phrases, sparkling as crystals. In controversy Mr. Richmond was a formidable antagonist. He had great logical power, he deeply studied his subject, and, from strength of earnestness and feeling, made controversy, not a mere passage of arms, but a struggle as it were for life. At the same time, there is no doubt that this warmth of temper placed him at disadvantage in an encounter with a cool and clever opponent. And Mr. Richmond's sensitive nature was too easily irritated into imprudence by cutting and sarcastic invective. Mr. Richmond was most laborious in the performance of his duties ; and, though he was far from strong, he was incessantly at work. A

powerful mind enshrined in a frail body, though in some respects a painful, is always an ennobling sight ; the lustre which shines within and without the feeble covering shows more vividly the immortal part of man, and the possible heroism of life on earth. And it is more than probable that this comparatively excessive action of mind, far from wearing out the body, tends for some



Mr. C. W. Richmond.

time to its preservation ; certainly, it is not uncommon to see instances in which the mind seems, by its own inherent force, to conquer physical ills, and to supply out of its superabundant energy, strength for its weaker material frame. The case of Mr. Richmond was one of this kind. For many years he suffered from asthma ; and it is wonderful that in his attenuated frame, worn

by frequent pain and sleepless nights, the mind should have been able to bear the strain of the highest intellectual duties, political and judicial, especially the latter, which all agree he fulfilled with remarkable ability.

Although it must, I think, be admitted that on the whole Mr. Richmond was an able politician, I hold a strong opinion that, as Native Minister, he became the head and front of a policy which unnecessarily brought on the Waitara war, and which entailed on the Colony for many years enormous mischief. I shall take another occasion to criticize that policy, but, in the meantime, I wish to refer shortly to some qualities in his character, which, as I believe, wrecked him politically, so far at least as that policy was concerned, and forced him downward into deeper and deeper depths of wrong. Mr. Richmond, as I have said, had strong feelings, and had not much knowledge of the world. His short experience, in 1856, of New Zealand had been within the small Province of Taranaki, where a handful of settlers, grouped at New Plymouth, and unable, through no fault of their own, to settle on land, felt, naturally enough, an intense conviction that they were sacrificed by the Government of the Colony to what they thought persistent neglect, and cowardly concessions to the Taranaki natives. They also strongly believed that what they considered a vigorous policy would be a quick and sure remedy for the ills which they suffered, and would in the end be beneficial to the Natives. The main feature of this policy was that the Crown should purchase land from its Native owners without reference to the dissent of those whose claims the Governor should not think fit to recognize. In other words, the buyer must be sole judge of the validity of his purchase ; and, if necessary, enforce his decision by arms. Mr. Richmond threw himself, heart and

soul, into this local policy ; and the strength of his feelings was intensified by his surroundings. Taranaki was his home, and the home of many relatives, connections, and friends ; it is only natural that, unintentionally, he should have been biassed by such associations. These unfortunate conditions under which he came into public life gave his mind a mistaken idea of the Native Land Question ; and all his great faculties were forthwith combined, with the purest intentions, in the promotion of what he believed to be not only the great cause of Taranaki, but of the whole of New Zealand. Once embarked in a cause, Mr. Richmond soon became an enthusiast ; he was equally prepared to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. He was not influenced by mean or selfish motives ; but, in the assertion of what he considered a grand principle, he was ready to throw aside all practical considerations. Mr. Richmond was like the Russian Emperor who, when asked to state what route the proposed railway line from St. Petersburg to Moscow should take, dipped his pen in ink and drew a straight line across the map from one town to the other. Somewhat similarly, there are doctors who cure the disease and kill the patient.

There is no doubt that Mr. William Richmond was constitutionally more fitted for the Judicial Bench than for the struggle of political parties. As a Judge of the Supreme Court in New Zealand he was eminently distinguished for his legal knowledge, and for the other great intellectual and moral qualities which constitute a wise and just Judge. I am sorry to say that he did not long hold that office, the duties of which he so admirably discharged. He died on August 3rd, 1895, universally regretted and esteemed. I propose now to give short sketches of his brother, Mr. James Richmond, and of his brother-in-law, Sir Harry Atkinson, both of whom held high political offices in the Colony ; and then to add a

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brief general notice of this remarkable family, all the members of which have now either died, or retired from politics, a family which has been inseparably connected for the last forty years with the political history of New Zealand.

The session of 1865 was held at Wellington, to which place the seat of government had been removed. In June, a month before the Parliament was assembled, Mr. James Richmond was added to the Ministry. Mr. James Richmond is the brother of Mr. William Richmond, who was in the Stafford Ministry of 1856. There is some likeness between the characters of both ; but Mr. James Richmond can only be said to resemble his brother in miniature. His character has not the striking originality of thought, the great mental power, and the deep earnestness which distinguish Mr. William Richmond. Mr. James Richmond is talented without genius, and philosophic without enthusiasm. At the same time, his ability is above the average, and his mind is cultured, and well stored with information. He writes excellent English, and his speeches, in spite of a rather hesitating delivery, are pointed and forcible. He has not, however, the faculties which secure the highest distinction in political life. His mind is too bent on refining, and is of that wavering order which hesitates when promptitude and decision are needed. He is not the man to lead a party or to be a great administrator. His political opinions generally were moderate and sensible ; but, unfortunately, they were, in native affairs, characterized by that fatal idea, too prevalent in the Richmond family, that the native race needed to be made, once for all, loyal by compulsion, and that peace, to be permanent, must be conquered.

After the defeat of the Weld Government in October, 1865, Mr. James Richmond was in the Stafford Ministry

from August, 1866, to June, 1868. He has been a member of the Legislative Council for some years since 1883, but resigned his seat lately, and has retired from public life.

Major Atkinson, better known now as Sir Harry Atkinson, has taken a large part in New Zealand politics. He is a Taranaki settler, and, as I have before said, a



Mr. James Richmond and Grandchild.

brother-in-law of Mr. William Richmond. As Major Atkinson he did good military service in the local Taranaki forces during the Waitara war. He became a Minister of the Crown in 1864. He is a notable instance of political development. Hidden germs in his nature have grown, under the force and pressure of his surroundings, into distinctive and prominent qualities, which have

raised him to political greatness. One characteristic feature soon showed itself. He was intensely self-reliant. He has great moral courage, and has great faith in himself. He was ready, as Sydney Smith said of Lord John Russell, to command the Channel Fleet, or to perform an operation for the stone. At first and for a long time his political motto was, "Audacity, audacity, always audacity." But it must not be thought that there was no foundation for his self-trust ; on the contrary there was to some extent a solid substratum of fact. His mind had not largeness of grasp, and was not highly cultured ; but it had more than average ability, great tenacity of purpose, and a wonderful power of concentration in respect of any subject with which it had to deal at the time. Let Major Atkinson have his special object in view, and there sprang up, as it were of spontaneous growth, in him the faculties and the powers enabling him to succeed in its attainment. The probable explanation is that he had boldness, determination, and energy, as well as great ability. But what has mainly given him high position as a statesman is his practical knowledge of public finance. The member of a New Zealand Ministry who is not merely a mechanical Treasurer, but who has a knowledge of the theory and practice of finance, is in reality, whether or not he is called Premier, the master of the Ministry. And this financial status which Major Atkinson has long held forcibly illustrates his possession of those qualities which often achieve greatness. Major Atkinson, in 1874 (in the absence of the Colonial Treasurer), without any previous training in, or any special knowledge of, finance, undertook the charge of preparing and delivering a Budget. He determined to succeed, and, at the cost, no doubt, of great trouble and labour, he did succeed. Since that time he has spared no effort to make himself

master of finance ; and his praiseworthy ambition has been well rewarded, inasmuch as from 1876 to 1884, with the exception of two years, he has been continuously Colonial Treasurer, and, practically, the mainspring of the Government. He cannot, however, be properly called a great financier. His knowledge of the higher principles of political economy was rather superficial and unsound,



Sir Harry Atkinson, K.C.M.G.

and he is too disposed to think that finance is made for his Ministry, and not his Ministry for finance. But he certainly had got mastery of details, and experience of the maze which surrounds finance in New Zealand, enough to enable him to overawe competitors, and to hold for several years the keys of the position. Major Atkinson was not a popular man, in the general sense of

the term; he was rather dictatorial in his manner, and was occasionally abrupt in speech; moreover, he was somewhat awkward when he wished to be conciliatory. But these errors lay on the surface; his chief faults arose out of his exceeding love of office; he subordinated policy and measures to tenure of place. Nor was he singular in this respect. It is this terrible attractive force in the Treasury Bench which does much to spoil statesmen, which often enervates a Ministry, and makes an Opposition factious. Major Atkinson was a member of several Ministries, and also Premier more than once. In 1890 his health became so bad as to incapacitate him for work, though still nominal Premier. He had been created by Her Majesty, in 1888, K.C.M.G. In January, 1891, he was appointed by the Governor, Speaker of the Legislative Council, his Ministry having resigned owing to the adverse result of the General Election in December, 1890. This transfer, of course, necessitated his retirement from the Premiership and from the House of Representatives. His health, which had been bad, became worse, and his death was sudden and tragic. He died in the precincts of the Council Chamber, from which he had just retired. He actually died while on duty. "I must obey my marching orders," were his last words. He was lion-hearted to the last. He had devoted himself to the public interests of the Colony from 1860 to the day of his death, and has left an ennobling example of faithful and distinguished service. Mr. William Richmond, with whom he was closely connected, died in August, 1895. We may pause for a moment for a final notice of the Richmond-Atkinson family, for they were one domestically and as public men. I am sorry to say that death and retirement have now removed them from the busy scene of their labours. They were a remarkable band of brothers. Some may well look on them as the Maccabees of New

Zealand. There was Simon ^{Maccabeus,} the man of counsel, Judge Richmond ; and there was Judas Maccabeus, the soldier and statesman, Major Atkinson ; another brother, Mr. James Richmond, was Colonial Secretary in 1865, and from 1866 to 1869. A third Richmond was for a short time Superintendent of Taranaki. More than forty years ago two or three of them, as very young men, led by the spirit of adventure, and, perhaps, by the hope of finding more available room for the exercise of their undoubted abilities, left England on their way to New Plymouth, where the family shortly afterwards settled. Living in the obscurity of that small and isolated village, "far from the madding crowd," little could they have thought of the stirring times at hand, and of the prominent parts they were destined to fill on the political stage. The lurid light of the Taranaki war in 1861 brought them fully into public view. For a generation, what they said, wrote, and did, helped much to form a most important part of New Zealand history. Whatever difference of opinion exists, and a great difference does exist, as to the merits of their public policy, no one suspects their political integrity, or doubts the zeal, industry, and talents which they devoted to a cause which they and many others at the time honestly believed to be the best, on the whole, for the interests of both races in New Zealand.

CHAPTER IV.

Sir William Fox—Sir William Fitzherbert—Mr. Alfred Domett—
Sir John Hall.

MR. WILLIAM FOX (Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G.) was elected, in 1855, to the House of Representatives, and became for many years the great political rival of Sir Edward Stafford. There was a remarkable difference between their two characters in Parliament. Sir Edward Stafford distinguished himself as the leader of the Government, while Sir William Fox was eminent as the leader of the Opposition. It is not difficult, by a study of both characters, to account for this difference. Sir Edward Stafford was not actively pugnacious, but had considerable powers of passive resistance. He was better in defence than in assault. "*Uti possidetis*" was his motto. Sir William Fox had the converse qualities. Aggressiveness was the law of his nature. He was the Hotspur of Opposition. Impetuous, vehement, unrivalled in sarcasm and in force of invective, and always eager for the fray, he had at his command eloquence, humour, political knowledge, debating power, and all the artillery of attack. He was the very man to be placed in the forefront of a party fight, when, as in the case of the Opposition, there is comparatively small responsibility, and great room for brilliant execution. But these qualities in a great measure incapacitated him for success as Prime Minister, in whom discretion,

self-restraint, reticence, tact, and other great negative qualities are essential. The possession of office wrought a wonderful change in Sir William Fox. He felt himself out of his native element ; and his whole existence became unnatural. He followed where he should have led, was unable to control his colleagues, and lost touch of his party. It was only in occasional flashes of fight



Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G.

that the Fox of other days was seen at all ; and he never was himself again till he was once more on the Bohemian benches of the Opposition.

Sir William Fox was an English barrister, but he seldom, if ever, practised at the bar, either at home or in the Colony. Able and well-educated, he had quick perception and great intelligence. He had travelled much, and

had been a close observer of men and things. He had the pen, as well as the pencil, of an artist, and his power in graphic description was remarkable ; what he wrote was always lively and forcible. His satirical faculty was great, and, though naturally good-natured, he often was, both in writing and in speech, too bitter, too sarcastic, too violent, and too fond of personal denunciation. His main failings were his impulsiveness and his fighting proclivities. Impulsiveness made him extreme in his views for the time, and often indiscreet in his action. Combativeness made him unnecessarily enemies. It has been said of the charge at Balaclava that it was a grand spectacle, but that it was not war ; and it may be said of episodes in his life that they were brilliant, but not statesmanlike. On the whole, however, it is certain that his public services throughout a long career were numerous and distinguished. For many years he fought nobly in the cause of political freedom, and on many occasions he had resisted oppression and secured legislative and administrative reforms. Sir William Fox was much liked by those with whom he was politically allied. He was frank, considerate, obliging, and a steadfast friend. Unfortunately, his undue tendency to extremes had sometimes caused him to show strong animosity against those who opposed him. It is somewhat cynical to say that, in politics, friends should be treated as if one day they may become enemies ; and enemies should be treated as if they may become friends. Still, it is not wise to believe that nothing wrong can come from a friend, and nothing right from an enemy.

The political life of Sir William Fox has undergone great changes. Probably the greatest change was that which took place in his Provincial views. In 1855 he was an ardent Provincialist ; in 1875 he assisted at Provincial Abolition. Like Cæsar, "in his mantle muffling up his face," Provincialism might also, when Sir William

Fox dealt a blow, have muttered the memorable words, "*Et tu, Brute!*" Inconsistency in the views of public men is not always blamable. We must first define what we mean by the term, inconsistency. Provincialism, for instance, was the means to an end, namely, local self-government. There was no inconsistency, in the real sense of the term, in modifying Provincial institutions from time to time, according to the change of circumstances, so as best to secure the great end in view. It was unreasonable, however, to argue that the sudden destruction of the whole provincial system was conducive to better local self-government, and subsequent experience has proved the folly of that argument. Those who had all along been fighting against the system, as it had been allowed to develop itself, were, as I have said before, carried away into excess in the hour of victory. But this apology cannot serve Sir William Fox, who had for a long time been a thorough Provincialist. He was not, however, naturally inconsistent or insincere. The true explanation is, that his impulsive nature threw him, heart and soul, into certain views; and when the inexorable logic of facts and change of conditions proved to him the necessity of alteration, he did not think of modification, but rushed into opposite extremes. He was never moderate. And really, after all, it is in the leaden casket of moderation that the valuable treasure of success is found. Perhaps the best defence of the system of party political warfare consists in the fact that the contention of conflicting parties tends on the whole to the avoidance of extremes and to the adoption of the golden mean.

I cannot conclude this sketch of the general character of Sir William Fox without adverting to the prominent part he has taken for many years in the cause of total abstinence from intoxicating liquor. There are some who look on him in that respect as an enthusiast in a social craze; and many more, no doubt, disapprove of

the means used by him in promoting a praiseworthy object. But history often shows that what has been called a craze has at last become a great social reform. And zeal must not be scorned, because sometimes it out-runs discretion. The cause of sobriety is one which closely involves the welfare of mankind. All honour is due to Sir William Fox for the earnest and unselfish devotion which he has shown to that cause, through good report and evil report, and through what is sometimes perhaps even worse than evil report, careless indifference. His reward was the feeling that he had done good to his fellow-man ; and his hope was to do more. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1879. He retired from public life several years before his death in 1893.

Another prominent advocate of Provincialism, Mr. William Fitzherbert, afterwards Sir William Fitzherbert, came to Auckland, in 1856, from the Province of Wellington as a member of the House of Representatives. His character was cast in a peculiar mould. Although distinguished for mental capacity and for political foresight, he had not the qualities which instinctively attract the sympathy and gain the goodwill of others. He was too shut up within himself ; he neither gave nor asked for confidence. His influence, however, was great. Able and astute, he was the Ulysses of statesmen ; and although, openly, he was not one of the leaders of men, he did much secretly, to sway their action. No one could fail to recognize his intellectual power and the sagacity of his counsel. Moreover, he was versed in political intrigue. There was mystery about him which added to his influence. He was the Great Unknown. It cannot be said that he was a silent man, for he was not reticent in the common sense of the term ; but his words often concealed his thoughts, and even his deeds were not always an index to his purposes. His inner self was

unseen and unheard, though from time to time it made itself felt. Often plausible and persuasive, he was seldom natural. He was a very good actor, but even in his acting he could not be altogether unartificial. His speeches, however, rank high as a public performance. He never tore "a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings"; and few could better



Sir William Fitzherbert.

assume virtuous indignation, injured innocence, and hopeless consternation; or excel him in effective by-play. A great speech from Sir William Fitzherbert was an intellectual treat. During an exciting and critical debate, while opponents were violently attacking him, he would sit immovable, his eyes shut, and every muscle in his face as rigid as if it were cut in marble, apparently

asleep. But when he rose to reply the whole scene was changed. Without a note, and trusting to his memory, which, no doubt, from early training, never failed him on such occasions, he would answer, point by point, every speech of his opponents, covering them with ridicule and discredit, and apparently routing them by force of argument. It was no pleasing prospect to be followed by Sir William Fitzherbert. His debating power was wonderful, and he delighted in oral vivisection. His sarcasm, always acrid, was at times almost vitriolic. The faults in his speeches were that he was too wordy, too slow, and too digressive ; but he was, on the whole, logical and incisive, and the metaphors, of which he was always fond, were often telling, while his phrases were well chosen and expressive. Moreover, there were occasional passages remarkable for their breadth of view and for their philosophical truth.

Sir William Fitzherbert held the degree of Doctor of Medicine, but he never practised in New Zealand, where he lived for more than forty years. He has held, from time to time, several high colonial and provincial offices. He has also been Speaker in the House of Representatives, and Speaker of the Legislative Council. As the Minister in charge of the Treasury he showed large knowledge of finance ; and when he was in England in 1868 on a special mission for the purpose of consolidating the public debts of New Zealand, and for the settlement of financial claims and counter-claims on the part of the home country and the Colony against each other, he rendered great and good service. As a Speaker of each House of Parliament he proved himself able and impartial. Sir William Fitzherbert, in 1887, visited England as one of the representatives of New Zealand at the Colonial Conference, and his ability attracted considerable attention.

He died in New Zealand, on February 9th, 1891, while he was Speaker of the Legislative Council.

Mr. Alfred Domett was first elected in 1855 to the House of Representatives. Mr. Domett, called to the English Bar in 1841, went out among the earliest settlers to Nelson in 1842. Before he became a member of the New Zealand Parliament Mr. Domett had held high



Mr. Alfred Domett, C.M.G.

offices in the public service of the Colony. He was appointed in 1848 Colonial Secretary of the southern portion of North Island and of the whole South Island, and in 1851 he was further appointed Civil Secretary of New Zealand. He held these offices conjointly till the introduction of the new Constitution in 1853. He then held the offices of Resident Magistrate and Commissioner

of Crown Lands in the district of Hawke's Bay, of which he had virtually the sole official management. Mr. Domett was a man of large mind, of intellect highly cultivated, and of great literary accomplishments. The prose writings contained in leading newspaper articles known to come from his pen, and in public documents, are remarkably well written, and convey clear thought and close argument in vigorous language. His poetry is of a high order. Fugitive pieces which he has written in magazines have been much admired, and the great merits of his standard poem, "Ranolf and Amohia," descriptive of the scenery of New Zealand, and of the habits, legends, and character of its Maori inhabitants, have been recognized by great authorities, among them by Browning, Tennyson, and Longfellow. In fact, he was more a poet than a politician. I am not one of those who think that the two characters are necessarily incompatible. The "certain unsoundness of mind" which Lord Macaulay ascribed in his essay on Milton to poets does not, I think, if it exists at all, disqualify them from public life. If

"Poets are all who love, who feel great truths
And tell them,"

I do not see why they should fail in the administration of public affairs. The proof, it may be said, lies in the fact that great poets have never become great statesmen. But that may have arisen from their want of inclination and leisure rather than from their want of ability. At all events, in the case of Mr. Domett, when I say that he was more a poet than a politician, I do not mean to convey the idea that his poetic qualities incapacitated him as a public man; far from it. He abounded in imaginative and creative power, in tender sensibility, in fine taste, in great aims, and in affluence of expression. But these

qualities are not repugnant to public capacity. What Mr. Domett failed in was as a politician in the parliamentary sense, namely, as a party man and as a Minister under responsible government. He was a hero-worshipper, and admired splendid autocracy. The seamy side of political life, as seen in the parliamentary system, was not congenial to his taste, and he was not fitted to work out what he regarded as a lower level of public service. As a public man, however, apart from a politician in the foregoing sense, Mr. Domett was, although a poet, greatly distinguished. I do not, in passing, wish to be misunderstood in what I have said on the subject of party government, which I look upon as the best practicable means on the whole to the end in view, namely, good administration. All I wish to show is, that in some cases there are great qualities for doing good public service, which fail in their application to the conditions of party government. Mr. Domett's was a case of this kind. Left as it were to himself, he did great and good work. The petition which he wrote in 1845 to Parliament for the recall of Governor Fitzroy was a most masterly document. Mr. Charles Buller, M.P., described it as a petition drawn with singular ability and industry, and giving a sound and wise view of the past history and actual condition of the Colony. In 1850 Mr. Domett compiled a classification of the laws of New Zealand—a standard and most valuable work. As chief Government officer in the new district of Hawke's Bay, 1854-1856, left without instructions and acting on his own responsibility, he did admirable service in his official capacity in maintaining the peace, and in administering the public lands of the district, and in generally promoting the welfare of the community of both races. At Nelson, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, he effected valuable reforms in the Land and Survey Offices. As

Prime Minister of the Colony in 1863 he devised and embodied, alone and unassisted, as the document itself shows, in a very able memorandum, a large scheme for the settlement and self-defence of New Zealand. This scheme, owing to dissensions in the Ministry and other causes, was never carried into effect. Its statesmanlike character is, I think, unimpeachable. As Secretary for Crown Lands of the Colony from 1864 to 1871, Mr. Domett showed great capacity for the fulfilment of very difficult duties. In 1870, when he held a seat in the Legislative Council, he was specially excepted, during his tenure of the office of Secretary for Crown Lands, from the law of Parliamentary disqualification. This was done for the avowed reason that, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Waste Lands, his assistance was so valuable. Mr. Domett was also for many years the mainstay of the General Assembly Library. He was, it may be said, the father of that institution; and it is mainly owing to his love of literature, and to his great ability in the organization and classification of a library, that the success of the institution, with comparatively small means, was so marked at the date of his departure from the Colony in 1871.

Mr. Domett has not a character which those who run can read. His are not the qualities which at once attract admiration, and fascinate attention. He does not put his best wares in his shop windows. Only those who penetrate the inner chambers of his mind can see its great powers, its wealth of information, and find themselves in the presence of genius. Fluent in writing, he is embarrassed in speech, and his inability to give full utterance to what he strongly feels leads to the impression that he is somewhat dictatorial and irritable, though in fact, beneath the surface there is depth of gentleness and good nature. Mr. Domett was made a

Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1880.

As a slight indication of the talents of Mr. Domett as a poet, I append some extracts from a contribution I wrote to "The Poets and the Poetry of the Century," edited by Mr. Alfred N. Miles, and published in that work :—

"Mr. Domett was highly gifted with the genius of true poetry. He had a quick and observant mind, a vivid and luminous imaginative descriptive power of a high order, a perfect mastery of the English language, a mind of great logical force, and a marvellous faculty of lucid expression. He was not a poet of the passions, but was rather indebted to subtle and brilliant intellectual power, inspired by the spirit of poesy. His defect, which was apparent in his latest work, 'Ranolf and Amohia,' was a tendency to diffusiveness. This defect is no doubt (for it is not found in his early poems) mainly attributable to his having been for so many years out of touch with the poetic world, and to his devotion during that time to political life, with only secret and casual worship of his Muse.

"Had Mr. Domett's life been so ordered as to allow him to have exclusively cultivated his talents as a poet, there is reason to believe that he might before he died have taken a place not far behind the greatest of our modern poets.

"At an early age, in 1832, Mr. Domett published some poems, which received favourable notice in *Fraser's Magazine*, and in 1833 he published his first small volume of poems. It was, however, in 1837 that he attracted attention to himself by verses which were published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of April in that year. These short-pieces were respectively entitled, 'Glee for Winter,'

‘Song for a Family Party,’ ‘The Portrait’ (of the Duke of Wellington), and ‘A Christmas Hymn.’ The critic, Christopher North himself, as chorus to these poems, showed his high sense of their merits. ‘Alfred Domett,’ he says, ‘a new name to our old ears—but he has the prime virtue of a song-writer—*a heart.*’ Again, ‘Words by the same fine-hearted Alfred Domett.’ ‘The Portrait,’ he considers are very ‘superior stanzas,’ ‘the best lines these we have seen’ on the subject. He greatly admires ‘A Christmas Hymn,’ and thinks its simple beauty is felt even the more after the magnificent stanzas of Milton’s Hymn on the morning of Christ’s nativity.

“It is remarkable that this Christmas Hymn by Mr. Domett has attracted much attention in America. An American correspondent of Mr. Domett wrote on May 23rd, 1875, that thirty years before Mr. Longfellow had found the ‘Christmas Hymn,’ which he thought much of, and inserted in a small volume which he then compiled. The writer added that the poem is reprinted in the newspaper every Christmas, and is found in most of the compilations of standard poetry. Below is an extract from a letter, August 23rd, 1877, from Mr. Longfellow, referring specially to this ‘Christmas Hymn,’ and to some other poems written by Mr. Domett:—

“‘As I opened the volume and looked at its table of contents, a feeling of regret came over me that I had not received it sooner, and in season to have inserted, with your permission, some of the pieces in a collection of “Poems of Places” now in the course of publication. I particularly regret not having “A Glimpse of Italy from the Stelvio.” But it is too late; Italy and Switzerland are both printed. When I come to Palestine, I shall ask your leave to use the “Christmas Hymn,” for which I have lost none of my old admiration. I have just

read it over again, and think it equally beautiful in conception and execution.

“ Yours,
(Signed) “ HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.” ”

In *Blackwood's Magazine* of May, 1837, four spirited translations from Beranger were also published.

During a lengthened visit shortly afterwards to Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, Mr. Domett wrote occasional poems suggested by scenery and places of historical interest. These poems were referred to by Mr. Longfellow in the extract given above. They were partly republished in “Flotsam and Jetsam, Rhymes Old and New,” which appeared in 1877, subsequently noticed.

In 1842 Mr. Domett left England for New Zealand. His departure was apparently somewhat sudden. Robert Browning, at the time his intimate companion and friend, gave expression to surprise in those well-known verses beginning,—

“ What's become of Waring
Since he gave us all the slip? ”

The verses not only show surprise at Mr. Domett's “new departure” in life, but friendly interest in his fortunes, appreciation of his ability, and anticipation of his future fame.

Thirty years in New Zealand gave Mr. Domett little time for poetry. He devoted himself to public life. Once he translated into excellent verse some old Maori songs; and these translations appear in Sir George Grey's “Polynesian Mythology,” published in 1855. But throughout those years he was quietly engaged in storing his mind in a new country with new elements of poetry; and towards the close of his residence in New

Zealand he privately worked hard in writing his great poem, "Ranolf and Amohia," which was published in England in 1872. This work was the consummation of thirty years of life engaged in, and illustrious with, public services to New Zealand. Close personal observation of new and strange things, a retentive memory, and poetical genius created this remarkable epic. As a poem, it is not only a comprehensive and accurate record of natural history, of scenery, and of Aboriginal life in New Zealand, but it abounds with beautiful imagery, graphic description, argumentative disquisition, all clothed in facile verse. Had the author put aside the story, and broken up the poem into short idyls or sketches, the popularity of the book would probably have been at once gained. As it is, there is reason to hope that time will, in this instance, when Old New Zealand is traditional, only brighten this great poetic, descriptive, and intellectual work.

Criticisms on "Ranolf and Amohia," from Browning and Tennyson, are given below.

After apologizing for delay on the ground that he wished to make himself fully master of the contents of the book, Browning writes :—

"Fontainebleau, October 18th, 1872.

"At any rate I have been a long while without the satisfaction of writing, in however few and poor words, what should be entirely true to you and entirely pleasant to me besides. I don't know, though I cannot but care a good deal, how the poem may have been received and valued ; but I am sure it is a great and astonishing performance, of very varied beauty and power. I rank it under nothing—taken altogether—nothing that has appeared in my day and generation for subtle yet clear writing, about subjects of all others the most urgent for

expression, and the least easy in treatment ; while the affluence of illustration, and dexterity in bringing to bear upon the story every possible aid from every imaginable quarter, and that with such treasures, new and old, of language, and such continuance of music in modes old and new,—well, I hope I am no more surprised at the achievement than is consistent with my always having held to the belief that whenever ‘Waring’ reappeared, some such effect would follow the phenomenon. I see very well where the dissentients may seek their opportunity ; but I know where the compensation lies, and don't mind dear Amo being of such ‘gentle savagery’ as you yourself said long ago. In fine, the poem is worth the thirty years’ work and experience, and even absence from home ; and whether people accept it now, or let it alone for a while, in the end appreciated it is certain to be. I shall wait a little and read it again, in no fear but that what I believe now will be confirmed hereafter. Meantime take my hearty congratulations.

“ Yours very affectionately,
(Signed) “ R. BROWNING.”

On December 3rd, 1872, Mr. Domett received the following note from Lord (then Mr.) Tennyson. The allusion to the “palm” arose from the word “poem” in Mr. Browning’s letter having been misread for “palm.”

“ I have read a great part of your poem, and agree with your and my friend that it is a remarkable ‘palm,’ whether his figures mean a branch carried in your hand, or a tree grown on your ground.

“ Intellectual subtlety, great power of delineating delicious scenery, imaginative fire—all these are there. Nevertheless I find in it an *embarras de richesses* which

makes it a little difficult to read—to me at least. Many thanks for it, and believe me faithfully yours,

(Signed) “A. TENNYSON.”

The general opinion of “Ranolf and Amohia” was very favourable. The following extract is from a review (written, Mr. Domett believed, by Mr. Richard Sutton) in the *Spectator* of October 19th, 1872:—

“There is power, buoyancy, intellectual subtlety, and vivid picture enough in this book to make out a great many poems. . . . Grand pictures of scenery painted on alternate panels with vigorous and vivid sketches of modern doubts and faiths. . . . The buoyancy of the verse is delightful. . . . The bounding life which runs through the philosophy redeems it from all charge of being abstruse or dry. . . . The animation never dies away. The keen intellect, rendered vivid by imagination, sparkles throughout. . . . There are passages full of a grim sort of humour, also some very delicate and graceful lyrics interspersed. But its claim to be read is its masterly grasp of the conditions of the modern problem as between Theism and Positivism. . . . There can be no doubt that its author is a man of great originality and buoyant imaginative life. No one who really understands the book can help thoroughly enjoying it.”

A revised new edition of “Ranolf and Amohia” was published in 1883. The subordinate title, “A South Sea Day-dream,” was changed to “A Dream of Two Lives.”

“Flotsam and Jetsam: Rhymes Old and New,” by Mr. Domett, was published in 1877. The review of this volume in the *Spectator* of April 21st, 1877, praises it much as a whole, but makes certain critical objections, which led Mr. Domett (most unusually on his part) to

write in his Diary some comments on that critique. These comments, containing a fair statement of the objections, and being themselves very able and interesting, are here given, as a fitting conclusion to this memoir of Mr. Domett as a poet.

“ April 21st, 1877—‘*Spectator*’ critique on ‘*Flotsam and Jetsam*.’ Very flattering in general terms; but some of his particular criticisms have the common fault of common critics of less ability—that, namely, of judging any work from their own point of view instead of that of the worker’s. The only fair mode of criticizing is that August W. Schlegel insists upon: to ascertain precisely what the artist proposed to himself; then to determine whether the thing proposed is good and worthy; lastly, whether it has been well and worthily carried into execution. Instead of that, even the abler critics often like to show their talent by conceiving an object of their own, more or less associated with the one they criticize; then a mode of their own of carrying it out; and then condemn the artist they sit in judgment upon for not effecting an object he never proposed to himself to effect at all.

“ The chief objection the *Spectator* makes is that the poems are not each governed throughout by one sentiment, or mode of feeling, to be expressed also by a corresponding metrical movement. This is, no doubt, an essential, or at least a merit, in purely lyrical compositions, such especially as songs. But is nothing to be written in stanzas which involves more than *one* mode or shade of feeling? Must a poem be necessarily wholly sad, or wholly gay throughout? Is it absolutely certain that a poem must be had which ranges from ‘grave to gay, from lively to severe’; or follows the various thoughts and emotions that one subject may raise in the mind that

contemplates it? There is obviously no rule but that the poem must be pleasing.

“With respect to the poem ‘St. Paul’s’ the critic says the Basilican style of cathedral was intended to typify the ‘Divine unity, majesty, and law,’ and argues that the best way of pleading for a cathedral like St. Paul’s against the Gothic type would be to ‘let something of Shelley’s profound sense of the objective unity rising above all our changeful desires steal subtly through the poem,’ &c., ‘which awes into silence the many strivings of human desire before the great objective unity of God.’ Precisely the reverse of what I wished to represent it as doing. My poem simply says that the cathedral of St. Paul’s being, in its interior, constructed on a system of harmonizing circles, was in accordance, in that respect, with the Natural Universe in its highest and grandest manifestations; and therefore was well fitted for a worship which may be called Natural Religion, or even Natural Theology in its widest sense, which even Science, I believe, will prove in the end a handmaid helpmate to. And that its flowery, bright cheerfulness was not typical of anything that awed into silence the strivings of human desire, but something rather that would attract those strivings towards the elucidation of the mysteries of external nature, and of the internal mind and consciousness of Man; and encourage and stimulate them by shedding a halo of delight and hope and enjoyment around their perpetual exercise.”

Mr. Domett, in 1871, retired from public life, and returned to England. He died in London on November 2nd, 1887. His life in New Zealand for fifty years had been distinguished for public usefulness. As I have faintly tried to show, he devoted himself to the public good. And he was a man of no ordinary type. His mind was

one of great intellectual capacity and of high culture, and imbued with poetic genius. His nature was thoroughly genuine, and had a refreshing ring which proclaimed it as sterling coin. He hated shams, and mere bids for what is called popularity. He had superficially a slight ruggedness of character, but from beneath these bubbled through a constant spring of almost feminine gentleness. At the same time he had liberal and statesmanlike views, combined with broad and deep human sympathies. A man of that stamp is a great boon to a young colonial community. He enlarges and uplifts their minds beyond and above the routine of material work. Happy is the Commonwealth whose remote colonies are nurseries which contribute to its common stock of good and great statesmen, and the extremities of whose empire do not enfeeble, but invigorate the central heart! Colonies in that case are indeed as arrows in the hand of a mighty man; and long may England, under those conditions, have her quiver full of them. She shall not then be ashamed when she speaks with her enemies in the gate.

