History of New Zealand

1642-1893.

BY

ALFRED SAUNDERS

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History of New Zealand.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISLANDS BY TASMAN IN 1642, TO THE DEATHS

OF THE

HON. JOHN BALLANCE

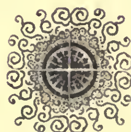
AND

SIR WILLIAM FOX

IN 1893.

By Alfred Saunders.

VOL. II.



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

As my life and health have been spared to so near the close of the nineteenth century. I have been able to fulfil my conditional promise to continue my History of New Zealand for a period embracing some thirty-two eventful years.

As intimated in my preface to the first volume, I have found the task more easy and more satisfactory, with the systematic and reliable public records available under our more modern civilisation, than it could be when relying so much upon the incomplete diaries of our earliest navigators, or upon the still more broken records of our earliest missionaries. I have consequently been able to write this second volume with more confidence, and the pleasure of writing it has been greatly enhanced by the very kind spirit in which my first volume has been reviewed, both by the New Zealand and by the English press, and approved by many of the public workers who, within my own memory, have assisted to form the history of New Zealand.

If the reviews as a whole had been less kind they would probably have been more helpful; as we are all liable to make mistakes, and are often most indebted to those who love us least for pointing them out. I have noticed only two newspapers, both very strong party organs, which express a belief that I have been too long an actor in New Zealand politics to be trusted as an impartial historian; and one of them most flatteringly honours me with the suggestion that even William Ewart Gladstone would not have been a reliable chronicler of the events in which he had taken so prominent a part. I differ from that view, and should have trusted Mr. Gladstone, even as an opponent, to do me as much justice as he would do to a friend; far more than I would trust a man who had seen nothing for himself, and had only written about public men as he found them pictured in public prints, both by their friends and by their foes. Indeed, I can conceive of no education that would qualify a man to be a really discriminating historian so well as working amongst the public men of his country; and especially as working both with and against them, as a conscientious man, with fixed opinions of his own, is generally called upon to do. A man must himself fight against large-minded, honest and capable men before he can appreciate the chasm that separates such men from the small-minded, bitter, personal partisans, who think that they are serving the cause of their party when they abuse and misrepresent the men who conscientiously differ from them. The long experienced public debater cannot fail

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to learn how very possible it is that, in a great contest for principle, he will be even more impressed with the great qualities of his opponents than with those of his friends ; and cannot help being more disgusted with mean subterfuge and dishonest misrepresentation when resorted to by his friends, than when employed by his opponents. During fifty-eight years' experience and observation, as a public man in New Zealand, I have had many long and severe election contests and public debates, in opposition to such noble public men as Sir David Monro, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir William Fox, Sir John Hall, and the Honourables J. W. Barnicoat, C. W. and J. C. Richmond, Daniel Pollen, John Ballance, William Rolleston, W. R. Russell, and many others ; but, the longer I contended with such honest and honourable men, the more I learned to esteem them, and the more I have been pained to hear them unjustly maligned. But none of them were faultless and none of them would have wished to be represented as superhumanly perfect.

Of course readers will greatly differ as to what subjects should find a place in the history of a country ; so that, whilst many will wish that my history was far less political, some reviewers have held up their hands in astonishment that I should trifle with history as far as to write about racers, cows, pigs, sheep and horses. Notwithstanding my respect for and gratitude to my kind reviewers, I cannot express any regret for the attention I have given to such subjects. The quality of our New Zealand horses—the proofs of what they can do, in competition with the best horses in the world—should not be an uninteresting subject to any intelligent or patriotic New Zealander. Indeed I very much regret that my history does not supply a very much more complete record of what has been done by those benefactors of New Zealand who have made our domestic animals what we are all so proud to know them to be. I may, perhaps, go so far as to say that I look upon the importation of first class dams and sires for our domestic animals as only second in importance to the introduction of the high class progenitors who have supplied us with such competent brains, as those which control the pens that keep our public men in their place, and give their discriminating encouragement to our New Zealand authors.

West Melton, Canterbury,
June 9, 1899,

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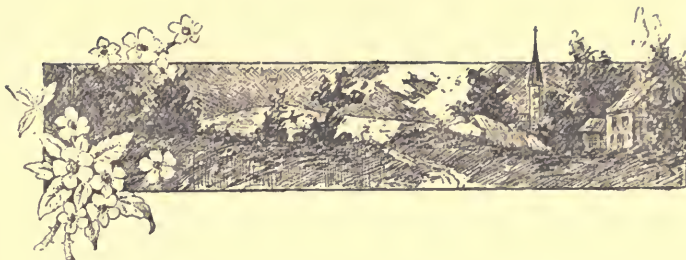


CHAPTER XLI.

SEEKING PEACE—1861-1862.

"I want none of thy soldiers: I depend upon something better. On the Indians themselves, on their moral sense, and upon the promised protection of God." WILLIAM PENN TO CHARLES II.

THE year 1861 was an eventful year, not only in the history of New Zealand, but in the history of the world. It was in the first month of that year that the first shot was fired in the great American War, which was ultimately to purify America from the curse of slavery. It was in the last month of the same year, or just sixty-two years after the death of the great Washington, that Prince Albert the Good died. This was also the year that the two Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, took their passage to London and Paris in the British steam-packet Trent. From this steam-packet they and their two secretaries were forcibly taken by the San Jacinto, under Captain Wilks, a rash act, which, but for the good sense of President Lincoln, who somewhat tardily acknowledged the mistake and returned the envoys to a British ship, would necessarily have involved England in the war, and would have changed the history of the world. In this year Europe acknowledged the independence of Italy; and the great Italian patriot, Cavour, was killed by six bleedings in twenty-four hours, under circumstances which put almost a

sudden end to the long fashionable Brunonian system of medicine which had been allowed to slay its thousands and tens of thousands for more than eighty years. This was also the year in which Gladstone repealed that great tax upon knowledge—the paper duty—and in which the great earthquake in South West America was said to have slain nine thousand in the cities of Mendoza and San Juan.

In New Zealand the great political events of the year—the defeat of the War Ministry and the recall of their favourite, Governor Browne, the return of Sir George Grey, and the establishment of a National Bank—were quite thrown into the shade by the excitement of the great gold discoveries which so completely revolutionized the province of Otago. In the course of one year the population of that province increased from 13,000 to 30,000, fourteen thousand of the increase being in adult males; so that the actual producers of the province were at least multiplied by four. The tonnage of vessels entering Port Chalmers increased from 25,000 to 115,000, and import duties from £29,000 to £70,000. During the last five months of the year, gold from Dunedin was exported to the value of £727,426, paying a duty of £23,461.

The earnings of the diggers were generally good, but were very erratic. The holders of the best claims sometimes earned as much as £20 a day, and some of these employed good men at day work at twenty shillings a day. But these were few in number, and such claims were usually soon worked out. Some were unable to earn enough to pay for the expensive provisions brought to them through the deep tracks of mud with so much difficulty; and not a few were constantly returning from the rough and comfortless struggle in which no prizes had fallen to them. But the general effect on the labour market was good, and the benefit was by no means confined to Otago. The demand for all kinds of agricultural produce, and especially for mutton and horse feed, gave, for years, a steady support to the pastoral and agricultural pursuits of the colony,

and thus afforded a permanent lift to many a plodding, deserving settler.

There was another class of wealth seekers to whom these gold-fields gave a lift more sudden and less permanently beneficial to the colony. Just before the diggings had assumed any very important dimensions, a few Auckland merchants and legislators started a Banking Company, and easily obtained the necessary legislation for the favourable establishment of the Bank of New Zealand. Some 45,000 shares were sold before the end of the year, and, soon after issue, their market value increased so much that he was considered the most fortunate man who had obtained the greatest number of shares. Thus the establishment of that Bank was long looked upon as one of the most important and most fortunate events of this eventful year. Of course such a sudden addition to the population, the progress, and the revenue of the province of Otago was not effected without some very undesirable concomitants. All that was so truly and so proudly said of the character of its population in the last speech of its first Superintendent was rudely changed by this sudden rush of an unselected population from all parts of the world, and more especially by the attraction that is always presented to the criminal class by the gold, by the unprotected state of life and property, and by the reckless disregard of each other's welfare that always marks large collections of the rougher sex untempered by the stronger and more kindly instincts of women made vigilant by their conjugal and maternal instincts. Unlocked doors and unprotected pockets went out of fashion. Skilled and associated assassins were soon systematically at work. Men could be strangled and effectually concealed without even being missed ; and "six shooters" were in demand—both for honest and dishonest, purposes.

It was perhaps during this year that the strongest demand was made by the residents in the South Island for the political separation of the two islands: a demand that was necessarily strengthened, not only by the great

increase of the revenue derived from the South, but still more from the intimations, which were growing more frequent and more distinct, from the Duke of Newcastle, that the New Zealanders must meet the expenses of a war in which the South Island had scarcely more interest and far less responsibility than the Duke himself. But it must be admitted that both the Duke and the few not very real Representatives of the South Island had done much by the support of Governor Browne's Waitara war to fasten no small responsibility for the war on their own shoulders.

Although his formal appointment as Governor of New Zealand did not arrive until some weeks later, Sir George Grey entered in earnest upon the duties of that office upon the 3rd of October, 1861. Whilst always wise enough to suppress all evidence of the fact, few men were ever more sensitive to public opinion or to public criticism than Sir George Grey. He well remembered that he had been often accused of a desire to escape all constitutional control in the administration of the government of New Zealand, and he was not the man to forget that Mr. Fox had, ten years ago, been one of his most severe critics. He was, therefore, careful to show at once that, notwithstanding the exceptional circumstances under which his services had now been called for, he was prepared not only to submit to control upon questions connected with the European government, but even upon the government of, and negotiations with the Maoris, which he was perfectly conscious must necessarily be more or less dependent upon the power that claimed the constitutional control of the colonial finances. He therefore made it his first business to meet and consult his responsible advisers, and to assure the Premier how conscious he was that their public duty now demanded their united and friendly co-operation. When thus approached Mr. Fox never allowed himself to be left behind in official courtesies, and was, no doubt, surprised to find how truly Sir George had estimated the impossibility of treating the government of the Maoris as a duty that

could be completely separated from the government of the colonists.

Thus, with a promptness that was the result of matured consideration long before he had reached the shores of New Zealand, Sir George was able to submit, both to the Duke of Newcastle and to the New Zealand Cabinet, a form of government for the Maoris which soon commended itself to the approval of both ; so that within a month after assuming the reins of government, accompanied by the Premier and Mrs Fox, the General and the Commodore, he started on a visit to his old friend Waka Nene—the great Chief of the Ngapuhi tribe—by whom both the Governor and his proposals were most cordially received. But it was otherwise when they reached the Maori seat of government, the Maori King, and the great Upper Waikato tribe, whose great Chief, Whero Whero, so long the friend and adviser of Sir George Grey, had passed away. Here, too, the long persecuted and unjustly defrauded Wiremu Kingi was an honoured guest and a protected refugee, and nothing would convince his protectors that it was safe to trust their liberty and their lands to the power of those who had treated their mild and esteemed friend so unjustly and so ungratefully.

The proposals of the Governor which were now offered to the Maoris comprised a complete system of local self-government for the Maoris of the North Island. The Island was to be divided into twenty districts, and each district to be divided into hundreds. The runangas of the hundreds were to elect representatives for each district runanga. The runanga of each district was to consist of a Civil Commissioner and twelve members. Hospitals, schools, and jails were to be controlled by them, and they were to arrange for the settlement of all land disputes. In explaining his proposals to the Duke of Newcastle, Sir George calculated that their adoption would involve an expenditure of £50,000 a year ; and that, besides rendering English troops unnecessary, they would obviate an annual military expenditure of £129,000 paid by the colony.

The King Maker explained these proposals most clearly and ably to the Waikatoes, and still laboured for peace; but he was not prepared to trust Sir George as he would once have done, and begged him to leave off forcing roads through the Maori land.

We have seen (Vol. I., page 429) how trustingly and how generously the King Maker accepted, on March 20th, 1861, Mr. McLean's assurance that Governor Browne sincerely wished for peace, and would be in a better position to arrange for it if the Waikato fighting men were withdrawn from Taranaki. The childlike confidence with which Tamehana Te Wahana then adopted Mr. McLean's proposals, and at once led back four hundred able fighting men to Waikato, upon that assurance, gave the most fatal blow to his reputation amongst his own followers that the King Maker had ever received, and destroyed, for ever, the firm belief he himself had so long held that the representative of England's Queen would say or do nothing to deceive him. The complete alteration of the proclaimed terms of peace, and the refusal even to see Wiremu Kingi's daughter as her father's representative, which immediately followed the return of the Waikato Maoris, was naturally a shock to the King Maker's faith in Governors from which he never recovered, and which caused the more fervent Kingites ever after to regard him as a guide who was always in danger of putting too much faith in European promises. We have elsewhere pointed out the complete change of front adopted by Governor Browne, which was caused by the arrival of General Cameron only three days after Governor Browne arrived in Taranaki with the supposed intention of carrying out the terms of peace promised through Mr. McLean.

Few men ever appreciated the intellectual power of the Maori leaders so justly as did Sir G. Grey. As military leaders he thoroughly understood their value, and often said to his European officers after a battle, "What should we have done without the sharp eyes of our friendly Maoris?" But even he was not free from the delusion, so commonly suffered by Europeans,

as to the possibility of deceiving a Maori more easily than a European. He sometimes deceived himself so far as to hope that the Maoris would accept his assurance that his intentions were only peaceful, whilst they saw clearly enough that, without desiring war, he was systematically preparing for the possibility of it. It was thus that he sometimes vainly expected them to accept with gratitude the roads he was so willing to make through their own land ; the block houses he was so anxious to build in the name of schools or printing offices ; the newspapers he was ready to publish in their own language ; or the informers he was so carefully appointing or retaining in the name of schoolmasters or magistrates. On such points both the King and the King Maker would still often have yielded to the wishes of Sir George Grey ; but, after bringing back their troops from Taranaki, deceived by the promises of Governor Browne, the King Maker was sometimes distrusted and outvoted in their public assemblies, whilst a hot blooded chief named Rewi, who headed the fighting faction, was often successful with his proposals in opposition to the King Maker.

From their necessarily slow delivery it was always easy to report interpreted speeches accurately, and it is worth while to give a specimen of Sir George Grey's style with the Maoris, although his oratory was never so completely successful with them as it so universally was with a popular assembly of Britons. His style of talking to the Maoris was vastly superior to that of Fitzroy ; but there was no small tinge of the same mistaken nursery twaddle about it which the Maoris never failed to detect. In trying to persuade the Kingites to approve of his roads, Sir George had said :—

" The next thing is about the roads. You seem to think that roads through the country would do no good. I think that they would improve the value of the lands through which they pass ; and if you think I want to spend money in making roads through the lands of people who don't want them, thereby enriching them at

the expense of others, you must think me a fool. In the country of the Europeans, they have to pay the greater part of the cost of the roads before the Government helps them. In the same way I should be very unwilling to make roads through native land, even if the owners came and asked me to do so, unless they paid part of the money. The only case in which I would pay for them would be, when the roads led to some very distant place which would benefit other districts, besides benefitting the lands of the natives through which they pass.

"I will give you an instance of what I mean. I hear Waata Kukutai is going to cultivate on the top of that mountain (pointing to the hill behind the village). If he does not make a cart road up to the cultivation I shall think him a very cruel man, for otherwise he will kill or injure all the women who will have to bring down the loads of produce; and the children that will be borne by them will be decrepit, and thus the tribe will be lost But do you think I shall be such a fool as to come with troops and war to make the road? No! I tell him what will be the result if he does not make the road; and I leave it to him.

"I should like to see all the land covered with carts and horses and cattle, and all the people well dressed and flourishing, but I shall not come and cut their throats if they don't like it to be so. How should I like to be judged with a row of dead bodies laid out before me, and one should say 'How is this? Who slew them?' and I should have to say, 'I did, because they were foolish and did not know what was good for themselves!' Look there (pointing to a heavily laden bullock dray passing). Would you rather see your women laden with those things? Those men who like their women to be killed with hard work and who do not like oxen and sheep, why, it is their own look out?"

This was well answered by one of the most shrewd and temperate advocates for the King, who replied to this foolish assumption of the Maoris' childish simplicity with singular dignity and good sense, when he said to the Governor—

"Your roads are not simply for fetching food from a man's farm. It is this which causes us to object to your roads and which creates our fear. At Taranaki the roads being there your guns reached the pah. This is our fear lest that strong, strange heavy cart—the cart of terror—should travel on it. But for this fear your roads would have been allowed long ago. But enough —you know all that."

We are tempted to give here the report of an address to the Maoris, of nearly the same date, by the greatest New Zealand orator of his day, not only because it shows how possible it would have been to have adopted a higher, as well as a more truthful and trusting style than that adopted either by the childish Fitzroy or by the insinuating art of Sir George Grey, but also because it justifies the supposition that the ever honest, just, and manly conduct of her Superintendent towards the Maoris had at least some share in the steady loyalty maintained by the Maoris in the Wellington province, even when tempted to deeds of blood by such a fiend as Rangihaeata. On Monday, March 10, 1862, a large number of Maoris, who had come into Wellington to welcome Sir George Grey on his first visit to that province, since his return to New Zealand, were invited to a dinner in the Provincial Council Chambers, presided over by His Honor the Superintendent, Dr. Featherston. In proposing the health of Sir George Grey, Dr. Featherston said:—

"He believed Governor Grey was personally known to almost all of them, and almost all of them to him, for he was a Governor who went riding about the country among pakehas and Maoris, ascertaining their wants and doing his utmost to remedy them. (Cheers). When Governor Grey was about to leave them their hearts had been dark, and they had expressed in many addresses their best wishes for his health and prosperity. Sir George Grey had not been away long before troubles arose, not between pakehas and Maoris, but between various tribes of their own race. A war was commenced which lasted for more than a year, in the course of

which valuable lives, both among the pakehas and Maoris, were lost, and a large amount of property was destroyed. Many of them had sent a petition to the Queen asking her to send out Governor Grey again. When the Queen first received it she did not understand how the war arose, and the petition was not at once answered. When the Queen had enquired into the war, she determined to put a stop to it as soon as she could, and sent back Governor Grey to bring about harmony between pakehas and Maoris. Now Governor Grey had come to do certain things. He had come to enquire into their grievances, and if any existed to redress them. He had come also to confer the same privileges on them as were possessed by the pakehas, by giving them powers of self-government. But while the Queen had directed Sir George Grey to do these things, she had also instructed him not to allow rebellion on the part of either Natives or Europeans ; for while ready to redress grievances and give the power of maintaining law and order, yet at the same time obedience to authority would be required from both races. This was the great work Governor Grey was sent to do, and it was to be hoped that pakehas and Maoris would alike assist him in doing it. He (the Superintendent) had hoped that Governor Grey would have been present ; why he was not, Mr. Fox, who was the Governor's right hand man, would explain to them."

In his annual speech to his Provincial Council, some seven weeks later, Dr. Featherston, after expressing the hope and confidence that had resulted from the return of Sir George Grey, added :—

" My own belief, however, in the establishment of permanent peace, rests not so much on the change of Ministry or the re-appointment of Sir G. Grey, or the offer to the Natives of the institutions for which they have long been craving and striving, as upon the simple fact that His Excellency and his Ministers, by their offer to refer the question of the Waitara purchase to arbitration, have had the moral courage to proclaim to the Natives that the same principles of justice

which guide men in their private transactions shall be observed between Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's subjects—that if wrong has been done even by Her Majesty's Representative, that wrong shall not be persisted in, but as far as possible repaired. Had this avowal not been made, a deep and keen sense of injustice, rankling and festering in the minds of the whole Native population, must have rendered a solution of the Native difficulties well nigh, if not altogether, hopeless. Without that offer of arbitration, peace was barely possible; that offer made, to my mind, war is barely possible."

Both the King and the King Maker heartily wished to avoid war; but they both looked upon Sir George as too clever to be trusted. They never had quite forgotten his capture of Rauparaha. In their own language, and in their own cautious way, they said that Governor Browne blundered in a way that no one could mistake, and always let them know that he wanted to go to war with the Waikatoes as soon as he was ready; but Sir George would talk smoothly and only strike when he was ready, and would then strike suddenly and successfully. A chief named Tipene was the most outspoken of the King's supporters, and said some very uncomplimentary things, even to the Governor. "If," said he, "a Maori pledges his land to the King, and then alters his mind, he will not be allowed to sell his land; but we shall not fight with him and kill him; we shall not do as you pakehas do." Altogether the Governor was greatly disappointed by the suspicion and distrust with which the younger men amongst the King party were disposed to receive all his friendly proposals, and, on his return, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that "they showed an entire distrust and want of confidence in the Government."

With regard to Mr. Fox, the leading Maoris quite understood and appreciated all that he had done for them as leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, backed up, as he had been there, by Dr. Featherston and all the steady opponents of the war

who came from Wellington. But they also understood —better than most Englishmen do—what a fickle thing Party Government was, and how much more powerful Mr. Fox could be as the Leader of a strong Opposition than as the nominal head of a badly chosen and badly supported Government. They had just seen how the change of one man's vote could put one Government out and put another Government in with a directly opposite policy. But, what was worse, they saw that none of their strong, decided friends, such as those from Wellington, had been placed in Mr. Fox's Ministry. Mr. Sewell and Dr. Pollen had but recently been nominated to the Legislative Council by the late War Ministry, and were still the trusted friends of Mr. Stafford ; Mr. Wood was equally ready to take office on either side ; Mr. Henderson had never given public utterance to any public opinion, and Mr. Ward had expressed the opinion that, as the only South Island member of the Ministry, he did not wish to make the South Island or himself responsible for any course that might be taken with reference to Maori subjects. So that, whilst the new Ministry was called in derision the "Peace at any Price Ministry," it was, in fact, a collection of neutrals presided over by a Premier so excessively amiable and conciliatory to his friends that his chief care would be to give them all their own way.

The best point in the King Maker's really wise conversation with Mr. Fox was :—"We believe in you ; we could trust you if you were able to do what you know to be right and just ; but we understand that both you and the Governor must do what the white man's runanga directs you to do ; and we know that one half of that runanga agreed with Governor Browne in going to war with Wiremu Kingi and hunting him like a wild pig, only because he would not sell the land which his father on his death-bed told him never to sell." The King's chief spokesman (Aporo) told Mr. Fox that "the Waitara was now hung upon the Gospel hook, and that it would be dangerous to take it down from the Gospel peg, and hand it over to such a wild beast as the Law."