Another of the leading members of the House of Representatives in 1856, a sketch of whose character I attempt to portray, is Mr. John Hall, now Sir John Hall. There is nothing especially striking in his character, but it is a combination of useful qualities, and this combination has enabled him through a long career of years to render valuable public service to New Zealand. It may, on the whole, be said of Sir John Hall that whatever he did he did creditably. He was always painstaking, accurate, conscientious, and intelligent; and his knowledge of public business is thorough. He is, perhaps, more an official than a statesman. It is difficult, however, to determine the boundary line between the two; the official frontier is steadily advancing, and, cer-

tainly, there is nothing necessarily antagonistic in the one to the other. Although many officials are not statesmen, it is generally the case nowadays that statesmen are good officials; and there is no doubt that a practical knowledge of official business is an important element in statesmanship. At all events, Sir John Hall was a born official, and he became a very useful statesman. His official aptitude was wonderful, and he looked on the transaction of departmental business as a labour of love. Correspondence on public service, files of former papers, memoranda, returns, despatch-boxes, and pigeon-holes were to him what a gymnasium is to an athlete, and unascended Alps are to a member of the Alpine Club. But, apart from his great official qualifications, Sir John Hall has the characteristics of a statesman. He has moderation, judgment, and common sense. He is not apt to rush into extremes; he is ever ready to retrace his steps, as far as practicable, when he has made a mistake, and he is seldom at fault in what, borrowing a nautical term, I may call his dead reckoning. His failings are comparatively slight and superficial. He is fussy over details, occasionally petulant, narrow in some of his political views, and wanting in enthusiasm. He is not eloquent, but he is a good debater, and his speeches were on the whole effective. All round, he has been one of the best public men in New Zealand. Perhaps the great secret of his success has been industry and indomitable pluck. He never spared himself, and, on some occasions, he stood at his post in spite of serious illness. Sir John Hall for a short time was Resident Magistrate at Christchurch in the Province of Canterbury, in which he was one of the earliest settlers, and where his home has always been. He has been almost continuously either a member of the House of Representatives, or of the Legislative Council, and he was also

for many years a member of the Provincial Council of Canterbury. He has, from time to time, held high political offices. He was a member of the Stafford Ministry from 1866 to 1869; and he was for a short time in the Fox and Waterhouse Ministries of 1872 and 1873; and he was Premier from 1879 to 1882, when ill-health forced him to retire. His political views, as may



Sir John Hall, K.C.M.G.

be inferred from his general character, have never been extreme or prejudiced. He is too sensible to confound the means with the end, and not to discriminate between the use and abuse of great principles. Unfortunately, he was not in the Colony when the question of provincial abolition was summarily decided in 1875 against provincial institutions. He is another statesman whose

services, had a fair opportunity for their exercise been allowed, would have been most useful in the first adjustment of the colonial and provincial policies, and in their harmonious and effective combination. Sir John Hall received the knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1882.

Sir John Hall, though not well enough to resume political office, sat as a member of the House of Representatives, and it was on his motion in 1893 that the amendment to the Electoral Act, 1893, to the effect that the word "person" whenever it occurs throughout the Act should include "woman," and that the words and expressions in the Act importing the masculine gender should include women, except when otherwise expressly stated, was passed. That amendment and other consequential changes in the Act practically admitted women to the franchise, and the Act so amended came into force on September 19th, 1893. Sir John Hall has since, owing to bad health, resigned his seat in the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER V.

Session of 1856—Stafford Ministry—Provincial Question—Native Government—Land League—King Movement—Wi Tamihana—Sir Donald McLean—Mr. F. D. Fenton—Session of 1858—Taranaki Native Question—Waitara War—Fox Ministry—Mr. Reader Wood—Mr. Walter Mantell—Responsible Government—Return of Sir George Grey as Governor—Domett Ministry—Whitaker-Fox Ministry.

THE Parliament of 1856 may be said to be the practical commencement of representative institutions in New Zealand, because then responsible government became, with the sole reservation already mentioned of native matters, a reality. And this fresh era began under favourable auspices. The new Governor, Sir Thomas Gore Browne, was anxious to give the new system fair play, and to exercise his reserved power in harmony with his Ministers. The statesmen specially named were, with the exception of Mr. FitzGerald, who had not stood for re-election, leading members of that Parliament. The House of Representatives had again chosen Mr. Charles Clifford, afterwards Sir Charles Clifford, to be Speaker. He combined ability, firmness, and impartiality with dignity and good temper. As I have frequent occasion to refer by name to persons who had not at the time, but who have now titles, it is convenient to refer to them by their present titles.

The Governor, in April, 1856, opened Parliament with a speech which properly committed himself to no

political view except to the necessity of immediate responsible government. Acting on the same principle of avoiding the semblance of partisanship, he entrusted the formation of the first Ministry to Mr. Sewell, who happened to be at that time the only member in the House belonging to the FitzGerald Cabinet of 1854, which had retired with a vote of confidence recorded in its favour by a large majority of the then House of Representatives. Mr. Sewell chose as his colleagues, Sir Francis Bell, who had left the Legislative Council and had been elected to the House, and Sir Frederick Whitaker and Mr. Henry John Tancred, both members of the Legislative Council. A Pension Bill was passed, and the old members of the Executive Council resigned. The tenure of ministerial office thenceforward became responsible, or, in other words, dependent on the majority of the House of Representatives. The tug of party warfare soon followed, but it was controlled by constitutional usage. The first fight arose out of the two conflicting policies, which I may broadly term colonial and provincial. Mr. Sewell announced a colonial policy which was condemned by a small majority as incompatible with proper local self-government. The majority, however, could not form a Ministry, and Mr. Sewell continued in office, but not for more than a few days. Sir William Fox became leader of the Provincial party, and carried a motion against the Sewell Ministry, stating that two-thirds of the Customs revenue and the whole land revenue, except a contribution of two shillings and sixpence to the General Government for every acre of land sold, should be secured to the provinces. Following this up by a successful motion of want of confidence, Sir William Fox came into office and took as his colleagues, Sir John Hall, Mr. Charles Brown, and Mr. Daldy, members of the House of Representatives,

and Dr. Richardson, a member of the Legislative Council. Sir William Fox's Ministry only lasted a fortnight ; and the succeeding Ministry consisted of Sir Edward Stafford, as Premier, Mr. Sewell, Mr. C. W. Richmond, Sir Frederick Whitaker, and Mr. Tancred. This Ministry remained in power for five years. The two leading questions of policy with which Sir Edward Stafford's Ministry had to deal during their tenure of office were, first, the mutual adjustment of colonial and provincial relations, or, as I may term it, the settlement of the Provincial Question ; and secondly, native affairs. I mention the latter because, as might have been foreseen, their nominal reservation in the hands of the Governor was utterly powerless, when a crisis took place, to relieve Ministers from the burden of them and from its responsibility.

The Provincial Question was full of difficulties. The Constitution Act had dealt with the legislative and administrative relations of the provinces to the Colony incompletely, and not without anomalies. The Provincial Councils could legislate on all subjects except a few specifically named, such as customs, superior courts of law, coinage, postal service, lighthouses, Crown and native land, &c. ; but even in all matters within their legislative power their action was always liable to be controlled and superseded by any law of the Colonial Legislature inconsistent therewith. The laws made by Provincial Legislatures were subject to disallowance by the Governor, or, when reserved for the signification of his pleasure thereon, to the refusal of his assent thereto ; and the Governor also had power to give instructions to the Superintendents for their guidance in assenting to or withholding assent from bills, or reserving the same for the signification of the Governor's pleasure thereon. The administrative relations were especially vague and

anomalous. There was no connecting administrative link between the Superintendent, who was an elective officer, and the Governor. The Constitution Act gave Superintendents no administrative powers, and the only revenue it allotted to the provinces was the surplus revenue left after appropriation by the Colonial Legislature. The dissimilar conditions of the provinces were, moreover, an insurmountable obstacle to their uniform treatment. Each had had its distinct foundation and plan of settlement, and there was little trade or intercourse between the one and the other. The North Island had comparatively a small extent of available Crown land ; large sums were required to purchase from the natives land for settlement ; and native difficulties surrounded legislative and executive administration. In the South Island there was no native difficulty, and the whole territory was open, without political let or hindrance, to the rapid progress of colonization. The problem for solution had been greatly complicated by the course taken in the initiatory stages of the new constitution. Sir Edward Stafford and his colleagues found themselves in a political labyrinth in which every path had spring guns and hidden pitfalls. It is true that the Colonial Legislature had in law the power to do a great deal, but it could only act by the decision of the majority in each chamber ; and in the House of Representatives there was always a powerful party striving for provincial supremacy. The only course open to the Ministry, unless it passively allowed things to drift, was to advance circuitously and slowly, warily watchful of each step that it took, and learning to labour and to wait.

It is quite a mistake to think that the Stafford Ministry was opposed to local self-government. What it opposed was abnormal Provincialism. The question

at issue was one of very large import ; it was whether the provincial institutions were not, under the guise of local self-government, gradually absorbing general government, and tending, sooner or later, to the division of New Zealand into federal States. It is clear that the Constitution Act never contemplated such a result, for it gave the General Legislature paramount legislative authority, not only over general interests, but also over all matters of local concern. The Provincial Legislatures could enact nothing that was not liable to be modified and overridden by legislation of the Colonial Parliament. Any constitutional system analogous to that of the United States of America could only have been secured by an overthrow of the fundamental principles of the Constitution Act. Careful examination of that Act shows that its object was to combine large local self-government with the maintenance of the unity of the Colony, and to assimilate by degrees the political system of New Zealand to that of the United Kingdom. But, apart from the intention of the Constitution Act, there was the question whether the true interests of local self-government would not be better served by adapting provincial institutions, in subordination to the principle of maintaining one colony, to the attainment of that end, and by modifying them, from time to time, for that purpose as the change of conditions and circumstances may have made it desirable. As time went on, experience showed that provincial institutions were not altogether of themselves a substitute for local self-government. Outlying districts arose, as settlement progressed, and there were just complaints that the interests of those districts were often sacrificed to provincial centralism. The Stafford Ministry deserves credit for doing much to remedy this growing evil by providing the means, under the New Provinces Act of 1858, of enabling those

districts on certain conditions to secure provincial institutions for themselves. This measure, unpopular as it was among those who for the time represented some of the existing provinces, showed a statesmanlike discernment between the means and the end. Local self-government was the great end ; and it was unreasonable to hold that the geographical boundaries, loosely drawn in 1853, of provinces collectively comprising all New Zealand, were to exclude for all time new and growing settlements within those boundaries from the substantial privilege of locally governing themselves, or at least make them dependent on the crumbs that fell from the central table of the province as originally formed. In 1858 and in 1859 the two new provinces of Hawke's Bay and of Marlborough respectively were created under the Act above named ; and in 1861, Southland, the southern portion of Otago, became a province, but in 1870, at the request of its legislature, it was reunited to the province of Otago.

Finance was the main difficulty in dealing with the Provincial Question. The provinces, with the exception of Taranaki, were carrying on almost the whole work of colonization. Public works, immigration, and education were altogether in their hands, and ways and means must be furnished for these services. The disposal of public land and the appropriation of land revenue are at the foundation of colonizing work. The Constitution Act had excluded both subjects from provincial direction. The dilemma was embarrassing. On the one hand, it was impracticable at the time for the General Government to take up the work of colonizing the different provinces independently of their own elective Superintendents and Councils, while it was useless to instruct those authorities what to do, as it was hopeless under then existing circumstances to secure their willing subordina-

tion. On the other hand, it would have been absurd to divorce from each other land and colonization. The Stafford Ministry decided to give up, for all practical purposes, to the provinces the power of regulating the disposal of public land and the power of appropriating the land revenue. The prohibition by the Constitution Act of provincial legislation on the subject of Crown lands was evaded by the Colonial Legislature passing, almost as a matter of course, land regulations drafted by Provincial Superintendents and Councils. This course was necessary, as the Bill sent home in 1854 for the transfer of the administration of waste lands to Provincial Legislatures was not allowed. The transfer of the land revenue was effected by Act. It is difficult to say that this decision of the Stafford Ministry was wrong, though undoubtedly in the course of time the evils of this absolute concession became very great. It would probably have been better to have taken a hint from Sir William Fox, and have required a substantial contribution from the proceeds of each acre sold ; and, perhaps, to have gone further and have attached other important conditions to the transfer. As it was, the provinces in the two islands soon found themselves, as between the one island and the other, in most anomalous conditions. The provinces in the North Island had comparatively little available Crown land, owing to the facts that nine-tenths of the island were in the possession of the natives, that it was difficult and costly to buy large tracts from them, and that much of the Crown land had been bought in large quantities at low prices by speculative capitalists. These provinces had little land revenue, and the prospect of its increase was distant and doubtful. It is true that loans were raised on the credit of the whole Colony for the purchase of native lands ; but these loans were but a poor equivalent for the relinquishment of the legal right

to common property in the whole land fund of New Zealand ; and native disturbances soon made these loans for the most part practically valueless. The provinces in the South Island, with the exception of Nelson, in which immense tracts of public land had been swept up by shepherd kings under Sir George Grey's Land Regulations of 1853, were basking in financial sunshine. Canterbury and Otago had no native difficulties, and abounded in territorial wealth. These anomalies became at last intolerable, and in the meantime sound colonial finance became impossible. Each Colonial Treasurer was condemned to the labour of Sisyphus in rolling uphill the rock which ever fell down again ; or, perhaps as a more appropriate simile, to the labour of the daughters of Danaus, who were perpetually trying through sieves to fill bottomless casks with water. Advances were constantly being made to impecunious provinces, and these advances became gifts, and were paid for by colonial loans. The whole course of finance was an unsuccessful series of efforts to make two and two add up to five. And this unconditional transfer may further be said to have paralyzed for a long time any action approaching to colonial policy, and, as I shall show when I advert to the public works policy of 1870, it crippled that policy and seriously impeded its progress. In addition to the land revenue, the Stafford Ministry by legislative enactment assured a certain proportion of the Customs revenue to each province. As the provinces progressed, another financial complication arose ; some of them were anxious to raise loans on the security of their revenues for important public works. This was allowed to be done by special Provincial Loan Acts on the condition that the Colony was made in no way liable for debts thus incurred. Provinces were thus allowed to borrow large sums of money at rates of interest 2 or 3 per cent. higher than the Colony could have pro-

cured the money, and to spend them without colonial check or control. And this colonial exemption was only temporary, for in 1867 the Colonial Legislature assumed the whole liability. Altogether, it will be seen, there was a terrible quagmire of political difficulties in dealing with the Provincial Question ; and, in the course of Sir Edward Stafford's first administration, another set of overwhelming difficulties arose out of native policy.

The position of native administration was anomalous from the first beginning of responsible Government ; it was, as I have already said, excepted from the constitutional usage that prevailed in relation to other public affairs. The Ministers of the day were divested, in that particular department, of control and responsibility ; and its conduct was left to the Governor's personal direction. Thus native policy was tainted with the fatal speck "which rotting inward, slowly moulders all." The Governor had little more than nominal control ; he had no power to legislate, or to raise money ; but the little that he had was enough to derange the whole system, not indeed owing to any fault of his own, but to the fact that he held the substance of responsibility and only the shadow of power. Nor had the New Zealand Parliament, so far at least as the House of Representatives were concerned, any intention of giving him personally substantial power. Every Native Act contained a provision that the Governor should exercise the powers which it gave with the advice and consent of the Executive Council. For the sake of departmental convenience, an arrangement was made that a Native Secretary's Office should be created, and that the Native Secretary should be a permanent officer, who should record his opinion on all papers passing through his office ; these papers then to be forwarded to a responsible Minister, who should also record his view, and afterwards to be submitted with these

twofold records thereon to the Governor for his decision. Should that be opposed to the view of the responsible Minister, it would have to be carried into effect, subject, in respect of expenditure, to the money available at the Governor's disposal for the purpose. The Minister might also, if he thought it necessary, protest against the Governor's decision, such protest to be sent to the Secretary of State, but not, in the meantime, to stop the action of the Governor. The officer chosen to be Native Secretary was Mr. Donald McLean, afterwards Sir Donald McLean. No one in New Zealand has occupied such a large space in its native affairs as has Sir Donald McLean, K.C.M.G.; and his remarkable influence on the native mind has been universally admitted. Soon after he came to New Zealand he became conversant with the language of the natives, and with their habits of thought and feeling. From an early date, in the administration of Governor Fitzroy, he had been continuously employed by Government in difficult negotiations with native tribes in different parts of both islands for the purchase of land and for other public purposes, and he showed singular aptitude for those duties. Wherever he was sent he fulfilled his mission with ability, and almost always with success. Physically and morally, he had wonderful qualifications for bringing arrangements with natives to a successful issue. He had a commanding presence and a dignity of behaviour, qualities to which the New Zealand natives attach considerable importance, and he combined with penetration and good judgment, equanimity, patience, tact, energy, and perseverance. He had an excellent knowledge of the native language, customs, and character; and his avoidance of all haste, and his characteristic power of quietly waiting for results, were important factors in his favour. His memory was retentive, and he was faithful to his word.

He threw himself, as it were, for the time, into the minds of the natives, in their meetings and in his conversations with individual chiefs, and he inspired them with confidence in himself. It has often been said that his influence was mainly owing to the profusion of his promises and gifts; but the unfounded character of that statement is proved by the fact that during a long course of years when he could promise and give little or nothing his influence was always growing; and that, in the latter part of his life when he was actively engaged in politics, his influence with the natives generally was as great when he was in opposition as when he was in office. For many years his name was a host in itself in native New Zealand; and in 1862 the party which turned out Sir William Fox's Ministry, of which Sir Donald McLean was a member, was anxious to secure the services of Sir Donald McLean as Native Minister in the succeeding administration. The effort to do so failed, but it was a



Sir Donald McLean, K.C.M.G.

sincere acknowledgment on the part of political opponents of the character and genuine influence of Sir Donald McLean. The truth is that he built up for himself an enduring native reputation, because its foundation and materials were sound and good. I do not pretend to say that he had no faults. The special personality of his own public relations to the natives led him to think too little of absorbing that personality into a permanent

system of native policy. He was also, for the same reason, too apt to resent and be jealous of the efforts of others, not under his control, in native affairs. In later years, when he was engaged in politics, he was rather opinionative in what he considered his speciality, and lax in matters of general administration for which, as a member of a Ministry, he was constitutionally responsible. Another fault which grew on him was want of promptitude ; he had so often seen the advantage of temporary postponement in settling native difficulties that he began to mistake systematic procrastination for occasional judicious delay. His chief defect latterly was a want of discrimination in the choice of his officers. He occasionally chose persons who had knowledge and experience of natives, but who were devoid of the moral qualities which were essential to success. Sometimes he preferred to those who were moderately clever, but good, men who were very clever, but not good at all. The natural consequence in these cases was that his confidence was abused, and that he met with worse than common failure, for it was failure which redounded to the discredit of himself. Also, like some other great men who have a particular speciality, he was not good in the details of general administration. At the same time, in that speciality he stood head and shoulders above others ; and there is no man who, throughout a long career, did so much for New Zealand in adjusting difficult native questions and in facilitating the peaceful union of both races. He cannot fairly be held responsible for the Waitara war. He was laid up at the time by severe illness ; and though afterwards he gave his opinion that the purchase of the land at Waitara was theoretically a just transaction, I am convinced, from a knowledge of his character, that he would never have counselled Governor Gore Browne to complete that purchase and to enforce it by armed

measures, thus making it the occasion for beginning a war which Sir Donald McLean, of all men, unless in self-defence, would have abhorred. His policy would have been by diplomacy to have brought the aspirations of the natives under control, and made them work together for the common good. The Land League and the cry for a king did not spring from a wish to shake off colonization and the sovereignty of the Queen, but were rather the instinctive struggles of a race for its rights—for escape from landlessness and lawlessness. The absorption of their land and the shutting them out from a share in self-government would, they naturally feared, soon bring them down to be slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the colonists. What was then the system of Crown purchases of native land? Agents went about here and there offering money to some of those who held in common a tribal title to land; dissension and the revival of old feuds sprang up from the broadcast sowing of what sometimes was vicious seed. Claims of the most complicated kind to native ownership were determined, not by an independent tribunal, but by the dictum of the purchaser, the Crown itself. Negotiations were often conducted without due publicity and without proper notice to all concerned. Large tracts were bought from the natives; the land was gone from them for ever, and the purchase-money was soon dissipated. From the native point of view, among natives who looked ahead, the prospect was gloomy enough; and the civil condition of the race only deepened that gloom. Native customs, forming in themselves a rude kind of self-government, were fast disappearing before the onward march of colonization, and nothing in the shape of self-government was put in their place. So far as native districts were concerned, it seemed as if the European policy were to let natives

fight out their quarrels amongst themselves. Natives had no share in making laws which they were called on to obey, in raising taxes which they indirectly paid, and in administration which seriously affected their welfare. The twin organization of the Land League and the king movement originated in this anomalous state of things. This confederacy was by no means universal, but a large portion of the native people, chiefly in Waikato, in Taranaki, and in the central portion of the North Island, joined in it. A letter, of which I give an official translation, written by Wi Tamihana, who was known as the king-maker, to the Governor in June, 1861, shows that the main object of the writer in setting up a king was the establishment of law and order in native districts. Te Waharoa, as Wi Tamihana was generally called, was a representative man of his race. Himself a brave warrior, and the son of a famous warrior, he was also a man of great thought, reflection, and foresight, and his influence was deservedly great. Had it not been for the untoward events which frustrated the introduction, under legislative sanction, of some suitable system of native self-government, and which precipitated war, he would have achieved greatness as a political regenerator of his countrymen. The touching words of his letter show the nobility of his nature and the honourable ambition of the man.

(*Translation.*)

WI TAMIHANA TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

“*Ngaruawahia, 7th June, 1861.*”

“To the Governor of Auckland.

“FRIEND,—Send my korero (or word) to be printed, that the source of my thoughts may be seen, and the cause of my exertions on the side of the Maori. I will commence my narration from the time of my first con-

version to Christianity, which was during the Rotorua war. That war had been carried on for two years when I commenced to worship¹ God. The name of my minister was Joseph Brown. That Pakeha was plundered by my tribe. My karakia commenced after the departure of my minister ; he went to Tauranga, and I stood in his place ; the war in Tauranga still being carried on, I urged that the feud should cease, and that war was ended. The Hauraki (people) commenced again, and Topatopa, Urukaroa, and Kaukiuta were taken. My tribe again rose to seek payment, but I repressed them, and that ended. The Haurakis made another attack at Waiharakeke, and Pinenga was taken by Taraia. My tribe again rose to seek payment (or revenge), but they were not permitted (by me) to rise and seek payment ; they were repressed by me. At that time my name was Tarapipipi. I had no minister to strengthen me in that work which God sent into New Zealand, to every part, and to every island. I was given this work to do by the stewards of Christ, and I also worked during the time there was no minister. When my work had increased, then only did my minister return to see after me ; that is, his place was on his feet ; he used merely to come to baptize and to administer the Sacrament, and then return to Tauranga. I worked at quarrels about land, and through my exertions these troubles were with difficulty ended. By this time there were many ministers at all the places, whilst I continued to reside at my place without one. I thought of building a large house as a house of meeting for the tribes who were living at variance in New Zealand, and who would not become united. That house was erected, and was called Babel. I then sent my thoughts to seek some plan by which the Maori tribes should become united, that they should assemble together, and

¹ Karakia.

the people become one like the Pakehas. The Ngatipaoa were invited, and they came to me and united their talk for good. Afterwards the Ngatitamatera were invited, and came. Afterwards the Ngatiwhakane were invited, and they came. Afterwards the Ngatiwhamaunga were invited, and they came. However, they merely assembled together; evil still manifested itself, the river of blood was not yet stopped. The ministers acted bravely, and so did I, but the flow of blood did not cease. When you came, the river of blood was still open, and I therefore sought for some thought to cause it to cease, as the ministers had long persevered. I considered, therefore, how this blood could be made to diminish in this island. I looked into your books, when Israel cried to have a king for themselves, to be a guide over them; and I looked at the word of Moses in Deut. xvii. 15, and I kept these words in my memory for many years; the land feud continuing all the time, and blood still being spilt, I still meditating upon the matter. When we arrived at the year 1857, Te Heuheu called a meeting at Taupo. Twice eight hundred were assembled there. When the news of that meeting reached me, I said—I will consent to this to assist my work, that the religion of those tribes that had not yet united might have time to breathe. I commenced at those words in the Book of Samuel, viii. 5, 'Give us a king to judge us.' This was why I set up Potatau in the year 1857. On his being set up the blood at once ceased, and has so remained up to the present year. The reason why I set up Potatau as a king for me was, he was a man of extended influence, and one who was respected by the tribes of this island. That, O friend, was why I set him up—to put down my troubles, to hold the land of the slaves, and to judge the offences of the chiefs. The king was set up; the Runangas were set up; the Kaiwhakawas were set up; and religion was set

up. The works of my ancestors have ceased ; they are diminishing at the present time ; what I say is, that the blood of the Maoris has ceased (to flow). I don't allude to the blood (lately shed) ; it was your hasty work caused that blood. I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island but from my piece (of land). I am to be the person to overlook my piece. Enough. Another portion will follow.

“ *From WI TAMIHANA.* ”

The whole position of the native people at the time shows that some real and substantial native policy was essential, and that its chief feature should have been some practical recognition of the reasonable wants of that people. Provision was required for endowing the natives with some suitable means of local self-government, and with some share in provincial and colonial legislation and administration ; for, in fact, incorporating them with our own system of civil institutions. Provision was also required for a thorough reform of our land-purchase system ; for investing it, in the case of determination of native ownership, with judicial attributes ; for making it in the eyes of the natives the means of their social advancement, and not an instrument of ingenious spoliation ; and for facilitating the individualization of tribal titles and for their conversion, at the will of the owners, into fee-simples under ordinary Crown grants.

At first it seemed as if both the Governor and his Ministers would heartily co-operate in taking advantage of the favourable opportunity offered for bringing the relations of the two races towards each other into harmonious and beneficial combination. In May, 1857, the Ministers recommended measures to be taken for giving the support and guidance of the Crown to efforts being made by the natives towards the establishment of

law and order among themselves. The Governor concurred, and both the Governor and the Ministers thought that Mr. Francis Dart Fenton was well fitted for drawing up a special code of local laws for native use under the general supervision of European officers ; and for paving the way for the introduction of that code when the sanction of the legislature had been obtained. The unfortunate mistake committed was that, in the appointment of Mr. Fenton for the purpose, he was placed in a position outside and independent of the Native Secretary's Department, at the head of which was Sir Donald McLean. The probability is that in any case that anomaly would have caused jealousy and discord, but in the case in question there were special reasons for their occurrence. Mr. Fenton was a man of great ability, of active and original thought, holding strong views of his own, careless about departmental routine, and not very amenable to official control. He was a member of the legal profession ; and he had lived as a settler among the Waikato natives, and afterwards, as Resident Magistrate at Kaipara, a native district, for several years. He had successfully studied the language and the customs of the natives ; and he had acquired a considerable insight into their real thoughts and feelings. He wished to see a political and administrative system, suited and acceptable to the natives, established on a wide and strong basis, independent of mere personal influence. He felt an intense hatred for a policy of palliatives and procrastination,—a policy which he attributed, unfairly as I think, to Sir Donald McLean. Mr. Fenton was a hard man to get on with unless he had his own way ; he was cold, rather cynical, self-confident, uncompromising, and obstinate in his dislikes. My view of Sir Donald McLean's character I have already stated. It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to have united

both of these men, able and conscientious though they were, in one common work of native policy. Certainly, in the relations, if relations they can be called, in which they were placed to each other, fire and water could not be more incongruous. It was only natural that Mr. Fenton, when he was entrusted with this work, should wish to have the responsibility of the work all to himself. He set about it with enthusiasm ; and had he either been given charge of the whole Native Department, or had he been, if practicable, placed in proper subordination to the Native Secretary, some useful result might have been achieved. As it was, the department was divided against itself. Sir Donald McLean felt that the main work of native administration was entrusted to an officer who did not belong to his department, over whom he had no control, and for whose conduct, intimately affecting as it did the native race, he was not responsible. I have little doubt that, had Mr. Fenton's work been entrusted to Sir Donald McLean, he would have gradually worked up towards the same end, though by methods and means differing from those adopted by Mr. Fenton. The position in which Sir Donald McLean was placed was intolerable to himself, as it must be to any high officer who had self-respect ; and he took a stand which made its continuance impracticable. Either he, or Mr. Fenton, must go. Governor Gore Browne would not sacrifice Sir Donald McLean ; and, after the failure of an attempted compromise, Mr. Fenton was, in the midst of his duties, suddenly withdrawn from his mission, and was appointed Assistant Law Officer. This collapse, the first evil fruit of the double system of native government, was a great calamity ; it disheartened and humiliated many influential chiefs who had been active in aiding the Government to provide a system of law and order in native districts ; it drew the trail of suspicion over all

our native policy, and it did much to intensify and develop the dangerous elements latent in the king movement and the land league. Two other grave administrative mistakes were, at this time, made by the Government. The first was the union of the Native Secretary's Office and the Land Purchase Office, Sir Donald McLean being both Native Secretary and Chief Land Purchase Commissioner. The consequence was that the bad impression was conveyed generally to the native mind that native government only meant the acquisition of native land. The second mistake was the relaxing of the prohibition of the sale of arms and ammunition to natives. At a critical juncture, this weak concession to the cupidity of some European traders enabled the natives with ease to increase abundantly their lessening supply of warlike stores.

After 1856 no session of the New Zealand Parliament was held till 1858, when the Ministry, with the consent of the Governor, brought in and caused to be passed two enabling Bills for local government in native districts. These Bills were respectively entitled the Native Districts Regulation Bill and the Native Circuits' Courts Bill. The first Bill gave the Governor in Council power to make local by-laws for native districts, these by-laws to be founded upon the expressed wishes of native meetings formally held in the several native villages. The second Bill provided itinerant courts of justice suited to native wants, and enabled native juries to be formed with functions resembling those of the old English Leet jury. Both Acts were good in their way, but they came, I fear, too late; and even their trial was made hopeless by the Waitara war. A Native Schools Act was also passed, providing 7000*l.* a year for seven years in aid of native schools, and releasing the yearly amount of 7000*l.* reserved for that purpose by the Con-

stitution Act, and enabling it to be devoted to other native purposes. A Native Territorial Rights Bill was also passed by both Houses, but it was reserved by the Governor, and Her Majesty was not advised to assent to it. The Bill was permissive ; it provided for the ascertainment and registry of tribal titles and for the issue of Crown grants to individual natives of lands ceded for the purpose by their respective tribes. The Government were to have a discretionary power to impose restrictions on the alienation of land Crown-granted to natives ; but in case of alienation being allowed, on every acre alienated the purchaser would be required to pay into the public treasury the sum of ten shillings. The objections entertained by the Native Secretary and felt at home to the Bill were that it would unsettle the Native Land Question, impede the progress of settlement by leading to speculative private purchase, and prejudicially impair the existing relations of the Crown to the natives. The Bill was by no means a perfect one, but it was, at all events so far as it went, an honest attempt to simplify the native territorial title, to raise the status of native land-owners, and to provide a land fund in those parts of New Zealand where there was an early prospect of its failure owing to the rapid exhaustion of the loans raised for the purchase of native lands by the Crown. The abortive end of the Bill left the Native Land Question in as bad a state as ever. Any prospect, however, which might have been entertained of improving the political condition of the native race was overshadowed by the imminent Waitara war, which broke out in Taranaki in 1860. Things had been going on from bad to worse in that province. The Land Question was the cause of bitter feuds between the settlers and the natives, and also between the natives themselves.

The settlers were cooped up in a town and its suburbs in the midst of a magnificent country which lay waste in the hands of natives. The mismanagement of Governor Fitzroy in the matter of Mr. Commissioner Spain's award had lessened the little extent of land available for settlement ; and the native tribe which had been expelled in native wars anterior to European colonization, returned and indiscriminately took possession of land which had been bought by the New Zealand Company and sold by it in good faith to intending settlers. Amongst the natives themselves the question of selling land to the Crown was a perpetual blister ; quarrels had arisen which led to mutual murders. Soldiers were sent to New Plymouth, but the fighting of natives amongst themselves was not forbidden. Taranaki was surcharged with explosive elements in connection with land, and unfortunately it was the hand of the Government which fired the train. In this matter the Governor and the Ministry were one ; the Governor was primarily responsible, and he never for one moment tried to shirk his responsibility, but he acted throughout with the concurrence of his Ministers. A small piece of native land at Waitara, about twelve miles from New Plymouth, was offered for sale to the Crown by those who claimed to be its owners. The Governor, through his local Land Purchase Commissioners and others, made inquiries into the question of ownership, and he was satisfied from the result of those inquiries that the persons wishing to sell were the owners of the land in question and had a full right to sell it to the Crown. He was also satisfied that the price asked was reasonable. He made no disguise of his intention to buy, and he allowed time for objectors to the sale. William King, a native chief of influence residing close to the land in question, stated that the

land was not his property, but that he would resist the sale. Of course this, on the face of it, seems a mere wanton interference on the part of an intruder who had no title to or interest in the land. But a native on the subject of native land cannot fairly be judged by English ideas. It is quite reasonable to suppose that William King, though he disclaimed a possessory title, intended to convey that he had a right as a chief, according to native custom, to forbid the alienation of the land. The tribal title to land is too recondite and too complex to be determined by the literal interpretation of native statements. At all events some of the highest authorities on the question have persistently maintained that William King was quite within his native right when he stated that he would resist the sale of the land, and those authorities agree in the conviction that the forcing on of the purchase in face of such dissent was unprecedented and unjust. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the Crown was not only the purchaser, but also the sole tribunal to judge and decide on the validity of native claims to the land which it purchased. This anomalous position should of itself have induced the Governor to be scrupulous, even to a fault, and in case of dispute to have given the benefit of the least doubt in favour of the dubious claim, that is to say in the case at issue in not determining to make the purchase. Unhappily, the Governor determined to buy the land in the face of William King's dissent and to take possession by force of arms. The impolicy, apart from everything else, of this course may be shortly stated. The time, the occasion, and the circumstances were inopportune. A regiment of the line had just been withdrawn from the Colony, and only one regiment was left to protect Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Wanganui, and Napier, the chief centres of European population in the

North Island and all exposed to native attack. No local forces had been organized. The occasion arose on a question of land, when at that time on that general question the native race was excited, suspicious, and sensitive. The *casus belli* chosen by the Government was sure to enlist native sympathy with William King throughout the larger portion of the island. The land league and the king movement, which had widely extended and had then assumed a malign aspect, intensified that certainty. There was great probability that the fighting would spread; and more than a possibility that there might ensue a war of races. Colonization, in the North Island at least, must be paralyzed by serious warfare. The natives, who were likely to oppose us actively, occupied unknown and inaccessible fastnesses in the interior, whence they could at any time with ease and with comparative safety to themselves make bloody raids on outsettlers. Colonists would be withdrawn from industrial life, and for mutual protection would be stationed in stockades. Women and children must be huddled up in garrison towns. Farms, villages, and outsettlements must be abandoned in many places to destruction. I must not be understood to say that peace should be preserved at any price; it is of course obvious that even peace may be too dearly bought. Each case must be judged by its own merits and by its own surroundings. All I now maintain is that the Waitara case was one in which, setting aside the question of justice in its narrower sense, prudence and good policy should have forbid its being made the cause of war. The evil consequences of this rash and impolitic entrance into quarrel soon developed themselves. As a whole it caused an almost continuous ten years' war. Fighting fatally spread, the waste of blood and treasure accumulated, the progress of colonization in the North Island was

summarily stopped, and the settlements were turned into military camps. Native dissatisfaction enlarged its boundaries, and grew more and more pronounced. A nominal king, Potatau, the great Waikato chief, had already been elected, but he was merely the symbol of separation ; he was very old and infirm, and the conduct of the movement was in the hands of other men. Shortly after the beginning of the war Potatau died, and his

son Matutaera, afterwards called Tawhiao, became his successor. The course of the war led to the establishment among the followers of the king of a new religion, a sort of barbarous caricature of Christianity, probably invented only with the object of widening the separation between the two races. At the same time this relapse was not universal, and it should also be noted that the general system of English colonization in New Zealand has been, in spite of many mistakes,

so marked by a spirit of good feeling towards the natives that the fidelity of many tribes withstood crucial tests, and we were able to count on the support of some and the neutrality of others. As soon as the New Zealand Parliament met in 1860, a small party, led by Fox, Featherston, and Fitzherbert, protested against the war, and insisted on an inquiry into its origin. This inquiry was too late for any immediate good result. Moreover,



Native Chief Tawhiao.
(Commonly called the Maori King.)

the war was at the time popular, settlers were deluded by the idea that a short and sharp struggle would be decisive, and would put down, once and for ever, all native difficulties. A large majority of both Houses supported the war. Colonists energetically co-operated in the organization of local forces. The Imperial Government at first approved of the course taken by Governor Gore Browne and sent troops to the colony. A cessation of fighting in the early part of 1861 was arranged on terms which prove that it never should have begun, but still the prospect of final settlement was as far off as ever. The king party in Waikato became, as might naturally have been expected, involved in the quarrel. William King had ceded the land in dispute to that party. The Governor now determined to make the king movement a cause of war, and issued a manifesto to that effect. This course he admitted was likely to cause a general rising of natives, but he was determined to insist on the terms of his manifesto. Matters grew worse and worse; European settlements in the North Island were in a more precarious condition than they had ever been in since the foundation of the colony. At last, in July, 1861, the Stafford Ministry was turned out by a majority of one on a vote of general want of confidence, and the Home Government in October, 1861, replaced Sir Thomas Gore Browne, whose term of office had expired, by Sir George Grey, whose general ability and former experience in New Zealand they believed would specially qualify him to restore it to peace and prosperity at this most critical juncture.