When Mr. Fox proposed to refer the claim of Wiremu Kingi to a Commission composed of a majority of Maoris, a native Chief asked him if Governor Browne had not been wrong and Wiremu Kingi right about the Waitara block. Mr. Fox replied in English, "Why, that is exactly what I always said in the House of Representatives." This was immediately translated to the large assembly of Maoris present, and the questioner at once replied, "How then can a fair trial take place unless the guilty Governor Browne be present?"

The King Maker's patience had been exhausted, his friends would no longer listen to proposals for inquiry into actions which they knew to be perfectly clear and to need no inquiry. To propose to set up a tribunal to enquire whether the principal Chief of his tribe had a right to be consulted as to the sale of land which was the joint property of the tribe who were willing and proud to owe allegiance to him—to the land upon which he and his family were actually residing at the time of the attempted sale by an inferior Chief—was just as insulting to Wiremu Kingi, as it would be to ask Lord Radnor to consent to the appointment of a tribunal to inquire whether his bailiff had a right to sell one of his Wiltshire estates without obtaining his consent. Instead of proposing such a tribunal, Mr. Fox should have gone to Taranaki, now that he had the power to demand witnesses and papers, and have obtained the evidence which Sir George Grey afterwards found it so easy to produce, and which immediately proved the claim of the persecuted Chief, as an owner, as a Chief, and as a resident, to be beyond the possibility of a doubt. Some sixteen months before Mr. Fox had become Premier, Wiremu Kingi, with the heavy guns pointed at him and his pah, had told Governor Browne that there had been "enough korero," and even the more patient King Maker had now come to the same conclusion.

Mr. Fox was naturally much disappointed and disheartened at the action of the King Maker. He could not fail to feel some humiliation at the low estimate

which the Kingites had formed of his power and of his Ministry, more especially as he must have felt that what was said about a Party Leader without a majority was only too true. Under-rated by the Maoris, outvoted in his Cabinet, over-shadowed by the firmer and more able Governor, abused and misrepresented by the Press, his position was not an enviable one, and his usefulness was doomed to be rather negative than positive. His stinging jokes upon his political opponents and his mild acquiescence to the suggestions of his friends, were always a striking illustration of what Southey says about the holly tree:

> Beneath, a circling fence, its leaves are seen wrinkled and keen;
> But, as they grow where nothing is to fear,
> Smooth and unarmed the pointless leaves appear.
> So, though abroad perchance I may appear harsh and austere,
> Gentle at home, amidst my friends I'd be
> Like the high leaves upon the holly tree.

But it was not only with his friends that Mr. Fox was always so ready to keep his sword in sheath. Even when calmly dealing with his strongest opponents—especially in writing — he constantly observed an amount of official etiquette, or excessive formal politeness, which often made him keep back the truth and fail to expose the most culpable actions of his predecessors. This is made particularly evident in his War in New Zealand, where he sometimes allows the blame to fall upon the wrong shoulders rather than incur the suspicion of ill will to those who had offended him by placing it on right ones.

Studiously polite as they were to each other, and sincerely desirous as they both were to establish their personal reputation by an early and lasting restoration of peace, there was no true affection nor respect, and therefore no reliable and effectual bond of union between Sir George Grey and the Premier. It was no choice of their own that now brought them together. There was between them much to forgive—much that was hard to forget—and this left little hope of the cultivation of any such sincere, unselfish, brotherly devotion as would raise them above petty aims. Nor were

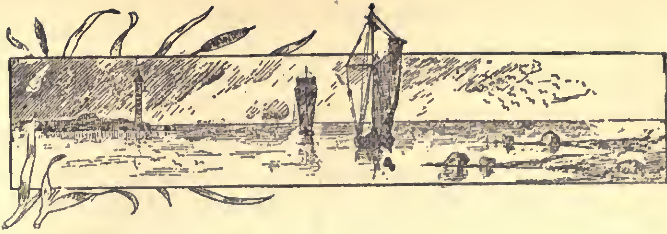
either of them sufficiently lifted above considerations of personal distinction and reputation to steadily pursue the public welfare regardless of public opinion, or of the share which either of them might chance to take in the distribution of public censure which was so liberally meted out to them both. Thus wanting in generous sympathy for the reputation of each other, they were both deficient in that essential element of true greatness which enabled Washington to silently endure the most stinging reproaches of the Press and of his countrymen, who charged him with slothful, cowardly, and criminal inaction when he was magnanimously saving the army from certain destruction by carefully concealing, alike from friend and foe, the fact that he was without ammunition.

It has often been asserted that, although a kind of negative peace was maintained, no progress was made in the establishment of any permanent basis of peace during the thirteen months in which the Fox Ministry was in power, because there was a constant difference of opinion, of object, and of intention between the Governor and his Ministry. But, without being exactly lovers or admirers of each other, there was certainly no outward dissension between them, and the proposal to assume responsibility in the Native affairs, upon which the Fox Ministry resigned, was commended to the House both by Mr. Fox, and by his confidential friend, Dr. Featherston, as being especially the wish of the Governor. Mr. Fox also stated in the House, on the very day of the division upon which his Ministry resigned, that there had never been the slightest difference between the Governor and his Ministers, either upon that or upon any other subject.

But the most fatal obstacle of all to the new Governor's success amongst the Maoris was the inexcusable and absolutely rabid provocation that both the friendly and unfriendly Maoris received from the Party newspapers writing in the supposed interests of the late Governor and the unseated Ministers. The recall of Governor Browne by the Duke of Newcastle, coming

to light so immediately after the defeat of the Ministry that had supported him in every act of careless or ignorant injustice to Wiremu Kingi, and had resisted all inquiry as to the possible validity of Kingi's claim to the land in dispute, seemed to loosen the floodgates of abuse upon every person of either race who had suggested, ever so mildly, that Wiremu Kingi might be right after all. These attacks upon the Maoris, or the Maoris' friends, were written with a recklessness and an ignorance which seemed to forget that the Maoris, as a whole, had far more leisure to appreciate all the attacks made upon them, and were more systematically and regularly acquainted with all that was written about them than the European population would be. Mr. Fox had so constantly and strongly defended the utmost liberty of the press, that nothing could induce him to prosecute these mischievous promoters of war; and when Sir George Grey informed the Duke of Newcastle that "in the attacks thus made in some newspapers upon the natives, and upon all acts of fairness performed towards them, consists at present the greatest difficulty in this country," the Duke only advised him to see that the false reports were completely and carefully contradicted—a course that might have been possible in England, but certainly not in New Zealand.

Mr. C. W. Richmond.



CHAPTER XLII

Miscellaneous Events.

Prune thou thy words, the thoughts control
That o'er thee swell and throng;
They shall condense within thy soul,
And change to purpose strong.

But he who lets his feelings run
In soft, luxurious flow,
Shrinks when hard service must be done,
And faints at every woe.

—John Henry Newman.

Shortly after the return of Sir George Grey to New Zealand, the King Maker had complained to him that a French trader had been allowed to smuggle spirits into the King district, and asked Sir George Grey to assist him in putting a stop to that practice. This was evidently an opportunity for the Governor, of which Sir George ultimately took decidedly too much advantage. A brave and well-educated man named Gorst—afterwards Sir John Gorst, Under-Secretary for India—was appointed a magistrate, and sent to reside in the heart of the Waikato country on a small piece of land that had been sold by the Maoris to a carpenter, and was held under a Crown grant. At first the Maoris made no objection to his residence amongst them, but took care not to employ him as a magistrate. Mr. Gorst was wise enough to make himself useful and agreeable to the Maoris; but no efforts of his could conceal from them that he was very useful to the

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Governor also. They had, for some time, published a newspaper in their own language, in which they advocated, in no very objectionable manner, the support of their King and his Government. This paper was called the *Hakioi*, the name of a fabulous bird, and was printed at a press that had been sent to them as a present by the Emperor of Austria—as an acknowledgment of the services they had rendered to the great Austrian explorer and geologist, Hochstetter.

Although it will take us beyond the date that we are now considering, it will be convenient to say here that towards the end of 1862, Mr. Gorst proposed to establish a school for the education of young Maori men. For this purpose the Bishop and Missionaries willingly gave the Government possession of a Church Mission station called Awamutu—an estate of several hundred acres—and the King Maker went heartily and humbly to work, ploughing the ground to grow the necessary food for the support of the pupils and teachers. Ample buildings were erected by the Government, a staff of teachers appointed, and Mr. Gorst instructed to superintend the whole.

So far, all went well, and it would have been wise to let well alone. But Mr. Gorst persuaded the Governor to supply him with a press and other means by which he could publish an opposition paper to the *Hakioi*, to be called the *Pihoihoi* (or ground lark). As might have been expected, the fighting of such birds soon led to serious consequences. The Government press was destroyed, and Mr. Gorst had the choice given him of leaving the district or losing his life. Mr. Gorst was thus expelled in 1863.

There was a good deal that was interesting and heroic in the firm courage with which Mr. Gorst refused to leave his post until the Governor could give him permission to do so; and still more in the firm resolution with which the Maoris, both men and women, who had been employed or in any way connected with the Government press, bravely resisted its removal. The honest and pacific King Maker, who had worked

so constantly in the interest of the school, had to admit that Mr. Gorst must go, but strongly deprecated the violence used. He was, in fact, quite as much annoyed with the violent words and actions of the war-loving spirits amongst his own supporters as Sir George Grey and Mr. Fox were annoyed by the gross libels and provocation that now daily appeared in the English newspapers of the colony.

In September, 1861, Mr. Seed, the landing surveyor of the port of Wellington, was sent by the Government to the Chatham Islands to audit the accounts of the Customs office there, and to report generally on the resources, trade, and population of the Islands. Mr. Seed was on the Island little more than a week, but he evidently made good use of his time, and some of the results of his enquiries were published in the New Zealand Gazette of January 14th, 1862.

At the date of his visit Mr. Seed estimates the European population of the Islands to be 46—being 33 adults and 13 children. The aborigines, or Morioris, to be 160, the Maoris 413, and the half-castes, by European fathers, 17. Some ten years earlier than the date of Mr. Seed's visit, Bishop Selwyn estimated the native population at over a thousand, and Mr. Seed found that there were only 64 children to 509 adults. Of the poor Morioris, Mr. Seed says:—

"Everywhere that I met the poor Morioris I found them delighted to see me, but the Maoris appeared to exercise a most suspicious vigilance over their actions, and rarely left them a moment alone to talk to me. The miserable remnant of this ill-used people, I believe, cling most tenaciously to the belief that His Excellency's Government will ere long restore them to freedom, and to the possession of some portion of the land which was so cruelly wrested from them by their Maori conquerors. It is estimated that there must have been fully 3000 aborigines on the Island when the Maoris first reached there, twenty-five years ago; the greater part of these were slaughtered at once, and the remainder subjected to a state of the most oppressive

slavery. Of late years, however, their condition has much improved. I believe they are not now beaten or ill-used, and they are allowed to cultivate the ground for their own benefit, in common with the Maoris; the men are also now allowed to take wives, which they were not formerly permitted to do, but are still prohibited from marrying Maori women. Only two instances have occurred of Moriori men having taken Maori wives, and in one of these the woman was formerly a slave in New Zealand."

In January, 1862, Mr. C. W. Richmond retired from his short, but only too eventful, parliamentary career. In justice to himself and to those dependent upon him, it could not be expected that Mr. Richmond would give up his time and talents and peace of mind for the small pittance then paid towards the expenses of a private member. He was not a rich man, or at most he was only wealthy in friends, in character and in talents. He had gone to practise his profession in Dunedin, and from that city he wrote an address to his constituents, dated January 20th, 1862, in which he gives as his reasons for his resignation, the state of his health, the state of his private affairs, and the state of the public business; but he adds, "It has always been my desire to seize the first honourable opportunity of retiring from the political field."

Mr. Richmond probably intended to imply a reproach upon the noisy opposition of his late opponents, rather than to offer an explanation of the motives that had actuated him in his unvarying support of Governor Browne's policy, when he tells his constituents that:—

"Whatever I might think of the Governor for the time being—however deep might be my distrust of the man—however thorough my disapproval of his measures—I deliberately say that I deem it better, in the present state of the country, that he should pursue his course without the accompaniment of a Parliamentary opposition, in the colony, barking as it were at his heels. The Native question is the question of absorbing interest to Taranaki, and therefore is the only public question

which I could feel any call of duty to take part in. For the reasons above assigned I see nothing which I can do in it as a member of the Legislature, and I therefore yield to the other pressing claims upon my remaining strength."

Mr. Richmond had so far been a determined and often a mistaken partisan. He never tried to conceal his dislike and his distrust of the three Wellington F.'s. His treatment of Wiremu Kingi was careless, cruel, and entirely unjust and unprovoked, and was even more discreditable to himself than it was to New Zealand and Great Britain. His inexcusable accusations against Archdeacon Hadfield necessarily recoiled on his own head. His isolated responsibility, his practically uncontrolled power, during the year in which Stafford visited England, left New Zealand entirely dependent upon his wisdom—with consequences that it will never be possible to estimate. But the momentous results of a mistake must not lead us too harshly to condemn the mistake itself. The dog that turned over the candle which burned Isaac Newton's papers, may have been a very good dog after all, and did not get even a severe reproach from that great philosopher. Mr. Richmond's was an honest, generous, lovable nature; and, in their calmer moments, was admired by friend and foe. Had he been so surrounded as to have been only the Treasurer of the colony, no man would have done his work better, and, in the important public work which he had yet so long to do, no New Zealander has ever yet shone with more intelligence, more gentleness, or more justice, than did Christopher William Richmond. About nine months after the date of his resignation, the Otago Judgeship was offered him by his friends in the Domett Ministry. The offer was accepted, and the position of one of the Judges in the Supreme Court of New Zealand was ably and most satisfactorily filled by him for thirty-three years.

On Friday, May 15, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield died. For some years before leaving England in October, 1852, he had suffered from apoplexy. He

had, in fact, fallen down in an apoplectic fit in the streets of London, and, we are told, "was given over by the first physician of the day;" but a course of hydropathic treatment at Malvern, followed by a voyage to New Zealand, restored him sufficiently to enable him to take a prominent, although a chequered and stormy part, in the first New Zealand Parliament. The last seven years of his life had been spent in seclusion, during which he amused himself with books, was hardly ever seen beyond his own grounds, and appeared to steadily lose all his former interest in public affairs. He died at the age of sixty-six, without making a will, but his property came to his son and heir at law, Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield. He was buried in the Wellington Cemetery, by the side of two of his brothers—Colonel and Mr. Justice Wakefield.

When General Cameron arrived in the Colony there was a disposition on all sides to receive him with open arms, and to expect great things from his Highland blood, his long experience, his steady promotion—from Ensign in 1825, to Major-General in 1859, with no end of medals and clasps. No commander had, so far, ever been successful in New Zealand, except Sir George Grey himself; and he had been successful chiefly because he had employed Maoris to outwit Maoris, and had consequently never been caught in any of their well-laid traps. Now, at least, it was hoped we might see what an able, successful British General could do. But it soon became evident that, whatever the General might have been in India, he was no match for the Maori chiefs, and, as might be expected, he soon let it be seen how much he disliked the work that was expected of him, and how impatiently he longed to be released from his banishment to New Zealand. He very early lost the confidence of those who had to work with him by writing letters to the War Office, which appear to have been handed to the Duke of Newcastle, complaining of the Governor, his Ministers, and the settlers of New Zealand generally; and the Duke was unwise and unjust enough to be influenced by these letters before any of the accused had any opportunity

of knowing that any such charges had been made against them. To Sir George Grey the Duke wrote: "I must plainly tell you that unless all cause of complaint is speedily removed, a large portion of the troops now stationed in New Zealand will speedily be recalled without delay. It is my duty to call for an immediate report." Sir George Grey was not much more in love with his New Zealand work than was General Cameron, and did not submit to the Duke's censures with very exemplary meekness. He regretted that the Duke should think it necessary to censure him so frequently and so severely upon reports that he had had no opportunity to see, to explain, or to refute, and he trusted that copies of any letters upon which they were based would be sent to him. In fact, he told the Duke plainly that, if officers, with highly responsible duties to discharge, were to be censured upon charges that they had never seen nor heard of, the most deserving officer's reputation might be entirely destroyed before he had any idea that he had been attacked, or had any opportunity to explain. This was only the beginning of the strife that caused all the relations between Sir George Grey and General Cameron and the Colonial Office to grow more and more stiff, formal, and unsatisfactory.

It had more than once been decided, or understood, that the next meeting of Parliament should be held in Wellington; but, so far, something had always turned up to prevent it. Between the sessions of 1861 and 1862 a good deal of editorial thunder had been expended on the subject, and there was not a little excitement about it in the cities of Auckland and Wellington, which increased as the time of meeting drew near. The residents of Wellington were long afraid that the four Auckland members of the Ministry would be too much for the other two, and that some excuse would be again found for not transporting Governor and Ministers, officials and documents, to Cook Strait. But, as the time drew near, papers and documents began to arrive in Wellington, and it was evident that it was really intended to hold the next meeting there, where far better public

buildings were available than in Auckland. The prorogation had been extended no less than six times, but at last was fixed "for the despatch of business at Wellington on Monday, the 30th of June, 1862, at 2 p.m." But it was generally understood that the Governor would not be able to be there; so that, on that day and at that hour, there were only four members present in the Legislative Council and only eight in the House of Representatives. Both Houses were consequently adjourned for want of a quorum until the following day. The White Swan had been advertised to sail from Auckland with the Ministers and Auckland Members and the last instalment of the necessary public documents and public officers on Tuesday, June 26th; but owing to the non-arrival of the mail, she was detained by the Government until the following day. On that day a card was posted to say that in consequence of the fog, she would not sail until the following day. But the causes assigned appear to have been fictitious excuses, as Mr. Robert Graham, M.H.R., who, with a Mr. Duncan, first brought the news to Wellington, says in a letter to the *Wellington Independent*:—

"The real cause, in my opinion, was that one of the compartments, had been nearly full of water, and the pumps kept going the whole day until 4 p.m., when she floated. A survey was held upon her, and the result was a favourable report. The Captain stated that a suction pipehat tfeeds the boiler had been turned into the fore compartment by mistake. At half-past 10 a.m. on Thursday we left the wharf, with three cheers from the crowd. With fair wind and fine weather we reached Napier at half-past 8 a.m. on Saturday, and left at 5 p.m. same day, with eight or ten additional passengers, and at 6 o'clock on Sunday morning we apparently struck on a reef, very slightly; the Captain believed it was a log of wood. Immediately afterwards the fore compartment filled, and she appeared to be sinking. We steered for the shore. We were then, I should think, a mile or a mile and a half from the shore. I will not attempt to describe the feeling we all then had on

board. I should think five minutes brought us to the beach. There was a heavy surf on the beach, but we found a good place to land not far from the wreck, where we were all landed in safety and most of the luggage, but I regret to say that most of the public documents are lost or damaged."

The statement of the Captain is distinctly different from that of Mr. Graham, and should be more trustworthy, but, under all the circumstances, we are inclined to rely more on that of Mr. Graham. Mr. Robert Graham, M.H.R., was a very cool and clear headed man, and he had no private interest to serve, or reputation involved, as the Captain may have had. The Captain says that the steamer was five miles off the shore when she struck, and that, with her utmost speed, it took her half an hour to reach the shore. From every account the conduct of the Captain after the steamer struck was cool, prompt and able, and evidently gave confidence to all on board. It is remarkable that under such circumstances, ninety-three persons, including five ladies, could have landed without a single fatality, and reshipped in boats on board the Stormbird without accident.

Mr. Graham and Mr. Duncan, guided by Mr. Moore, reached Wellington about 4 p.m. on Tuesday, July 1st, after which Parliament was adjourned to July 7th; but, in consequence of the non-arrival of the Governor, nothing was done except adjourn from day to day, until Tuesday, the 14th, when Sir George Grey had arrived.

Before relating the events of the session of 1862, it will be convenient to give some particulars of another shipwreck, which so soon followed, and was, in many respects, so much like the wreck of the White Swan. Both disasters appear to have occurred without any unavoidable cause, and to indicate a want of vigilance on the part of the officers in charge that would certainly not be tolerated by the managers of the excellent steam services with which New Zealand has since then so long been favoured. What is still more remarkable is the

fact that the same passenger, Mr. R. Graham, M.H.R., was the most useful guide, interpreter, and reporter after both disasters. On Sunday, August 31, 1862, the steam ship Lord Worsley left Nelson at 1 p.m., bound to Sydney via Taranaki and Manukau, in command of Captain Bowden, with forty passengers, and altogether some seventy souls on board. She had a fair S.W. wind, and steered North by West for seventy miles, then North half West, which the Captain expected to take her ten miles clear of Cape Egmont. At 1.30 a.m., during a smart shower of rain, the Captain saw land close to him, and instantly reversed the engines, but the next moment the vessel was on a rock and filling with water. Fortunately she had miraculously come through between the outer barrier of rocks, had landed fore and aft on a rocky bottom, and the tide was just at its highest. At daylight it was seen that the ship was fixed on the rocks in such a way as to keep her nearly upright—about fifty yards from the shore, with five feet of water at her bows, and seven at her stern—the fury of the waves being broken by the barrier of rocks between which the steamer had so wonderfully passed with no human guidance.

At daylight a rope was fastened between the steamer and the shore, and all hands were landed without an accident; but a greater danger than the rocks or the sea was then supposed to await them. They were forty-five miles from the nearest European settlement—or, rather the military camp of Taranaki. The country that lay between them and that camp was the country that Colonel Gold had been devastating with such "good effect"—on which he had so lately destroyed pahs, crops, mills, grain and stores—and upon which no European was now allowed to enter. There was no escape by sea; they had no sufficient supply of arms or gunpowder; there was nothing to be done but to throw themselves on the mercy of these enraged "savages." Fortunately Mr. Graham could talk Maori, and, still more fortunately, he was known as an M.H.R. who had constantly supported Mr. Fox and his peaceful policy. Some empty

houses were discovered on shore, and one of them was somewhat timidly occupied by the ladies. But two Maori chiefs soon appeared to them, and, with their usual power of conveying their meaning without words, at once reassured the ladies of their friendly intentions, and invited them to make any use they pleased of the house they were in, and also of two others which they pointed out. Singularly enough, one of these chiefs was named Wiremu Kingi; but he was not "the great rebel" of that name, against whom the war had been commenced, although he was a distant relation, and unquestionably friendly towards him. Towards the Europeans he expressed a friendly neutrality; but said he distinctly recognised that shipwrecked enemies must be treated as hungry, sick or wounded persons should be, and he felt sure he could arrange with the hostile chiefs to allow them to pass through their country; but they must on no account attempt to do so until he had seen the principal chief. After this interview with the two principal chiefs, a large number of Maoris appeared who had fled from their houses at first, and the two chiefs went away to arrange for permission to pass through the King's country, which was under the command of a chief named Erewitti.