The Fox Ministry took office in July, 1861. It consisted at first of Sir William Fox, who was Premier, Dr. Featherston, Mr. Reader Wood, and Mr. Walter Mantell; Mr. Henry Sewell and Mr. Crosbie Ward

joined it shortly afterwards. Dr. Featherston only consented to be a member of the Ministry till the close of the Session, as he would not give up the office of Superintendent of the Province of Wellington and could not permanently hold both offices. I have already sketched the characters of Sir William Fox, Dr. Featherston, and Mr. Sewell. A few words may be said as to the others.



Mr. Reader Wood.

Mr. Reader Wood was a man of good ability. He had great common sense, considerable administrative capacity, and a well furnished mind, and he soon developed debating power. His speeches on great occasions, though at times a little too theatrical in style and delivery, were admirable specimens of pungent humour, logical force,

and attractive eloquence. It cannot, however, be said that his political career has fulfilled the hopes which his abilities led many persons to form regarding it. He was sadly devoid of sentiment, a moral quality which, within certain limits, is an essential element of political greatness. Partly, no doubt, from this defect, there grew upon him an ungeniality of political temperament, a love of saturnine solitude, and an inability to adapt himself to the exigencies of party. He could not lead, and he would not follow. He preferred to hold himself aloof from all parties, and to turn his guns against each in turn. This attitude may be called independence, but it is not statesmanship, inasmuch as it incapacitates a man from the greatest political usefulness. It is not good for a man to be alone in parliamentary life. Mr. Wood was afterwards Colonial Treasurer in the Domett and Whitaker-Fox Ministries. As Colonial Treasurer in 1864 he outlined a scheme of military settlement and the issue of a three million loan with a view to the final disposal of the native difficulty. He went in that year to England to negotiate for an instalment of one million out of that proposed loan, and succeeded in his object. Mr. Wood was much respected and esteemed both in his public and private capacities, and his death, which took place at Auckland in 1896, caused general regret.

Mr. Walter Mantell possessed abilities of the highest order. His mind was richly stored with valuable information and the results of its own intelligent and careful thought. He was especially a great authority in native matters. Few, if any, equalled him in knowledge of the language, customs, and character of the natives. Politically, he has been a disappointment. He seems to have had a natural distaste for politics. He was the Diogenes of Parliament, always alone in a cave, agreeing

with no one, scarcely with himself. He never heartily joined in the political tournament ; he loved to be on the outskirts, and "shoot folly as it flies." Twice he has just joined Ministries, and suddenly left them for some mysterious cause. As a critical satirist Mr. Mantell was undoubtedly great. He was caustic, cynical, and unequalled in epigrammatic wit. He was a member of the House of Representatives for some years, but in 1867 he was appointed to the Legislative Council, of which he was still a member, when he died on September 7th, 1895.

In justice to his memory, it is only right to say that no fair estimate could be formed of Mr. Mantell by mere observation of some outward traits in his character, which, as I have said, were somewhat cynical. He had an inner nature which only his very intimate friends knew ; and they knew it as rich in precious gifts, not only of intellect, inimitable humour, and scientific attainments, but of kindness of heart and sympathy with those whom he really liked and trusted. The truth is that he was a man of intense feelings which he draped from the outer world under a rather repellent covering of cynicism. He had a contempt for hypocrisy and deceit, and his hatred of injustice was implacable. In 1846 and 1847 he successfully negotiated under the instruction of Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, for the cession to the Crown by natives in the South Island of their rights of ownership over large tracts of territory, which afterwards constituted the Provinces of Canterbury and Otago. In addition to the money given, which was nominal, Mr. Mantell, under the Governor's authority, made to the natives who ceded their territorial rights promises of future consideration in the shape of reserves, schools, hospitals, and other benefits, assured to them and their children. The

fulfilment of these promises has, no doubt, been unjustifiably delayed, and it was the urgent persistence of Mr. Mantell that has materially caused them already to be substantially fulfilled, or put into course of early fulfilment. But it is certain that Mr. Mantell bitterly resented the long and unjustifiable procrastination that occurred, and his sensitive nature painfully felt that he had been made the unintentional instrument of negotiating with the natives under false pretences.

Mr. Mantell was never at heart a politician, though always an intelligent critic of political conduct, but he was devoted to the cause of science, which to him was a labour of love. As the son of a man of scientific eminence, he inherited the tastes and abilities of his father, Dr. Mantell. He was the first scientific explorer of the Moa beds of Waikōnaiti and Waigongorau. He succeeded in forming some magnificent collections of fossil remains, which were forwarded to England, and were ultimately deposited in the British Museum.

Sir Walter Buller, in his "Birds of New Zealand," vol. ii. pp. 85 and 86, writes as follows about Mr. Mantell:—

"The name of Mr. Walter Mantell will ever be associated with the palæontology of the Postpliocene and Pleistocene deposits of New Zealand, as is that of his illustrious father, the late Dr. Mantell, with the palæontology of the Western formation of the South-East Coast of England. . . . Not only has Mr. Mantell contributed largely to our knowledge of the geology and palæontology of New Zealand, but he has likewise made additions to our ornithology, the most important of a living species of a *Notornis* with which his name is associated."

Mr. Crosbie Ward was a young man of great public promise, but unfortunately death cut off his life a few

years after his entrance into the arena of New Zealand politics. Had his life and health been spared he would assuredly have attained the highest political position in the colony ; his qualities were admirably fitted for the purpose. He was intelligent, well educated, energetic and persevering. He had a rare combination of perceptive and reflective faculties, and a remarkable power of attracting support and of conciliating opposition. His style of speaking was pleasant and forcible. He was a member of the House of Representatives, and he took at once in it a leading position. His mind instinctively grasped a great question, and in dealing with one that came before him showed great ability and good judgment. It is to him mainly that New Zealand owes the first oceanic mail service to and from England by way of Panama, and he recommended the substitution of the route by way of San Francisco as soon as the railway connecting the western and eastern coasts of the United States should be completed. Unhappily he did not live to see his recommendation adopted.

Shortly after the Fox Ministry came into power it was announced that Sir George Grey was re-appointed Governor of New Zealand, and, consequently, in native policy things*remained as much as possible in abeyance till his arrival. This two-fold change of Governor and of Ministers was fortunate, because in the special relations of both to native affairs, a conflict between Governor-General Browne and Sir William Fox on that subject would have been sure to arise, and the consequences at that time would probably have been very serious. Sir George Grey arrived in New Zealand, for the second time its governor, in October, 1861. The position of native affairs was shortly as follows. There was no actual fighting at the time, but the whole aspect of matters was menacing in the extreme. A thin covering

of treacherous ashes overlaid subterranean fires. The Taranaki Question was only sleeping, and the Upper Waikato was ripe for revolt. A gage of battle had been thrown down by Governor Gore Browne, and it was about to be taken up. In that event, the whole island would be plunged into internecine war. The disastrous effect on colonization and the cost were beyond calculation. Already the little war in Taranaki had wasted that settlement, and had cost nearly a million in abnormal expenditure, including compensation, set down as 150,000*l.*, and shortly afterwards paid, for losses to settlers. Notwithstanding a native conference which Governor Gore Browne had called together in 1861 at Kohimarama, near Auckland, to discuss native affairs, and at which resolutions in his support on the subject of Waitara had been formally passed, there was in reality a growing suspicion of his policy throughout native New Zealand, and only a lukewarm sympathy even among our best native friends with his action towards William King. Sir Donald McLean had already, in May, 1861, resigned the office of Native Secretary.

Sir George Grey and the Fox Ministry set themselves to work energetically in the cause of peace. The first step which Sir George Grey took was to allow, at the request of his Ministers, native administration to be conducted in the same manner as other public affairs. The manifesto of Governor Gore Browne to the king natives was withdrawn. A system of native local government, in principle the same as that contained in the Native Districts Regulation Act of 1858, was prepared. The offer of this system was first made to the natives in the Bay of Islands, who had been staunch to us since the fighting there in 1846. They had deservedly earned the name of the "Loyal Ngapuhi." Their leading chief, Tamati Waka Nene, a distinguished warrior in

his youth, had been converted to Christianity by the early missionaries, and not only was one of the first chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, but influenced others to sign it. During the difficulties and troubles arising out of the insurrection of some tribes at the Bay of Islands, he remained faithful to the Government and rendered it essential active service. He never swerved from his loyalty since that time. He received special marks of distinction from her Majesty during his life, and after his death the New Zealand Government erected a monument to his memory. As an illustration of the good feeling of the Ngapuhi towards the English race, I may here cite a fact mentioned in the "New Zealand Handbook" of 1875. In 1845 the British forces lost heavily before a "pah," or native fort, called Ohaewae, then held by a section of Ngapuhi in arms, and the slain were buried near the spot where they fell. About twenty-five years afterwards, the natives of that tribe, in their desire to prove their friendship, have erected a small memorial church, in the graveyard of which they have, with due honour, re-interred the exhumed remains of their former foes.

The new system of local government was next offered to the Lower Waikato natives, among whom Mr. Fenton had worked in 1857, and it met with their approval. But in the case of the Upper Waikato natives at the residence, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the king, negotiation for a like purpose failed. Late events had made those natives suspicious and angry; and, in effect, they insisted on the recognition of the native king as the condition of their acquiescence in the proposal of the Government. Although Sir George Grey and his Ministers would not directly attempt, and wisely so, to put down by force the king movement, they did not see their way to its official

recognition. Here was another instance of intervention too late. The slight and almost nominal obstruction, which a few years before could easily have been removed by common consent, had been allowed, through neglect and mismanagement, to become an almost insuperable barrier. The consequence was that the efforts of Sir George Grey and of Sir William Fox to obtain from the most important—most important I mean with a view to the then interests of peace—section of the native race its confidence and its acceptance of the new institutions were unhappily frustrated. Another step which Sir George Grey, with the approval of his Ministry, took, was the extension of the road, fitted for all traffic, to the River Waikato. At that time, half the distance, which was altogether forty-five miles, was on the Waikato side untraversable by vehicles, and led through a dense forest, along a native path on which it was very difficult to lead a horse. The formation of this road was a wise precaution; but, though it was on Crown land, it necessarily added to the suspicion of disaffected Waikato natives, especially as the labour employed on it was, on indispensable grounds of economy, that of soldiers. Upon the whole, the Governor and his Ministers conjointly pursued a prudent policy; they were willing and they tried their best to conciliate and to remove real grievances, but, at the same time, they took reasonable precautions to meet the possible contingency of war.

The Session of Parliament in 1862 was held at Wellington, and then the parliamentary troubles of the Fox Ministry began. A large party in the House of Representatives still sided with the native policy of Sir Thomas Gore Browne and the Stafford Ministry, and bitterly resented the substitution of the policy of Sir George Grey and the Fox Ministry. The opportunity for vengeance arose when Sir William Fox proposed

resolutions confirming the transfer of responsibility in native affairs to Ministers. The resolutions disclaimed on the part of the colony exclusive responsibility for controlling native affairs, and liability for the chief cost of suppressing native insurrections, but recognized the duty of hearty co-operation, to the extent of colonial ability, with the Imperial Government; and then the resolutions went on to declare, while reserving to the Governor both the initiation and decision of questions where Imperial interests are concerned, that the ordinary conduct of native affairs should be placed under the administration of responsible Ministers. The division showed an equal number of votes on each side, and the Speaker, on the principle that he should leave the question open for further consideration, voted against the resolutions. Sir William Fox resigned; and, after Sir Edward Stafford and Mr. Fitzgerald had declined to take office, Mr. Domett was sent for, and he formed a Ministry. He became Premier, and his first colleagues were Mr. Thomas Bannatyne Gillies, Sir Francis Bell, Mr. Mantell, and Mr. Thomas Russell (all members of the House of Representatives), and Mr. Henry John Tancred, a member of the Legislative Council.

At this time a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Duke of Newcastle) was received, announcing that the Imperial Government sanctioned the arrangement that had been made soon after the arrival of Sir George Grey, for placing the administration of native affairs in the hands of responsible Ministers. After consideration of the despatch, the House of Representatives passed the following resolutions by a majority of nine:—

“1. That Ministers should, in conformity with the Royal instructions, advise the Governor in native affairs (as well as in colonial affairs) whenever his Excellency

desires to obtain such advice, and should also tender advice on all occasions of importance, when they deem it their duty in the interests of the colony to do so.

“ 2. That Ministers should, at his Excellency's request, undertake the administration of native affairs, reserving to his Excellency the decision in all matters of native policy.

“ 3. That as the decision in all matters of native policy is with his Excellency, the advice of Ministers shall not be held to bind the colony to any liability, past or future, in connection with native affairs, beyond the amount authorized, or to be authorized, by the House of Representatives.”

Addresses were shortly afterwards passed by both Houses declining in effect to undertake the responsibility for native affairs, and endeavouring to place on the Imperial Government the whole responsibility of the Waitara war. I may as well here state that the Duke of Newcastle, in a very able reply to these resolutions and addresses, conclusively disposed of the whole question, and tore into shreds the flimsy arguments contained in both addresses. One passage, relating to the Waitara war, I give in his own words:—

“ I need hardly inform the framers of these memorials that the slow progress of land sales, under the auspices of the Native Department, and therefore under the control of the Imperial Government, was an object of complaint to the settlers, and that these complaints were particularly urgent in New Plymouth, and referred especially to the land in the neighbourhood of the Waitara. The decision to complete, by force if necessary, the purchase of that land was adopted at the advice, not of the Native Department, but of the Executive Council, and the proclamation of martial law was transmitted to the officer in command, under the signature of the chief responsible Minister. It was under this pressure, with

this advice, and through this agency, that Governor Browne took the steps that led to the war—steps which, although I thought it my duty to sanction them, were in a direction opposite to that which a purely Imperial policy would have dictated. It is in this state of facts that the two legislative bodies of New Zealand, without alleging that Colonel Browne's acts were unwise, or that they were dictated by any Imperial policy or instructions, without denying that they arose, on the contrary, from a desire to promote colonial interests in a way which the colonists themselves demanded, and by proceedings which the responsible Ministers formally advised, do not hesitate to repudiate all responsibility in the matter, and to charge the Home Government with the authorship of their sufferings." The decision conveyed in this despatch was that the arrangement made between Sir George Grey and the Fox Ministry had been sanctioned by the Home Government, and was not open to reconsideration.

It is, I think, clear that the two Houses, in this matter, placed themselves in a false position. The House of Representatives, to which I refer as the more authoritative body, could not say that it would not accept any share in native administration, for it was fully aware that the attempt to place that administration exclusively in the hands of the Governor had failed; and, moreover, that refusal would be repugnant to its instincts as the representative estate; but it was afraid that an absolute acceptance might commit the colony to indefinite and enormous liabilities. In this dilemma it tried to run with the hare and to hunt with the hounds; it would and would not. It would accept mechanical administration, if it were offered, but the real burden and responsibility must be borne by the Imperial Government. It is mere trifling with words to say that the Imperial Government was altogether responsible for the native difficulties

which had taken place, and that it must bear the colony safely out of those difficulties. Firstly.—When measures are taken by the Governors in a representative colony with the previous assent of its responsible Ministers, and in the exclusive interests of the colony, the Imperial Government cannot properly be said to be altogether responsible for those measures because it afterwards sanctioned them, especially so when, as in the case in question, it had no opportunity to express its opinion beforehand on the policy of those measures. Secondly.—The whole position must be looked at in a practical point of view. New Zealand, when it had the freest exercise of power in relation to its own colonists, could not safely divorce itself from the responsibility of native administration. Either inevitable mismanagement and its consequent disasters would ensue from divided counsels and conflicting authorities ; or, in fact, the whole colony must be handed over to the Imperial Government. (A colony which, like New Zealand, has two races so intimately and inseparably intermixed cannot at the same time be both a representative colony in relation to its colonists, and a Crown colony in relation to its aborigines.) No doubt the acceptance of native administration by the colony would be assuming a great responsibility and a great burden, but shifting it off to other shoulders would indirectly entail on the colony much greater inflictions. Moreover, it does not at all follow that this acceptance would necessarily exclude Imperial aid. It might have been difficult to put down in black and white the reciprocal conditions, but, if the subject had been approached with a full sense of moral obligation on both sides and in an earnest spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation, the just and satisfactory solution of the difficult problem would not have been hopeless. The action of the House of Representatives in 1862 rendered this desirable issue

for the time impossible, and that action was for many years afterwards more or less disastrous to New Zealand, and the cause of much ill-feeling between the Colonial and Imperial authorities.

The constitution of Mr. Domett's Ministry soon underwent change. Three weeks after its formation Mr. Gillies resigned, and Mr. Sewell, Mr. Reader Wood, and Mr. Crosbie Ward, late colleagues of Sir William Fox, were added. Mr. Tancred only held a seat in it, as a member of the Executive Council, for six months. The chief difference between it and its predecessor was that Mr. Domett was Premier in the place of Sir William Fox, who was sacrificed to appease the unavenged *manes* of the late Stafford Cabinet. There was no essential distinction in the policies of the two Governments, but the little rift in the relations between the Governor and his Ministers on the subject of native administration had been made, and would soon slowly widen. Mr. Gillies, Mr. Tancred, and Mr. Thomas Russell were comparatively new men.

Mr. Gillies was a lawyer, shrewd, logical, and incisive in thought and in speech. In politics he had not much breadth and liberality of view. He had rather a minuteness of mind, and he had too strong individuality ever to become a good party man. He was, however, undoubtedly able, and, within its range, his mind was strong and accurate. He was a member of the Whitaker-Fox Ministry in 1863-64, and he was afterwards Superintendent of the Province of Auckland. He became a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1873. He died in August, 1889.

The session of 1862 did not pass without two efforts, only one of which was successful, to improve the political condition of the natives. An Act was passed to enable native landowners to sell, under certain restrictions, land

to private purchasers, and a judicial court was created for the ascertainment of the titles of those who wished so to sell their land. The unsuccessful effort was made by Mr. James Edward FitzGerald, when, in one of his most able and eloquent speeches, he moved a resolution declaring the right of natives to a share of representation in the legislature and in administration. This motion was lost by a majority of three, though most of the Ministers supported Mr. FitzGerald. During the recess the Government turned its earnest attention to the pacification of the tribes in Waikato and in Taranaki. The chief effort which it made was the abandonment of the Waitara purchase. New facts were stated to have been found out as to that land. It was said that the block sold included native villages which were not intended to be sold, and that when the block was taken by the British forces in 1860, they destroyed those villages and the cultivation. There was great delay in the progress of the consultations, or further discussions, between the Governor and his Ministers on the subject of this abandonment. And it is probable that the delay in this instance partly led to fatal consequences. At the time that the abandonment of the Waitara purchase was under consideration, it was determined to take military possession of Tataraimaka, about seventeen miles to the south of New Plymouth, which belonged to Europeans, but had been seized by some insurgent natives who sympathized with William King. As this seizure was the outcome of the Crown taking forcible possession of the Waitara land, it would have been only politic and prudent to have made the abandonment of the Waitara purchase simultaneous with, or subsequent to, the resumption of Tataraimaka. No reason, of which I am aware, has ever been shown why that resumption was not postponed. Unfortunately, this course was not

followed, and soon after the military occupation of Tataraimaka, and before it was known that Waitara was abandoned, a native ambuscade was laid between Tataraimaka and New Plymouth, and two officers, a non-commissioned officer, and five privates were murdered. It is possible that this would have occurred under any circumstances, but the probability, I think, is that it would not, had the process, in point of time, of dealing with the two blocks of land been reversed. War now became inevitable, and for some time its chief scene was in the Waikato. I shall not attempt to recount the incidents of that war, as I am not giving in this book a detailed narrative and description of historical events in New Zealand, but am only referring to them in broad outline so far as they may serve to illustrate and explain the character and conduct of leading public men in that colony.

Political chaos prevailed. The Imperial Government, notwithstanding its disclaimer of responsibility and control in native administration, furnished troops and mainly carried on the war. At the same time, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was finding grave fault with the Colonial Government for not contributing what he thought its fair share in men and money; and when Governor Sir George Grey remonstrated against undeserved censure, the Secretary of State explained that his censure was levelled against the Governor's advisers, and not against the Governor. The injustice of the censure was proved by the fact that at the time the colony provided, in addition to its militia and volunteers, five regiments raised in Victoria and elsewhere, and placed under the General's command. The relations between the Governor and the General in command began to show unsoundness. The General sent communications involving questions seriously affecting

the Governor and the colony direct to the Imperial military authorities at home without first intimating the nature of those communications to the Governor. Hence arose a constant source of misconstruction and of eventual discord. The relations in native affairs between the Governor and his Ministers were, thanks to the foolish resolutions of the House of Representatives in 1862, anomalous and perplexing. Diplomacy took the place of constitutional usage, and the Governor and the Cabinet stood, in relation to each other on all matters directly and indirectly connected with native affairs, in the attitude of two foreign powers. Each had what it thought its own interests to defend, and, in that view, was often disposed to take a different path. Memoranda, occasionally controversial memoranda, passed between the two parties, and led to delay, and too often to misunderstanding. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* At this time the reply of the Secretary of State to the addresses of the two Houses arrived in the colony, announcing that the Imperial Government considered their relinquishment of control in native affairs as an accomplished fact, and refusing to listen to the request for its reconsideration. As a climax to the general confusion, dissensions arose between the Premier, Mr. Domett, and some of his colleagues. Mr. Domett, able as he was, never was a leader of men. He conceived great ideas, but loved to brood over them in poetic solitude, until his mind bodied them forth and launched them living into the world, but he had not the faculty of equally inspiring other men. He was in, but not of, the world of politics. Genius is wont to wrap itself up in its own virtue, and to shrink from the turmoil of public life. It is the sensitive flower of human nature. As an instance of his political isolation, I may mention that he left on parliamentary record a gigantic scheme, devised by himself alone, and

not even considered by his colleagues, for the settlement and self-defence of the colony, founded on the principle of confiscating part of the territory belonging to rebel natives, and of planting thereon settlements able to protect themselves. Altogether, we have in the events of the time ample material for an instructive and interesting chapter of curiosities of constitutional government in New Zealand. The succeeding session which was held at Auckland in 1863 brought the Domett Ministry to its end. Internal dissensions led to its resignation soon after the Parliament assembled. Sir William Fox was sent for, and he formed a Ministry with Sir Frederick Whitaker as its head, and with himself as Colonial Secretary and in charge of native affairs. The other members were Mr. Reader Wood, Mr. Gillies, and Mr. Thomas Russell.

Ministries were now becoming annuals. The history of the year's administration of the Whitaker-Fox Government is a melancholy retrospect. Sir William Fox had taken as his chief Sir Frederick Whitaker, to whom, especially in native policy, he had been strongly opposed. Those who know the characters of both men need not be told that the master mind of Sir Frederick Whitaker quietly but effectively asserted itself. Sir William Fox, with that facile impulsiveness which throws him headlong into the cause in which he is engaged, followed Sir Frederick, and almost outstripped his leader. Strange as it seems, it is a fact that Sir William Fox, formerly noted for his implicit faith in great constitutional principles and for his earnest advocacy in 1860 and 1861 of the native cause, at once agreed to such legislation as the Suppression of Rebellion Act and the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863. The titles are plausible, but the first Act authorized the establishment of martial law, or rather of civil despotism,

in its worst form ; and the second Act, under the guise of confiscating the land of the rebels, practically placed, in districts which were determinable by the Government, lands of loyal as well as of rebel natives at the arbitrary disposal of the Government. Another Ministerial Bill, reserved and fortunately not assented to at home, enabled provincial legislatures to pass laws authorizing the compulsory taking of land for works of a public nature. Under that Act, had it become law, local bodies might have taken native land against the will of the owners, and thus unwittingly have caused another war. One object certainly which Sir William Fox had at heart was effected with ease. Resolutions were passed by both Houses assenting unconditionally to the Crown's relinquishment to the Colonial Legislature of responsibility in native affairs. The Whitaker-Fox Ministry, as it will be seen, reaped no benefit from this mutual arrangement, for sometimes circumstances are stronger than men. A loan of three millions was authorized for purposes connected with the suppression of rebellion and the establishment of defensive settlements. The recess was one continuous series of disputes between the Governor and the Ministers. The conduct of the war, the treatment of native prisoners, the confiscation of native lands, the offer of terms of peace, and the nature of constitutional government, were, each and all, the subject of bitter controversy. The Parliamentary Blue-book of the ensuing session is filled with the lamentable record of this domestic quarrel, and the year of its continuance was well characterized by Mr. FitzGerald as the Memorandum year. There were, as is usual in cases of this kind, faults on both sides. Sir George Grey, too much in his element when engaged in controversy, should, in view of the recent acceptance by the colony of responsibility in native affairs, have been less critical and more

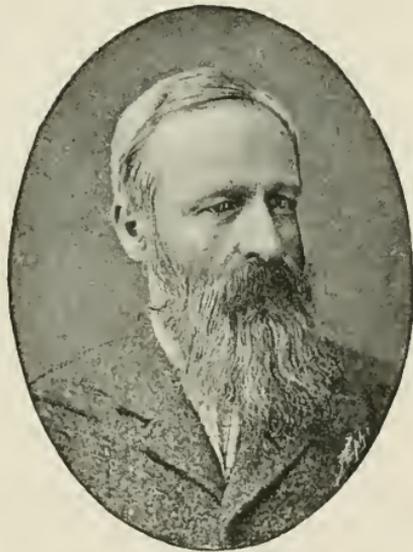
conciliatory ; he was too ready to find fault and to take offence. The Ministers also were too self-assertive, and too anxious to put the Governor in the wrong. They should have forbore from pushing the principle of Ministerial responsibility to the absurd extreme of dictation in matters of peace and war, in face of the fact that the Imperial Government were mainly conducting military operations at the cost of the taxpayers in the United Kingdom. The worst element of the quarrel was that it was in writing. Oral disputes may soon be forgiven and forgotten ; they quickly spring up, and quickly subside ; but, as a rule, writing tends both to widen the breach and to make it permanent. The war, notwithstanding British success in the Waikato practically resulting in the subjugation of that district, was slowly extending itself, and gradually enveloping the central east and west coasts of the North Island. The relations between the Governor and the Ministers were such as to make good administration impossible. The session of 1864, held at Auckland, brought constitutional relief. Mr. Weld, afterwards Sir Frederick Weld, had a short time before boldly proclaimed his own view that, rather than the colony should suffer the continuance of double internecine government by Imperial and Colonial authorities, it ought to accept the alternative of the total withdrawal of Imperial troops. He now became Prime Minister.

Before I touch on the Weld Administration, it will be convenient to say a few words on the progress of the provinces since 1856. The war had practically almost stopped the advance of colonization in the provinces in the North Island. Each settlement there, except the sparsely peopled district northward of the city of Auckland, was in a state of war, or in preparation for war. The sense of security in outlying districts had gone,

and every settler in those districts carried his life in his hands. The provinces in the South Island, except Nelson and Marlborough, where most of the available land had been bought up in large blocks at nominal prices for pastoral purposes, were making great strides ahead. Canterbury, which occupies the central part of the South Island, was a flourishing province. It had abundance of land available for pastoral and agricultural industries; and the minimum price of two pounds an acre precluded wholesale alienation. Pastoral runs could be leased on liberal terms. The land revenue, which was largely increasing, was mainly expended on immigration and on public works; and loans were obtained under provincial Acts for the construction of important public works. There was one public work which deserves special notice. Christchurch, the capital of the province, is an inland town seven miles from the port, Lyttelton, and is separated from it by a high range of hills which can only be traversed overground in a direct line by a bridle track. The only other routes by land and sea were very circuitous. In this state of things, a work which may be truly called gigantic for an infant community like that of Canterbury at the time, was undertaken. A railway, and a tunnel which was nearly a mile and a half in length, were made between the two places. The credit of this great undertaking is due to Mr. W. S. Moorhouse, then the Superintendent of Canterbury. Mr. Moorhouse was a man of great ideas, and there is no doubt that in this instance, in spite of considerable discouragement and difficulty, he showed ability, enterprise, foresight, courage and perseverance in working a great idea into a great fact. The usefulness of the work can scarcely be exaggerated. It is strange and very provoking that a man who proved himself in this case to be of so great capacity did not otherwise distinguish

himself during a public career of considerable length. The truth is that Mr. Moorhouse did not do justice to himself. He had a mind in the depths of which there lay rich, though irregular, veins of precious ore, but, with this single exception, he took no trouble to work the ore properly, or to bring it to the pit's mouth. He was wanting in method, industry, and patience. The tunnel is the beginning and the end of his political reputation

The pity is that a man capable of so much should not have done more. Mr. Moorhouse held the office of Registrar-General of Land in 1870, when the system of land transfer, known as the Torrens' system, was established in New Zealand. He resigned that office in 1872, and afterwards became again a member of the House of Representatives. He died at Wellington in September, 1881. In



Mr. W. S. Moorhouse.

1864 the first discoveries of gold were made in Canterbury, on its west coast, in the district known as Westland, and soon afterwards made a new province of that name. These discoveries were soon found to be of enormous value. Otago was originally a province comprising all that part of the South Island lying southward of Canterbury. In 1861 the Province of Southland, the southern portion of Otago, was made a separate province, but was again united to Otago in 1870. The territory of Otago is well suited

for a large industrial population. Gold was discovered in Otago in 1861 ; and that discovery, followed by other discoveries of similar kind, advanced the province by leaps and bounds. Population poured in ; settlement rapidly and largely extended ; and latent resources were in course of active development. Southland had before it a great future, but, in the exuberance of youth, the local administration was rather too enterprising, and the province was crippled for a time by largely borrowing for a railway and for other public works. Provincial loans altogether were now assuming a magnitude of serious moment. The sum borrowed by provinces amounted in the aggregate to about two and a half millions.

CHAPTER VI.

Sir Frederick Weld—Major Sir John Richardson—Major Atkinson—Weld Government—Discord between Governor and General-in-Command—Colony calumniated—Mr. James Richmond—Stafford Ministries, 1865 and 1866—Colonel Sir George Whitmore—Governor Sir George Bowen—Sir Julius Vogel—Mr. J. D. Ormond—Dr. Pollen—Mr. G. M. Waterhouse—Governor Marquis of Normanby—Vogel Ministry—Mr. J. Macandrew—Sir Robert Stout—Mr. Wm. Rolleston—Governor Sir Arthur Gordon—Governor Sir W. Jervois—Sir G. M. O'Rorke—House of Representatives—Legislative Council.

SIR FREDERICK WELD held a high position in public esteem. He was a man of ability, culture, and fine feeling, and there was a straightforwardness in him which inspired confidence. Thoroughly genuine, with an attractive manner, he was frank and outspoken almost to a fault. He had a good general knowledge of New Zealand politics, and also experience as a settler in both islands. He was the soul of honour, and he had a chivalrous sense of duty. His political views, on the whole, were moderate, and his administrative capacity was considerable. His failings as a statesman were that he was apt to be over-hasty in his conclusions, was wanting in tact, and did not sufficiently discriminate when it was best, in view of his ultimate object, to be firm and when to give way. No statesman in a representative country can hope to go direct to his object as the crow flies; statesmen who wish for success must learn that it is often wiser to go round an obstacle than

to try to go through it. Altogether, Sir Frederick Weld was a man of whom New Zealand had formed, not unreasonably, high expectations, and it is a pity that circumstances shortened his administration, and shortly afterwards caused his departure from the colony. Sir Frederick Weld left New Zealand in 1867, and he has since been appointed Governor of, successively, the colonies of Western Australia, Tasmania, and of the Straits Settlements. He died in England on July 20th, 1891. His colleagues in 1864 were Mr. Sewell, Sir William Fitzherbert, Major John Richardson (afterwards Sir John Richardson), and Major Harry Albert Atkinson.

Major Richardson was an Indian military officer, and was an able, earnest, and conscientious man, guileless, and of whom it may with truth be stated that he was without fear and without reproach. He had a lovable simplicity of thought and character, and a heart courageous as that of a lion. Singularly unselfish, he only thought of his duty, and all his aspirations were pure and patriotic. In 1864 he was not unknown to the colony, for he had already held the office of Superintendent of the Province of Otago in critical times when the "rush" in search of gold there was taking place; and, in his discharge of important and difficult duties, he had deservedly earned public respect and gratitude. He was a member of the Weld Ministry for a year, and afterwards, in 1866, he became a member of the Stafford Ministry, and remained in it for two years. In 1869 he became Speaker of the Legislative Council, and afterwards received the honour of knighthood. He fulfilled the duties of Speaker for ten years with great credit till the day of his death. His loss was lamented by men of all parties.