Erewitti, without pretending to be friendly, proved so straightforward and just that Mr Graham was more charmed with him than with the supposed neutral chiefs. He commanded that the Natives should at once take possession of all arms and ammunition they could find on the ship, but they must treat the shipwrecked persons with kindness, and provide, at a reasonable price, bullock drays and saddle horses to take them to Taranaki. This was done: and the oxen provided were said by the passengers to be the best they had ever seen, and took them through country which no other animal would have brought them through. But, before they were allowed to start, a difficulty arose which put them all in some danger. There were only about 6lbs. of powder, one ship's cannon, two or three rifles, and a revolver on board, but there had been several kegs of small shot which the Captain had emptied into the sea

to prevent them falling into the hands of the Maoris. This the Natives considered unfair to them, and one noisy Maori proposed to murder all the Europeans in revenge. After a long and very excited debate, Wiremu Kingi brought the matter to a close by seizing the would-be murderer and sending him out of the meeting, after which Erewitti made a sensible, pacific speech, and the drays and horses were allowed to start.

But there was yet another great danger which was manfully faced by Mr. Graham. There was on board a quantity of gold, said by Captain Vine Hall to be 3000 oz., the value of which would be nearly £12,000. This was believed to be a temptation that the Maoris could not resist; but it was fondly and foolishly hoped that it had been and could be concealed from them, and that that would be safer than trusting to their honour. But, before Mr. Graham was four miles away from the scene of the shipwreck, a Maori informed him that the moment he had ridden away the Maoris had broken open the iron safe and obtained the gold. Mr. Graham at once decided to ride back to try his influence with Wiremu Kingi, and actually succeeded in obtaining the gold, some of which he concealed in the forest when safely out of sight, and carried the rest to Taranaki. About 9 o'clock on Saturday evening the party reached Taranaki, when every kind and thoughtful attention was paid to their wants and comfort.

The news of the wreck, and of the position of the shipwrecked refugees, had reached Taranaki in various forms early on Wednesday, the 4th, with the immediate result that Colonel Warre issued orders to Major Butler to prepare to march, with 250 soldiers and 150 volunteers, to the rescue. But in the afternoon a letter came to Mr. Parris from the Warea Maoris, assuring him that the white people would be brought up in their drays; so that the soldiers did not march, and the settlers of Taranaki, who, in those days, could never believe that any good thing could come out of Maoridom, waited, with what patience they could command, until the arrival of the scathless and grateful fugitives had set all their apprehensions at rest.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Fox Ministry in Parliament.

Eloquence is not a thing for which one can give a receipt. It is the noble, the harmonious, the passionate expression of truths profoundly realized, or of emotions intensely felt. It is a flame which cannot be kindled by artificial means. Rhetoric may be taught, if any one thinks it worth learning; but eloquence is a gift as innate as the genius from which it springs.—Farrar.

As a matter of course the speech began by expressing sorrow for the death of Prince Albert, followed by noting the great progress the colony had made during the Governor's eight years' absence, and lamenting the interruption of friendly relations between the settlers and a portion of the Maoris. More than was wise was said about the military advantage of having made military roads. Thanks were given to General Cameron for that work, and to Mr. John Moore, for his hospitality and assistance to the passengers from the White Swan, wrecked near his residence. The Governor remarked on the earnest and frequently expressed desire of Her Majesty's Government, as well as his own, "to learn that the colony has taken effective steps towards local self-defence by the creation of a Militia force." There was the usual assurance that the estimates had been prepared in a spirit of economy, and there is every reason to believe that such had been the case, as we find no evidence of the spirit of extravagance that was so soon to be exhibited by coming Ministers.

During the recess five members had resigned, and one had died. Six members were sworn in who had been elected to take their place, amongst whom were the old Superintendents of Canterbury, Fitzgerald and Moorhouse, and the Superintendent of Otago, Major Richardson.

Notwithstanding its great increase of population, of revenue, of wealth, and of importance, Otago was left during the whole session without any increase in the number of its representatives ; so that, while it contained a third of the population, more than half of the adult males who were entitled to vote for members of the House, and more than half the wealth producers of the colony, it had returned less than one-tenth of the members of the House. But the five men who had been sent to the House by Otago were all men of ability and of influence in the House, and most of them were, naturally, safer men than afterwards came when the miners' rights votes came into full operation. So that it was no doubt some advantage to the colony, and even to Otago itself, that her large floating population —which could feel so little permanent interest in, and still less responsibility for, the permanent financial interests of the colony—did not at first obtain that preponderating influence in the House which the miners' rights vote afterwards brought to it.

But, although the direct influence of such men as Vogel and Brodie had not yet reached the House, Vogel's able pen was already at work, and the possibilities of unknown mines of wealth that might so advantageously be anticipated, were placed before the people of New Zealand with such incredible effect, and so ably and eagerly applauded by the holders or would-be holders of Government salaries, that economy was soon looked down upon as the most unpopular and contemptible of vices, and he was the greatest man in the estimation of the House—and even of the taxpayers—who would propose the boldest expenditure of public money, even before it could be obtained from the crowded goldfields. There were at least four men in the House of 1862 who

had begun to live on public money almost as soon as they had begun to breathe in New Zealand, and who were not slow to see the possibilities of far greater things to be obtained by the excitement of gold discoveries. They were all successful—i.e., they each succeeded in receiving many thousands of the public money—they were all good writers, and three of them were good talkers; but the one who was not a good talker was the first to be very successful in his aim, and that because he was the least prudent himself, and had the lowest opinion of the prudence of the general public.

On the 16th, the Address-in-Reply was moved by Mr. Fitzherbert in a friendly speech, and seconded by Mr. John Williams. It was carried without debate or division. In the Legislative Council a similar Address-in-Reply received more attention: it was proposed by Mr. Stokes, and seconded by Mr. Johnston, who were both residents in Wellington. Chief Justice Arney and Attorney-General Sewell were there the principal speakers. But there also it was carried without division.

On Monday, July 21st, Dr. Menzies made a strong effort to get a limit fixed for the number of members composing the Council, and was supported, on division, by seven to three. Instructions to Governor Browne, in 1855, had fixed the number at fifteen, and, in 1857, extended it to twenty. Subsequent instructions from the Duke of Newcastle seemed to leave the number unlimited. On the following Friday the Speaker informed the Council that His Excellency the Governor had been pleased to call to the Legislative Council John Hall, Esq., of Christchurch, George Leslie Lee, Esq., of Highfield, Canterbury, and Andrew Buchanan, Esq., of Clangford, North East Valley, Otago.

On the same day—the 25th of July—the irregular debate that had been going on over Native affairs was brought before the House in the form of a motion by Mr. Fox, upon which he and his Ministers were prepared to stand or fall. It was thus worded:—

"That, while this House disclaims, on the part of the Colony, the exclusive responsibility of the cost of educating, civilizing, and governing the Native race; while it equally disclaims liability for the principal share of the cost of suppressing insurrections of a people over whom the Imperial Government has never practically established the authority of law, it will at all times cheerfully recognise its duty to co-operate to the extent of its ability and means with Great Britain for the attainment of these objects, so essential to the welfare of the Colony: and, in conformity with these views, it is of opinion that the interests of the Imperial Government and of the Natives themselves, as well as of the Colony, require that—reserving to the Governor both the initiation and the decision of questions where Imperial interests are concerned—the ordinary conduct of Native affairs should be placed under the administration of Responsible Ministers."

There was a good deal more of the innocence of the dove than there was of the wisdom of the serpent in proposing such a resolution—to such a House—at such a time—and under the known existing circumstances. Mr. Fox knew that the Governor had, on his arrival, proposed to consult his Ministers on Native as well as all other subjects; he knew that Sir George had written to the Duke of Newcastle asking his sanction to that proposal, and he even knew that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Fortescue) had stated in the British Parliament that "one part of the plan which he approved, and it was an essential part of it, was that the action of the popular government of New Zealand should embrace the management of Native affairs." Such an arrangement having thus been actually accomplished and no longer left to the option of the House, it was clearly not wise to ask the House to act as if it were in a position to drive a very safe bargain as to the terms upon which it would accept the responsibility that a superior power would not be likely to take back under any circumstances. The shrewd men who were opposed to Mr. Fox, although they had long previously admitted

the impossibility of maintaining any real non-responsibility in Native affairs, saw at once the party advantage which they could now take by professing to be anxious to leave Native affairs entirely in the hands of such an able potentate as Sir George Grey, although they still professed to despise his "sugar and blanket policy."

Mr. Fox was resolved, either to be better supported in the House, or to retire from such a harassing life. His speech, in moving the resolution, was by no means brilliant—he had, in fact, said all he had to say about Native policy three weeks before—and Mr. Fitzgerald, who followed him, was entirely absorbed in the incubation of one of his great orations on Native affairs which was to come off nine days later. Mr. Reader Wood, in corroboration of what had been said by Mr. Fox, said :—

"Up to the present time they had agreed with His Excellency in the main—they had co-operated with him and assisted him in carrying out his views ; and they wished to act precisely in the same manner for the future, if the House continued to repose that confidence in them which it had hitherto done."

Neither he nor Mr. Fox appears to have seen that this was just the weak point of the position that the Government had taken up in the resolution proposed. If Sir George Grey's plans were to be carried out, and the Ministers were to be merely his obedient agents, it was clearly in the interest of the Colony, from a purely business or selfish point of view, to let it be distinctly seen and understood that the policy to be pursued was the policy of the Governor and not of the Responsible Ministers of the Colony, or, in other words, that it was a policy for which those were responsible who had appointed the Governor, and not the Colony which had only appointed his obedient agents. And, even admitting that that would have been a cold, selfish position to have taken up, it was evidently quite unnecessary, and weakly impolitic, to choose such a time to make a formal, special claim that "the ordinary conduct of Native affairs should be placed under the administra-

tion of Responsible Ministers." Of course it was just what Sir George Grey wanted to secure himself and his employers from any exclusive claim on the British purse which the action of his predecessors had placed in the power of the Colony to proclaim. But it must not be supposed that either the Opposition or the Government were so simple-minded as to expect to put the Colony in any better position with respect to its claim on the English Government by now disclaiming the same responsibility in Native affairs, that both sides had agreed to take in a resolution passed without division in the previous session. But the Government and the Opposition knew very well that the only dignified, the only right, the only respectable course was now to quietly accept what they had asked for, without attempting to formulate any resolution on the subject; but the Opposition, for mere party purposes, had succeeded in getting Mr. Fox, in opposition to his own judgment, to bring in a resolution that it would be impolitic to carry and inconsistent to oppose. Even when speaking in support of Mr. Fox's motion, Mr. Bell said—"It was a pleasant fiction to suppose that the Native Minister or any other Minister could rule in Native affairs while Sir George Grey was in the country."

Mr. Weld's friends are in the habit of claiming for him the lead in adopting the self-reliant policy; but any one who will peruse Mr. Weld's own speeches in this debate will find that he strongly resisted that policy as long as it was possible to do so, and only assisted to carry it out long after the British Government had directed their Governor to act only on the advice of his responsible advisers in Native, as in all other, affairs, and had thus left the Minister no choice in the matter. In this debate, although evidently for party purposes, Mr. Weld took the strongest and most uncompromising position in opposition to self-reliance, and advised the House to leave Native affairs entirely in the hands of the Governor. No other speaker was so outspoken in that direction. He said—"It would be madness, self-destruction, and ruin to the Natives if the sole manage-

ment of Native affairs was given up to this Legislature. With the Home Government was the power, and there let the responsibility rest. Let them not keep up any little shams that could answer no useful purpose. The honourable member for Wellington (Dr. Featherston) had beat the big drum, and the member for the Hutt (Mr. Fitzherbert) had fired off his jokes, and had gone through those same theatrical performances with which the older members of the House were so familiar—and all about—what? About an indefinite, miserable, and paltry resolution which, whilst leaving to the Governor all real power, reserved to the Ministry the decision of such momentous questions as the right of Paoro to a new blanket, or whether Marsin should have an extra bucket of lillepee. Let us hear no more of such shams—let all the world know where the real responsibility rests—and you will do more in the real interests of the colony than you would do by passing fifty thousand such paltry, impotent, and miserable resolutions as that which I now hold in my hand."

Mr. Stafford's speech was a dull, heavy one, without being so effective and unassailable as his speeches usually were, and he laid himself open to Mr. Fox's most merciless satire by the manner in which he alluded, as he too often did, to his "distinguished relative, the historian of Europe," but still more by an allusion to the Roman practice of appointing a dictator with extraordinary powers for one year, who was liable, at the end of that year, to lose his head if he had abused his power.

When Mr. Fox came to reply to the ex-Premier, he said that he had no such "distinguished relative" that he could put into the witness box, and that the honourable member had failed to show the point of his allusion to the Roman practice, inasmuch as he had not shown the House how Sir George Grey's head was to be removed in case they should think it advisable to do so at the end of his year's probation.

Dr. Featherson was appointed to speak after the ex-Premier, and he made what was, no doubt, one of

the most eloquent and impressive speeches ever heard in Parliament. It was the more remarkable as it was made upon a subject upon which there was no great national excitement, in broad daylight on a wintry afternoon, with no ladies' gallery to listen, and to a cold House, wearied with speeches, one half of whose members sat ready to turn all that he said to ridicule if he gave them the slightest opportunity to do so.

Avoiding, as he always did, all petty personalities, he at once struck the weak point — the prominent inconsistency of Mr Stafford and all his party—and, in language suited to the dignity of the man and his attitude, he said :—

"Some honourable members have felt themselves labouring under the difficulty of reconciling their present opinions with those they have repeatedly expressed on former occasions in this House. No such difficulty perplexes or embarrasses me. I am not here, like my honourable friend the member for Cheviot and other honourable members, to explain away or to recant opinions; but, unlike those honourable members, I am here, I reiterate, to stand by every opinion I have ever enunciated in regard to the administration of Native affairs. Some honourable members, especially those who have recently—or, rather, all of a sudden—become converts to the doctrine of Responsible Government in Native affairs, repudiate the very idea of their opposition to the resolution of my honourable friend at the head of the Government being dictated by party motives for party purposes, and would fain persuade my honourable friend and his colleagues on the Treasury bench that in the event of the resolution being negatived, they should bow to and accept the decision of the House—should stick to that bench, go on as if nothing had happened, and prepare themselves for more signal defeats, for still greater humiliations. Could I for one moment believe that my honourable friends on the Treasury bench had not made up their minds to stand or fall by the resolution, to stake their existence as a Ministry on the result of the debate—could I entertain

the slightest impression that they are to-day, or ever will be, prepared to abandon the cardinal principle, the key-stone, of the whole Native policy—I mean the administration of Native affairs by Ministers responsible to this House—I would readily join honourable gentlemen opposite in this or any other motion that would have the effect of placing them on the Treasury bench. In spite of their disclaimers I denounce this as simply a party move, and trust no honourable member will allow himself to be deceived as to its real character and intent. It is to all intents and purposes simply a party movement, or else why should honourable members opposite repudiate and recant all the opinions they expressed so recently as September last? . . . . It is a party movement, and, if the resolution be negatived, my honourable friend at the head of the Government, and his colleagues, have no other course open to them than at once to place their resignations in the hands of His Excellency. . . . . I must be permitted to remind this House that the announcement of Sir George Grey's re-appointment to this Colony came upon it like a clap of thunder; that the intelligence was received by many with ill-disguised feelings of disappointment; that not a few gave utterance to their suspicions that the Constitution would be suspended, and nothing short of a complete dictatorship would satisfy His Excellency Sir George Grey. It was mainly, I believe, owing to these insinuations that the House was induced, before it closed its session, to pass the resolution relating to the Ministerial responsibility in regard to Native affairs, which was moved by my honourable friend the member for Wallace. That resolution was intended as a public protest against Sir George Grey's supposed designs upon the Constitution—as a standing protest against Native affairs being any longer conducted, except on the principle of Ministerial responsibility. So dreadfully alarmed were some honourable members then lest Sir George Grey should take by storm the rights and privileges conferred by the Constitution, so determined were they to prove themselves the zealous

guardians of constitutional government that, without waiting for His Excellency's arrival—without giving him an opportunity of explaining his views, or intimating his intentions—they, as it were, condemned and convicted him unheard and unseen, and with unseemly haste passed the resolution which has been in this debate so often referred to—a resolution in which they virtually dared and defied him to suspend the Constitution, or in any way to violate it—a resolution in which they declared the conditions upon which alone they would recognise or receive him—in short, a resolution in which they intimated that their ultimatum was, his Excellency's unconditional acceptance of the principle of Ministerial responsibility in Native affairs. Now, let me ask honourable members, who stood in such awe of Sir George Grey's supposed designs upon the Constitution, whether any one of their insinuations has been borne out—whether any one of the predictions they then hazarded has been fulfilled? Sir George Grey arrives, and what are the steps he takes? Does he suspend the Constitution? Does he proclaim himself sole Dictator? Does he attempt to curtail any one of your rights or privileges? Does he, in short, justify you in any one of the accusations or insinuations you hurl at him? So far from fulfilling any one of these predictions, he no sooner arrives in the Colony than he proceeds to investigate the causes of past disorders; and having satisfied himself that the chief cause of the disease was that specified in your resolution of last September—namely, the administration of Native affairs, by the Governor, independent of his Ministers—he at once declares that henceforth Her Majesty's representative will be guided in Native matters, as well as in all others, by Ministers responsible to the House. Does he attempt, as has been so assiduously and industriously circulated, to thrust upon the Colony the expenses of the past war, or to increase the burdens you have already imposed upon yourselves? So far from this, that, while he asks for a further contribution of some £24,000 for Native purposes, he offers to relieve the

Colony of a contribution of some £25,000 which you have pledged yourselves to pay to the Imperial Government as your contribution to the expense of the troops. Does he attempt to force upon the Colony schemes, or a system of government for the Natives exclusively his own ? I was surprised to hear my honourable friend at the head of the Government state the other day that the scheme of Native government before the House was Sir George Grey's ; for it must be apparent to all that His Excellency, in the scheme of government he has framed, has simply applied and embodied the recommendations of the Waikato Committee, and the suggestions of the Ministers conveyed in various memoranda. I again ask whether a single accusation or insinuation hurled at His Excellency before his arrival has been borne out by his proceedings. . . . It will not be denied that Sir George Grey left the Natives in 1853 full of thanks and gratitude for his treatment of them. He left them relying with the utmost confidence in the justice and good faith of the British Government ; he left them entertaining the most friendly feelings towards the colonists ; and, busily engaged in the pursuits of industry, he left them at the same time impotent for mischief—he left the Colony after having, by disarming the Natives, rendered a Maori war well-nigh impossible. I need not ask what is the state he finds the Colony in on his return. It is, I regret to say, exactly the reverse of what it was when he left. Throughout the length and breadth of the land he finds, instead of loyalty, the Natives throwing off their allegiance, brimful of distrust and suspicion of the Government : instead of those friendly feelings, so long manifested towards the settlers, he finds them, almost in spite of themselves, coming to regard them as intruders, as possible enemies rather than as friends ; he finds the Colony, after being plunged into a disastrous war, emerging out of it by means of an inglorious truce—he has to deplore the ruin and desolation of one of the oldest settlements—a settlement that has been justly termed the "Garden of New Zealand," and one in

which, from his long residence in it, he must ever feel a warm interest ; he sees before him the prospect of another war of still larger dimensions—a war which, if once begun, will speedily become a war of races, and will entail upon every settlement in this Island far greater disasters than have befallen unfortunate Taranaki : and yet this House, knowing and admitting all this, recognising all the difficulties of the position, is asked by honourable gentlemen opposite to refuse His Excellency the only assistance he seeks and claims—an assistance to which, I repeat, he is most fully, most justly entitled, not merely on account of the debt of gratitude which this Colony owes him for services rendered in times past, but still more for the self-sacrificing spirit he has evinced in giving up the government of one of England's most important dependencies, and in hastening to us at a moment's notice in this our hour of need, of peril, and of danger."

Then, contrasting the action of Sir George Grey towards the House with that of Governor Browne, Dr. Featherston continues :

" Sir George Grey does not ask you to give him assistance in men and money—he does not call upon you for a blood-and-treasure assistance, for a blood and treasure expenditure — he does not come down to this House and threaten you that, unless you are prepared to pay a large portion of the expenses of the war, in causing and in the carrying on of which you have had no part, no voice, he will withdraw the troops and leave the settlers of this Island, at any risk, to the tender mercies of a race who are smarting under a deep sense of injustice, and whose worst passions have been evoked by what they believe a most unjust, wanton, and wicked onslaught on their homes and properties. Such is not the kind of assistance that His Excellency seeks at our hands. He makes no demand upon your pockets, but he appeals to the highest, the noblest faculties of the human mind—to the noblest faculties of the human heart. He does not come down to this House to drive a huckstering bargain ; but he

says in plain and simple language, 'Will you share with me the grave responsibilities which the present critical position of the Colony entails? Will you, the representatives of the people, aid me with your counsel and advice? Will you, as far as you can, relieve me of some of the cares and anxieties incurred for your sake, and for your sake alone? I will do my duty: are you prepared to do yours?' Sir, I trust that such an appeal will never be made to any body of Englishmen, still less to any representative Legislature, in vain. I do earnestly hope that such an appeal, coming from one to whom the Colony is so deeply indebted, will not be spurned and rejected by this House. But, should such, unhappily, be the case, I, for one, shall still cling to the hope that an indignant and outraged country will repudiate and reverse your decision."

When the Doctor sat down, and the cheers of his friends ceased, no one rose—even the Speaker sat in mute silence, and did not call upon the mover to reply. At length the blunt, bold, haphazard Sir Cracroft Wilson rose to his feet, and his opponents tittered at the idea of the contrast they were to listen to. But no! he only rose to propose "that this House do now adjourn for half-an-hour." It was at once felt that that was just what was necessary after such a speech, and members gladly filed out into the cold air to talk over the Doctor's eloquence.