The Weld Ministry soon found itself exposed to a furious political storm. For some years past a majority consisting of Southern members had been of opinion

that the seat of government should be removed from Auckland to some place more central in relation to the other parts of the colony. Members representing districts within the Province of Auckland of course strongly opposed this removal. The City of Auckland had from the first been chosen by the Governor as the capital of New Zealand, and his choice had been confirmed by the Crown. Moreover, the sudden removal of the government from Auckland in a critical time of native disturbance was a great peril to the European inhabitants of the whole province, within which resided numerous and powerful native tribes. It is no wonder that this step was contemplated by the persons directly affected with indignation and alarm. In 1863, however, in spite of all opposition, an Act was passed enabling the Governor to remit the consideration of this question to three commissioners selected from Australian colonies. The



Sir Frederick Weld, G.C.M.G.

decision of the commissioners was in favour of making the City of Wellington the seat of government. Sir Frederick Weld determined to carry this decision into immediate effect, and, consequently, the whole Auckland Province was exasperated. Whatever may be said as to the general policy of making a central town the seat of government and of Parliament, the time selected was inopportune, and the step itself was made unnecessarily offensive. So strong was the feeling of Auckland mem-

bers on the subject that one of them actually moved a resolution desiring, as an alternative, that the northern portion of the North Island should exceptionally for a time be governed as a Crown colony. This resolution, however, was defeated in both Houses. Finance was another serious cause of embarrassment. The expense incident to the war had become enormous, and the Imperial Government was urgently pressing for the settlement of its claims, consisting of commissariat advances, capitation money for part of the Imperial troops, and other large items, which they charged to the colony. In addition to all this cost the colony must prepare at once to organize more local forces in anticipation of the withdrawal of Imperial regiments. Increased taxation was necessary, and a tighter rein must be drawn on provincial expenditure. But it was during the recess that the most serious difficulty arose. Not only did the war spread southward down each coast of the North Island, but there was another phase of discord between official authorities. The discord between the Governor and the Ministry disappeared, but it was succeeded by what, in time of war, was worse, a discord between Sir George Grey and his Ministers on the one side, and Sir Duncan Cameron, the General in command, on the other side. Sir Duncan Cameron was a fine old soldier, but he had a hot temper and a stubborn will. He took a violent prejudice against the policy of the Colonial Government in connection with the war, and this prejudice was the more violent because he knew nothing of colonial politics. He believed that the main object of the Government was to confiscate and appropriate for the profit of the Colony native lands, and that, with that object, it was needlessly prolonging the war, and, in fact, using the Imperial forces for its own sordid and selfish purpose. This belief was shared in by some military officers and others high

in position both in the colony and at home, and was fostered by malevolent whispers, insinuations, sneers, and all the secret weapons of slander. Whatever errors of judgment, and they have been many, have been committed by Colonial Ministers, it is absolutely unjust to charge them with deliberate intention to make, or prolong, war for the sake of spoliation. I believe from my heart, and I speak from some knowledge on the subject, that there was never a time since the war began when the Ministry of the day would not have gladly hailed the restoration of peace without the confiscation of a single acre, provided only that the permanence of that peace were honourably and reasonably assured. Limited confiscation and the European settlement of the land confiscated were considered the best means to that end ; but any other equivalent means, if feasible, would, I am sure, have been welcomed. It is of course open to argument whether the means adopted were the best, and were wisely made use of, and whether fighting was not mistakenly prolonged ; but, to the best of my ability, I wish to protest against the imputation as utterly unfounded that a dishonourable, or intentionally unjust native policy was ever entertained or countenanced by any New Zealand Ministry. These remarks of course equally apply to New Zealand Governors, who, however, have never been suspected of any sinister interest. Sir Duncan Cameron did not hesitate to make imputations against the honour of the Ministry in letters to Sir George Grey, who, as an honourable man in his position should do, made known these imputations to his Ministers. It has been said that these letters of Sir Duncan Cameron were private, and should not have been divulged. That is a question which I cannot discuss, as I cannot see how, in this case, privacy can be pleaded in reference to imputations against the character

of others because those imputations were contained in letters commencing with "Dear Sir George," and ending with "Yours truly." The letters were undoubtedly written by the military commanding officer to the Governor on public matters, namely the subject of warlike operations in progress, or in contemplation; and the letters made serious charges against the honour of the Ministers, who were not only the responsible advisers of the Governor, but who also were for the time the representatives of the whole Colony. Moreover privacy cannot be rightly claimed as a free passport for personal accusation. Libel with a free passport "for private circulation only" would be intolerable. Suppression on the part of the Governor of these charges would have been culpable both in his relation to the Ministers and in his relation to the Colony. The circumstances of the time made the course taken the more obligatory on the Governor, because for some time back a secret system of slandering the Colony had arisen in other quarters, and a strong prejudice against the Colony had been excited at home in official circles and in influential newspapers. Sir George Grey was once more plunged into controversy, and, whatever objection may be taken as to his mode of conducting his part of the controversy, there can, I think, be no doubt that he had right on his side. He set himself against the vicious system of high officers at home receiving from the Colony charges and imputations against officers and others in the Colony, without the knowledge of these persons that such charges and imputations had been made against them, and consequently without their having an opportunity of being heard in their own defence. He also remonstrated against the treatment he received in being altogether ignored and set aside by the Imperial Government as to the time and manner of

removing the Imperial troops from New Zealand, although he was, according to his commission, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and although he and his Ministers were responsible for the security of life and property at the particular military stations, which thus might at any time be abandoned without his and their previous knowledge, and without an opportunity being given to them for taking any precautionary measure beforehand. He also manfully stood up against his official superiors in vindication of the Colony against unfounded imputation, and in assertion of the sacred principles of justice.

The fate of the Weld Ministry in these tempestuous times was soon adversely decided. Sir Edward Stafford constituted himself the "candid friend" of the Government, and, without himself opposing, taught others how to oppose it. The end soon came. The Ministry staggered in its attempt to carry stamp duties, and when it was only able to obtain on a question connected with those duties a majority consisting of the casting vote of the Speaker, Sir Frederick Weld resigned. Sir Edward Stafford then placed himself in a false position. He consented to be carried into office on the shoulders of provincialists, with whose principles he had no sympathy, and he left in the lurch his own legitimate party which had mainly supported Sir Frederick Weld. Moreover, he acted, as I think, unconstitutionally in obtaining, if, as is generally believed, he did so, from the Governor a promise of dissolution in the event of supply being refused. All that Sir Edward Stafford could do was to get together a makeshift Ministry, consisting of men of no mark except himself, and to tide over the session into the recess. Had Sir Frederick Weld and his late colleagues only made a determined stand, it is more than probable that Sir Edward Stafford would have been at once defeated; but Sir Frederick Weld was in ill-health,

and the others seemed unwilling to bring on another ministerial crisis.

The Administration of 1865-66 by Sir Edward Stafford and his sleeping partners was a mere political parenthesis. This short time, however, prepared him to retrace the false step which he took, in 1865, when he allowed himself to be made the instrument of ejecting Sir Frederick Weld, and to be put in his place. The Session of 1866 brought on another ministerial crisis, which continued him as Prime Minister, but reconstructed his Cabinet, and gave him as colleagues the Weld Ministry, with the exception of Sir Frederick Weld and Mr. FitzGerald. At the same time, no shadow of reproach rests on the loyalty of Sir Edward Stafford toward his former *ad interim* colleagues. The majority in the House unmistakably showed itself determined to retain him in office, and to join with him therein almost all the late colleagues of Sir Frederick Weld. Sir Edward Stafford and the Weld party were both glad to be reconciled. His political abilities and his general agreement in the principles of that party naturally fitted him, in the absence of Sir Frederick Weld, to be its leader; and he must, in his heart, have been glad to escape from a disagreeable and anomalous position. It was said at the time that there was political unfaithfulness on both sides; and that Mr. FitzGerald was, like Abdiel, "among the faithless faithful only he"; but political lines are not, in colonies, so marked as they are, or as they were, at home, and it would be absurd, under changing circumstances, to lay down a rigid rule that men once in opposition to each other should never work together in office. Moreover, the Weld party may not unreasonably have looked upon Sir Edward Stafford as its prodigal son. He had been in a far country, and had wasted his substance, but he had repented and returned, and he was welcomed home again with the best robe and with the fatted calf.

The Stafford Ministry, re-formed in 1866, lasted for three years. The Ministers were able men, and, had it not been for their collective war policy, the Ministry would have probably lasted much longer. Two cardinal mistakes characterized that policy. In the first place, the Ministry was not frank and explicit on the subject of the retention of the Imperial troops. Sir Edward Stafford was never, I think, a thorough convert to the doctrines of the total withdrawal of Imperial troops from New Zealand. And it is possible that, if he had plainly given out as a part of his policy that arrangements should be tried to be made with the Imperial Government for the retention of, at most, two regiments, those arrangements might have been made without any practical compromise of colonial control over native affairs. But he would not, or could not, in this respect take any definite course; and he stood on the shore a spectator, as it were, of other men in troubled waters. He would not obstruct, but he certainly would not facilitate the withdrawal of Imperial soldiers. At the same time, the attitude of the Home Government towards New Zealand was offensive, unpatriotic, and unjust. The tone of the despatches was more that of an angry schoolmaster than that of a great statesman; the Governor, Sir George Grey, was treated with studied discourtesy and deliberate injustice, and the colony was apparently looked upon as so much rubbish, of which the Colonial Office wished to rid itself. Fortunately, these signs of the times were the vagaries of irritated officialdom, and never represented the great heart of England, which, as Imperial statesmen soon found out, would have been deeply stirred with anger at any serious policy tending to the disruption of the British Empire, and even to the alienation of the youngest and, perhaps, the most troublesome colony. The second cardinal mistake of the Stafford Ministry of 1866-69 was the view which it took

of the native war. Instead of trying, as a leading feature of policy, forbearance and conciliation, whenever practicable, the main feature was a determination to push on the policy of force to its bitter end, till the disaffected tribes were thoroughly humbled and subjugated. The consequence of this fatal error was the gradual spread of insurrection, the exasperation of the feelings of both races towards each other, and the exhaustion of the life-blood of colonization. Space does not permit me to enter fully into this vexed question. I can only state my own view, founded, as it was, on a careful consideration of the circumstances at the time, and confirmed by reflection since, and let it go for what it is worth.

The conduct of active military operations was chiefly entrusted by the Stafford Ministry to Colonel Whitmore, now Sir George Whitmore, who showed great ability in his command of the colonial forces in the field. He had a very difficult task. Accustomed to the best disciplined troops in the world, he was suddenly called on to take into action irregular forces, composed, to a great extent, of recruits, of independent bodies unaccustomed to act together, and of natives quite unused to European military control. He was suddenly obliged, almost simultaneously, to drill, to discipline, to combine, to plan, and to fight in a most difficult country, in an inclement season, and under other adverse circumstances. His enemy consisted of semi-barbarous hordes, scattered, and used to guerilla warfare, harassing him on every side, and never able to be brought to the decisive issue of a pitched battle. Sir George Whitmore was fortunate in having under him good officers and good men, but it is only due to him to give him credit for valuable military qualities. He had considerable knowledge of the art of war, he was endowed with indomitable pluck, and he was effervescent with energy. The misfortune of Sir George Whitmore was that he was an active politician as

well as an active military commander. And although he was an able man in political life, his abilities were not of that character which secures political success. In his own profession of arms he was watchful and prudent, but in politics he gave way to impulse and indiscretion. He was a member of the Legislative Council for several years, and he was Colonial Secretary in Sir George Grey's



Colonel Sir G. S. Whitmore, K.C.M.G.

Ministry of 1877-79, but he did not succeed in either capacity. At all events, it is certain that he could not combine at the same time political and military functions with due credit to himself, and that by taking an active part in politics between 1866 and 1869, he did much to mar his usefulness in the field. He was thoroughly imbued with the war policy of the Stafford Ministry; and the impression, rightly or wrongly, grew in the public

mind that war, while he had the conduct of it, would be prolonged beyond what the necessities of the case required, and what the resources of the colony could bear.

Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G., who next succeeded Sir George Grey as Governor, arrived in New Zealand in February, 1868. He had considerable abilities and a mind of classical culture. As successor to Sir George Grey, he was looked upon by the Colonial Office as a safe Governor. He was, no doubt, fond of writing long and flowery despatches, in which he did not forget to figure as *vates sacer* to himself ; but then it was thought that he would not disregard instructions, and that his troublesomeness would be more in form than in substance. It was believed that he had no strong views of his own, except, possibly, on the subject of his own advancement. But the Colonial Office was to some extent mistaken in its man. Sir George Bowen, greatly to his credit, vindicated the honour of the colony, and defended its interests as an integral part of the Empire, and in his despatches told the Secretary of State some disagreeable truths. At the same time he loyally conformed to the principles of constitutional government in the colony. The Secretary of State found it necessary to administer frequent reprimands ; but Sir George Bowen, as a child of this world, was too wise to send angry retorts ; and to offenders who thus kiss the rod, the great heart of Downing Street is ever kind and forgiving. The unpardonable sin of a Governor, in the eyes of the Colonial Office, is for him to persist in maintaining that he is right when it has told him that he is wrong.

The condition of the provinces was a serious subject of anxiety to the Stafford Government. Colonization practically was suspended in the North Island. In some of the provinces in the South Island a cry for separation was raised with a view of putting an end to their

indefinite liability for northern expenditure. Provincial loans had swollen to an enormous size. Measures were taken to prevent the further increase of provincial indebtedness, and to convert provincial into colonial securities. The provincial bonds were at a great discount in comparison with colonial bonds, and an outcry was raised against their conversion at par. But altogether



Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G.

that course, the one adopted, seems to me to have been statesmanlike, and conducive to sound finance and to the credit of the colony. In 1867, special Parliamentary representation was given to the native race.

During the session of 1868 Sir Donald McLean joined Sir William Fox in opposition to the war policy of the Stafford Cabinet. A motion, expressive of alarm at the

course of the Government in relation to native and defence affairs, was only defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker ; and in the session of 1869 a motion of want of confidence, moved by Sir William Fox and seconded by Sir Donald McLean, was carried by a majority of eleven. The Stafford Ministry resigned, and Sir William Fox became Premier, with Sir Donald McLean as Native Minister.

Mr. Julius Vogel, now Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G., first took office as a member of the Fox Ministry in 1869. Sir Julius Vogel had already sat for five sessions in the House of Representatives, and had held political office in the Provincial Government of Otago. In the House he had shown unmistakable signs of innate power, but, like some other young politicians who afterwards achieve greatness, his course was eccentric and unsteady. The power was there, but its exercise was irregular and indefinite. This is often the case when abnormal vigour and talent exist without corresponding experience and responsibility. The leading characteristics of Sir Julius Vogel's mind are restless energy, great self-confidence, quick perception, dialectical power, persistent tenacity, unbounded fertility of resources, constructiveness, and capability of rapid combination. He snuffs his object a long way off, and is indefatigable in its pursuit. He is naturally determined, but he is always ready to vary the means to the attainment of the end, when he himself considers that variation indispensable. He will not budge an inch if he thinks that he will be looked on as being led ; but as a leader he is energetic, versatile, and often rash. He loves a labyrinth to which he thinks that he alone holds the clue. One great gift he has is the wonderful vigour of his mind. Even when crippled by painful illness, he is able to concentrate his mental faculties on the most difficult questions with as much apparent ease

as if he were in the enjoyment of perfect health. Another of his gifts is his close practical observation of men and things. Fond as he is of his own way, he seldom forgets to learn, and to turn his lesson to the best account. His knowledge of figures is almost instinctive, and he delights in abstruse calculations. His political failings are over-fondness of personal power and of popular



Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G.

adulation, proclivity to self-show, and too great speculativeness. He is apt to become a dictator in disguise, and there is in his nature a dangerous love of experimental politics. Though occasionally tedious in set speeches, he is excellent in debate, and often makes capital points. Clear, logical, and plausible, he puts a case well, and hits hard in attack and defence, cheerfully

taking hard hits in return. Opposition does not make him vindictive, and he never bears political malice.

Practically, during his public career in New Zealand, Sir Julius Vogel has proved his great political capacity. The grasp of his mind is comprehensive, and its foresight is great ; and, wild as some of his conceptions seemed to many at first, not a few have proved themselves to contain much that is useful and statesmanlike. His name will be always gratefully associated in the minds of many with the system of Government life insurance. His great abilities as a statesman will ever be recognized in his conception of that idea and of the public works policy of 1870, in facilitating the development of local industries, in systematic immigration, while he was a Minister, in the establishment of the oceanic telegraph cable to and from New Zealand, in the conversion of New Zealand loans into consolidated stock, in the organization of a New Zealand public trusteeship, and in other important public services in which he took a prominent part. He was the first to submit to the Legislature the importance of the Polynesian Question in relation to New Zealand, and to draw attention to the advantage of some regular system of local forest conservation in the colony. It was also during his connection with New Zealand as Agent-General in London that he was among the first to advocate, in the public press and in periodicals, the great project of Imperial Federation, when it was looked at generally as a wild and fantastic scheme. In fact, Sir Julius Vogel's view on this subject found expression when he was a colleague of Sir William Fox, who, communicating the instructions of the Cabinet on the 2nd of June, 1870, to the New Zealand Commissioners in London, wrote incidentally as follows :—

“I am reluctant to be betrayed into any comments which may be misinterpreted into a desire on my part to generalize on an Imperial question, but it is impossible to

fail to see that the jealous preservation of the integrity of an empire is at the root of all nationality, and of the effectual attainment of those results which extended nationality can alone achieve. A shattered empire, however brilliant may be its fragments, is practically powerless. Great as the difficulty may be, is it impossible to consolidate the Empire into a vast Federation with a federal force on sea and land, with common interests and concentrated power? Such a policy is worthier of a statesman than a policy of disintegration."

Upon the whole, the public character of Sir Julius Vogel may be summed up as sensational, autocratic, far-seeing, endowed with great force and strong will, persistent, fertile in resource, ambitious, occasionally adventurous, and remarkable for general ability. As a statesman, left to himself, he would be original, but unsafe. His position of greatest usefulness is that of a constitutional Minister in alliance with those who are strong enough to work with, and not merely under, him, who can check and keep straight his exuberant political vitality and occasionally too adventuresome action. His mind is rich in precious ores, but care, time, and co-operative labour are needed to make them marketable. The besetting danger of his public life is self-will.

Sir Julius Vogel succeeded Dr. Featherston as Agent-General in 1876 till 1881. In 1884 he returned from England to New Zealand, and again went into public life there. He was a member of the Stout-Vogel Government from 1884 to 1887. Since 1887 he has resided in England. He was created C.M.G. in 1872, and K.C.M.G. in 1875.

The policy of the Fox Government of 1869-72 was directed to two great objects. The first was to bring about honourable and permanent peace, the second was to rehabilitate colonization. In the first work the aid of

Sir Donald McLean was invaluable. His influence on native affairs was like that attributed of old by mariners to the twin stars of Castor and Pollux. The wind fell, the clouds fled, and the troubled waters were at rest. Within a year peace was restored to New Zealand, and its honourable and permanent character may be inferred from the fact that it has never since been broken. Had its terms been unjust or discreditable, it would certainly have been short-lived.

A most useful ally of Sir Donald McLean in the restoration of peace was secured in the person of Mr. John D. Ormond, who was Superintendent of the Province of Hawke's Bay, and who actively co-operated with the Fox Government in the conduct of the requisite military operations in the central portion of the North Island, and in bringing them to a successful issue. Mr. Ormond has for many years taken an important part in the politics of New Zealand. He was an early settler in the Province of Hawke's Bay, and Sir Donald McLean and he were together prominent actors in its administration. They were intimately connected in public life, and each may be said to have been an *alter ego* to the other. Mr. Ormond is a man of great mental power. He is cool, observant, cautious, prudent, and resolute. His political and administrative capacity is considerable. He thinks deeply, and, when he has made up his mind to act, he acts with decision and with effect. What he has lacked in later years is sympathetic power. He has become taciturn, reserved, and angular in his general relations to other public men, and he too much courts solitude and self-evolution. He is the Monad of political life. What he says and does always has weight, but it would have much greater weight were he able to work heartily with men generally. As it is, he is more like the veiled prophet of politics than the gregarious states-

man of the modern day. Mr. Ormond seldom speaks, but his speeches have always in them much good matter, though occasionally there runs through them a vein of bitterness which leaves an unpleasant after-taste. Mr. Ormond was latterly a member of the Fox Ministry, and he was also a colleague of Major Atkinson in 1877. Mr. Ormond was in favour of Provincial Abolition in 1875,



Mr. John D. Ormond.

but he was one of the first of its advocates who owned disappointment in its result.

In view of the second great object of the Fox Government, the renewal of colonization, the public works policy was set on foot in 1870 as an effective means of promoting settlement and of developing industries, and indirectly of finally settling the native difficulties. The

chief features of that policy were the borrowing of large sums which should be applied under the direction of the Colonial Legislature to the construction of leading lines of railway, of main roads, and of other important works, and to immigration. The accumulation of public debt within reasonable limits would, in other words, be a profitable colonial investment, so long as the proceeds of the loans were mainly expended in promoting settlement by means of railways, roads, bridges, and telegraphs, and in the increase of population by suitable immigration. The conception was statesmanlike and practical, and it has, as a whole, been successful. The proof of success is shown in the progress of the colony, and in the improvement of its public credit. Much, of course, may be said of faults, and of very serious faults, in the manner of giving effect to this policy. I am only referring to the principles of the policy and to its general administration as a whole. There is, however, no doubt that the policy would have been a much greater success, had two of its preliminary conditions been the reservation, on behalf of the colony, of large tracts of Crown land through which the railways were intended to be made, and the use of these tracts for the purpose of actual settlement. This course would have secured two important objects: first, the progressive colonization of the country, *pari passu*, concurrently with the progress of the railways; and secondly, the substantial recoupment into the Colonial Treasury of a great part of the railway expenditure. This was part of the original plan, and its withdrawal is attributable in some measure to the political constitution of New Zealand, and to the fear of rousing provincial opposition to the whole scheme. Practically, the administration of Crown lands and the appropriation of land revenue had been transferred to the provinces. However right that may have been while

colonizing work was wholly vested in provincial authorities, it was equally right that as soon as the colony shared in the work it should also share in that administration and appropriation for the furtherance of that work. Probably, in the state of political feeling at the time, it would have been impracticable to secure the condition in question as an essential part of the policy ;



Mr. George M. Waterhouse.

but, at all events, experience, I think, has shown that the trial should have been more energetically made. Apart, however, from that consideration, it is scarcely necessary to say that numerous mistakes have, from time to time, been made in the practical conduct of a service at the time colossal and novel of its kind, complicated in its details, difficult in execution, and exposed to multitu-

dinous criticism. The Opposition were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity, and Sir Edward Stafford, in the session of 1872, carried, though by a small majority, a motion censuring the administration of the public works policy. His Ministry, however, only held office for a month, and resigned on a vote of want of confidence. A new Ministry was then formed, with Mr. George M. Waterhouse, who was a member of the Legislative Council, as Premier, and with Sir Julius Vogel as leader in the House of Representatives. Sir William Fox, I may observe, had voluntarily retired, for private reasons, from the leadership of his party.

Mr. Waterhouse was one of the early South Australian colonists, and when South Australia became a constitutional colony he took a leading political part there, and was for a time Premier. He came to New Zealand in 1869, and was made a member of the Legislative Council in 1870. Mr. Waterhouse is an able public man, and his presence in the political councils of New Zealand has been a great advantage to the colony. He is intellectual and thoughtful, and he is not likely to take any course without previous careful and intelligent consideration. Neither is he a man who can be satisfied superficially. He searches into the depth of every question, and spares no pains to make himself thoroughly master of its principles and details, and to be prepared for its probable issues. His speeches are philosophical and persuasive; they show great knowledge of their subject; and while they do not carry away hearers in bursts of ephemeral enthusiasm, they are suggestive of serious thought, and specially appeal to the reasoning faculties. He has great reverence for precedents and for the ancient ways of constitutional principles. He is thoroughly sensible to the fact that, in politics, short cuts to what seems to be for the time expedient lead at

last to the destruction of civil freedom. His experience as a Minister in New Zealand has been very short. He was Premier for five months, from October, 1872, to March, 1873, and ill-health has since not allowed him to take office. The cause of his resignation of the Premiership in 1873 is well known. He found that his position in the Ministry was altogether anomalous. He felt that he was there only as the figure-head of the state vessel, while Sir Julius Vogel was at the helm. Mr. Waterhouse, as a member of the Legislative Council, had not the requisite parliamentary status to secure his proper ministerial position. Moreover, Mr. Waterhouse and Sir Julius Vogel were statesmen of two distinct types that could not long harmonize with each other. They did not probably agree in many political views, and certainly they did not agree in the measures to be taken in order to give practical effect to their general views. Their political temperaments were irreconcilable with each other. Mr. Waterhouse was cautious and deliberative; Sir Julius Vogel was sanguine and pushing. Moreover, Mr. Waterhouse would never consent to be a Prime Minister by courtesy: he would not be a nominal leader and an actual follower. Sir Julius Vogel cared little about the shadow, but he cared much about the substance. He led the House of Representatives, and he meant to lead the Ministry. The natural consequence soon came. Mr. Waterhouse resigned office, and in April, 1873, Sir Julius Vogel became Prime Minister of New Zealand.

The Ministry of Sir Julius Vogel substantially continued until October, 1877, though not all the time under him as its head. During his temporary absence in England in 1875, Dr. Pollen, one of the leading members of the Ministry, held the office of Premier, and in 1876, when Sir Julius Vogel left New Zealand for the appointment

of Agent-General in London for the colony, Major Atkinson took his place. But for all practical purposes the Ministry, although re-arranged from time to time, may be said to have been continuous until October, 1877, when it was altogether replaced by Sir George Grey's Government.



Sir James Fergusson, Bart.

A change of Governors took place in 1873. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., succeeded Sir George Bowen. Sir James Fergusson was a man of great ability, and had a thorough knowledge of his constitutional position. The self-restraint essential to this position must often have been irksome to a mind like his, endowed with qualities which constitute an active, energetic, and capable statesman. He only held office from June, 1873, to December,

1874, when he resigned and went home, but during his short administration he ably discharged his duties.

His successor was the Marquis of Normanby, who was Governor of New Zealand for four years. The Marquis of Normanby was not demonstrative, and was thought by some to be a good-natured, indolent man,



The Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.

with little ability, easily led, and averse to trouble and responsibility.

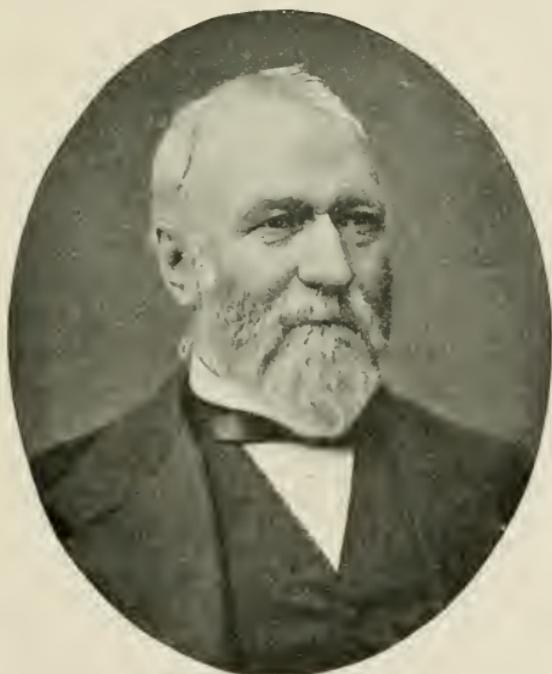
But those who thought so were mistaken. Hidden from cursory and superficial observation, there were in the Marquis of Normanby sterling and valuable qualities of mind and character. He had in command matured political knowledge and experience; he had clear perception and strong intellectual grasp; he was frank and

straightforward ; and he had good common sense. He had at times in New Zealand a difficult task in trying to steer clear of constitutional rocks and shoals. Though not perhaps in every case successful, there is no doubt that he always acted with a strict sense of public duty ; and certainly his arguments in support of his own action were put forward with force and ability.

The leading colleagues of Sir Julius Vogel were Major Atkinson and Sir Frederick Whitaker, who were members of the House of Representatives, and Dr. Pollen, who had a seat in the Legislative Council.

Dr. Pollen was one of the earliest Auckland settlers, and had taken an active part in provincial politics there since the first creation of the Province of Auckland under the Constitutional Act of 1852. As a member of the Legislative Council for some years, he also applied himself to colonial politics. He was endowed with remarkable talents. He had a shrewd knowledge of human nature, a faculty of quick and accurate perception, and generally the power of rapidly arriving at just conclusions. He mostly looked at men and things on the humorous side, and treated them in an amusing and satirical vein. As a politician he was pliable and versatile, and too apt to trifle, or to seem to trifle, with important matters. But Dr. Pollen's character, though rather frothy on the surface, had a strong undercurrent of common sense, and few men could see better a question in its true light, and could give sounder political advice. As a statesman, however, he never impressed the public mind with much confidence in himself. Among other reasons, one, probably, was that he never himself had great faith in popular opinion, and in that case distrust is often reciprocal. As a skilful administrator in difficult times he was admirable ; he was eminently what is called a safe man, and all he did was

characterized by caution, prudence, and discrimination. As a writer and speaker, Dr. Pollen showed great cleverness; there was a crisp neatness of expression in what he wrote and said; and throughout he was polished, pungent, and persuasive. He was naturally bland, and not irascible; but he was formidable when he was angry in earnest; the velvet paw concealed sharp claws. Sarcasm



Dr. Pollen.

was his favourite instrument, and the almost professional air of tenderness with which he used it added to the agony of his victim.

Dr. Pollen is identified with the early history of New Zealand. His grasp of common sense, his capacity of administration, his political ability, and his debating power were wonderful. Infirmity and age seemed unable

to impair the energy and power of his mind up to the last in the discussion of public matters.

1896 Dr. Pollen, after a short illness, died at Auckland in July, 1876, much regretted by many friends throughout New Zealand.

The great political feature of Sir Julius Vogel's Ministry was provincial abolition in 1875. He himself was absent at the time, but he had, in the previous year, suddenly announced it as the policy of his Government, and on his return in 1876 his adoption of it was complete. I have already taken occasion to state my own view that the wholesale abolition of provincial institutions was a great mistake, and it is unnecessary now to go at any length into the subject. The end in view was suitable and effective local self-government. Admitting, as I think it would generally be admitted, that in 1875 the system of existing provincial institutions was not, in relation to that end, adapted to the changed circumstances of the colony, the first step should have been to modify the system so as best to secure that adaptation. It has never been shown that this modification could, even probably, not have been made. The summary destruction of the whole system was preferred, and a county system was substituted. Experience has proved the failure of the substitution. As an instance of the disappointment, it was held out, in anticipation of the new system, that one consequence would be that local works, such as roads and bridges, would never again be brought under the consideration of the Colonial Parliament. What has been the fact? The House of Representatives, since 1875, has been a monster Board of Works for every part of the colony, and has been unable, at least for ten years, to relieve itself from a burden which it should not properly bear, from a task which it cannot satisfactorily fulfil. The effect has been

demoralizing to the House and wasteful to the colony. Demoralizing to the House, because members for the various electoral districts have become rather delegates soliciting public works for their respective districts than representatives charged with the political interests of New Zealand. Wasteful to the colony, because hundreds of thousands of pounds have been appropriated to the construction of works by the House, nine-tenths of the members of which, in the majority of cases, were not sufficiently acquainted with the necessity, or even the site, of those works; and because the money appropriated has been expended by officers responsible to the Colonial Government, and not to local authorities who were on the spot, and who were most concerned in the efficient and economical expenditure of that money.

It soon became apparent that the Atkinson Government of 1876 would have a short life. Ministers were not able to reduce to order the chaos which had been created. Local self-government was paralyzed, finance confused, and administration bewildered. The crisis soon came, and Sir Harry Atkinson and his colleagues were superseded by the Grey Ministry. This is the fitting occasion to say a few words regarding Sir George Grey in his parliamentary character as a member of the New Zealand House of Representatives. In 1875, when provincial institutions were seriously threatened, he left his retirement near Auckland, and was elected, by general acclamation, Superintendent of the Province of Auckland, and also a member of the House of Representatives for an Auckland electoral district. He entered the political arena with those special proofs of public trust in addition to his great name and distinguished reputation. The result was disappointing to many of his friends and well-wishers. His unfortunate tendency to extremes, which had more or less shown itself throughout a long public

career, became more aggravated and confirmed, and did much to mar the effect of his great abilities. His political views were democratic and advanced, but many of them contained important principles of truth and wisdom. It was his mode of advocating them, and of generally fulfilling his parliamentary duties, that was regrettable. He was never moderate, and his mind was lost to a proper sense of proportion. He overdid everything. His praise was flattery, and his blame was vituperation; he saw no merits in what he opposed, and no faults in what he supported. This moral excess was prejudicial in the highest degree to his practical influence and usefulness. His orbit as a statesman took the curve of an hyperbola. His precious gifts—and they were far beyond those ordinarily accorded to man—and his vast stores of political knowledge and experience were to a great extent dissipated into space. As an administrator Sir George Grey, when he came into power, was also unsuccessful. He seemed to have lost, in some measure, that wonderful faculty which he possessed of seeing at once the right end, and of adapting the means to its attainment with promptitude and success. Neither did he seem always properly to appreciate the relations of a Premier to his colleagues in office. In political and in departmental matters he occasionally interfered too little, or too much.

Mr. James Macandrew was a colleague of Sir George Grey, and was a man of mark. Mr. Macandrew had formed a great part of the political history of the Province of Otago. He had been one of the earliest settlers there, and had more than once been elected Superintendent of the province, and he had also represented its interests in the Provincial Council. He was one of the first members sent by an Otago electoral district to the New Zealand House of Representatives. His ability and

his influence were undoubtedly great, and his influence was perhaps the greater because he was never ostentatious in its exercise. He seldom made speeches, and his speeches never did full justice to his views. Holding strong and, at the time, apparently strange views, he was often looked upon as speculative and unsafe. He generally saw a great object afar off, and wished to reach



Mr. James Macandrew.

it *per saltum* ; he did not usually give himself time to reach it by sure, though slow, degrees, to overcome difficulties, and to carry with him public opinion. Those who thoroughly know him know that he was, though too sanguine, a far-seeing and sensible man. His mind has often conceived the idea which it has been the fortune of others to make a great fact. His influence with the

mass of the people in Otago was at one time remarkably great. He thoroughly identified himself with the feelings, the interests, and the struggles of working men in humble life, and gained their hearty trust in his earnest wish to promote their welfare. He never posed himself as their friend, or used them as a ladder to uplift himself, but did all the good he could for them unaffectedly and with genuine goodwill. He died in Otago, on February 24th, 1887, greatly regretted.

Sir (then Mr.) Robert Stout was another distinguished member of the Grey Cabinet, in which he held the office of Attorney-General. Mr. Stout was a young man practising as a lawyer at Dunedin, and he had only recently been elected to the House of Representatives, but he was distinguished by the great promise of ability which he showed, and by the leading position which he took both in his profession and in Parliament.

Sir Robert Stout was born in the Shetland Isles in 1844, and emigrated to Otago in New Zealand in 1863. In 1875 he was elected to the House of Representatives; and three years afterwards he, having passed as a barrister and solicitor in 1871, became Attorney-General in Sir George Grey's Ministry, and in June, 1879, he resigned both his office and his seat in Parliament. He re-entered the House of Representatives in 1884, when he joined with Sir Julius Vogel in forming the Stout-Vogel Government, taking the office of Attorney-General and Minister of Education. In 1887, when that Government was defeated, he lost his seat in Parliament, and devoted himself to social questions. He obtained the honour of K.C.M.G. in 1886. He again became a Member of Parliament in 1890, and still retains his seat, having been re-elected at the General Election in November, 1896.

Sir Robert Stout has great intellectual power, and has always been distinguished by great ability in Parlia-

ment. His mind, clear and logical, was indefatigably at work, and was ever accumulating, by useful and intelligent study, rich stores of information. He was never idle, and his capacity for work was enormous. He had the usual imperfections of clever youth, and was too often disposed to be positive, self-confident, theoretical, wilful, and didactic. These defects he has, however,



Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G.

gradually outgrown, and they were always tempered by a kind and conciliatory disposition. He is said to have founded a new philosophical school, which has been denounced as sceptical and socialistic. But there is, on investigation, not much truth to be found in the denunciation. Clever youths are always promoting or joining such schools. In early life cleverness has a

supreme faith in itself and little or none in others. It is rather addicted to the creed that "naught is everything and everything is naught;" and in social matters its faith is equally heterodox. Sixty years ago a nobleman, now alive, joined the Young England Party, and wrote in verse:—

"Let laws and learning, wealth and commerce die,
But keep, oh, keep our old nobility."

He became afterwards, more than once, a distinguished Cabinet Minister, but never practically tried to inculcate the moral of his poetry. So with Sir Robert Stout; his scepticism is possibly a tendency to Free Thought, and his Socialism is probably no more than social improvement as it is described elsewhere in this work. At all events, his policy is the very opposite of that indicated in the two lines quoted. He does not care a rap about "our old nobility," but strongly wishes to see "laws and learning, wealth and commerce" live and be more equally diffused among mankind. He, in short, is an able lawyer, devoted to literature, a statesman, and a philanthropist.