When the House re-assembled the plucky white-haired late judge and hero of Moradabad, who had much pleased the House by his motion for adjournment, rose, amidst good-tempered cheers, to criticise the great speech, and at once admitted that "half an hour ago he did not know whether he was standing on his head or his heels;" but he knew all about it now, and could see that the speech was full of fallacies. He would trust Sir George Grey. One sole, undivided power was the right thing to govern Asiatics. Let them all go home. Sir George Grey did not want any advice, especially any party advice, and, when they came back next year, he only hoped that the Governor's Speech would be headed "Taranaki revenged and restored."

Mr Carleton regretted that the treatment of the Natives was still to be made a party subject, and that party feeling was so strong that no wise Native policy could be hoped for.

Mr. Domett only wished that such a speech as the Doctor's "could be fully and fairly reported; it would be such a bright gem amongst the cockle shells, and enhance the reputation of the House; but it was a pity to waste such a flood of eloquence upon such a contemptible motion. When I think of such a paltry resolution embalmed in such a crystal shrine of eloquence, I cannot help thinking of what you may see in museums, a miserable, tiny shrivelled insect embedded in a lump of amber. I cannot help applying the words of the poet.

> The thing itself is neither rich nor rare
> One wonders how the devil it got there.

It reminds me of nothing so much as of Horace Smith's pious hawkers of Constantinople, who solemnly paraded her streets ejaculating, "Allah! Allah! Allah! In the name of the Prophet, figs!"

Whilst Mr. Stafford was speaking, Mr. Fox, who sat just opposite to him, kept sending a messenger for a file of newspapers in which he appeared to hunt for something that Mr. Stafford had said in favour of what he was now opposing, and, turning down the page, he placed each large file on the table ready for use. This was repeated until the pile of big books grew so high that Mr. Fox could hardly be seen behind it. Mr. Stafford was evidently annoyed, and made matters worse by evidently pausing in his speech as he watched each addition made to the pile. The danger was seen to be greater when Dr. Featherston began to quote the resolutions that Mr. Stafford and his party had, at various times, supported in exact opposition to what they now professed to advocate, and Mr. Curtis was instructed to move the previous question so that the Opposition should be saved the necessity of exposing a more direct inconsistency.

It was nearly eleven o'clock on Monday evening when Mr. Fox rose to reply. He had been working in his office or attending to the debates of the House for more than eighteen hours a day during the whole previous week; but his capacity for work at that date was something wonderful, and his speech in reply was far better than the speech with which he introduced his resolutions. He at once admitted that he had been induced to attempt an explicit definition of the exact relation which should exist between His Excellency and his Ministers, contrary to his own judgment, "by the blandishments of the honourable member for Cheviot (Mr. Weld) and by a number of honourable members on both sides of the House who distinctly said that they would not listen to a Financial Statement until they had settled the question of our relations with the Governor. Under such circumstances he had a right to expect that the resolutions framed to meet their wishes would have been met in a more straightforward way than that of moving the previous question. In framing the resolution that had been so loudly and vehemently opposed by the honourable member for Cheviot, he had, after the first introductory lines, chosen the identical words of the resolution passed by the House, a year ago, without a division and with the expressed approval of those who now, for party purposes, found it convenient to oppose it." After paying a high compliment to Mr. Fenton, who had always proclaimed that there was no great mystery in Native affairs, and that Natives must be worked upon by Natives, he said, " It has made me stand aghast to hear honourable members, who ought to have known better, who were members of the Waikato Committee in 1860, now doing all they can to convince the House that there is a mystery in Native affairs—some peculiar mana—some special skill or witchcraft invested in the hands of one individual who alone can exercise it over the Natives. I will tell the House that there is no man in this colony who so utterly scouts that idea as the present Governor. He does not believe that any mana is necessary for the

management of the Natives, but that justice, equity and truth are the spells to work with. I am utterly amazed to see men, who—after twenty years' experience—had arrived at a great conclusion, turning tail like so many scared colts, and rushing off they know not why nor where. It is not like us old colonists of New Zealand—who have faced so many perils by earthquakes, by shipwrecks, by land, by fire, and by water—to be terrified by this bugbear of responsibility between us and His Excellency. Positively I begin to be ashamed of some of those by whom I am surrounded. The honourable member for Cheviot and I voyaged across the seas together to claim responsible institutions for this country, and we contended that the colonists were able to take this responsibility upon themselves. It can, therefore, be only with feelings of shame and regret that I now see him turning his back and going in company with the honourable member for Motueka (Mr. Curtis) into a pit where his political reputation must lie for ever perished. But, before it is too late, I implore him to leave such society, to remember his first love, and to think twice before he takes such a suicidal step for himself and for the colony.

"Then we have been told that the Natives were decent and industrious people enough at first, until we began to corrupt them by gifts and presents. By a return laid on the table it appears that the amount given from 1846 to 1862 was £20,010, including all pensions, being eight shillings for each Maori for the whole sixteen years, or sixpence per annum each. Do you think that turning Native affairs away from us, and handing them over to one man, is likely to bring about the end we desire? Is it likely to bring the confidence of the Natives back to ourselves or to advance and to civilize them? Will not the Governor be more likely to work out the problem satisfactorily with the cordial and earnest advice and assistance of the Ministers of the day? In the present position of affairs such a work, single-handed, would physically crush ten Sir George Greys. If his idea was

simply to settle the matter by the use of the troops, the mental strain upon himself would be small, and one man might bear it well enough; but his aim is to disentangle the intricacies and complications to which our Native affairs have been reduced, and common sense tells us that, with the assistance of his Ministers, he will be more likely to attain a satisfactory end than he would be if we adopted the proposal of the member for Nelson and placed him in the position of a Roman Dictator."

When Mr. Fox sat down the division took place in which twenty-two members voted on each side. If the Speaker's vote had been given officially, i.e., to leave the final decision to another vote, it should have been given with the "Ayes," but Dr. Monro gave it in the direction of his private wishes and voted with the "Noes." It was not a vote of censure, nor a vote of no-confidence, but it was a vote against a cardinal feature of Ministerial policy, which justified the resignation of the Ministry, and their resignation immediately followed. Their resignation was announced in both Chambers as soon as they met on the following day, and, notwithstanding what had been said in the House, both by Mr. Fox and Mr. Wood, to the contrary, Mr. Sewell informed the Council that "in the Government itself there were differences of opinion which it seemed improbable would have been arranged."

Although Mr. Herbert Evelyn Curtis had moved the previous question upon which the vote was taken, he was in no danger of being recommended to the Governor's approval, even by his own party. He was, in more senses than one, more like the organ-blower than the organ-player, so that Mr. Fox had no hesitation in advising the Governor to send for Mr. Stafford; but Mr. Stafford took the same course that he had taken five years before under similar circumstances, and declined to take office with the prospect of an equally divided House. To the House he explained: "I received a message from His Excellency requesting me to attend him with a view to form a Ministry. I at once pro-

ceeded to Government House, and at an interview with His Excellency I stated certain reasons which prevented me from undertaking the office. On being invited to make suggestions to His Excellency I said there was a gentleman in the House, Mr. Fitzgerald, for whom a large amount of friendship and regard was entertained, and who, in consequence of having been absent from the House for several sessions, was far less implicated in party politics and party animosities than most other members, and was, therefore, more likely to succeed in effecting such a fusion of parties as must take place before any Ministry could be strongly supported."

When Mr. Stafford himself had refused to attempt to form a Ministry, it was clearly constitutionally wrong of the Governor to ask or to accept any advice from him whilst his constitutional advisers were still in power and should have been consulted as to what steps should be taken after Mr. Stafford's refusal. But it was the first time Sir George Grey had had to seek for a Ministry, and there was some excuse for him in mistaking his real position so far as to place as much value on the opinion of a leader of the Opposition with a majority of one in the House, as on that of the still existing Ministers who had in no way forfeited their right to advise His Excellency. Still it was manifestly wrong, and quite unlike Sir George Grey's usual official courtesy to send for Mr. Fitzgerald before consulting Mr. Fox, and absurdly wrong and unconstitutional to take the advice of Mr. Fitzgerald—who had himself no right to advise—to send for another private member who had no official position whatever and was not recommended by any one who had. If Mr. Stafford's advice was good—and we think it was—to send for Mr. Fitzgerald because he had not lately taken an active part in bitter party struggles, Mr. Fitzgerald's own advice must have been clearly bad when he advised the Governor to submit the formation of a Ministry to Mr. Domett, who—with the exception of Sir Cracroft Wilson—was the most uncompromising, unconcealed, and outspoken partisan in the House.

Mr. Fitzgerald says: "I advised His Excellency to send for Mr. Domett under the impression that a Ministry comprising both that gentleman and Mr. Fox would have been formed without difficulty. I thought that those honourable gentlemen could have formed a Government in which a very large portion of the colony would have had great confidence, and I still regret that any circumstances should have occurred to prevent a more perfect coalition of opposite parties in this House—a coalition which I think would be of permanent advantage both to this House and to the colony at large." Mr. Domett was next sent for, and agreed to see Mr. Fox and to see what could be done to form a coalition Ministry. But, for some cause which it is not difficult to imagine, he did not see Mr. Fox for twenty-four hours after he left the Governor, and then only to offer him a seat in a Ministry which was to be a Domett Ministry—a position which Mr. Fox naturally and necessarily declined. In explaining the transaction to Mr. Sewell, Mr. Fox said: "I will not do it. Domett's conversion to our views may be a reason why, if there is a general desire in the House, that he should be taken into the Ministry, but it can be no reason for reconstructing the Ministry and putting him at the head of it."

Mr. Domett put himself at once in a bad position with the House and the public by stating in the House that, "Desiring to form a strong Ministry, I went AT ONCE to the honourable member at the head of the Government and asked him to accept a seat in the new Ministry."

In his own sarcastic way, Mr. Fox replied, in parliamentary language: "I am glad to hear the honourable member state distinctly in this House with that candour which one expects from him on all occasions, but especially on an occasion like the present, that, on receiving Sir George Grey's commands to form a Ministry, he considered it his duty AT ONCE to open communications with me. I am glad to hear this statement because—probably in consequence of the honour-

able member not having communicated with me for more than twenty-four hours after receiving the Governor's instructions—a general impression had sprung up that the honourable member had first made every endeavour in his power to put himself in the hands of the extreme men of his own party, with a view of forming a Ministry from which I might be excluded."

To this Mr. Domett could only make the weak reply: "I did not mean that I went straight from the Governor to the honourable member, but I mean that I had the idea in my head from the first to offer that honourable member a seat."

On the 6th day of August, 1862, the Fox Ministry left the Government benches and were succeeded by the Domett Ministry, with Mr. Bell as Native Minister, Mr. Gillies as Attorney-General and Mr. Mantell as Postmaster-General and Secretary for Crown Lands, Messrs. Russell and Tancred accepting seats in the Executive Council without portfolios.

Sir William Fox.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE DOMETT MINISTRY IN PARLIAMENT.

There does exist a powerful section of the Native people who, at the present moment, hang back refusing to believe that, in the proposals we make to them, we are actuated by a desire for their benefit and not ours. If we can persuade them that our interests are alike, and that, in whatever the Government proposes for them, we look to their good as our first consideration, the whole difficulty of the Native question will, in my opinion, be solved.

—MR. F. D. BELL, Native Minister in Domett Ministry.