What has militated against the more rapid rise of Sir Robert Stout to the highest parliamentary distinction and his firmer hold of it has been his retirement from politics in Parliament during two critical periods. In June, 1879, he resigned office in the Grey Ministry and his seat in Parliament simultaneously; and when the Stout-Vogel Government was defeated in 1887 he retired from political contests. In both cases his retirement was for long intervals. Of course he may have had good reasons for these retirements, but at the same time they undoubtedly operated to his political disadvantage, both while he was absent from the House and afterwards when he resumed his seat. Sir Robert Stout has a

deservedly high reputation, but he is mistaken if he thinks that he can retire from parliamentary life and afterwards return to pick up, from time to time, a vacant Premiership. He did so in 1884, but the Stout-Vogel Government, as it was called, though it lasted three years, was not a success. The appellation and the antecedents of the two after whom it was named were enough to condemn it. Two statesmen who had been former rivals and who still held opposite views and principles in large political questions were yoked together to carry on government. Such a coalition of antagonism was a source, not of strength, but of weakness, and was foredoomed to failure. Neither of such men could for a day remain as a mere Ministerial figure-head. The Government was defeated in 1888, and Sir Robert Stout again left Parliament. After a lengthened seclusion he again became visible on the floor of the House ; but this time he did not succeed in securing the Premiership vacated by the death of Mr. Ballance. On the contrary, Mr. Seddon, the leading member of Mr. Ballance's Cabinet, was called on, with the consent of his party, to form a new Government, and did so successfully. For the next three years there was the strange spectacle of Sir Robert Stout, with a few personal followers, holding himself aloof from his former party, and gradually drifting into opposition. The last General Election, just over this month, December, 1896, shows his return classed in the Opposition, and he has congratulated the country on a more able Opposition being elected than has existed during the last ten years.

Sir Robert Stout was a zealous fellow-worker with Sir William Fox in the cause of total abstinence from all spirituous and fermented liquor, and in trying to pass legislation in New Zealand to secure a local-option poll whether in licensing districts total prohibition should

not be declared. Since the death of Sir William Fox his mantle in this respect has fallen on Sir Robert Stout. The Local Option law in New Zealand goes considerably beyond the Bill in 1895 of Sir William Harcourt, but wisely stops far short of what would please prohibitionists. The last General Election shows that the feeling in the country of this moderation is prevalent. Prohibitionists expected much in their favour from the vote of women ; but though large numbers of women recorded their votes, the elections generally have gone against the prohibitionists, and their attitude on the temperance question may to some extent explain the small success of the Independent Liberals, among whom the principles of prohibition were most accepted.

Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G., as he was called then, was transferred from the Governorship of New South Wales to that of New Zealand in March, 1879. He administered the latter Government till August, 1880, when he was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. He is a man who thinks for himself, and is always busy in gathering together the materials on which he forms his own conclusions. He is prudent in council, and energetic in action. No doubt, like other Governors of ability and active mind, he must have found his position under responsible government occasionally distasteful ; but it is only right to say that in New Zealand he fulfilled his duties constitutionally and with credit. He has lately been created a Peer, as Lord Rosmead.

The Grey Government sailed in troubled waters. A large and sudden decrease in the sale of Crown land, and a season of commercial depression occasioned financial embarrassment and native complications, arising out of unfulfilled promises by the Crown on the West Coast, Taranaki. The Grey Government resigned in October,

1879, on a hostile motion of Sir John Hall carried by a small majority, and, as I have already had occasion to state, each of their chief measures was adopted by the Hall Government, and legislative effect has been given to it at their instance and under their supervision.

I must except their native policy in Taranaki, which was in many respects rash and unstatesmanlike, and would



Sir Hercules Robinson, G.C.M.G. (Now Lord Rosmead.)

certainly have plunged the Colony into another war, had it not been for two things. One was that the disaffected natives were, under what they considered the inspired direction of Te Whiti, perfectly passive; and the second was that the labours of the West Coast Commissioners, Sir William Fox and Sir Francis Bell, had done much to remove the wrongs of which the natives concerned had

justly complained. Mr. John Bryce, then Native Minister, is a well-meaning man, but lacks the qualities which characterize large and sagacious minds. He had, however, sufficient strong will to drag his colleagues into perilous places, extrication from which was more a matter of good luck than of good management.

One of Sir John Hall's colleagues, Mr. William Rolleston, had taken a leading part for twelve years in politics. He had held the important elective office of Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury for eight years, and he has also been during the whole twelve years an active and influential member of the House of Representatives. Mr. Rolleston has many high qualifications for useful public life. He is intelligent, well-educated, energetic, earnest, and animated by the highest motives. What he lacks is decision of character and definiteness of purpose. He is too sensitive and emotional. His feelings are too highly charged, and move him to and fro by jerks and starts. He is so anxious to do what is right that he is more afraid of doing what is wrong ; and he wavers between opposite poles. These dual forces make his political motives somewhat unsteady, and, in a party point of view, irregular.

He graduated in 1855, with classical honours, in the University of Cambridge, and he came to the Colony in 1858. He began official life in the Provincial Government of Canterbury, and in 1865 was Under Secretary for Native Affairs in the Colonial Government. But he had higher political aspirations, and he soon had the opportunities of fulfilling them. He was elected the Superintendent of the Province of Canterbury in 1868, and held that office till 1876. He has been also an active and influential member of the House of Representatives for many years. At the General Election in 1894 he was defeated while leader of Opposition. He has, however,

been returned at the next General Election (November, 1896). He has been frequently a Minister of the Crown. He was a member of the Hall Government between 1879 and 1882, and of the Whitaker and Atkinson Administrations from April, 1882, to August, 1884.

Mr. Rolleston writes excellent English, and his speeches are full of good matter, though a hesitating



Mr. W. Rolleston.

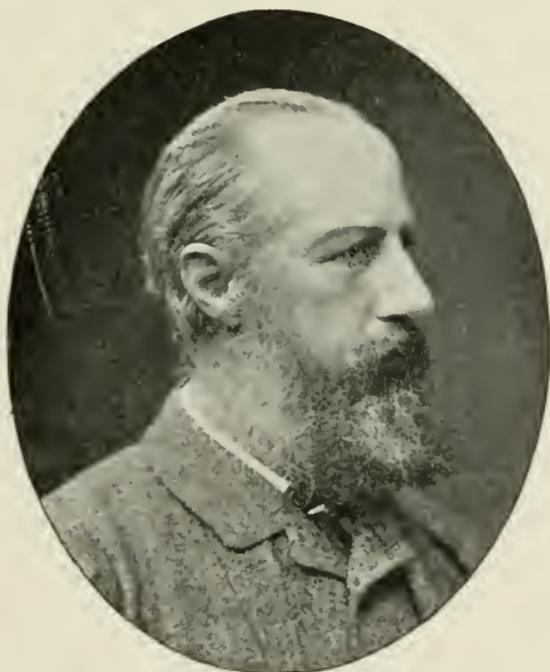
delivery often rather spoils the effect. He uses his tongue too much as a pen for corrections while speaking to be concise and pointed. There is nothing volatile, in the ordinary sense, about Mr. Rolleston; on the contrary, a vein of doggedness runs through his nature. When he wavers, it is from excess of conscientious doubt as to what is right, but he is firm

enough in trying to do it when convinced, and that quality has made him from time to time amenable to the logic of facts. He began political life with high Conservative notions, but they are gradually becoming Radical, in the good sense of the term, in spite of himself. This development probably has caused him much exercise and perturbation of mind ; but the process goes on nevertheless, as it must go on in a logical and intelligent mind that knows how to read the signs of the times.

As Minister of Lands for several years, Mr. Rolleston has been liberal, prudent, and far-sighted, and has done much to discourage mere speculation and to promote real settlement. He has been a strong advocate of the adoption of the system of perpetual leases. He is a very good administrator. He dislikes red tape and procrastination, and has a horror of the system how not to do a thing which he thinks should be done. He has a great aptitude for official business, and in its transaction he is clear, methodical, and industrious.

Sir Arthur Gordon, G.C.M.G., succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor in November, 1880, and remained till June, 1882. Sir Arthur Gordon has considerable abilities, but they are not of the kind suited to the position of the Governor of a constitutional Colony. He is too fond of asserting his personality, and he has not other qualifications which tend to make the machinery of responsible government work smoothly and with the greatest advantage. Owing chiefly to his course of action, constitutional relations between himself and his Ministers were often strained, and would probably, had he continued longer in office, have snapped asunder. He certainly committed a grave constitutional blunder when during the recess, on the necessity arising for the reconstruction of the Ministry owing to the resignation of the Premier, Sir John Hall, on the ground of ill-health, he

forthwith sent for the leader of a section of the Opposition to advise him as to the formation of another ministry. The member whom he sent for, Sir George Grey, declined, I believe, to give advice or to act in the matter ; but that refusal did not lessen the mistake made by the Governor. In the absence of any distinct sign to the contrary, he was constitutionally bound to assume that the political



Sir Arthur Gordon, G.C.M.G. (Now Lord Stanmore.)

party out of which the Hall Ministry had been formed, still possessed the confidence of the majority of the House of Representatives, and to give one of the leading men of that party the first opportunity of reconstructing the Ministry. As Parliament was not in session at the time, no such sign of the loss of that confidence could constitutionally have been given.

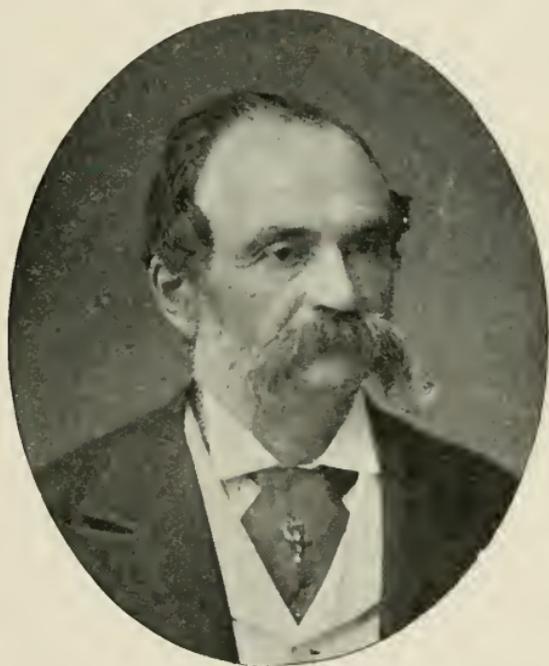
Major-General Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B., of the Royal Engineers, succeeded as Governor. He is distinguished in the science of fortification. He was specially selected by the Imperial Government to visit the Australian Colonies, and, in concert with their respective Governments, to recommend a system of defence for Australian ports. As Governor of New Zealand he is much respected and esteemed.

Sir John Hall, whose bad health, unfortunately, did not allow him to continue in office, retired in April, 1882. Sir Frederick Whitaker, who was Attorney-General, became Prime Minister, retaining the other members of the Ministry in their offices till September, 1883, when, on private grounds, he resigned Ministerial office. Major Atkinson, who had been throughout Colonial Treasurer, took the reins into his own hands, but he was only able to hold them for about twelve months. Public confidence in him and his colleagues was fast waning. Finance had become embarrassed; substantial local self-government was still in abeyance; procrastination was the chief policy; demoralization of Parliament by a political sliding-scale of grants of money for public works in various electoral districts was growing into a system. The besetting sin of Major Atkinson was more and more manifest in his occasional subordination of political principles to love of office. Place, with or without power, was his political motto. He almost began to believe that he was New Zealand's only Treasurer. The General Election and the subsequent session in 1884 at last brought about a complete change of Ministry. After a succession of false starts there came a Government with Mr. Stout as Prime Minister, and with Sir Julius Vogel, after an absence for nearly eight years, again in office as Colonial Treasurer.

This Ministry lasted three years, and I propose in due course, as occasion requires, to notice its action.

Governor Sir William Jervois was succeeded by the Earl of Onslow, G.C.M.G., on May 2nd, 1889. Lord Onslow was a rising statesman, having been Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Colonies for a year and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade for a few months before his appointment as Governor of New Zealand. Official experience in England is, when it

1889



Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B.

does not lead to overweening self-confidence, very useful to a new Governor of a Colony. But of course in these days, when the important Colonies enjoy responsible government, and when their Governors must be guided by the dominant principle that, except in rare cases, they should practically have no political will of their own, but act in accordance with the advice of their

responsible Ministers, there are special great qualities, other than official experience and ability to decide for themselves, essential to good Governors, and these special qualities are of a high order. Apart from the qualities, and they are by no means inconsiderable, which are needed for the proper fulfilment of the social duties devolving on Governors, real statesmanship is requisite in those who are called on to administer responsible government in a manner creditable to themselves and conducive to the welfare of the Colonies concerned. Popularity and excellence do not always go together in the case of public men, but it is rather remarkable that good Governors of self-governing Colonies are, as a general rule, also popular. The cause probably lies in the fact that their treatment of political parties has been just and sensible, and justice and common sense are much appreciated, as a rule, in English communities.

In New Zealand there have been attempts made to pass a bill in favour of the election of the Governor. In 1892 the second reading of a bill of that kind was lost by only one vote. In 1895 the majority against it was ten.

It does not appear to have been pointed out that such a change in the appointment of the Governor is in all probability tantamount to an entire change in the present New Zealand Constitution and a substitution of the United States Constitution in its place. Responsible government, as known in the English Constitution, will not work with an elective head and elective ministers. Some Superintendents, when first elected for provinces in New Zealand, tried the system, and it either did not work well or wholly failed. In some cases it even brought about a deadlock between the elective superintendent and a majority of his elective ministers, each party declaring that it represented the majority of

electors. It occasionally happened that a *Deus ex machinâ* in the shape of a provincial dissolution had to be invoked to untie the Gordian knot, and as the Governor was the only competent authority to grant a dissolution another complication sometimes arose. And even a dissolution was not always effective in reconciling the conflicting parties, for a Superintendent might be



Lord Onslow, G C.M.G.

returned by a majority for the whole province which consisted of one electoral district for the election of the Superintendent, while in the several districts for the election of the Provincial Councillors a majority adverse to him might be simultaneously elected.

Should the Governor of a Colony be elective the only escape, in my opinion, from difficulties of this kind lies

in the adoption of the constitutional system of the United States. I very much doubt whether such a political change would be acceptable in New Zealand. The love of English principles of constitutional government, on which the New Zealand Constitution is founded, is strong in that Colony, and there is no likelihood at present of any wish to exchange, in respect of the Constitution, the old lamp for a new one, especially when the beneficent genius which the old could evoke can no more be summoned by the owner of the new.

Lord Onslow was not popular. He did not follow popularity, and popularity did not follow him, but I am far from implying that he was not a good Governor or that political favouritism on his part rendered him unpopular. He held the balance fairly (I believe) between the political parties in the New Zealand Parliament. Naturally autocratic, he unbent to very few, and was little known outside the charmed circle, and probably on that account did not avail himself of the many opportunities which a Governor, from his position, enjoys of expressing interest in, and sympathy with, work which, without reference to political or religious differences, promotes social improvement.

He was a keen sportsman and encouraged acclimatization and the preservation of New Zealand birds, of which he collected rare specimens and sent to the Zoological Society, also inducing the Government to set aside certain islands for the protection of some which were in danger of becoming extinct. A fact illustrative of the improvement in Native feeling may be noted, i.e. his ride through the Uriwera country, at that time considered unsafe owing to the hostile tribes, but where he met with a cordial reception and expressions of loyalty to the Queen.

One reason which caused him to be specially un-

popular in Wellington was his systematically shunning it unless when actually compelled to be there. Unfortunately his eldest, and at that time only, son developed typhoid fever at Government House, presumably from defective drainage, and was taken to Nelson, where, after a long illness, he happily recovered, but, although the sanitary arrangements were at once remedied and everything that was possible done, Lord Onslow allowed the natural impulse of the moment to betray him into a permanent error of judgment. Anything approaching to Vice-regal boycotting (if I may so term it) of Wellington Government House in consequence was not justifiable, and was bitterly resented by a large and influential portion of the people of New Zealand. On the other hand, Lord Onslow paid a graceful and pleasing compliment to a formerly powerful native tribe in the provincial district of Wellington, near Otaki, by naming his infant son, who was born in Wellington, "Huia," after a great chief of that tribe, afterwards formally presenting him to the tribe, who received him with much ceremony and greeted him with expressions of good feeling, laying valuable gifts of Maori mats, greenstone, &c., at his feet. Lord Onslow's action in making appointments to the Upper House on the advice of his Ministers, who, virtually defeated, were only holding office until after the General Elections, and who had pledged themselves to make no appointments during that time, has been adversely criticized. It may be noted that the Government were defeated at the elections and a change of Ministers followed. Later on, shortly before he left New Zealand, he was asked by his Ministers to make further appointments to the Legislative Council. He declined, and common report says in Wellington that Lord Onslow wrote a letter advising his successor also to decline, which was awaiting him on his arrival.

Lord Onslow resigned at the end of 1891, before his term of office had expired, and the Earl of Glasgow succeeded him on June 7th, 1892. The interval was occupied for the fifth time between departing and coming Governors by Sir James Prendergast, the Chief Justice of New Zealand, who, besides performing his own judicial duties, efficiently manages, when occasion requires, to fill up these Gubernatorial gaps. At the same time there is much to be said against a system which is frequently, or for a long time, imposing on a Chief Justice of a Colony the additional duties of administering its Government. It would be preferable that the Chief Justice should temporarily relinquish his judicial office while he was Administrator. Or, better still, that no ordinary intervals between two Governorships should take place, leaving only provision to be made for those created extraordinarily by death or unavoidable causes. Since March, 1873, Chief Justices Sir George Arney and Sir James Prendergast have been called on to act as Administrators for periods amounting altogether to more than a year and a half—in one case the latter continuously for seven months; and this calculation does not include times when the Governor was absent on leave from the Colony. These successive intervals might have been altogether obviated or reduced to an inconsiderable minimum of time had arrangements been made by the Colonial Office, as they most probably could have been, for having a new Governor ready to begin before the old Governor ceased his duties.

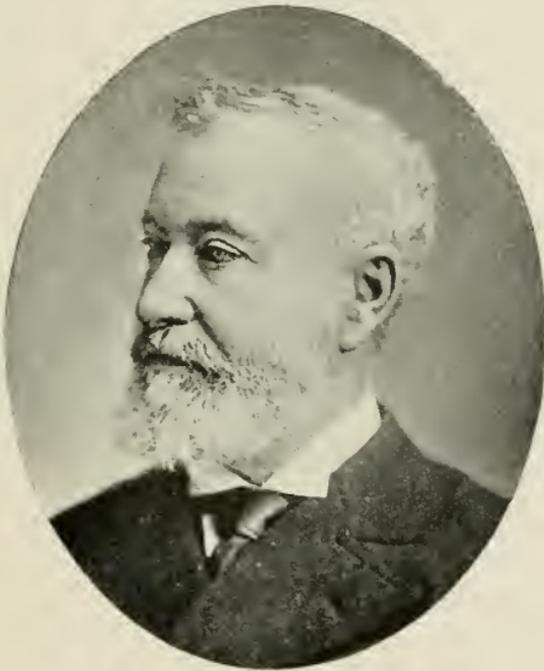
Sir James Prendergast is a remarkable type of a successful legal career in New Zealand. This success was not owing to brilliant attainments or to profound knowledge of the law, or, as a rule, to exceptional good fortune. It was the gradual outcome of laborious work and steady perseverance. He was not a good speaker,

and, as a writer, he was intricate and lacked condensation. His legal opinions were literary labyrinths, though, it must be admitted, their meaning when found was well worth the trouble of search. His drafts of Bills were shocking examples of the old style of Acts of Parliament in the time of the Georges, when "words, words, words," paraphrase and parenthesis created a block worse than any caused by carts, cabs, and 'buses in these days in the City. Sir James was slow, but he was sure and safe. He was careful, cautious, and he always looked before he leaped. He was not a politician in the ordinary sense of the term, but he held, and still holds, high legal office. An English barrister, the eldest son of an English Queen's Counsel, he went in 1862 to Dunedin, New Zealand, and, after a short practice there in his profession, was appointed, in 1865, to the non-political office of Attorney-General of New Zealand, which he held till 1875, when he was promoted *per saltum* to be the Chief Justice of the Colony—his present office, that of Chief Justice.

The Earl of Glasgow, G.C.M.G., assumed the office of Governor on June 7th, 1892. He is a Captain in the Royal Navy, and has seen service in the White Sea during the Russian War and in the Chinese War of 1857. A grave constitutional difficulty, left him by his predecessor for immediate decision, met him on the threshold of office. The Earl of Onslow, while Governor, had been advised, for certain political reasons which need not be discussed here, to appoint to the Legislative Council twelve new Councillors, but hesitated to appoint them. That hesitation may or may not have been justifiable, but certainly it was not justifiable on the part of Lord Onslow, who knew all the circumstances, to leave the decision to his successor, who necessarily knew nothing about them, and was forced by the delay occasioned by

Lord Onslow's hesitation to decide forthwith before he could possibly become acquainted with those circumstances. It is not, therefore, surprising that Lord Glasgow adopted the course which, it is understood, his predecessor was disposed to take, namely, that of referring, with the consent of his Ministers, the question to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for him to decide. My argument leaves untouched the question whether or not the Governor was right in refusing to make the appointments recommended, but is confined solely to the question of reference, with the consent of the Ministers, for the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In that reference lies the constitutional danger, which would, if the precedent became the practice, be fatal to the cause of self-government in a Colony. The true constitutional course is as follows. In cases of dispute between the Governor and the Ministry, which do not involve Imperial interests, there are two courses open : Either the Governor or the Ministry must give way, and that course at once settles the matter. Should, however, both parties persist, and the question at issue be of such importance that persistence becomes a duty, Ministers must resign. Thereupon the Governor is bound to call upon some public man of position to form a Ministry which would adopt the Governor's view, and command a majority in the House of Representatives, before or, under certain circumstances, after Dissolution. Failing the fulfilment of that condition, the Governor must give way, and recall his previous Minister. In cases materially involving Imperial interests, the Secretary should, no doubt, exercise a potential voice. Otherwise, the reference to him for decision, whether with or without the consent of Colonial Ministers, is unnecessary and unconstitutional. The Governor can of course refer for his own satisfaction to the Secretary of State, but with a

reference of that kind the Ministers have no concern. They are absolutely and solely responsible to the people of the Colony, as represented (it may be in certain cases after the people have been specially consulted at a general election) in the House of Representatives. Ministers abdicate their own proper functions if they supersede, or even allow, by continuing in office, the



The Earl of Glasgow, G.C.M.G.

Governor to supersede the legitimate voice of the people by an appeal to Cæsar in Downing Street. Mr. John Ballance held that the constitutional course was for the Governor to take the advice of his Ministers ; and if by that view he meant to infer that, if the Governor declined to take that advice in the question at issue, Ministers should resign, Mr. Ballance was right. The Governor

can constitutionally refuse to act on Ministerial advice, or he can even dismiss his Ministers, but, in either case, he must be prepared for the risk of not being able to obtain Ministers who will approve of his conduct, and more especially obtain the approval of a majority of the representatives of the people. In this respect, the constitutional course in a self-governing Colony, where the case is not one materially involving Imperial interests, is on all fours with the constitutional course in England.

It is remarkable that when Lord Glasgow had time to consider deliberately a similar question which arose this year (1896), he probably saw the mistake into which both he and his Ministers had fallen by the above-named reference. He expressed his dissent from referring to the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies another case of unwillingness on the part of the Governor to appoint an additional batch of Legislative Councillors, and only reluctantly acquiesced in the reference on the repeated request of Ministers. This reference was actually made, but before it could be answered the Governor informed the Secretary of State that the death of several members of the Legislative Council had removed the objection to the appointments recommended, which were accordingly made.

The Earl of Glasgow completed his term of office, and left New Zealand in February, 1897. He has been an excellent Governor. Urbane, frank, hospitable, with that combination of attractive qualities and knowledge of the world so often seen in naval officers, he has shown firmness and ability without political bias. He has made himself thoroughly acquainted with all parts of New Zealand, and with adjacent islands, and has taken a kindly interest, without reference to party politics, in all social institutions likely to promote the well-being of the Colony. He has been generous in his contribution

towards their aid and promotion. He retired with the respect and good wishes of all classes of the community. ✓

Changes in the constitution of the two Houses of the New Zealand Legislation have been made by law since 1885. The following statement with respect to each House as at present (1896) shortly shows the nature of these changes.

The number of members constituting the House of Representatives is seventy-four, seventy Europeans and four Maoris. This number was fixed by Act in 1887, and came for the first time into practical operation at the General Election of 1890. Previously, since 1881, the House had consisted of ninety-five members, ninety-one Europeans and four Maoris. The cities of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin return each three members, and all other electoral districts one each. The elections are triennial, except in the case of a dissolution by the Governor. Every registered elector, being of the male sex and free from certain disqualifications, is eligible for membership. Contractors in some cases and all Civil Servants are incapable of being elected. The payment made to members of the House of Representatives is 20*l.* per month, amounting to 240*l.* per annum. Certain deductions are made for every sitting-day during session for absence, except from unavoidable cause. Travelling expenses to and from Wellington are allowed. European representation is on the principle of one man one vote, secured by a clause providing that no voter can register on more than one roll. The right to vote by letter was extended from seamen to shearers and commercial travellers. But, of course, the greatest and most remarkable extension of the franchise is the inclusion of women in the ranks of voters. This latter change, effected by Sir John Hall, with the aid of the Government, was a surprise to most people in 1893, the

The same franchise has been given to women

question not having been discussed at the previous General Election of 1890. The number of women who registered in 1893 as electors was 109,461, out of an estimated adult female population of 139,915; and the number who voted was 90,290. It is too soon to predict with confidence on the permanent results of this great political experiment. The Act was passed on the eve of the General Election on November 23rd, 1893, at which 90,290 females voted. Another General Election, at which they will vote, takes place, probably, before the close of this year, 1896. Maori representation includes, as voters, aboriginal inhabitants and half-castes. The four Native members are chosen by votes of the Maoris inhabiting the four Maori electoral districts into which the Colony is divided. Every male Maori elector is qualified to be a member for any Maori electoral district. At the election of Maori members on December 20th, 1893, out of a total Maori population of 41,993, the number of those who voted, including both sexes, was 11,269. At the election in 1890, when women did not possess the franchise, 7086 males voted.

The number of members constituting the Legislative Council is forty-four, all appointed by the Governor. The number cannot be less than ten, but is otherwise unlimited. Before 1891, Councillors held their appointments for life; but in 1891 an Act was passed regulating qualifications, and making future appointments tenable for seven years only, to be reckoned from the date of the appointment, though every such Councillor may be re-appointed. Payment of Councillors is at the rate of .150*l.* a year. Travelling expenses to and from Wellington are allowed. Two Maoris hold appointments for life as Councillors.

A good Speaker is an invaluable possession to a House of Representatives. He is the embodiment of order, and

without him all would soon be chaos. Members in session without him would become a discordant crowd, and noisy clamour would take the place of decorous debate. A weak, irresolute Speaker, who waits to be told what to do, who argues when he should do it, and can never make up what is called his mind, is an evil which reacts with enormous mischief throughout the whole body politic. A good Speaker is no ordinary man. He must possess a combination of great qualities which are rarely all found in one individual. He must have a thorough knowledge of his duties, and fulfil them with firmness and discretion. He must be a man of the world, with the instincts of a gentleman and a high sense of the honour of the House. He must be able to control himself as well as others. He must be respected and popular; rule with dignity, conciliation, and with invariable firmness, be just in all his rulings, and without showing political or personal bias. The New Zealand House of Representatives has been fortunate since it began its Parliamentary life in its choice of Speakers. The present Speaker, Sir George Maurice O'Rorke, is included among these distinguished men. He has been elected seven times as Speaker, and he still holds that office. He has continuously, since July 11th, 1879, with an interval from October 3rd, 1890, to June 21st, 1894, during which he was not a member, except from December, 1893, till June, 1894, when the new House first met. Sir George began his political career in a Provincial Council, the nursery in several provinces of many distinguished New Zealand statesmen, and was for a considerable time its Speaker at Auckland. No doubt he first learned there the elementary duties of the office, and acquired his aptitude for their exercise in a higher sphere. That aptitude, enhanced as it has been by lengthened experience, is remarkable. He rules the House with

wonderful skill, and his decisions generally commend themselves to universal acceptance. He is naturally courteous and obliging. He is attentive to all, and is of great use in the guidance of young and inexperienced members.

A scene, as it is termed, in the House is of rare occurrence; but even then, though he does not show himself to such advantage as in ordinary times, he has been successful in quelling excitement and in restoring obedience to the Chair. Occasionally, no doubt, the special objects of his wrath, and even more impartial critics, think him unnecessarily violent, overbearing, and abrupt. But allowance should be made for Irish blood, and for the fact that his chief object in these exceptional emergencies is the restoration of his own authority, and his judicial demeanour is a secondary consideration. It is a case of Neptune reproving the Winds, "*Quos Ego* ——" Sir George O'Rorke, however, unlike Neptune, and a Speaker of the House of Commons, who did not know what to do when he once named an offending Member, would feel no difficulty in filling up the blank. Feeling the offence as a personal slight to himself, he is inclined to mulct the offender in penal damages to his purse, if not to his person.

Sir George O'Rorke was for a short time a Member of the Vogel Ministry in 1872-73; but when his Chief announced his policy of Provincial Abolition, Sir George would take no part in treacherously, as he thought, destroying those institutions which he loved so well, and he promptly resigned his Ministerial office. His name, however, will always be, as Speaker of the House of Representatives for an unusual length of time, better remembered in future years.

The Legislative Council in New Zealand has long been looked at by many Radical eyes as a political deformity, and, as an alleged obstacle to popular progress, it has been

another scene

the object of persistent attack and abuse as a miniature English House of Lords, without any traditional prestige, and, although not like the Peerage hereditary, still carrying with it all the evils of nomineeism. On this point a few words in mitigation may be said. Of course, an estate of the Legislature, not elective, can be a bar to Democracy, which it may be assumed is the proper form of self-govern-



Sir George Maurice O'Rorke.

ment in New Zealand. But this obstructive position altogether depends on the attitude taken by the estate in question. Granted that the will of the people, deliberately and constitutionally formed and expressed, must prevail. But then preliminary conditions must be fulfilled before that ultimate conclusion can be logically reached. It may be, even in a triennial New Zealand Parliament, that a Ministerial majority in the House of Representatives may

at one time or other not be in accordance on some important question with the opinion of the majority of the whole electorate body ; or possibly a new question may have suddenly sprung up, on which that body has not been properly consulted, and has expressed constitutionally no positive opinion. In either case, the passing of a measure that must become law if the Council must necessarily follow the action of the other House (for the Governor's assent under Ministerial advice would be a matter of course), the measure in question being of a kind from which practically it would be most difficult, if not impossible, for the Legislature to recede afterwards. Can it be truly said that under these circumstances the real voice of the people has been carried into effect ? or that if the Council had interposed some delay which would have enabled that real voice to have been first constitutionally ascertained, it would have stood in the way of self-government ? The actual truth would be that the Council had by that delay facilitated the real will of the people to have practical effect, and not allowed it to be forestalled and possibly frustrated by premature legislation. All this may with propriety be said on behalf of the Legislative Council in New Zealand. It altogether depends, as I have said, on the attitude taken by that body. Supposing, which is not an extravagant supposition, that that attitude is similar to the one lately taken in the case of the Irish Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords in England, we have had actual experience here that it is an attitude, the constitutional propriety of which is recognized and approved by a great majority of the English people.

No doubt in this view much trust is made to the good sense and discretion of a body like the Legislative Council, for it is impossible to endow it by law with those qualities. But that may be said of any estate of the Legislature anywhere. It is much to be feared that by

the substitution of an elective body for the present Legislative Council, or by having only one Chamber, namely the House of Representatives, the remedy may prove worse than the disease. Already one great improvement, by limiting the tenure of office, has been effected in the constitution of the Council, and the continued appointment, when occasion arises, of men of good sense and some political knowledge would be a material guarantee against abuse of its constitutional position. It may be added that almost ever since its creation the Legislative Council has, like the English House of Lords, followed the usage of not interfering with matters of pure finance, and leaving them exclusively to be practically dealt with by the representatives of the people.

Since 1886, the Legislative Council has lost by death two Speakers, Sir William Fitzherbert, who retired in January, 1891, on account of his failing health, and died soon afterwards; and Sir Harry Atkinson, who was transferred from his office of Prime Minister, and from the House of Representatives to the Legislative Council and its Speakership, on January 24th, 1891. I have already noticed his sudden and tragic death.

The Legislative Council has ~~not~~, like the House of Representatives, the right to elect its Speaker. The Speaker of the Legislative Council is appointed by the ^{uncal} Governor. ~~It is surprising that when an amendment in 1891 was made in its constitution the right of election of its own Speaker was not vested in itself.~~ There is no reason, so far as I am aware, for the ~~present~~ ^{former} distinction between the two Houses in the mode of appointing their respective Speaker, and, undoubtedly, the more natural and convenient mode is that which prevails in the House of Representatives. The present Speaker of the Legislative Council is Mr. Henry John Miller. He is a true specimen of an English gentleman. Frank, hearty and prepossessing in manner, he is also

scholarly, wise, "fair spoken and persuading," and he has the qualifications for worthily presiding over an assembly of "most potent, grave and reverend signors," and for the exercise of his authority with dignity and tact. He has been a member of the Legislative Council since July, 1865. Never a party man, his political career has been characterized throughout by ability, good sense and public usefulness. His speeches, which were not frequent, were clear, logical, straightforward, to the point, and occasionally rose to eloquence. He has always been popular with his colleagues. A better selection, however determined, of a Speaker could not have been made.

During the years 1895 and 1896, four notable members of the Legislative Council have died. Sir Patrick Buckley, K.C.M.G., had recently left the Council and been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, and shortly afterwards died. Dr. Pollen, Mr. Walter Mantell, and Mr. Robert Pharazyn died while they were members. I have already noticed the public lives of Dr. Pollen and Mr. Walter Mantell.

Sir Patrick Buckley was appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council in July, 1878. First a Minister in the Stout-Vogel Cabinet, he was afterwards the Colonial Secretary in the Ballance Ministry for two years, till the death of Mr. Ballance in January, 1893, and afterwards Attorney-General. He had been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Justice Richmond. Sir Patrick Buckley died in August, 1896. He had considerable ability, both as a lawyer and as a Minister of the Crown, and his good nature and his genial disposition made him popular. Like his countrymen, he was gifted with an impulsive temperament, ready wit, and facile speech. He was skilful and successful as leader for some time of the Legislative Council. He was made, in 1892, by the

Queen a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

In the death of Mr. Pharazyn, who was suddenly taken away in the prime of life, the Colony lost a public man of considerable promise. He had been in the Legislative Council for ten years, and it is a pity that he had not begun and continued his political career in the House of Representatives, a rougher but infinitely better school for the rising statesman. In his early youth he had an opportunity for political distinction, of which he did not avail himself for reasons very creditable to himself. Mr. (now Sir Edward) Stafford was, in 1865, forming a Ministry, and he offered Mr. Robert Pharazyn a seat in it, with the office, I think, of Postmaster-General. Mr. Pharazyn did not accept the tempting offer, because he could not altogether conscientiously approve of the circumstances under which the displacement of the Weld Ministry and the formation of a new Ministry took place. From that time till 1886, when he accepted a seat in the Legislative Council, Mr. Robert Pharazyn did not take any active part in politics.

Mr. E. C. J. Stevens occupies a high position in the Parliament of New Zealand. He has had lengthened experience of both Houses of the Legislature. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1866 to 1882, when he was appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council, which he still holds. As a member of the House of Representatives, he was a great financial authority. He was the "Jack Bunsby" of Budgets, "a man of mind, and a man as can give an opinion." Every year when the Colonial Treasurer made his financial statement, no member ventured to criticize it until Mr. Stevens had first spoken. His speech, like that of his great nautical prototype in "Dombey and Son," was decidedly oracular. Its bearing lay in its right application. Few of his hearers

understood his meaning, but the great majority who did not, were not the less positive on that account in pronouncing it to be the utterance of a great financier. Somewhat of Bunsbyan solemnity, and a "rapt and imperturbable manner," as if he were "always on the look out for something in the extremest distance," added to his financial reputation. Mr. Stevens never took any Ministerial office while he was in the House of Representatives, but he did since join, without any portfolio, the Atkinson Ministry to aid in explaining Government measures in the Legislative Council. In the other House he did excellent service as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee for many successive years. He is an excellent man of business.

Mr. Charles Christopher Bowen, who was appointed to the Legislative Council in January, 1891, is another distinguished man, who first won his political spurs in the House of Representatives. He came out to the Canterbury Settlement in its earliest days, and for two years, from 1872 to 1874, was chairman of the Canterbury Board of Education. In 1874, he first became a member of the Legislative Council, in order to take office in that year as a member of the Ministry of Sir Julius Vogel, but he resigned his seat in the Council directly afterwards, and was elected to the House of Representatives, in which he took the foremost rank. His first great achievement as a Minister while he was in that House was carrying through the Education Act of 1877, which established free and secular primary schools and compulsory attendance, the system of education which has existed in New Zealand ever since, and is still in force. In that difficult duty he showed great capabilities characteristic of statesmanship, which even his strongest political opponents could not fail to recognize. A better man for the performance of that onerous task could scarcely have been selected. He combined with a

thorough mastery of his subject persuasive powers of a high order, conciliatory attitude, firmness where he deemed it necessary, perseverance, and patient forbearance from angry retort.

Mr. Bowen is a man of classical culture, and was educated at Rugby and Cambridge University. He has a winning and gentle manner. His speeches are good



Hon. Charles Christopher Bowen.

and logical, but more notable for mild persuasiveness than for polemic force. He retired from Parliamentary politics in 1881, till he was called to the Legislative Council ten years afterwards.

Mr. Bowen is a relative of the late Lord Justice, the ~~Right Hon. Sir Charles Synge~~ C. Bowen, and rather resembles that lamented judge in manner and appearance.

CHAPTER VII.

Labour Movement—Socialism—New Zealand Legislation and Administration—Finance—Land—Constitutional Reform—Labour—Law Reform.

SINCE 1886, a great political change, in fact a revolution, has been in course of passing over the Government and legislation of New Zealand, as over other countries. Fortunately, in self-governing colonies and countries, a political revolution does not imply a change accompanied by violence and bloodshed. Self-government is not only the barometer which gives ample warning, and thus enables the State Ship in good time beforehand to be made snug before the tempest comes, but it is also the lightning conductor which disarms the tempest of its chief element of danger. The thunderbolt cannot shatter the ship, but is rendered innocuous. This great political change requires some consideration and comment.

The Labour Movement, with some sinister accompaniments, began to make itself sensibly felt in New Zealand. Dissatisfaction with wages, strikes, lock-outs, hostile combinations of the employed against the employers, and of the employers against the employed, began to rear their threatening heads of discord. Industry and commerce were thrown into confusion. The unemployed suffered great distress. Thanks to the common sense of the whole community, which felt itself to be, as I have said, a self-governing body, the good ship of the State safely met and resisted the passing storm. But a political lesson was learned, which is not likely to be forgotten. It had

been probably in the minds of many before, but the evils to which I have referred caused it to exercise a practical influence on the opinions and politics of the majority, and will, I believe, cause it to continue to be a potential factor in the future political industry of New Zealand. The moral of that lesson is Socialism.

Socialism is in many ears an ugly word, and no doubt, if it means what it is occasionally understood to mean, namely, the forcible equalization and community of property, it is not only an offensive but an absurd doctrine. Fortunately, in that sense it is and must be impracticable. Were it possible to give effect to it to-day, what human power can hereafter maintain an equal partition so long as folly and extravagance entail waste, and industry and prudence create accumulation of property? Can a greater absurdity be conceived than a Socialism which would try to level down the tenure of all property, and to maintain that dead level by also trying to level down all physical, mental, and moral qualities of mankind by some kind of Procrustean system, warranted by an unpleasant process of curtailment, or elongation, to create equality and universal stagnation?

But, of course, I am not using the word Socialism in that sense. And it is better at once to explain in what sense I am using the term, because innumerable controversies proceed in vicious and interminable circles, owing to the fact that the disputants respectively attach a different signification to the terms employed by them in their arguments. To simplify and make intelligible my meaning, let me discard the last syllable, "ism," and substitute for "Socialism" the two words "Social Improvement."

No one in his senses will deny that social improvement is needed in this world. The question is as to the means of effecting that object. What are we to do? and how

are we to do it? Political economists were wont, and some may do so now, to lay down the rule that the duty of the State only consisted in providing for the security of the life and property of its subjects. Labour and employment, according to them, should be regulated by demand and supply; and charitable relief, exclusive, perhaps, of the poor rate and the workhouse; and social improvement, should be altogether left to the private efforts of benevolent individuals and institutions. That rule, however, even in England, where it was at one time generally accepted, has been subject to certain signal exceptions; and the tendency of public feeling, now that the franchise has been so widely extended, is in England, and especially in English Colonies, to honour the rule in question more by its breach than by its observance. And there is much to be said in favour of that tendency. The State is now practically the elected representative of the whole community, and responsible to its control. The action of the State is, in other words, the action of the majority of the people directly interested. And it may be reasonably inferred that they know better, or will soon learn by experience to know better, what tends to their actual and permanent advantage than others who do not constitutionally represent them and are not constitutionally responsible to them. Otherwise, self-government is a mere sham. There can be no wish to exclude private benevolence, charitable institutions, or friendly societies, more especially those of which persons in the working poorer classes are members; but the wish rather is that the State should work concurrently hand-in-hand with them towards the attainment of a common object of immeasurable importance to the whole community. And that object is not Utopian and impracticable. It is not the equalization of property by forcibly enriching the poor and pauperizing the rich. It aims rather at not

allowing an artificial system to continue under which the poor become poorer, and the rich become richer. Its hope is to brighten the life of the poor, to make it more attractive, and, by giving it fair play in the battle of life, to level up, and not level down. In such a gigantic work the State, as representing the people themselves, may fairly and reasonably be called on to lend its powerful aid. That mistakes, follies, extravagances, failures and disappointments will frequently occur, is only to say that human States as well as human individuals are fallible. But there is a remedial process inherent in self-governing States, which is not always seen in private individuals and in private institutions, acting in good faith for the benefit of others. Those agents do not feel where the shoe pinches, while those who elect representatives and can call them to account do so feel and can demand and enforce the application of proper remedies. Moreover, there is an essential element of advantage in State action which is not always found elsewhere. That element is publicity. Publicity is the salt of political life. It cannot altogether prevent jobbery, corruption, injustice and mismanagement, but the fear of it is a great deterrent of these offences, and, when they do occur, it is a great corrective. Publicity often lags behind the offender, but it rarely fails at last to overtake and bring him to punishment. And abuses do not live long when exposed to the fierce light of publicity. Altogether, it seems to me that the State under self-government is in many respects a valuable and potential factor in the work of the "Social Improvement" of the community which it constitutionally represents.

But there are limits within which even a self-governing State should act in legislation for promoting "Social Improvement." The dominant principle to be observed is that the State should not interfere with individual liberty,

unless the circumstances of the case call for such interference for the general good of the whole community ; and care should be taken not to restrain the freedom of the citizen unless when it is injurious to the State, or to society, or unless an enlightened majority, after due deliberation, is of opinion that such restraint is for the general permanent advantage. Any system, or policy, which unnecessarily restricts individual liberty, and independence of thought and action, which tends to abase the human character, and to repress human energy and all the higher aims and faculties of the human mind, should be most scrupulously avoided.

Some instances may here be cited, in which English legislation has deviated from the rule which political economists prescribed, and some years ago was generally accepted in Parliament as correct, namely, that private interests should, except so far as the security of life and property were concerned, be left exclusively to the regulation of supply and demand, especially in respect of labour and employment.

The most remarkable instance occurred a little more than sixty years ago, when slavery was abolished throughout the British Colonies. A greater and more beneficial instance of Parliamentary interference with the then existing supply and demand in the labour market in the British Colonies concerned could not be adduced.

About the same time young chimney-sweepers became objects of the particular solicitude of the Imperial Parliament ; and an Act was passed forbidding the apprenticeship of children under ten years of age to a chimney-sweeper.

Again, at a little later date, Factory Acts were passed securing that persons of tender years shall not be employed at all in certain establishments, and that others older, but still below a specified age, shall only be em-

ployed at half time, provision being made for the education of children. In some cases provision is made against the employment of women. These Acts were passed, notwithstanding the resistance at the time, partly because they were alleged to be a mischievous interference between employer and employed.

The Truck System was also abolished in 1831 by Parliament, in spite of opposition on the ground of the law abolishing it interfering with the freedom of trade.

In later years the tendency of the Imperial Parliament towards legislation of this kind is increasing. The establishment of Post Office Savings Banks and of Government Life Insurance are included in this category; also, the existing Education Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, the Employers' Liability Acts, and the laws granting Bank holidays and shop holidays; there is also in contemplation, under influential auspices, the passing of some measure to make some provision out of State funds for the aged and destitute in the latter days of their lives. As an indication of the great change which has taken place in the Parliamentary mind on the subject of this exceptional legislation, as it has been termed, it may be said that its introduction on rare occasions was accompanied by elaborate apologies, and regarded with great suspicion. These apologies and the suspicion have now disappeared, and each case is judged on its own merits.

It may be added that the great undertaking of telegraphic business, which was, from its commencement, in private hands, was a few years ago bought by the Government, and is now conducted by it as a branch of the postal service.

One great opportunity of promoting national welfare, no doubt Great Britain has lost, and that is Colonization.

Forty-five years ago, when self-government was granted to Canada and the Australian Colonies, and they were endowed with the untold wealth of their Crown lands, a condition could easily have been made that out of the sufficient upset price of one pound an acre on the sale by auction of those lands, or out of the greater sum realized, a reasonable proportion—say, for example, two shillings and sixpence per acre—should be reserved for the sum of an Emigration or Colonization Fund, which should be administered by a joint Board properly representing the United Kingdom and the Colonies concerned. Had that been done, it is not an unreasonable presumption that colonization would have been a characteristic feature in the English history of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and that the successful achievement of colonization on such a scale would have been a greater boon to mankind than any conquest by war. England out of her redundant population and capital would have peopled and enriched the solitary wastes of her Colonies. She would truly have called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. The whole British Empire would have reaped a rich reward.

Even now, at this eleventh hour, the idea of systematic emigration is well worth the practical consideration of English and colonial statesmen who have Imperial interests at heart; and who wish, at the same time, to relieve the United Kingdom of its plethora of population, and of inadequately employed capital; and to ensure the development of British Colonies which suffer from dearth of inhabitants and of capital. When I use the term "systematic emigration," I mean the transfer of persons from the United Kingdom to the Colonies on such conditions as will induce those persons to emigrate with the best prospect of becoming permanent colonists, either as individual emigrants, or as units in

the formation of special settlements. I also mean to imply that labour and capital, in due proportion to each other, should form part of that system of emigration. And, further, I mean that systematic emigration should not necessarily be uniform, but that it should be a State policy on the part of the United Kingdom conjointly with a similar policy on the part of each Colony willing to receive such systematic emigration, on terms mutually agreed to, both as regards administration and as regards cost. I do not wish, of course, to exclude the effective operation and aid of individuals, or of associations, in promoting suitable emigration and settlement either at home or in a colony. I would be glad to hail them as fellow-workers with the State in a philanthropic cause. I attach great importance to the principle that the system of emigration to a particular Colony should, as a State policy, be jointly adopted by the United Kingdom and by that particular Colony; and the administration and cost be joint, as may mutually be determined. That principle would secure the proper adaptation of the system to the Colony concerned, and go far to remove objections now entertained by self-governing Colonies to the influx of immigrants, especially if the principles that the class of emigrants be good, and that labour and capital should accompany each other in due proportions, be observed. These are mere suggestions, which require careful elaboration before they can be reduced to practice. But I venture to hope that they furnish some aid towards incorporating colonization into the Imperial and the Colonial policies, both at home and abroad. I lay stress on the principle that the cost of colonization should be partly borne by the Mother Country and partly by the Colony, because it is fair that those who jointly share in the benefit should share in part of the cost. And it is also fair that the

emigrants themselves should in many cases bear a proportion of that cost, not in what I think the vicious system of their promissory notes, but, as a rule, in cash given by them or contributed by their relatives or friends. And the other principle, that the class of emigrants should be good facilitates such an arrangement. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the United Kingdom is only interested in the emigration of the lowest class of its population. Were that the case, there would be no possible prospect of systematic colonization in the sense in which I use the term. It is idle to imagine that the Colonies would consent to accept or aid in administering a system under which paupers and a horde of persons unable or unwilling to work, or it may be a criminal class, would be imported wholesale into their respective countries. Reflection also shows that the United Kingdom would be benefited by the emigration of persons belonging to relatively higher classes and of good and industrious character. What is needed in the United Kingdom is the diminution of redundancy of population. That numerical decrease could be, speaking generally, effected equally wherever the outlet for systematic emigration was made. Diminish population where it is not needed by its transfer to a place where it is needed ; give more room, by extending the area, for the profitable employment of capital ; and you at once introduce into the country which has this congestion of people and of capital the leaven of improvement which will leaven the whole mass of population throughout. Systematically work at emigration from the higher strata, and you will proportionately uplift the lower levels. Numbers who are a dead weight and a public burden at present will soon become active workers and contributors in promoting the general welfare. It is Utopian to think that all the United Kingdom has to do is to induce the dregs

of its population to emigrate. No country would help in the adoption of such a policy, and without help the policy would be impracticable. Of course, under the most favourable circumstances, systematic emigration of the best kind could not at once annihilate pauperism in the United Kingdom ; but if systematic emigration of the kind here advocated be a means of making gradual improvement, every step taken in that direction is an advance in the right course, and a nearer approach to the end in view. Moreover, material progress stimulates moral improvement. Moral degradation is often caused more by pressure of poverty than by innate depravity of character.

There is a notion in many quarters that what is called Socialism in New Zealand, so far as its Government and its Legislature are concerned, began in 1891, and has been more or less rampant since. Its beginning and growth ought to be considerably antedated. It is interesting and instructive to consider shortly the position of the State of New Zealand in these respects at the beginning of 1891, when the Ballance Ministry, who are often regarded as the chief socialistic offenders, first took office. Before and since that date, New Zealand as a State owned and managed Lighthouses, Post Office Savings Banks, all the Telegraph and Telephone system, all the Railways, with one or two trifling exceptions, and had taken charge of nearly the whole Education of the Colony. It had also established and was undertaking a most successful Life Insurance business, a Government Land Transfer system, and the office of Public Trustee. The merits of the policy which set on foot these institutions and undertakings as public establishments may be judged in a practical point of view by their present position, respectively, after a growth of, in no case, more than thirty years, and, in

most cases, much less. Taking them one by one, the latest official reports of 1896 furnish authentic information on that point.

Lighthouses.—There are twenty-seven coastal lights in New Zealand, namely, eight of the first order, thirteen of the second order, three of the third order, and three of smaller orders. Besides the coastal lighthouses, there are harbour lights at most of the ports of the Colony for the guidance of vessels into and out of those ports.

Post Office Savings Banks.—The Post Office Savings Banks system was established in New Zealand in 1867. The total amount standing to the credit of all open accounts at the end of year ending March 31st, 1896, was 3,895,543*l.*, a sum equal to 5*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population. In the year 1894-95, the balance was 3,340,879*l.*, representing 4*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per head. The number of accounts in the year 1895-96 was 137,683, as against 129,423 in 1894-95, an increase of 8260. The average of each deposit was 12*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* In 1894 the average was 11*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*

Telegraph and Telephone.—The number of telegrams of all codes forwarded during the year 1895-96 was 2,194,211, an increase of 90,411 over the number forwarded in 1894-95. Sixty-one knots of single-wire cable were laid; the length of the single-wire cables is now (March 31st, 1896) two hundred and nine knots. There were 6745 miles of line and 15,764 miles of wire at the close of the year 1895-96, an increase of 134 and 833 miles respectively. There were on March 31st, 1896, twenty-six telephone exchanges, and 5143 subscribers or connections, as against 4616 on March 31st, 1895. There were 475 miles of exchange wire erected, and thirty miles of line constructed during the year. Altogether, on that date there were 389 miles of line

and 4947 miles of wire connected with the telephone exchanges.

Railways.—During 1895, 2*l.* 16*s.* per cent. has been earned on a capital cost of 15,425,532*l.* The length of Government railway open for traffic on March 31st, 1896, was 2014 miles.

Government Life Insurance. — The New Zealand Government Life Insurance Department was first founded in 1870. The total insurance which it effected during that year was 30,000*l.*, and at the end of 1895 the total insurance which it had in force amounted to 9,345,000*l.* Of this 3,365,000*l.* relates to endowment insurances.

Considering the very limited population (703,360 in April, 1896) to which the operations of the department are confined, this increase is highly satisfactory. The amount of provision for old age or early death thus made by New Zealanders in the Government Office alone is greater than the similar provision made by the policy-holders of any English office, with two exceptions.

The accumulated funds at the end of 1893 amounted to 2,128,590*l.*, so that there was a gross surplus of 190,000*l.*, of which 50,000*l.* was carried to reserve and 140,000*l.* was divided amongst the policy-holders. Since 1893, the actuarial investigation will be made every three years; and the one which is due at the end of 1896 is now in progress, and the triennial bonus will be declared as early as possible in 1897. The distinctive feature of the department is that the payment of every policy which it issues is guaranteed by the State.

Government Land Transfer.—The Torrens system of land transfer was established in New Zealand in 1870. The general effect of the system is to enable persons

acquiring ownership of land by transfer, inheritance, or other means, to receive a title thereto direct from the Crown. All lands alienated before the system was established can be brought under it, provided there is a clear or a slightly imperfect title to it. The system further greatly facilitates the transfer at any time of land once brought under it. The outlay of a few shillings can thus under ordinary circumstances procure a perfectly secure title guaranteed by the State. The Government Land Transfer Office may be said to do nearly the whole of the conveyancing business of the country. The business transacted by it during the year ending March 31st, 1896, amounted in value to 4,702,551*l.*, above a million more than in the corresponding period 1894-95.

Public Trustee.—The Public Trust Office was constituted by Act in 1872. The original scope of the office and the powers of the trustee have since been enlarged to enable the object in view to be better attained. That object is to provide at low rates of commission a secure and convenient recourse to the Public Trustee in every case where a person residing in or out of New Zealand, desiring to form a trust, or appoint an executor, agent, or attorney, in the Colony may be in doubt or difficulty as to the choice of a fit person for that appointment. The object is also for the relief of those who, after having accepted a trust of property, may, for various reasons, be unwilling or unable to undertake or continue the administration. The Public Trustee also administers every intestate estate. He cannot under any circumstances accept administration jointly with any other person.

The mere statement of the object of this office is sufficient to show its value and importance. The uncertainties attendant, especially in a Colony, upon

private trusteeship demonstrate, without saying, the usefulness of a public officer reliable and continuous in office for the administration of trusts. Mr. Edward Wakefield, in his able work, "New Zealand after Fifty Years," states that the Public Trust Office was established in 1872 upon the suggestion of Mr. E. C. J. Stevens. That statement, if correct, corroborates what I have said as to Mr. Stevens being an excellent business man. I may add that from my own knowledge Sir Julius Vogel, who was Colonial Treasurer from 1869 till 1873, with the exception of one month, was strongly in favour of the measure, and, I believe, its passing into law was mainly attributable to his influence and exertion. But if the first suggestion emanated from Mr. Stevens, to whom Socialism in its obnoxious sense was utterly repugnant, that fact is a conclusive proof that he did not take that view of its purport. The balance-sheet of the Public Trust Office for the year ended March 31st, 1896, shows a balance in its administration to the value of 780,475*l*.

Education.—The Report presented to the New Zealand Parliament by the Minister of Education in May, 1896, shows that the strict average attendance at public schools in 1895 was 106,622, and the working average, 108,394, exceeding the numbers of the last preceding year by 3132 and 3399 respectively. The number of Maori children attending public schools was 1894, being an increase of 358 over the number in 1894. The number of New Zealand candidates examined and passed in 1895 by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, and by the City and Guild of London Institute was 488. The number of graduates by examination on the roll of the University of New Zealand was 559. The number of degrees conferred as the result of the examinations during 1895 was sixty-three. There are three institutions in which most of the undergraduates

keep terms and receive instruction, namely, the University of Otago, Canterbury College, and Auckland University College. In connection with Otago University there is a Medical School, and also a School of Mines, and in connection with Canterbury College there is a School of Agriculture and also an Engineering School.

The New Zealand system of education is free, secular and compulsory. My own opinion is that the system is defective in not providing for aid to Voluntary Schools on the basis of secular results. The grounds of my opinion are that the existing system acts as a hindrance to adequate religious education apart from the State which properly refrains from giving it; and that the system unjustly handicaps Roman Catholics, who, for conscience sake, are unable to avail themselves of State schools, and are forced, while contributing to their formation and maintenance, to pay for their own schools at their own cost.

The truth is that on the assumption that the State should only be a machine for the purposes of police and taxation, and that any legislation or administration beyond and outside those limits is Socialism, the Colony of New Zealand can only be quoted as splendidly Socialistic from the beginning. The Treaty of Waitangi was its foundation as a British Colony. The New Zealand Company created Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago, and Canterbury, on the basis of special and almost class settlements. Since then special sub-settlements, and land regulations encouraging their creation, and the occupation and use of waste land have been interwoven with the colonization of New Zealand. Direct encouragement, in the shape of bonuses, has been given by the State to trades and industries. Experimental national workshops may be said to have existed in the railway workshops. On the gold-fields the State has constructed

at great expense water-races and other works ; and has granted exceptional facilities for promoting the permanent settlement of the gold-mining population. All these political anomalies, as, strictly speaking, they perhaps may be termed, existed long before, and continued in existence during 1891, when the so-called Socialistic Ministry, with Mr. Ballance at their head, first took office. The principle that all functions are properly the functions of government, which are exercised for the welfare of the people, had been over and over again adopted in practice by New Zealand statesmen of all classes and of all parties from the earliest date of responsible government. There are now political purists who hold up their hands, as it were, in holy horror, at the course of public policy in New Zealand since 1891, as a monstrous innovation, and thank Heaven that they are not Socialists. The anomaly which they stigmatize exists only in their imagination. "The greatest good of the greatest number" must be the guiding policy of the State in these days, and whatever difference there may have, and no doubt has existed, as to the means of applying that principle, the principle itself has in New Zealand been generally recognized for the last forty years. And it must continue so. In politics practical effect must be given to the demand of a popular will in a self-governing community when that will has been constitutionally expressed, after due deliberation, subject of course to change from time to time, as indicated to be advisable by the test of experience. In the pursuit of public policy on these lines the State should not be diverted from its object by unmerited reproach founded on cant and mere conventionalism.

At the same time the doctrine is not tenable that whatever the State holds to be for the public good should necessarily be so. There are immutable principles of

human nature and society which it is impossible for any State to controvert without entailing, whatever plausible show to the contrary may appear on the surface, ultimate grievous, and it may be almost irretrievable, disaster to the progress of social improvement. I repeat what I began by saying that any restraint of individual freedom, the exercise of which is not injurious to the community, unless that restraint can be clearly proved to be for permanent public advantage, is suicidal on the part of the State, inasmuch as it tends unnecessarily to restrict civil liberty, and to abase the human character by repressing independence of thought and action, energy, and all the higher aims and faculties of the human mind. Citizens should guide the State, and not the State the citizens.

There is one tendency against which the State should guard itself. It is fussy legislation. One kind is to aim at perfection of public propriety. No nation can be made virtuous by statute. Morality is not a product of Parliament or of Police. Meddlesome laws and petty officialdom, in cases where the public weal is not directly concerned, fail in the attainment of even what is abstractedly a laudable object, and generally produce more harm than good.

On the other hand, there is another tendency to what may be termed "Jack Cade" legislation which should be avoided. There is obviously a limit beyond which the State cannot properly go in the way of undertaking, or interfering with, the duties and responsibilities of business enterprise under the plea of social improvement. Disregard of this limit becomes an abuse, and not the proper use, of the functions of the State.

There is also a very important question, namely, the relation in which the State places itself to private individuals when it becomes a lender of public money in the shape of advances to classes in the community. I

reserve my remarks on that subject till I come to the consideration of "The Government Advances to Settlers Act, 1894," in New Zealand.

I propose now to state shortly some of the more important legislative and administrative changes which characterized six years in New Zealand, from the beginning of 1891 to the close of 1896. Any comments which I may make in the course of this statement on any of these measures must be taken more in the way of explanation or suggestion than of criticism, which at this early stage of what are confessedly experimental and tentative measures would be probably ill-judged and certainly premature.

It will be convenient to class the measures under separate general heads, and these may be taken for the purpose as relating to Finance, Land, Constitutional Reform, Labour, and Law Reform.

The substitution of income tax and land tax for the property tax was the first financial achievement. The property tax was devised and imposed by the Hall Government during their tenure of office from October, 1878, to April, 1882. It was strongly opposed at the time, but the Colonial Treasurer, Sir Harry Atkinson, who had not much studied political economy, moreover, was himself carried away and carried his party, the majority of the House then, with him by the use of plausible and superficial phrases. The tax, he urged, was no respecter of persons, taxed all property, was simple, equal and efficient. "Equality" in taxation is a term much misunderstood. The proper term should be "equality of sacrifice." The difference of the two terms will be appreciated by a cursory view of the property tax as it stood. It was a yearly impost of 1*d.* in the pound on the capital value of every citizen's possessions, less his debts and an exemption

of 500*l.* First, Different kinds of property are by no means equally profitable, and therefore the ability of owners to pay is unequal. Secondly, Why should the professional man or business manager altogether escape taxation on their regular and, it may be, substantial incomes? Thirdly, Why should the working farmer pay for his improvements, while the speculator or absentee paid comparatively little? Again, no description of property was selected for special burdens; no land tax, the dread of large land-owners, was imposed; graduated taxation, which contains the essence of equality of sacrifice, as between the poor and the wealthy, was avoided. So much for the simple equity of the property tax.

The substituted land and income tax may be shortly described as follows:— The land tax falls wholly upon the bare land value. The improvements are entirely exempted. The live stock which the settler and farmer buys and his buildings are exempt. That great difference between the new tax and the old tax is obviously welcome to working settlers. A man may own up to 500*l.* worth of bare land value, and has no land tax to pay; he may own up to 5000*l.* worth of bare land value, and only pays a penny in the pound a year, but in respect of those who own more than 5000*l.* worth of land, the new system of gradual or progressive taxation comes in, by means of steps going up one-eighth of a penny on the first gradient, and another eighth of a penny on the next gradient, till the owner of 210,000*l.* worth of value has to pay threepence in the pound on his land. Mortgagees are treated as part owners of the farm; and each pays a penny in the pound on the value of his mortgage. It was doubted at first whether the mortgagee would not evade this tax;

but it has been found that, practically he, and not the farmer, does pay it. In the case, however, of the graduated tax, the mortgage is not allowed to be deducted from the value of the estate; but the owner of mortgaged large estates pays on the mortgage, as well as on his property, the whole assessed tax, the object being to discourage mortgaged large estates, on the ground that they keep population off the land; and to encourage their subdivision into farms of moderate size which will attract population and settlement. It may here be observed that the effect of the graduated land tax is not only to secure equality of sacrifice, but also tends to that subdivision of large properties, obtaining from their owners some fair contribution to the taxation rendered necessary by loans raised under the Public Works' policy, the expenditure of which has greatly benefited the owners of those large properties.

The income tax deals, as its name implies, specially with incomes. The possessor of an income of 300*l.* a year or less pays nothing a year; and for the first 1000*l.* a year that a man has after the exemption of 300*l.* he pays 6*d.* in the pound, and for income he has above that he pays 1*s.* in the pound. Of course, the income tax does not apply to incomes gained from land, which are dealt with altogether under the land tax.

"The New Zealand Consols Act, 1894," was passed in order to provide for an inscription of New Zealand Consols, and thus to give further facilities for the safe investment of savings. Practically, it establishes another branch of the Post Office Savings Bank, with extended powers of investment. The Consols have a currency to February 1st, 1910, and carry interest at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* for every 100*l.* deposited. Up to

July, 1896, the transactions had not been large, only 3365*l.* of deposits having been received.

Finance is always a prolific subject of attack in every Government. It has been said that figures may be made to prove anything; and there is considerable truth in that saying. They can either be made kaleidoscopic or kakeidoscopic (if I may use the latter term) according to the special shake given them for the particular purpose of the expert who handles them. The fairest way of dealing with them seems to be to give authentic results, and let critics in finance (their name is legion) judge for themselves. The finance of the continuous, as it may be termed, New Zealand Government, for the last six years from January, 1891, to January, 1897, has been the favourite object of invective from its foes, or of praise from its friends, as the case may be. Before approaching the subject, however, it may be advisable, with a view to better understanding of the question at issue, to clear the way by an attempt to define one term somewhat indiscriminately used in different senses by different parties to the discussion.

"Borrowing" is that term. It involves a question in which the British investor is most interested. It has been stated that the policy on which Mr. Ballance, the Premier of New Zealand in January, 1891, assumed office was a non-borrowing policy, and that, since his death in 1893, his successors under Mr. Seddon have completely changed that policy in that essential particular. The financial statement of 1891 has been quoted to show that for the sake of the credit and financial independence of New Zealand, borrowing in the English market must cease. It is not stated that any specific pledge was given that the Colony should not borrow in the English market for any definite

time—because Mr. Ballance, who was in office for two years, increased the public debt by nearly 1,000,000/. It is only stated that the policy was not to borrow, and that Mr. Ballance did not himself adhere to that policy, and that Mr. Seddon has not adhered to it, inasmuch as in three years of his administration he had increased the public debt altogether by 4,000,000/. Now, in the treatment of this question, I pass by as scarcely worth serious consideration the argument that may be advanced that some of these loans may have been negotiated in the Colony and not in England. It is difficult to determine this difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. The fact that tenders for a loan are called in a Colony does not preclude in these days of telegraphs an investor residing in England authorizing his colonial agent from successfully tendering and furnishing him with the means of doing so. The idea of this restriction resembles that in the mind of the man who cut a large and a small hole through a dividing wall for a cat and its kitten. The cat could not make use of the hole for the kitten, but both could use the hole for the cat. And even if there had been, in case of these loans, only one small hole cut, the telegraph wire could easily enable the English investing cat to appear by attorney on the scene. But to return to the subject of loans, there are, in the case of both States and individuals, two kinds of borrowings; the one may be a simple waste of money, and the other may turn out a judicious and profitable investment. The conditions on which this alternative depends are, at what rate of interest the money is borrowed, and how the borrowed money is expended. Take, as a rough illustration of the loan proving to be a good investment, the case of New Zealand borrowing for the construction of its railways 15,500,000/, in which,

during 1895, it was obtaining 2*l.* 16*s.* per cent. on the capital cost, a progressive rate of interest, besides securing all the incidental advantages of progress of settlement, development of resources, and ownership of a valuable and improving property ; advantages which are beyond calculation in pounds, shillings, and pence.

The first step is to ascertain what are the authentic amounts of the loans in question. And for this purpose the latest and best authority available are official returns prepared by permanent officers in the Colonial Treasury for the information of Parliament and the public. The gross public debt on March 31st, 1891—two months after the Atkinson Government left office—was 38,830,350*l.*, and the net debt was 37,343,308*l.* ; and on March 31st, 1893, the gross debt was 39,257,840*l.*, and the net debt was 38,144,070*l.*—two years after the Ballance Government had been in power. This shows an increase in the gross public debt of 427,490*l.*, and the net public debt of 800,762*l.* In the end of March, 1893, just before the Seddon Government came into power, the gross public debt was 39,257,840*l.*, and the net public debt was 38,144,270*l.* On March 31st, 1896, when the Seddon Government had been almost three years in power, the gross public debt was 43,050,780*l.*, and the net public debt was 42,271,889*l.*, showing an increase in the gross public debt of 3,792,940*l.*, and an increase in the net public debt of 4,127,619*l.*

The next step is to analyze this increase of debt and ascertain how it has arisen and how the money borrowed has been appropriated. It is impossible within the available space of this work to go minutely into financial details ; but even a cursory analysis of this kind will give a general indication of the matters into which a careful scrutiny should be made, and thus afford a safer basis for financial criticism than the bald statement that

the Colony has in five years borrowed more than an additional four millions.

What is called the "Conversion Account" is responsible for a large slice of nominal addition to the public debt, while the result has been a real saving of interest. This Conversion has been going since 1884, when the Stout-Vogel Government had an Act passed to enable New Zealand Government Loan to be converted into Inscribed Stock, and Sinking Funds to be released. But the last Financial Statement (July, 1896) shows that the operations under that Act were large during the year ended March 31st, 1896—822,570*l.* of 3½ per cent. inscribed stock having been issued, together with 478,300*l.* of 3½ per cent. short-dated debentures at par during that period. An interesting return of conversions into 4 per cent. and 3½ per cent. inscribed stock has been compiled, and is embodied in that Financial Statement. That return gives the saving in the annual amount of interest as 125,958*l.*, namely, 73,315*l.* on conversions into 4 per cent. stock, and 52,643*l.* on conversions into 3½ per cent. stock.

Below is given this return and some remarks of the Colonial Treasurer respecting it, extracted from the last Financial Statement.

"In respect of these conversions the sum of 2,038,973*l.* has been added to our public debt, including nearly a quarter of a million for expenses of conversion. In order to obtain a correct idea of the real saving of interest which has resulted from these conversions, notwithstanding the increase of the principal debt, I have had calculations made as to the amounts it would be necessary to set aside half-yearly, in order to provide sums (at the expiration of the several currencies) equal to the increase of the debt. The yearly amount to be so set aside, improved at a 3 per cent. rate, is 33,686*l.* This

sum, divided between the several stocks, shows the following figures :—

“ On the 4 per cent. inscribed stock :—	£	£
The annual saving of interest being . . .	102,114	
Less amount to provide for increase of debt payable in 1929	28,799	
Net annual saving	—	73,315
“ On the 3½ per cent. inscribed stock :—		
The annual saving of interest being . . .	57,530	
Less amount to provide for increase of debt payable in 1940	4,887	
Net annual saving	—	52,643
		<hr/>
Total net annual saving		<u>£125,958</u>

“ Now an annual saving of 73,315*l.* for thirty-three years produces a total saving of 2,419,395*l.*, and a further annual saving of 52,643*l.* for forty-four years produces a further saving of 2,316,292*l.*, or a total saving in respect of the two periods of 4,735,687*l.* at the termination of the longest currency of the stock created.”

The subject of “Loans to Local Bodies Account” is also an element which enters into the consideration of the question of the increase of the New Zealand Public Debt since January, 1891. The practice has been for the Colony to borrow money and lend it to local bodies at rates of interest more than covering the rate paid by the Colony for raising such loans for expenditure by those bodies on local objects, such as branch roads, and water-supply and sanitary works. It may, of course, admit of argument whether or not such a practice is ultimately beneficial to the colonial tax-payer. Considering that local bodies, if left to themselves, would have to pay a higher rate of interest for raising loans, and that reasonable precautions are taken for proper economical expenditure, or indirectly, reproductive, the

presumption is that the practice is ultimately beneficial to the general public. At all events, in properly estimating the weight of the public burden imposed by an increase of the public debt during the last five years, it is only fair that the extent to which it has been increased in this way should be considered. It appears from the Financial Statement of July, 1896, that up to the 31st of the last preceding March the amount raised for granting loans to local bodies, and inscribed as debts of the local bodies under Part II. of "The Government Loans to Local Bodies Act, 1886," was altogether 960,300*l.* for debentures created and issued, and the proceeds of which have been carried into the Loans to Land Bodies Account. The Colonial Treasurer, on July 14th, 1896, was able to say that the whole of the interest receivable from the local authorities had been paid, and that then there were no arrears outstanding.

Another important loan remains to be considered. It is that raised and expended under "The Government Advances to Settlers Act, 1894." The Act authorized the raising of three millions sterling in sums not exceeding a million and a half in each financial year within two years from the date of the passing of the Act. In May, 1895, one million and a half was raised at 3 per cent., and the average price realized was 94*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* The money is lent to farmers at 5 per cent.—1 per cent. being added to that interest in order to redeem the principal in about thirty-five years. The object of the Act is, without the risk of public loss, to give relief to settlers burdened with mortgages at high rates of interest and other heavy incidental expenses, and in that way to facilitate the progress of the Colony. At the close of the financial year on March 31st, 1896, there had been sanctioned advances to the aggregate amount of 722,427*l.*, of which 429,172*l.* had been actually paid. An amending

Act in 1895 was passed, enlarging the scope of the original measure so as to render eligible for advances the securities, if satisfactory, in suburban lands occupied for farming, dairying, or market-gardening purposes, and in other classes of land.

This loan appears on the face of it to be the most questionable of all New Zealand Government loans. It places the State in the relation of money-lender to one class of its citizens. That relation of itself raises some serious questions of public policy. It is no doubt premature in this early stage of a great public experiment to condemn it altogether. But even granting that all reasonable precautions are now taken only to lend public money on good security and at remunerative rates of interest, a few words of warning may not be out of place.

Experience has, I think, shown in other countries a sinister fatality to be inherent in a system which admits of pecuniary obligations between the State and private individuals, especially when the State is the creditor and they are debtors. It may be said that in New Zealand that system is in force in respect of advances on Government life insurance policies. But there is an essential difference in that case. The Government holds the life policy in trust, and when the time of payment comes has only to deduct the advance. Should the policy lapse from default of premium, the Government has already received in respect of it more than the advance paid.

The conversion of the Treasury into a money-lending office is much more dangerous. The appetite for borrowing grows by what it feeds on. Class after class may knock at the door. Political influences may tend sooner or later unduly to sway the minds of both the borrower and the lender. Securities may diminish in value, and money lent may increase. Arrears of interest

may accumulate, and the recovery of interest and principal may become more and more difficult. The path of public lending to private borrowers is full of pitfalls, and it will require, if public disaster is to be avoided, constant vigilance and caution to walk safely. At present (January, 1897), however, no signs have occurred of an ugly rush for Government money. In eighteen months only about 900,000*l.* of the 1,500,000*l.* raised has been lent, and that partly to pay off existing mortgages.

One effect of the operations of the Government under the Act in question has been to lower the general rate of interest in the Colony. That rate has within a relatively short period fallen 2 per cent. If money can be obtained from outside sources at a lower rate than what the Government charges, the result will probably be shortly to put an end to recourse to loans from the Government.¹

While on the subject of the late New Zealand public loans there should be added a new loan for one million for public works, half of which has already been raised within the Colony at three and a half per cent. interest, besides contingent liabilities in the shape of bank guarantees. The proposals of the Government in July, 1896, were to expend 250,000*l.* on railways, an equal sum on making roads and improvements on Crown lands; another 250,000*l.* in purchase of native lands; 200,000*l.* in the development of gold-fields; and 50,000*l.* in popularizing and rendering more accessible the sanatory thermal springs and wonderful scenery in various parts of New Zealand. The last named object is one which deserves unqualified praise. The medicinal hot springs and the magnificent scenery which New Zealand possesses have a world-wide reputation. Any reasonable expenditure in facilitating general resort on the part of persons in search of health and of picturesque scenes of grand

¹ See Appendix A, p. 312.

sublimity will, in these times of rapid and easy travelling, be soon the means of attracting thousands of tourists and sight-seers to the Colony.

A paper entitled "The Fortunate Isles, Picturesque New Zealand," contributed on May 12th, 1896, by the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Agent-General for New Zealand, to the proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, gives an eloquent and graphic description of the attractions and reward which await the visitor. As a corroboration of the view taken by the New Zealand Ministers and Mr. Reeves on this subject, I append an extract from my book, published in 1888, "The Colony of New Zealand," pp. 266 to 270.

"The chief lakes in Otago are Lakes Wanaka and Hawea in the north, and Lakes Wakatipu and Te Anau, southward of them. Lake Wanaka has an area of 75 square miles; Lake Hawea, 48; Lake Wakatipu, 112; and Te Anau, 132 square miles. This group of lakes, romantically situated amid Alpine scenery, can be easily reached either from Dunedin or Invercargill. The mountain ranges run generally from north to south; the watershed between the east and west coasts lies near the west coast. The chief peaks are Mount Aspiring, 9000 feet; Mount Earnslaw, 9200 feet; Mount Castor and Pollux, 8600 feet; and Ben Nevis, 7600 feet in height. The range in Western Otago presses closely on the coast, and is penetrated in various places by long winding sounds, or fiords, of great depth. Nature here asserts her predominant sway, and scarcely any trace of man, except in the occasional visit of a steamer or an exploring or scaling party, is seen. The still, deep waters, walled in by stupendous mountains, rising in places almost precipitously 5000 or 6000 feet high, the silence only broken here and there by roaring cataracts, and the utter loneliness of all around, invest these remote scenes with inex-

pressible grandeur. On this part of the coast, in a distance along it of 120 miles, thirteen of these sounds, or fiords, run inland, some for twenty miles. Milford Sound, the northernmost, though less in extent than the others, far surpasses them all in its grand scenery. Pembroke Peak, about three miles inland, lifts its summit of perpetual snow on the northern side to a height of 6700 feet, and Llawrenny Peaks, a very remarkable saddle-backed mountain, is of nearly the same height on the southern side; while the Mitre rises abruptly 5560 feet immediately over the south side of the sound, and a dome-shaped mountain, nearly bare of vegetation, and resembling from its peculiar hue a monster mass of metal, is on the opposite shore. From Anita Bay the sound runs south-east for a mile and a half, when the narrow entrance is reached, barely exceeding a quarter of a mile in width, with towering perpendicular cliffs on either side, and with soundings in mid channel of sixty fathoms. The sound then trends in an easterly and south-east direction for six miles between gigantic cliffs, the width varying from one-third to three-quarters of a mile. The depth at one place is 214 fathoms. The following extract from a description given of this sound by the Rev. W. S. Green, who, as I have stated, successfully ascended Mount Cook in 1883, is taken from his 'High Alps of New Zealand':—

“Vertical cliffs rose for thousands of feet on either hand, and we drove in before a blast so strong as almost to make steaming unnecessary. The surface of the sea would now and then be torn off in sheets, driven along in spindrift, and again all would be calm as glass. Waterfalls, resembling the Staubach, came down the cliffs from far above the clouds, and were blown away into spray, while in mid-air, by the fury of the storm. Wherever vegetation could get a footing on these immense preci-

pices lovely tree ferns and darker shrubs grew in profusion, all dripping with moisture, and running up the cliffs in long strips of verdure till lost to our view aloft in the torn white mists. The vivid green of the foliage was the feature of all this wondrous scene which struck me most. Two or three miles up the sound we steamed close to an immense waterfall which, in one plunge of 300 feet, leaped into the sound with a roar like thunder, drowning our voices and sending great gushes of spray over the steamer's deck. The face of another cliff was so draped with numberless small falls that it seemed to be covered with a veil of silver gauze about 300 yards in width. While passing along here we fired a gun. Echo after echo resounded from cliff to cliff, and from invisible crags high over our heads the echo again returned as a voice from the clouds. The mist now showed an inclination to clear off, the rain ceased, and as we entered the inner basin of the sound the forests increased in beauty. The Totara pines, draped with festoons of grey lichen, contrasted well with the soft green of the great fern fronds, and formed a suitable background to the scarlet blossoms of the Rata (*Metrosideros lucida*), which here and there lit up the upper surface of the forest with patches of intense colour. Gleams of sunshine began to dart through the clouds, giving a momentary flash on one of the numerous cascades, and then, passing over forest and cliff, added new beauties of light and shade. When about eight miles from the open sea, a booming sound rose higher over the voices of the numerous cascades, growing louder as we advanced, and, rounding a forest-clad point, we came upon the grandest of New Zealand waterfalls, the great Bowen Fall. Its first fall is only about fifty feet into a rocky basin, but leaping from it upwards and outwards in a wonderful curve, it plunges down with a deafening roar in a single leap of 300 feet.'

“ Although the tract of land dividing these wonderful sounds from the picturesque south-eastern lake is narrow, being in places only about ten miles in width, the dense forests and rugged mountains, of which it consists, preclude, at present, overland access from the one to the other. The importance of providing reasonable facilities for this access is urged in a memorandum, dated May 5th, 1887, and printed as a Parliamentary paper, from the Hon. J. C. Richmond, a member of the Legislative Council, to Sir Robert Stout, then Premier of New Zealand. Mr. Richmond, who is himself an excellent artist, visited, in company with Mr. J. Gully, the well-known landscape-painter, the Lakes Anau and Manapouri, and he states that the impression they both received of the singular beauty of the district made it his duty to recall attention to its attractiveness and to that of the neighbouring ocean sounds as a field for the tourist. Mr. Richmond states that the distance, as the crow flies, from the south-west arm of Te Anau to the head of George Sound, and from the north-western arm of North Manapouri to the head of Bradshaw Sound, is in each case under ten miles, and that the watershed of neither at those points is likely to exceed the height of 3500 feet above the sea. He points out that, at a moderate cost, all the unique scenery of the south-west coast could be brought within the limits of one moderate summer tour. Of the two lakes, Te Anau and Manapouri, which are not as yet much frequented, Mr. Richmond says each has its own special attractions. Te Anau is a noble and cheerful expanse of water. Fjords branch out in several places. On the west, wooded mountains, about 4000 feet high, their continuity being broken by three great fjords, hem the lake in, and parts of it are overhung by the higher mountains, the highest being at its northernmost extremity. Manapouri, he thinks, will be more attractive to

the majority of visitors, from its labyrinthine arms, fantastic islets and promontories, the surprises of its coves and bays, its variety of peaks, and the noble range of the Cathedral Peaks, its transparent waters and white beaches, and by the copious outflow of the fine river Waiau. Mr. Richmond adds that 'those even who have revelled in the beauties of the lakes of Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy, with their peaks glittering with snow and creeping glaciers, their shores adorned with white towns and towers, their histories, legends, and memories, will be dull people if they feel no new delight in these lonely ^{waters} scenes destitute of history and of remnants of the past excepting stone tools and weapons and the few bones and skulls of a considerable Maori population, which within the present century lived on the level parts of their shores.' Mr. Richmond does not describe Lake Wakatipu and Milford Sound and the other ocean sounds, which, he says, have already a reputation outside the Colony. I have already referred to Milford Sound (the type of the others), and I have only a few words to say about Lake Wakatipu. It is more than sixty miles long, and of great depth. The scenery, especially at the head of it, is extremely fine, and the only lake in Europe which can equal it is Lucerne. The view in going towards the head of the lake from Queenstown is magnificent. Alps rearing their snow summits to the skies are seen on every side, while, in the distance, o'ertopping all, the double peak of Mount Earnslaw, clothed in perennial ice and snow, glitters through the fleecy clouds which partly veils its stupendous height.

"Mr. Richmond, in concluding his valuable communication, writes with great truth and foresight as follows:—

"It is needless to dwell long on the value of such an asset as now lies dormant in the districts referred to,

It is enough to name the example of Switzerland, where for four months of the year the five great nations of Europe and the United States of America pour their contingents over the land, filling the railway trains and hotels, and consuming on the spot all the surplus productions of the land, employing an army of labourers of all kinds. Though our land is less attractive, and its neighbours less populous, yet, on the other hand, New Zealand has a monopoly of attractions of this kind in the southern latitudes; and during the summer in Australia our moderate climate invites her populations at the season most favourable for enjoying our mountains and lakes.

"There is a great force in the foregoing observations, and there is no doubt that in public administration in New Zealand the great importance of encouraging the tourist element as a powerful factor in the colonization of a new country has not been adequately appreciated.

"The nature of the country about Milford Sound may be inferred from the fact, also stated by Mr. Green, that although only about ten miles of land divide the head of the sound from the Greenstone track to Lake Wakatipu, the forest is so dense and the mountains so rugged that this dividing track has never been crossed by civilized man.

"This denial of access overland applies to all the sounds. They belong, it would seem, more to ocean than to land; and the ocean alone gives the right of way to their hidden chambers. In connection with the general subject, a few words may be said of Fiord County—the remaining county on the west coast of Otago, and which, as its name implies, is the county of fiords. Its area is 2,101,248 acres. The colonial element is small within this county. The census of 1896 gave its population as 117 men and 34 women; its

return in agricultural statistics is *nil*; and the number of its stock in 1881 was six goats. There are, however, on its coast and on the contiguous coasts of the Wallace and Lake Counties, in a distance of 120 miles, thirteen of these fiords or sounds—some running inland twenty miles. Three have been noticed, and it is unnecessary here to describe them one by one. It is enough to say that they contain almost all the possible combinations of the sublime and the beautiful. Nature here has set apart her own domain—a sacred grove, where her worshippers can approach and learn from her things that are good. It is well for man to have places, as well as times, of rest, where he can pause and take breath, and then go back to his daily round of hard work with lifted thought and recruited strength. Nature, in this respect, has been bountiful to New Zealand. Two noted instances of her beneficence are, these fiords in the South Island, and in the North Island the district of the hot lakes, which is not only a wonderland, but also a sanatorium."

I now turn from the measures since 1891 relating to finance, to those relating to land.

Land policy has of late undergone a remarkable change in New Zealand. In early days the chief object of the Colony was, as in other colonies, to part with Crown lands as quickly as possible to purchasers who would buy them to almost any extent for agricultural or pastoral, or, it may be, speculative purposes. Gradually Parliament has altered the land laws more and more in the direction of retaining the fee simple of the land, and only leasing it to tenants on a permanent tenure. The law which has been passed in New Zealand during the last five years has encouraged the settlement of lands on what is known as the eternal lease. The selector takes a moderate area of land for 999 years, and pays a rent to the Crown, based on 4 per cent. of the capital value

of the land when he takes it up. At present this lease is fixed and unalterable. Under this tenure the tenant can spend all his capital in the improvement of his land. The State retains its right to see that the land so leased is occupied by a *bonâ fide* settler, and that, if transferred, it is passed on to a *bonâ fide* settler. In addition to this, legislation has been passed empowering the State to resume at a fair value some of the land which it alienated too hastily in early stages. The State has the right, in certain cases, to do so compulsorily; but only in one instance has that power been so exercised, and that was done, not because the owners did not wish to sell, but because they could not agree with the Government as to the price. That case was before a judicial court, who adjudged a price more than the Government wished to give, but less than the owners asked.

The result of this first great step in the resumption and use of land deserves record as an encouraging proof of beneficial effect on the progress of real settlement. Two years before, in the provincial district of Canterbury, the Cheviot property—84,000 acres in extent—came into the hands of the Government through a dispute over its assessment for land tax. Its grassy slopes and fertile valleys are on the sea coast, easy of access. Yet in 1892 it was still a wilderness, occupied by sheep, and looked after by thirty or forty human beings. In less than two years there were nearly 1000 persons there, and the land was divided amongst 218 settlers, owning stock worth 23,000*l.* In the first year of occupation the improvements made were worth 2300*l.* The rent paid to the Government was 5 per cent. on the net cost of the estate and on the outlay incurred in making 112 miles of road.

I need not here mention matters of Constitutional Reform, as I have already referred to them in my remarks on the two Houses of the Legislature.

The labour laws of New Zealand have been separately published in the Colony for general information. Out of the twenty Acts contained in that volume regulating the relations of employers and employed, fifteen have been passed during the five years since January, 1891.

The Factories Act, 1894, consolidates and amends four previous measures on the subject, two of which had been passed by the Ballance Government.

In its general features it resembles the English and some American Factory Acts; but in some points it may claim superiority. It raises the factory age to fourteen both for boys and girls. No child under fourteen can work in a factory; and no child under fifteen can work in a factory unless it receives a certificate showing that it has received a fair share of primary education; and no child under sixteen can work in a factory unless it receives a certificate to the effect that the child is physically fit for the work of that particular factory. Also, the Act makes every workshop in the Colony, in which two or more persons labour, a factory for the purposes of the Act, and the employer is counted as one person. The result is that any factory in which two persons work is subject to most of the clauses, and must give entry to inspectors under the Act at any hour of the day or night. In addition, where work is sent out to be done at home, the employer is required to keep a complete account of all such work for the scrutiny of the inspector. Every article that is not made in a factory has to carry on it a ticket stamped with the words, "this is tenement made." Very wide powers are given to inspectors with regard to the entire space allowed to each worker, and with regard to the sanitary requirements of each factory. The Act also insists that no woman or young person under the age of eighteen shall work more than forty-eight hours a week. Women

are not allowed to work very early in the morning or late at night ; and though permission may be granted by the inspector for a certain number of days a year, overtime has to be paid for, and even a boy must receive sixpence an hour for overtime. Then each person is entitled to a weekly half-holiday after one o'clock, and, in the case of time workers, the half-holiday must be granted without deduction from wages of any kind. Besides the Factory, there is an Act for insisting upon closing shops in every borough or town district in New Zealand on one half-day of the week. The Act leaves the selection of the half-day to the discretion of each locality. Each locality fixes its own days.

Three more of the Labour Acts deal with workmen's wages. One is a Truck Act, another deals with liens, and the third with attachment orders, by which workmen can ensure getting their wages when working for contractors. Workmen are entitled to be paid their wages once a week. Every workman whose wages are twenty-four hours in arrear can serve the contractor, if he is working for a contractor, with a notice of attachment, or can serve the contractor with a notice by which payments of contract money and stopped wages are made the first charge upon contract moneys. The contractor cannot pay contract moneys in advance—he must wait before he has paid until the contractor has earned. Even when the contract money is earned, the contractor has within one month to withhold one-fourth of the contract money, until he has satisfied himself that the workman has been paid in full. There are also several laws dealing with Employers' Liability. There is no contracting-out clause in the Employers' Liability Act. One of the most useful sections of the Act is that which does not allow the owner of machinery and plant to escape liability by sub-letting part of his contract or his

plant and machinery to a sub-contractor. In that case the sub-contractor would be liable for injuries caused by defective machinery ; but the contractor would be liable also—the maximum amount obtainable under the Act being 500*l.*

One of the most venturesome and most experimental of the New Zealand labour laws is the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. Its object is to prevent the recurrence of those industrial disputes which were before tried to be summarily settled by strikes and lock-outs, which are the cause of such infinite loss and suffering both to master and man. Its object is to compel both parties to submit their mutual disputes to Conciliation Boards, and ultimately, if necessary, to a State Court of Arbitration. How it will ultimately work out time only can tell ; but it may be noted that the Compulsory Arbitration Act has now (end of January, 1897) reached a practical and important stage. Three disputes, involving interests of magnitude, have now been referred to the Arbitration Court, and all have been successfully settled—the last averted a general strike in the boot factories. There are other labour laws dealing with Merchant Shipping, in order to put into force reforms for which Mr. Plimsoll struggled in England, namely, to prevent overcrowding, to restrict deck loading, to provide proper life-saving appliances, and to mitigate excessive punishment to seamen. There is one novel feature by which every ship is bound to carry a certain proportion of skilled seamen, firemen, and others in her cruises.

Another experiment, in connection with labour, has been made of an administrative character. It is called the Co-operative Contract System of the Employment of Labour by the Government. It is an attempt to do away with the old system of letting public works by tender, not contract, and to substitute the employment

of labour paid for directly by the Government, and under the supervision of the Government. Tenders are not called for, but Government engineers draw up specifications, and say what is a fair price to pay for the construction of a given work. They then cut up each contract into small sections, numbering six or eight men, appoint one man who represents them in all negotiations with the Government. Each group takes a section of the work. They know exactly the price that is to be paid. They estimate whether they can earn a fair wage. If they do not think they can do so, they argue the point out ; and sometimes the price is raised a little ; but oftener the men agree to try the work. The system on the whole seems to have worked well and fairly, both in the interests of employed and of the public.

In 1891, the colonial laws relating to mining generally were consolidated and amended. An interesting feature in the New Zealand Coal Mines Act is the provision by which mine-owners have to contribute to a fund for the relief of miners, or the families of miners, in cases where men were injured or killed at work.. Every quarter the owners have to pay a half-penny per ton on the output, if it be bituminous coal, and a farthing a ton if it be lignite. Payment is made into the nearest Post Office Savings Bank, and goes to the credit of an account called "The Coal Miners' Relief Fund."

The administration of these Labour Bills is entrusted to the Department of Labour, constituted for the purpose conveyed in its designation. It is one of the most useful and cheapest of the branches of the New Zealand Civil Service. It collects statistics dealing with the condition of work-people. Its officers inspect shops and factories, and see that the provisions of the

labour laws are not disregarded. All the interests and grievances of the working classes receive their consideration. The most troublesome duty is that of keeping the number of unemployed men down to a minimum. The Department has done excellent work and has done it economically. In four years it found employment for 13,000 men with families, altogether numbering about 26,000 persons dependent on them. The Labour Department publish periodically valuable reports which amply repay perusal. Workmen engaged throughout the Department of Labour to do Government work are usually employed on what has been described above as the Co-operative Contract System.

In this cursory review of the legislation from 1891 to 1896 in New Zealand, great credit must be given to the Labour Members returned to the New Zealand House of Representatives. They did not assume an antagonist attitude, but behaved like sensible members of Parliament, cordially assisting in measures which, though not granting them all they wanted, were, as they considered, for the greatest good of the greatest number. To them is owing the complete fusion of the Liberal and Labour Parties, which has been a characteristic feature of New Zealand politics in 1891 and in succeeding years.

It is interesting to note that law reform, the last question which I proposed to refer to, received their hearty aid in the codification of the nominal law of the Colony. The whole of this great branch of law is now contained in two statutes passed by the last New Zealand Parliament, one dealing with summary jurisdiction, and the other with graver offences, the latter based on the work of Sir FitzJames Stephen, with certain adaptations that were considered advisable.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. John Ballance—Hon. R. J. Seddon—Hon. W. P. Reeves—Mr. John McKenzie—Mr. J. G. Ward—Captain W. R. Russell—Mr. George Hutchison—Mr. Scobie Mackenzie—Sir James Hector—Captain Edwin, R.N.—Captain Fairchild—Conclusion.

MR. JOHN BALLANCE had in him the elements of a distinguished statesman, which were in the course of rapid development when his death, on April 27th, 1893, rather suddenly took place. His political career is a striking example of a successful straightforward course of energy, perseverance and ability, in spite of many worldly disadvantages. He was the son of a small Irish tenant farmer, and as a boy was apprenticed to an ironmaster in Birmingham. While there, he devoted his spare hours to self-culture by attending night-classes, debating societies, and by contributions to the press. He was twenty-seven years old when he emigrated to New Zealand, and settled with very limited means at Wanganui, where in course of time he became the proprietor and editor of a small newspaper, which he owned till he died. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1875, and in 1883 he joined Sir George Grey's Ministry, and in January, 1891, he became Premier. Mr. Ballance had eminently a constructive mind. There was nothing finical or curious in his work. He was, as was said of an English

statesman, a man who could hew a statue out of a rock, but not cut faces upon cherry stones. His speeches were not sparkling and splendid, but they were solid and robust, and their end was utility; they were characterized by clearness, force, and earnest feeling. He was not one of those orators, described by Lord Bacon, who "hunt more after words than matter." Mr. Ballance had a lovable nature, which appreciably partook of sweetness and light. He somewhat lacked the gifts of debating power and of securing practical effect to his political conceptions. But he was wise enough to recognize his own deficiencies, and to obtain, when he first became Premier, the services of Ministers who could supplement those deficiencies. Mr. R. J. Seddon, Mr. W. P. Reeves, and Mr. John McKenzie, each in his own line were valuable colleagues, in this respect, in the promotion of his policy. But before he was Premier, he had, as a member of other Ministries, taken a leading part in the following legislative and administrative measures of importance, namely, Manhood Suffrage; Electoral Reform, providing that no man register on more than one roll, or, in other words, have more than one vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives; Village Settlements, in which one thousand families were settled on land; Defence on Land and on Sea; and the Effacement of the Isolation of the King Natives. As Premier in 1891, he had a difficult task. He was, with one exception, who sat in the Upper House, the only Minister who had previously held office. He was in effect committed to a Radical policy. He had to unite the "Labour Members" in Parliament with the Liberal Party. He succeeded in attaining this object. In New Zealand alone, of the Australasian Colonies, there was a complete fusion of the Liberal and "Labour" Parties. Both

worked hand in hand ; and instead of thwarting each other by independent action, combined their forces to effect a number of political reforms and experiments in the direction of social improvement. These measures related to Finance, Land, Constitutional Reform, Labour, and Law Reform. These subjects, together with others,



Mr. John Ballance.

will be dealt with when the action of the Ballance Ministry, and that of its successor, the Seddon Ministry, which on the death of Mr. Ballance in 1893 took up and continued his policy in many respects, come under notice. In one very important respect, the Seddon Ministry has, it is said, not continued the policy of Mr.

Ballance, who is quoted as in favour of no further borrowing, and Mr. Seddon's Ministry has, it is urged, deviated from that course. This subject has been fully noticed in foregoing pages 256 to 264.

Unfortunately, Mr. Ballance did not live to see the success of his achievement in the creation of a great party of liberal and progressive tendencies. In little more than two years from his accession to the Premiership death put an end to his work in this world. Up to the last he had for several months nobly struggled against painful disease in the fulfilment of his duties. In his premature death New Zealand lost a good, able, and patriotic statesman.

Mr. Richard John Seddon came from Victoria to New Zealand, and, probably attracted by the gold discoveries on the west coast of the South Island, soon afterwards, in 1876, settled in Kumara, the rise and rapid growth of which as a gold-field town was so remarkable in that year. He first sat in the House of Representatives, for Hokitika, in 1879, and since represented Kumara from 1881 to 1890, and afterwards was returned for Westland, for which he still sits. Westland is a rich alluvial gold-producing district; its mining is carried on under the hydraulic sluicing system. Its chief centres of population, as a provincial district, are Hokitika, Greymouth, Kumara, and Ross. The whole west coast, from the northern extremity of the South Island to the southern boundary of Westland, is altogether a mining country, between the high mountain range on the east and the ocean on the west, with a few harbours more or less difficult of access; a country intersected by rapid and often impassable rivers, covered with dense bush, and, in its natural state, untraversable inland, or even far along the coast. Thirty-five years ago there were probably not a hundred civilized human beings throughout this vast

territory, and, had it not been for the discovery of gold, generations would, in all likelihood, have passed away before settlement there would have taken root to any great extent. As it is, the population of that territory, according to the census of 1896, was 18,410, including 7125 females. The whole district is now traversed partly by good roads and partly by railroads; the harbours are



Hon. R. J. Seddon.

easily accessible; villages, towns, farms, settlements have sprung up on every side, and "content sits basking on the cheek of toil." This wonderful change has been made within thirty years by the industry and enterprise of miners on the west coast, who, it must be borne in mind, came there at their own cost. Mining communities are, as a rule, models of industrious, orderly, sociable

and happy lives. The men composing them are independent, free and easy in their manner, but civil, obliging, charitable, and great observers of honesty and good faith. They are governed by an unwritten code of honour, and of respect for person and property. They liberally contribute to local hospitals and other good social institutions, and to relief of misfortune. Many a mining village in remote spots, far from policemen and courts of law, presents a pleasing feature of order, industry, and domestic comfort.

Mr. Seddon is an admirable representative of a gold-mining community. A miner himself, he has the qualities which make him popular and respected among miners. Genial, frank, a good comrade, intelligent, fluent and earnest in speech, kind-hearted, he knows and sympathizes with their wants, and is able to represent them effectively in Parliament. In the prime of life, vigorous, and full of energy, he is ever hard at work in the interests of his district, persistent in speech, gifted with a strong will, self-reliant, and with imperturbable assurance. He became for the first time a Minister in January, 1891, when he joined the Ballance Ministry as Minister of Mines. He was a valuable colleague, though new to the responsibilities of political office. As a speaker he would have been more effective if he had been less voluble. As an administrator he showed considerable capacity. He soon grasped the real question at issue, and when he made up his mind as to what was a just decision, he easily broke the withes of red tape which would have embarrassed other men in giving immediate effect to what he thought was right to be done. It would have been better for him politically had he served longer in his apprenticeship as a Minister before he became Premier. As it was, he succeeded Mr. Ballance in a little more than two years, that time being the sole experience

Mr. Seddon had of Ministerial office. Born premiers are few and far between. I only know of two in New Zealand since 1856, when responsible government was first established; they were Sir Edward Stafford and Sir William Fox. Other premiers, capable as they were, resulted from the process of development. Mr. Seddon, however, cannot be said to be a failure, though he is not a signal success. He has identified his Ministry with many useful measures, which, together with some shortcomings, will be noticed in their place.

Mr. Seddon, as leader of the House, has not learned the difficult art of governing men in the management of two opposing parties. He concedes too much to his own side, and too little to the other. When he is angry, which is not often, for he is good-natured and placable, he runs round the opposition benches, like Talus with an iron flail. He hates to be thwarted. He knows what he wants, and is not happy till he gets it. Naturally rather autocratic and domineering, circumstances have tended to confirm him in a habit so often fatal to premiers. He has lost within the last year, by death and by retirement, three leading members of his Ministry, and has practically been, during the session of 1896, in addition to Premier (quite enough for an ordinary man), his own Colonial Treasurer, and his own Minister of Public Works. This plurality of Seddons in the Cabinet naturally lead him to think, if not to say, with Louis the Fourteenth of France, "L'Etat, c'est Moi."

Like Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Seddon is a devourer of work. He does not, however, devote his spare half hours to studies of Homer, versification of Horace, or lucubrations on Locke. He keeps to his own business, but, out of mere exuberance, as a sessional pastime, he fires off, to the Gallery, a few fantastic fads, in the shape of bills, with taking titles, which are meant for show and not for use ;

and in this connection the new order from which of the...
 national business will, but in the sense of our...
 great danger of the Opposition.

and, fortunately for all concerned, do not survive, if they ever reach, second readings. After this relaxation, Mr. Seddon turns up, fresh and smiling, to his ordinary work of a political Cerberus, "three statesmen at once," with an insatiable appetite for more.

Whatever faults Mr. Seddon has, he has ample time and opportunities to correct them. He has already achieved greatness, and can achieve more. He still holds his own. The result of the General Election on December 5th, 1896, gives him a lessened, but still a working majority. What he should aim at is not a personal monopoly of power, but to secure able colleagues, and identify his government with liberal, progressive, prudent policy and sound finance. \

Mr. William Pember Reeves is the eldest son of the late Mr. William Reeves, an old and distinguished colonist in New Zealand, a Minister in the Fox Government in 1871 and 1872, and afterwards a member of the Legislative Council. The son, when a boy, greatly distinguished himself at Christ College Grammar School, in Canterbury, New Zealand, and in 1874 went home to graduate at Oxford and to read for the Bar, but, owing to ill-health, returned to New Zealand and became a member of the New Zealand Bar. In the Colony he devoted himself to journalism in the *Lyttelton Times*, which his father founded and owned. In 1887 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and in January, 1891, joined the Ballance Government as Minister of Justice and Education. When that Government decided to constitute a Department of Labour he became its first Minister. He was Minister of Education for nearly five years. Ministerial administration of that department must to him have been congenial work, and there is no doubt that he supervised the system in force with great ability. He also organized with care and skill the Depart-

He has lately (1899) been a Member of the Privy Council, & was High Judge & Recorder

ment of Labour, the nature of which will be noticed in connection with the Labour Acts.

Mr. Reeves is considered by some to be opinionative, cynical, and not conciliatory. These are faults which are often seen in clever youths, and which, if he has them, he will, no doubt, soon outgrow as he becomes older and more experienced. Mr. Reeves is fond of literature, and is a



Hon. W. P. Reeves.

good writer and an eloquent speaker. He is a cultured and an advanced Liberal in the cause of Labour and State Socialism ; and, judged by what he has written and spoken on these subjects, his views seem generally to coincide with those stated by me in the last chapter, though possibly he may be prepared in some respects to go beyond the limits which I may think proper in

giving practical effect to those views. He is a brilliant debater in the House of Representatives. He makes very effective speeches, with good points, and hard hits to his opponents. He seldom fails to elicit hearty applause. His retirement from the Seddon Ministry has left a gap which has greatly weakened it, and which it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Seddon to fill adequately. His retirement was owing to his appointment, in the early part of 1896, to the office of Agent-General in London for New Zealand. Already he gives promise to be a worthy successor to his illustrious predecessors in that office; no mean distinction when we recall the names of Dr. Featherston, Sir Julius Vogel, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, and Sir Westby Percival. A good agent-general is an invaluable possession to New Zealand, which has for many years presented, and still presents, interesting political and social problems, requiring an able and a faithful interpreter at home, who acts as the hall-mark attesting the genuine worth of the Colony in the chief and commanding centre of the political, financial, and commercial world.

Mr. John McKenzie was a Scotch shepherd in Ross-shire, and emigrated to Otago in 1860, where he settled, and keeps a small farm. He was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1871; he was whip to the Stout-Vogel Ministry in 1884; and he became Minister of Lands and Immigration in the Ballance Government in January, 1891, since which, in that and the Seddon Government, he has continually held the same office. Mr. John McKenzie is the typical Highlander of the House, who never turns his back on friend or foe. Tall, broad-shouldered, and massive; shrewd, prejudiced, obstinate, and out-spoken; a warm friend and a bitter enemy; he is like those clansmen whom we read of in the pages of *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, but whom we so

seldom meet nowadays in the solitudes of deer forests and grouse moors in northern Scotland. He is a very good Land Minister. The one object of his heart is to have land occupied by real settlers, and to get rid of mere speculators. His wish is to inscribe in golden letters over the door of every land office, "Death to



Mr. John McKenzie.

Dummyism, Life to Settlement." He speaks rapidly and with a strong accent. His speeches are, on the whole, attentively listened to, and, though often provocative of interruptions, are sensible and sincere. He has worked hard and, to a considerable extent, successfully in the administration of his land policy.

Mr. J. McKenzie introduced and got passed "The

Land for Settlements Act" of 1892, which authorized the purchase from private individuals of suitable properties for subdivision into small farms not exceeding 320 acres in extent. Under the provisions of this Act, several properties have been acquired, and subsequently divided into small farms and leased in perpetuity at a five per cent. rental on a capital value, fixed at a sufficient rate to cover cost, together with survey, administration, and roads, if required.

In March, 1891, Mr. J. McKenzie re-introduced, with some modification, the original system of village-system, which was first begun on a small scale by Mr. Rolleston in the provincial district of Canterbury in 1874, and afterwards continued and extended in 1886 by Mr. Ballance, then Minister of Lands, under liberal regulations for the whole Colony. Considerable progress has been made under the system as re-introduced by Mr. McKenzie, and during 1895 nearly 300 new selectors have taken up sections of land, representing an aggregate area of 7616 acres. On March 31st, 1895, there were in the whole Colony 144 settlements; the number settled on the land, including wives and families, 4561; the area occupied, 33,804 acres; and if the amount advanced is deducted, there remains, as representing the value of the work done by the settlers, 67,056*l.* The amount paid by settlers as rent and interest was only about 8000*l.* less than the sum advanced, and it must be borne in mind that the rent and interest are continuous, as the settlers are precluded from parting with the freehold. Thus a large number of settlements have been formed, and, generally speaking, the settlers and their families have comfortable homes and look healthy and contented, while the financial results prove that the settlements are successful.

Mr. Carroll is a half-caste native of New Zealand with

a European father and a Maori mother. He represents in the Seddon Ministry, as he did in that of Mr. Ballance, the native race, and was elected for the European electoral district of Waiapu to the House of Representatives. He is an intelligent and admirable Minister in the interest of the natives. He speaks English fluently, has a good presence and a very pleasant delivery. He never gives offence, does not weary the House with long speeches, and is listened to attentively. The experiment, first tried by Mr. Ballance, of having in his Ministry one to represent the native race, a half-caste member elected to the House for a European district, has been and promises to be in future very successful. The substitution of a half-caste, who by birth is a link between both races, and who by education can speak and understand English well and knows English habits, in the place of a native who has none of these advantages, is an admirable arrangement, calculated to promote the real interests and union of the two races.

Since the prorogation of the session in 1895, Mr. Seddon has lost three of his chief colleagues. Sir Patrick Buckley was appointed to the office of a Supreme Court Judge in the place of Mr. Justice Richmond; Mr. W. P. Reeves, in the early part of 1896, became Agent-General in London for New Zealand; and the session of that year had just begun when Mr. J. G. Ward, the Colonial Treasurer, resigned his office on June 16th, 1896. Mr. Ward had worked his way in early life in the Civil Service in New Zealand; was elected to the House of Representatives in 1887; and was appointed Postmaster-General in the Ballance Ministry. He was Minister of the Post and Telegraph Department from January 24th, 1891, till the date of his resignation in 1896. Many improvements in the service were made during his term of office, namely, the reduction of international and

intercolonial telegraph-cable rates; the reduction of telephone-exchange rates; the introduction of 5*l.* postal notes and letter-cards; liberal amendments in the commercial and printed-paper post, and other material reductions in the postage rates, following the Colony entering the Postal Union, as well as the introduction of sixpenny telegrams. The Classification Act of the Postal and Telegraph Department was also passed during Mr. Ward's control of the department.

Mr. Ward, as Colonial Treasurer, was in London in 1895, and was successful in raising a loan of a million and a half under the Government Advances to Settlers Act, 1894, of three per cent. inscribed stock, at a realized average price of 94*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

The cause of Mr. Ward's sudden resignation of office was the overwhelming pressure of private financial difficulties into which he had fallen by unfortunate speculations of his own. As soon as this was known in the Colony, a storm of public scandal arose, and Mr. Ward was assailed by direct charges and sinister imputations of malversation of office while he was a Minister, in connection with the banking legislation of 1894 and 1895, to the effect that he had prostituted his political position to his own private gain. Suspicion was sown broadcast, and the Government felt generally itself called upon for a parliamentary investigation.

Two separate Banking Committees, one of the House of Representatives and one of the Legislative Council (the latter elected by ballot, and with a majority of its members in opposition to the Government), sat separately for several months, taking separately voluminous evidence, and making separate reports. The orders of reference in the case of both committees were most comprehensive.

The following extracts from each report fully exonerate

Mr. Ward and the other Ministers from the charge of misconduct, and also shortly give an idea of the nature of the banking legislation in question, a subject, apart from its personal bearing, of exceptional public interest.

EXTRACTS.

Report, October 9th, 1896.

Banking Committee of House of Representatives.

“ The Committee appointed to examine and report into the affairs of the Bank of New Zealand, the Bank of New Zealand Estates Company (Limited), the Auckland Agricultural Company (Limited), the Colonial Bank of New Zealand, the banking legislation of 1893 and 1894 and 1895, and what led to such legislation, and the several matters set out in the order of reference, have made a searching and exhaustive inquiry, extending over three months, into the several matters submitted to them, and have the honour to report thereon as follows :—

“ On June 29th Mr. Murray wrote to the Premier as follows :—

“ Bank of New Zealand, Wellington, June 29th, 1894.

“ SIR,—I have the honour to hand you a copy of the balance-sheet of the Bank of New Zealand. Since that balance-sheet was issued the position has become impaired, and, indeed, seriously compromised, by causes set out in my letter to you of the 25th instant ; but this does not imply that any heavy losses in the bank's business have been made. To the best of my knowledge and belief no such losses have been made. The difficulty arises rather out of the circumstances stated in my letter.

“ As a banker of forty-five years' standing—thirty years of which have been spent in New Zealand—and having

occupied a prominent position during much of that time, and being in no way personally interested (some shares in the bank standing in my name do not directly or indirectly belong to me), I wish to be permitted to give my honourable assurance,—(1) That the occasion is one of the gravest public urgency ; (2) that by the measure I have proposed I am absolutely convinced that the State will not lose one penny, but will, on the contrary, avert great loss to itself as well as to the community ; (3) that by this measure the banking affairs of the Colony will be placed on a greatly improved footing for the future ; and (4) that if the Government finally determine to go on with the measure it should be put through to-day.

I have, &c.,

“The Hon. the Premier.

JOHN MURRAY.

“During the day the Premier conferred with the leader of the Opposition (Captain Russell), the Hon. Sir R. Stout, and the Hon. Mr. Mitchelson ; and the Colonial Treasurer conferred with the Hon. Mr. McLean, the Hon. Sir R. Stout, and Mr. Bell. The Bill was introduced as an urgent measure, passed the House of Representatives, and was sent to the Legislative Council. The Council appointed a Select Committee to investigate and report. The Committee took the evidence of the Premier, the Colonial Treasurer, and Mr. John Murray. No information in respect to the Estates Company was obtained further than that previously given to the Government by Mr. Murray. The Committee, however, recommended that the Bill should be allowed to proceed, and it was passed on June 30th. This Act provided that the Colony should guarantee the issue of 2,000,000*l.* shares of the Bank of New Zealand for ten years ; that the head office should be removed from London to Wellington, and authorized the calling-up of 500,000*l.* of

the shareholders' reserve liability. The Government were also empowered to appoint the President, with a power of veto, and the Auditor. An amendment Act was passed later in the session authorizing stock to be issued instead of shares.

"Mr. Hanna, in his evidence before this Committee, stated that he furnished a report to Mr. Murray on June 9th, 1894, giving in detail the position, pointing out that the deficiencies in the Estates Company, including the deficiencies in the London balance-sheet (200,000*l.*), amounted to 1,175,561*l.*, and recommending that application should be made for Government assistance. Mr. Murray, however, states that he does not recollect having received this memorandum. Beyond the assurance that there was "a big hole to fill," the Government did not obtain information as to the financial position of the Estates Company, and, seeing the important bearing it had in respect to the Bank of New Zealand, the Committee are of the opinion that it was essential that information should have been insisted on by the Government and the Committee of the Legislative Council, and that the withholding of this information, if intentional, was reprehensible. Had, however, fuller information been obtained at the time, it would not have been sufficient reason for the Government to refuse to assist the bank.

"From detailed information now in possession of the Committee, they have no doubt that the action taken in assisting the Bank of New Zealand in 1894 was prudent, and that by so doing a national disaster was averted. It was not then practicable, in the short time at the disposal of Parliament, to pass legislation finally dealing with a subject so intricate and so difficult as the separation of the Estates Company from the bank.

"Parliament being then in session, on the recommenda-

tion of the Government, and with the approval of the bank, a Joint Committee of both Houses was appointed to inquire into the position of the bank and the Estates Company. This Committee reported on August 28th, 1895 :—

“ There is a deficiency in the bank of 376,900*l.*, and a contingent dependency of 200,000*l.*

“ There is a deficiency of 467,077*l.* in the Estates Company, against which no assets exist, and a further deficiency of 444,601*l.* in trading concerns, and properties outside New Zealand. These altogether amount to 1,488,578*l.* Of this sum, 148,110*l.*, though shown as a liability, is really a debt due by the Agricultural Company, and represented by assets. Deducting this from the aforesaid sum of 1,488,578*l.*, there remains 1,340,468*l.* This is provided for as follows :—

	£
Capital, bank	900,000
Estimated amount of call made	450,000
	£1,350,000

leaving a balance of 9532*l.*, which goes to a dependency account.’

“ They recommended that ‘ the Colony should render such assistance to the bank as will restore confidence, insure stability, and enable it to carry on its business in a satisfactory and profitable manner.’ To carry this recommendation into effect, they advised that legislation should be introduced to transfer the whole of the freeholds, leaseholds, stations, stock, and implements belonging to the Estates Company to a Realization Board to be established for that purpose ; that the Board should be authorized to issue debentures for 2,734,000*l.*, bearing 3½ per cent. interest. Such debentures were to be handed over to the Bank of New Zealand, and the deficiency, if

any, thereon, after realization of the Estates Company's properties, guaranteed by the Colony to the bank.

"Further important recommendations were made by the Committee to protect the interests of the Colony, these are contained in the Committee's report (Appendix, 1895, I.—6).

"The Bank of New Zealand and Banking Act, passed on September 4th, 1895, gave legislative effect to the Committee's recommendation."

Purchase of Colonial Bank of New Zealand.

"On October 25th, 1895, the agreement received legislative sanction, and the House recommended that legislation should be introduced to remedy any defect which might exist in the contract.

"In accordance with this resolution, an amending Act was passed on October 31st, 1895, ratifying the purchase agreement, and rendering it unnecessary to lay any of the lists on the table of the House, or to produce them in Court. This Bill originated with the bank, and was submitted to the Premier, who, since 1894, had charge of the banking question. He handed it to the Law draftsman. The only instructions given were to make it as complete as possible, and it was with this object that the Law draftsman inserted the clauses dispensing with the production of the lists. The Hon. Mr. Ward in no way promoted this legislation, but merely moved the second reading of the Bill, the details of which were furnished to him by the Law draftsman.

"Members of the Ministry were informed from time to time that negotiations were proceeding for the purchase of the Colonial Bank ; but the evidence shows that no member of the Government took any part in the negotiations, or was informed of the contents of any of the lists."

1896. *Reorganization of Bank of New Zealand.*

“In the opinion of your Committee it is essential for the success of the Bank of New Zealand, and to inspire and maintain confidence in that institution, that important alterations in the management should be made.

“Your Committee therefore recommend that a reorganization should take place : The office of President should be abolished ; a new General Manager should be appointed ; the Directors should be increased to eight, and should consist of three representing the shareholders, three to be appointed by the Governor in Council, one to be elected by the House of Representatives, and one by the Legislative Council. The Chairman to have the power of veto and to be selected by the Governor in Council. That, as far as practicable, the chief commercial centres of the Colony should be represented on such Board of Directors.”

The Banking Bill brought in by the Government, in pursuance of this recommendation, was passed by the House of Representatives, but on the last night of the session was dropped, after no less than three conferences between the two Houses had failed to effect an agreement.

Extracts from Report of Banking Committee of Legislative Council, September 18th, 1896.

“Inquiry as to the fulness and accuracy of the balance-sheets of the Colonial Bank was among the subjects referred ; but, as the Committee has confined its investigations to matters affecting the Colony only, and as the agreement for the sale of the Colonial Bank’s business was not based on the contents of the balance-sheets, but on the merits of the individual accounts,

your Committee does not consider it necessary to comment upon them.

“ During the investigation made by your Committee in respect to the agreement between the banks for the purchase of the Colonial Bank, the connection of the late Colonial Treasurer with that bank has necessarily occupied a good deal of attention.

“ The evidence is that the late Colonial Treasurer and the Ward Farmers' Association had done business with the Colonial Bank for a considerable time, and that Mr. Ward was the principal shareholder of the Ward Farmers' Association. The business of the Ward Farmers' Association was large, involving a turnover of over half a million a year. In June, 1895, an inspector of the Colonial Bank was sent to Invercargill to endeavour to reduce the overdraft of the Ward Farmers' Association, and he obtained a draft on London for 30,000*l.*, founded on a warrant for oats.

“ Mr. Ward, the late Colonial Treasurer, returned to the Colony in July, 1895, and shortly afterwards became aware that his financial position was involved, and also became aware of the oats transaction, the short history of which is that Mr. Fisher, the manager of the Ward Farmers' Association, at the request of the bank, gave a draft for 30,000*l.* on London, supported by a warrant for 80,000 bags of oats, but the precise terms of the authority on which the draft was given were not communicated to Mr. Fisher, and he stipulated that the draft should not be operated upon until Mr. Ward's return to the Colony. The evidence shows the nature of this transaction, and from it may be gathered the amount of cover in the form of oats actually in existence to support the warrant.

“ It must be remembered that this was done while Mr. Ward was absent from the Colony, and that as soon as

he became aware of the facts he acquainted the bank authorities.

“ Your Committee is of opinion that Mr. Ward ought, when he became aware that his financial position was seriously involved, to have acquainted his colleagues in the Government, and that he ought to have tendered his resignation of the office of Colonial Treasurer. Considering the financial position of the then Colonial Treasurer, and having in view the necessity that was then known to exist for negotiating for the purchase of the Colonial Bank, and of the passing of legislation to give effect to the same, and the knowledge that those transactions and that legislation must necessarily affect him, it was, in the opinion of the Committee, extremely unfortunate that Mr. Ward should have continued to hold the office of Colonial Treasurer. Your Committee think it right, however, to state that they found no evidence to show that Mr. Ward was associated with the negotiations for the purchase of the Colonial Bank.

“ Amongst the subjects that came under your Committee's notice during these inquiries, and showing how undesirable it was that the position of Colonial Treasurer should have been held by Mr. Ward while the banking agreement was under arrangement, was the item of 55,150*l.* in the ‘C’ list.

“ The evidence shows that at the time the agreement between the banks was under negotiation the Hon. J. G. Ward was indebted to the Ward Farmers' Association 55,150*l.*; that, in order to place the said association in a position which it was then considered would enable that account to be taken over by the Bank of New Zealand, or some other bank, the sum of 55,150*l.* was placed to the credit of the Ward Farmers' Association by the Colonial Bank, and a promissory-note was taken by the Colonial Bank from Mr. Ward for that amount. This

promissory-note was secured by all the assets Mr. Ward could offer, which are variously estimated, but which were not adequate security for the promissory-note.

“The Bank of New Zealand appears not to have been satisfied with the account, and required time to consider it. With this view the account was retained in the ‘C’ list, and three months were allowed within which the Bank of New Zealand was to decide whether they accepted it. Prior to the end of the three months they declined the account, and it afterwards went into liquidation.

“Your Committee cannot avoid expressing their opinion that, considering Mr. Ward’s position, and that the placing of the 55,150*l.* in the ‘C’ list, under the above-mentioned conditions, was subjecting him and the account to grave disadvantages, he ought to have been informed by the Colonial Bank of what was proposed to be done before such an agreement was concluded. It appears from the evidence that no member of the Government was made acquainted with any particulars relating to the ‘A,’ ‘B,’ ‘C,’ ‘D’ lists.

“Your Committee has also taken evidence as to the second banking legislation in 1895, found necessary to give effect to the agreement for the purchase of the Colonial Bank. The evidence shows that a short Act was first drafted by the solicitor to the Bank of New Zealand, and submitted to the Premier, who referred it to the Government draftsman, with instructions to make it as complete as possible. On examining the agreement the Government draftsman concluded it was necessary to provide specially for the carrying-out of the part of the agreement referred to in the lists, and he did so without instructions from any one. The evidence, farther, is that at this stage the Premier had charge of the whole banking question. When the Bill had to be

submitted to Parliament it was introduced by the Colonial Treasurer, and explained by him from a written memorandum furnished by the Government draftsman.

“Your Committee, after careful inquiry, have found no evidence that Mr. Ward was connected with this legislation further than as above stated.”

Having, in justice to Mr. Ward and his colleagues, given the above extracts, the results of full and independent inquiries, relieving them from the imputations of gross political misconduct, which, had it been proved, would have justly rendered them liable to impeachment, I now revert to the disaster which has befallen Mr. Seddon's Government by the loss of three of the chief members of his Ministry, the serious feature of the position in which he is left being that he has not risen to the emergency, and has not adequately, if at all, filled up the vacant places. When it is borne in mind that the leadership of the Legislative Council, vacated by Sir Patrick Buckley, who had been seventeen years a member of that body, and a Minister of the Crown for nearly five years, is transferred to Mr. W. C. Walker, who had been scarcely four years in the Council, and without political experience, that the place of Mr. W. P. Reeves is but nominally filled, and that Mr. Seddon has undertaken the duties of Colonial Treasurer, in addition to those, onerous as they are, of Premier, the serious position of the Government must be appreciated. Nor does the result of the General Election that has just taken place (December, 1896) afford him any clear prospect of satisfactorily replacing the colleagues whom he has lost. And yet the difficulty must be met, if the position is to be tolerable. No doubt the spectacle of “Seddon Agonistes” is interesting and wonderful, and, possibly, it may, in the hands of some future New Zealand Milton, form the subject of a great drama; but,

in the meantime, it must be admitted that it is not a good constitutional precedent.

Captain William Russell has been from June, 1894, the leader of the Opposition. His father, Lieut.-Colonel A. N. Russell, took part, when in the 58th Regiment, in the Maori wars of 1845 to 1848, and was employed in command of military parties in the formation of a main



Captain W. R. Russell.

road connecting the town of Wellington with the then almost impenetrable interior. The son was also in the army till he settled in New Zealand in 1861. Prior to becoming a minister in the Atkinson Government in August, 1884, which only lasted a few days, he had been for several years a prominent and active member of the House of Representatives. He rejoined the Atkinson

Ministry as Colonial Secretary and Minister of Defence from October, 1889, to December, 1890. He also represented New Zealand at the Federation Conference held in Melbourne in 1890, and at the Australasian National Convention in Sydney in 1891.

Captain Russell has considerably more than average ability. He has a gentlemanly manner and is a good speaker. As a debater he often hits hard, but never below the belt. His words are well chosen, his style pleasing, and his matter logical. He has greatly improved since he became leader of the Opposition, but, on the whole, though an acceptable leader, he cannot be altogether considered an eminently capable and effective one.

The truth is, that a great leader is almost phenomenally rare. A man may have a good head for political strategy, but he must also have the difficult art of managing men. He is not a military general whose will is law to those whom he leads. He has to win the confidence (a plant of slow growth), and thus secure the discipline and the obedience, of his followers. And, moreover, he must frequently take "sweet counsel" with them, and often let them have their own way in minor matters, while, if he continue to be their leader, he must insist on their adherence in great questions of principle. To this end he must have consummate knowledge of human nature, must possess great ability, and be endowed with high social and moral qualities. It is a remarkable fact that of the two greatest political leaders in New Zealand, one, Sir Edward Stafford, comparatively failed when he was in Opposition, and that the other, Sir William Fox, never succeeded when he was in power; and, conversely, when they changed their respective positions to the other side of the House they seemed to respectively renew or lose their strength. Sir Julius Vogel, in his prime, was the best all-round leader on both sides.

Captain Russell, though popular and respected, and fast improving as a statesman, has occasionally, since he became the head of the Opposition, been more led than leading. Apparently he lacks deep convictions, and has not the superior personality which ensures the proper acknowledgment of his position. His good-nature has occasionally led him to adopt, without due reflection, private



Mr. George Hutchison.

suggestions from opponents which have led to misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the members of his party.

As Colonial Secretary and in charge of the Defence Department, Captain Russell was a capable administrator. He spared himself no trouble and he showed discernment and despatch in dealing with public business. One

important characteristic quality, which he had probably acquired as an officer in the army, was his gentlemanly and considerate treatment of his subordinates, and they, in their turn, liked and respected him much and served him well. In the New Zealand Civil Service, as in that of England, permanent officials are the backbone of the executive departments, and are distinguished for their loyalty, without reference to political parties, to the minister temporarily placed over them, and for the zeal and intelligence in the fulfilment of their duties. It is only reasonable that the minister, who is often indebted to them for indispensable departmental aid, should treat them with justice and consideration.

Mr. George Hutchison is one of the leading men in opposition to the Seddon Ministry. He has been, since 1881, a member of the House of Representatives, and sits for the electoral district of Patia. He is an able lawyer, and is in the foremost rank of public men in the Colony. It is singular that in the frequent changes of administration while he has been in the House, it has never fallen to his lot to become a Minister of the Crown, for he has shown many qualities which point him out as conspicuously fitted for that office. Probably the cause has been his own choice, either because he has not felt himself in sufficient accord with a Ministry from his own party, or on private grounds. It is not unlikely that the next ministerial change may place him on the Treasury Bench.

In opposition he undoubtedly is a formidable foe. He is a capital debater. His prepared speeches are polished, good, and eloquent ; occasionally too long, but listened to attentively. He is caustic and cynical ; he is satirical and strong in invective, and even bitter and venomous, if he chooses, in attack.

Mr. George Hutchison, who is a young man, has in him elements of good promise which, with discretion and

consistency on his part, will, in all human probability, enable him to take politically a high position among New Zealand statesmen. He is an ambitious man, but he should be warned against that wild ambition which "loves to slide, not stand," an ambition which, however high, is often lowly laid. Notwithstanding that his speeches in Parliament are somewhat "like quills upon



Mr. Scobie Mackenzie.

the fretful porcupine," he is sociable and privately popular.

Mr. Scobie Mackenzie is a coming man. He is perhaps the best public speaker amongst the present Opposition members of the New Zealand House of Representatives. In politics he would, if he were in England, be probably classed as an Individualist Liberal of the older-type; but

in New Zealand it is safer to class him as one of the Opposition to the present Ministry. His speeches, however, are excellent, showing careful thought and great ability, though labouring under the disadvantage of delivery in a rather harsh voice. They have real rhetorical force and genuine humour. They have, moreover, a literary charm about them, a feature the more pleasing because it is not common.

Mr. Scobie Mackenzie is a good writer, moreover, and he is altogether a prominent political figure in New Zealand, and apparently in ascension.

Mr. Frederick Pirani, probably of Italian extraction, has sat for some years for the electoral district of Palmerston (South) as an independent supporter of the Seddon Ministry, and has been returned again at the last General Election for that district in the same political position. The "Independents" are a diminishing quantity, and probably Mr. Pirani will have to declare himself early in next session to be on the one or other of the two sides of the House. Politically speaking, the Independent Party are nowhere in the parliamentary battle of life. They exercise little or no influence, and are alternately flouted or cajoled by both parties as occasion may best serve. A political party must be cold or hot. It cannot long continue to be merely lukewarm. The party, in its proper sense, which Mr. Pirani joins will have cause to congratulate itself on the acquisition. He is a fluent, clever, and satirical speaker, and is listened to attentively. He is a journalist by profession, and combines considerable talent with a good knowledge of political affairs. Though very sensitive himself, he is, within fair limits, a hard hitter. He seems to have been, though professing independence, a reliable voter in support of Mr. Seddon.

In the foregoing political sketches I have confined myself to men who are popularly understood to be meant

by the word "statesmen," those who take an active public part in politics, but in view of its more extended interpretation, I wish to add the following names of men who "have done the State some service," though not in the political arena.

Sir James Hector, K.C.M.G., who had previously distinguished himself in scientific exploration in the Rocky



Captain Edwin, R.N.

Mountains, was appointed in 1861 Geologist to the Provincial Government of Otago; and in 1865 became Director of the Geological Survey of New Zealand. He has also been for several years Director of the New Zealand Institute, which he founded; and since the death of his predecessor, Mr. Tancred, in 1884, he has been Chancellor of the New Zealand University.

The Colonial Museum, which is at Wellington, has considerable collections in the departments of natural history, ethnology, many miscellaneous articles, besides a laboratory and a public library. The New Zealand Institute is a most valuable aid to scientific education. At the instance of Dr. Hector it was first constituted under a special Act passed in 1853, and annually receives a public grant of 500*l.* The object of the Institute is to encourage the pursuit of science, and, with that object, to collect, record, and criticize all local discoveries directly or indirectly connected therewith. It is under the direction of governors annually elected, and its manager is Sir James Hector. It has published above twenty volumes of its yearly proceedings and transactions, containing instructive papers on zoology, botany, chemistry, geology, and miscellaneous scientific subjects. The Institute consists of an incorporation of local scientific societies at Auckland, Hawke's Bay, Wellington, Canterbury, Otago, and Southland.

Sir James Hector was created C.M.G. in 1875, and K.C.M.G. in 1887.

His scientific attainments are varied and of a high order, and he has been ever willing and zealous in devoting them to the spread of science for the public good.

The next name I wish to add is that of Captain Edwin, R.N., who, in 1873, at the request of the Government at that time, established a system of weather forecasts, and has since successfully conducted under his sole personal superintendence. Daily forecasts are given. The usefulness of the system is generally recognized throughout the Colony. The system is scientifically founded on a series of careful and daily barometrical and weather observations throughout New Zealand and at convenient places for observation in Australia. These observations

are telegraphed each day to Captain Edwin at Wellington, who, on scientific conclusions, founds on them, and issues by the telegraph, his daily weather forecasts for the principal ports in New Zealand. These forecasts are made with astonishing accuracy, and are of great practical use to those engaged in out-of-door industrial occupa-



Captain Fairchild.

tions on land, or to those who "occupy their business in great waters."

Captain Fairchild, commanding the Government steamer at Wellington, is also a man deserving of special notice.

For more than thirty years he has had a Government

steamer under his command, and has rendered during that time invaluable public services.

He originally came to New Zealand from Nova Scotia, and his keen observation, shrewd humour, and quaint sayings, show that he largely partakes of the characteristics of the Nova Scotians, in addition to their aptitude for the marine profession. He is every inch a sailor. He knows the New Zealand coast thoroughly, and, in spite of weather, takes his steamer into almost every one of the innumerable harbours, roadsteads, rivers, and inlets on that coast.

During the troublous times of native disturbances, from 1860 to 1870, and during the tranquillity which has prevailed since, his little steamer has been quite an institution—a fleet in itself, a man-of-war, a transport ship, a mail steamer, a yacht, and a vessel of all work. Its services have been in constant requisition, and the vessel has been in perpetual motion, conveying soldiers, munitions of war, commissariat supplies, lighthouse stores, on missions of war, diplomacy, peace, survey, inspection, and other multitudinous objects. It has been going to and fro on the sea, visiting the most out-of-the-way places in New Zealand and in the adjacent islands. It has conveyed passengers of every degree, from Governors to office-boys, and has carried cargoes of all sorts, from Armstrong guns and catadioptric lights to telegraph posts. And it has, so far as navigation is concerned, owing in a great measure to the skill and care of its commander, Captain Fairchild, performed every voyage without accident, in all weathers, and with the despatch and punctuality of an Atlantic Liner.

The work which I have undertaken in this enlarged and revised edition of my former book, "New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen," is now ended. In the foregoing pages I have recorded my impressions, after reflection

and further opportunities of judgment, of the public characters which I had already sketched of the chief political men in New Zealand, and my impressions of the public characters of the new political men since 1886 in that Colony, impressions which are founded on the best opportunities of judgment that were available to me. I have also attempted, in the case of the new political men, as I did in the case of the former, to connect these slight personal sketches with the leading political events up to the latest date, March, 1897, in which the new political men have been prominently engaged.

However much I may have been mistaken in my view of any of the characters which I have sketched, all I can say is that I have done my best, and that I have honestly said what I think, with every wish to be fair to all. My hope has been to make men who have filled high positions, and have been engaged in arduous and responsible work in New Zealand, personally better known and understood; and in that way to add to the interest felt in the progress of that Colony.

That progress, dating from the first colonization of New Zealand to the present year, is almost coeval with the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, and constitutes in itself one of the most fitting tributes among the many fitting tributes in honour of the present remarkable year of that reign.

New Zealand as it was in 1837, and New Zealand as it is in 1897! *Si monumentum queris, circumspice.*

APPENDIX A.

(Page 5.)

As considerable interest is taken by many persons in the question of the number of Maoris in New Zealand, and whether that number is increasing or decreasing, I append extracts on both these subjects from my book in 1888 on New Zealand and from the Maori census in 1896.

Extract from the Colony of New Zealand, Appendix C.

“The Maori census is always difficult to be taken, and the numbers given in it can only be regarded as more or less approximate to correctness. This uncertainty is owing to obvious circumstances. Official enumeration, when applied to Maoris, is at present, very properly, not enforced or enforceable by law, for in that case it would probably occasion another war. It is a matter of diplomacy, and even so it is regarded by the race, as a rule, with suspicion and distrust. Even when information is vouchsafed, it is often, owing to native manners and customs, vague and inaccurate. Moreover, there are native districts in which the still unsettled state of affairs precludes the personal collection of a native census. The Maori census of 1886 was taken with the greatest practicable care by or under the direct superintendence of officers of the Native Department, and under conditions which, no doubt, make it a comparatively closer approach to fact than any of its predecessors. At the same time, it cannot be held, for purposes of deduction and for other purposes, as reliable as the European census; and this defect becomes, of course, the greater in cases of comparison with preceding Maori censuses, which, under the circumstances of the country, were necessarily taken with more inexactness. The number of the aboriginal race in New Zealand, according to the census of 1886,

was 41,969, of whom there were 22,840 males and 19,129 females. A Maori census (so called) was conjecturally taken in 1878, which gives the native population as 43,595. The Maori census of 1881, which, compared with that in 1878, is much less unreliable, gives the native population as 44,097, of whom 24,368 were males and 19,729 were females. Compared, therefore, with the census of 1881, the census of 1886 shows, since 1881, a decrease of 2128 Maoris—1528 males and 600 females.

“The Registrar-General, who has gone very carefully into the statistics of the Maori census, states that this decrease bears out the remarks of the several census superintending officers that there was, on the whole, a decrease of the natives within their districts. This decrease is attributable, partly, to inattention to sanitary habits, to exposure, to improper food, to drink, and to placing the sick in the hands of their native doctors instead of applying to the European medical officer of the district, and also, partly, to constitutional feebleness caused by the practice of intermarriage between members of the same tribe or sub-tribe. It is, however, gratifying to learn from the Registrar-General, that ‘there is, on the other hand, a marked decrease in their general drinking habits, this result having been, apparently, owing to the exertions of influential members of their own race, who have realized the serious consequences of indulging in habits of intemperance.’ This statement of the Registrar-General is fully borne out by the general tenor of the reports of officers of native districts, before referred to by me in my descriptive sketches of the provincial districts in the North Island.

“The conclusions to which the Registrar-General comes on the subject of the vitality of the Maori race are :—

“‘1. That there is a much smaller birth-rate among the Maoris than among the rest of the population.

“‘2. That there is a higher death-rate at all the younger ages of life : and

“‘3. That there is in addition a much higher death-rate among the adult Maori females than among the adult males. These conditions,’ he adds, ‘will have to be reversed before any increase of the race can reasonably be expected.’

“The number of Maoris living in the North Island was 39,527, of whom the males were 21,649 and the females 17,878. Those living in the South Island were 20,46—males 1088, and females 958. In the Chatham Islands, as I have before stated, the number of Maoris was 159, and the number of Morioris was 36, of whom, in both cases, the sexes were almost equally divided. Throughout New Zealand the Maoris owned, in addition to horses, 112,850 sheep, 42,103 cattle, and 92,091 pigs.”

TABLE I.—COMPARATIVE RETURN OF MAORI CENSUS,
1896 AND 1891.

	Total Persons, 1891.	Males.	Females.	Total Persons, 1896.	Males.	Females.	Increase.	Decrease.	Actual Decrease, 1891—96.
North Island . . .	39,535	21,725	17,810	37,064	20,214	16,850	...	2471	...
Middle Island . . .	1,983	973	910	2,197	1,168	1,029	314
Stewart Island . . .	136	72	64	116	58	58	..	20	...
Chatham Islands—									
Maoris	148	65	83	179	94	85	31
Morioris	40	26	14	20	11	9	...	20	...
Maori wives living with European husbands .	251	...	251	229	...	229	...	22	...
Totals	41,993	22,861	19,132	39,305	21,545	18,260	345	2533	2188

APPENDIX B.

(Page 263.)

THE following extracts from a memorandum of the Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand, laid before the House of Representatives in the Session of April, 1897, furnish the latest authentic account in respect of certain of the recent New Zealand loans in question :—

“The advances to Settlers Office is doing well ; for, notwithstanding it has had to pay 67,500*l.* within the year, it has only required an advance from the Consolidated Fund to the extent of 26,000*l.* For this current year and hereafter of course only 45,000*l.* per annum will require to be paid for interest on the 1,500,000*l.* loan, and there is a certainty that the office will soon be able to provide for each year’s charge, and to pay off the arrears of debt due to the Consolidated Fund.”

“‘The Lands Improvement’ and ‘The Native Land Purchase’ accounts have also been placed in funds to the amount of 187,500*l.* each, through the raising of the three-quarters of a million under ‘The Aid to Public Works and Land Settlement Act, 1896,’ and with the proceeds of debentures amounting to 52,000*l.* raised under the Act of 1894. The estimated expenditure of the Lands Improvement Account is set down at 109,000*l.*, leaving a balance of 134,500*l.* to go on with. In the

Native Land Purchase Account the expenditure is estimated at 127,000*l.*, leaving a balance of 97,200*l.* to provide for purchases during the current year. As I have before mentioned, there is still a balance of a quarter of a million to be raised under 'The Aid to Public Works and Land Settlement Act, 1896,' and, when the proceeds have been received, 'The Lands Improvement Account' and 'The Native Lands Purchase Account' will each be entitled to be credited with 62,500*l.* of the 250,000*l.* to be raised. With these sums available I am satisfied that the works in progress to improve and open up the roading of the country will be steadily continued, and further lands can be acquired from the natives, and our engagements in this direction successfully carried out."

"Some large estates have been purchased under 'The Land for Settlements Act, 1894,' for which purpose 297,300*l.* has been raised during the past year, and this amount, together with some 20,000*l.* derived from rents, has been sufficient to provide for an expenditure of 312,500*l.*, leaving a balance in hand of 6000*l.*"

"I am able to place before you the usual table of the Public Debt. The gross total has increased by 1,315,838*l.*, and the net debt by 1,280,682*l.* Of this sum, however, one million is absolutely represented by equivalent assets, and the interest thereon is paid back to the Treasury by those who have obtained the benefit of the expenditure. Of the million authorized by 'The Aid to Public Works and Land Settlement Act, 1896,' 750,000*l.* has been raised; deposits amounting to 136,015*l.* under 'The New Zealand Consols Act, 1864,' have been received; 93,800*l.* of debentures under 'The Government Loans to Local Bodies Act, 1896,' have been issued; purchases under 'The Land for Settlements Act, 1894,' have required the issue of 297,300*l.* of debentures; and for the purpose of opening roads and giving access to lands 52,000*l.* of debentures under 'The Lands Improvement and Native Lands Acquisition Act, 1894,' have been sold; 70,300*l.* was issued as Sinking Fund Debentures under 'The Consolidated Stock Act, 1884,' but of this amount only 20,000*l.* was issued against the accretion of Sinking Fund of the Loans to Local Bodies; and 56,891*l.* of stock was inscribed at 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for purposes of conversion and redemption of other Government securities. On the other hand, we have paid off or redeemed various parcels of debenture stock amounting to 87,068*l.*, and have converted 53,400*l.* of debentures into lower interest-bearing inscribed stock."

The Colonial Treasurer also stated in the Memorandum from which the above extracts are given, that a close approximate result of the financial operations for the past financial year showed on March 31st, 1897, a balance of 340,000*l.* arrived at as follows:—

Receipts for the year	£4,796,000
Expenditure of the year	4,671,000
	<hr/>
	125,000
Add balance to begin the year with	215,000
	<hr/>
	£340,000

It is also an interesting fact, in view of those on whom the burden of taxation more or less immediately falls, to record here the results of the census taken in April, 1896, of the population of the Colony.

The total population at that date, exclusive of Maoris, was 703,360, and the summary of the Maori census at the same time shows a total of Maoris, 39,805.

The census of April, 1896, also shows that between 1891 and 1896 the European population of the Colony has increased by 76,702 persons, or 12·24 per cent., a greater rate of progress by nearly 4 per cent. than that during the quinquennium of 1886-91. Of the increase in 1891-96, 59,900 persons were the natural increase by excess of births over deaths, and the remainder, 17,702, the excess of arrivals over departures.

The number of females to a hundred males in the Colony is now eighty-nine : ten years ago it was eighty-five, and in 1874 it was only seventy-five.

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