WRITERS, who have not known the *personnel* of the Ministries they have written about, have followed one another in the assertion that the Domett Ministry was simply the Fox Ministry without Mr. Fox. Nothing could be more misleading than such an assertion if intended to convey the idea that the change was not an important one. Few changes have ever been more complete, more extreme, or more disastrous. The change of Premiers was, in itself, a great change; as the two men were, in almost every respect, the very antipodes of each other—historically, politically, personally and constitutionally. Mr. Fox was an ardent supporter of manhood suffrage, of complete local self-government, of elected and trusted Superintendents—a complete believer in the innocence and justice of Wiremu Kingi and, consequently, convinced of the injustice of the war and of the criminality of the reckless expenditure of blood and treasure which had resulted from it. Mr. Domett was a centralist and a Conservative by

nature, by education and by interest. He hated manhood suffrage, Provincial Governments, and especially elected Superintendents as much as he hated Wiremu Kingi and his Wellington friends, Exeter Hall, and everybody and everything that supported any enquiry into the cause of the war and the treatment of Wiremu Kingi. Mr. Fox was constitutionally fibrous, active, enduring, benevolent and singularly unselfish. Mr. Domett was able but ponderous, lymphatic, constantly self-seeking, indolent, and reckless of public money. Next to Dr. Featherston, Mr. Fox was the member of the House, and the writer in the *Wellington Independent* from whom the Maoris were conscious of having received the greatest amount of justice. Mr. Domett, as Editor of the *Nelson Examiner*, as a member of the House, as the detractor of Archdeacon Hadfield and of Exeter Hall, and as the proposer of the unqualified final address of laudation to Governor Browne for his anti-Maori policy, was the last man in the colony whom the Maoris would ever believe to entertain any good-will towards them.

It is true that Mr. Domett on, or before, taking office confessed himself a convert to the Fox-Grey policy in Native affairs ; but, even if his conversion was sincere, it was absurd to expect the Maoris to believe in it, whilst his determination not to confess his past errors, and not to expose the past and proved folly and injustice of himself and his unchanged friends was soon to cost the colony millions of money, thousands of lives, and inestimable disgrace.

The resignation of Mr. Fox and the acceptance of Mr. Domett as Premier, followed, as they were, by the obstinate refusal of the Domett Ministry to promptly and handsomely proclaim the production of the evidence hunted up by Sir George Grey which left no possible doubt that the long persecuted Wiremu Kingi had been entirely justified in his opposition to the sale of the Waitara block, were, without doubt, the primary causes of the long and disastrous second war which so soon broke out under the provocations and procrastina-

tions of the Domett Ministry. All that the able King Maker had told Mr. Fox might happen at any moment and thus destroy his hope and his trust in British justice had now been exemplified, and, by the change of a single vote to the other side of the House, the Maoris' best friend had been sent back to his farm and their most pronounced enemy entrusted with their public interests. At the same time their once implicitly trusted and all powerful friend, Sir George Grey, had proclaimed to the world that he, too, must be guided by this ever changeable Premier, the present holder of which office was only known to the Maoris by his prominent hostility towards them, and by his contemptuous descriptions of them.

Although the Domett Ministry, as finally constituted, contained two of Mr. Fox's Ministers, their influence was never felt in Native affairs. Neither Mr. Reader Wood nor Mr. Crosby Ward held any strong views on the Native question in either Ministry; and, even if they had done so, their voices would have carried no weight against such ruling spirits, such inscrutable tacticians as Thomas Russell and Frederick Whitaker, who carried with them the Bank of New Zealand, and ruled the indolent Domett as they pleased, using the fluent and tractable Dillon Bell to advocate in the House their proposals—with far better language and with almost as much subtlety as they could themselves command. Nothing could be more complete than the arrangement thus made to rule the colony by the Bank of New Zealand.

It was with what racing men would call a scratch team that Mr. Domett first met the House as Premier. He knew enough of Mr. Fox's spirited and unselfish nature to know how easy it would be to keep him out of the new Ministry, and his first day's proceedings had made him quite safe in that respect, but he wanted Mr. Reader Wood as Treasurer, as no one else could be in a position to make a Financial Statement, and, for the sake of securing the support of some of his late opponents, he was ready to take in Mr. Ward and Mr.

Sewell. But Mr. Fox's late colleagues could not at once throw him over quite so easily or so hastily as Mr. Domett had hoped they would do, although everyone who knew Mr. Fox knew that he would not for a moment make any claim upon his late colleagues for their allegiance.

Meantime, Mr. Bell—with his usual energy and systematic industry—had boldly taken upon himself the two most onerous offices—those of Treasurer and Native Minister. Mr. Mantell was called Postmaster, and Mr. Gillies Attorney-General, but both were known to be mere stop gaps, and had agreed to give up office, and return to their homes, at the close of the session. Mr. Bell soon effected a negotiation with Mr. Reader Wood to coach him up for a Financial Statement, and the loss of papers in the White Swan was a grand excuse for all deficiencies. With these two aids Mr. Bell made a very clever speech, and ably felt the pulse of the House all round as to how many millions could be borrowed, how many thousands could be given to Taranaki settlers, how many salaries could be raised, and how many military settlers could be brought from Melbourne and Otago, and finally concluded a very long speech amidst applause, which told him more plainly than words that the more the Government decided to borrow the more popular they would be with the members of that House. The pleasant way in which Mr. Bell could talk when it was his happiness to dispense public money can only be appreciated by those who heard and saw him at that congenial work, but we may quote a few of his reported remarks. In his Financial Statement of the 14th August, 1862, he says :—" I find my honourable friend proposes to increase the Governor's salary to £4500, in which the present Government entirely concur, though we must all feel that, in making this addition to the Governor's salary, whilst the Governor is Sir George Grey, we can but very ill-pretend to offer him any compensation for the personal and pecuniary sacrifices which he made in assuming the government of this Colony. Our predecessors also pro-

posed to increase the salaries of the Chief Justice to £1500 a year, and of the Puisne Judges from £1000 to £1200 a year. We, however, propose a larger addition. We shall propose a salary of £1700 to the Chief Justice, and £1500 to each of the Puisne Judges, of whom there will now be three instead of two. The fact is we do not look at the matter as a question of a few pounds more or less. Perfect indifference, complete freedom in pecuniary matters, and that dignity which always accompanies a good income, ought to be placed securely in the possession of the Judges of the Supreme Court. We also propose to raise the salary of the Under-Secretary, Mr. Gisborne, to £600 a year, and everyone who knows the services which that gentleman has rendered to New Zealand will say that this salary is no more than a decent remuneration. We also propose an increase of £100 a year to the salaries of two other most valuable servants—the Auditor and Treasurer. We must also increase the sum proposed by the late Government for the expenditure of the General Assembly. . . . It is the intention of the Ministers to ask for a loan of a million for the purposes of colonisation and immigration."

Mr. Fox : "Will no new taxes be necessary to pay the interest ?"

Mr. Bell : No. I believe myself that no such plan could possibly be proposed with any success, unless it rested on the faith of those engaged in it, that it will be a self-supporting transaction."

To appreciate Mr. Bell's natural powers and fascinating eloquence, it must be remembered that those were not the days in which Financial Statements were written by Under-Secretaries to the Treasury, and printed before the House had heard them, but the days when even the Under-Secretary of the Treasury himself crowded into the House to listen—with as much interest as the Judges themselves—to the honeyed words which proclaimed the increase of his own salary. All great borrowers have been great men in New Zealand, especially in the estimation of the civil servants.

It is not a little remarkable that, with all this profusion of expenditure, and with such reckless willingness to anticipate revenue for extravagant salaries, and for the most useless and certainly unprofitable description of immigration, consisting of males only, Mr. Domett's Government could not find the means to establish—what would so certainly have been a profitable, as well as a most convenient service—telegraphic communication. When that important work was proposed, in the most modest manner in Committee of Supply, by a son of the cautious old leader of the Otago Pilgrims, it was pronounced impossible both by Mr. Ward and by Mr. Domett.

But another able assistant was largely utilized to keep the House at work during the two weeks in which Mr. Fox's late colleagues were maintaining all proper appearances of loyalty to their chief by refusing to take office under Mr. Domett. Mr. Fitzgerald had given notice of two great constitutional changes which he proposed to effect, and it was only natural that the Premier he had so unexpectedly hoisted into power should give him every facility to enlarge upon the merits of his favourite proposals. In this way the greater part of two days of the first week was occupied in debating three out of five resolutions which Mr. Fitzgerald had given notice of, proposing to introduce Maoris into the Ministry, the Legislatures, and the Courts of Law. The proposals were undoubtedly sound as abstract theories, and were brought before Parliament in a very carefully prepared and a very able speech. The two first resolutions were general, and, although they went far beyond what most of those who voted for them—including the mover himself—would ever put in practice, they were carried without a division. But the third resolution was very specific and practical and definite and could find only seventeen supporters, sixteen of the more responsible members, including the Premier, declining to vote at all. Mr. Fitzgerald remarked, with more truth than politeness, that "a greater piece of humbug than passing the first two

resolutions and expunging the third there could not be."

But Mr. Fitzgerald was, no doubt, very well satisfied with the result; as his fine speech produced compliments from all quarters, and he could never have expected that practical and responsible men would, at that time, go further than his friends had done with his proposals. It was easy enough to say, in the finest language, that all men were equal and should be equally treated and equally represented; but, whilst Auckland had already enough voting power in the two Houses to keep the Seat of Government where it was most inconvenient to the rest of the colony, and whilst Otago, with nearly a third of the population, and contributing nearly half the revenue, had less than a tenth part of the representation, it was not very clear to practical men that it would be either just or desirable to put twenty-six shark-eating and Maori-talking members into the House to perpetuate the Seat of Government at Auckland, and to give an all preponderating voice in the expenditure of the revenue to those who had so little to do with producing it. Still, the resolutions were not without their use, and may have hastened the very moderate representation of the Maoris, which could not long be deferred, and which became so much more practicable when the Seat of Government was removed from Auckland and when the numerical strength of the Maoris bore such a much smaller proportion to the European population. We do not gather from his speeches that Mr. Fitzgerald would have followed up his resolutions by proposing that twenty-six Maori-speaking members should be elected to the House; we only mean that that would have been the logical outcome of passing the five resolutions which he proposed. No man who had the Maori interests simply and sincerely at heart would have advised Sir George Grey to send for Mr. Domett, as Mr. Fitzgerald had done, nor would he have thought of associating Mr. Domett in a Ministry with Mr. Fox any more than a sincere freetrader would have thought of associating

Benjamin Disraeli with Richard Cobden when the latter was sent to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Emperor of France. During the two following weeks Mr. Fitzgerald was again to the fore with a Bill to abolish elected Superintendents who had now become his pet aversion, and his proposal had many sympathisers in both Houses. The second reading of his Nominated Superintendents Bill was carried by a majority of two, but the Bill was eventually lost by a majority of one.

On Wednesday, August 20, Mr. Fox brought the House back to a sense of its responsibility by a motion, to the effect that, before proceeding further with the business of the session, Parliament should have further information as to the composition of the Ministry, and some details as to how a million of money should be spent in the formation of frontier settlements. In the course of an able speech, he said :—

"I consider it a most unfortunate thing that, at this crisis, when the eyes of the Natives are upon us, men in whom they have confidence, grounded on their antecedents, should be displaced, and that there should be put at the head of the Government a gentleman who if not one of the loudest, was one of the staunchest supporters of Governor Browne's policy and of the old war party, and who has been accustomed to speak of the Natives in this House in language the most opprobrious and offensive — in language which must have reached their ears, and created feelings of irritation not likely to be easily allayed. I have reason to know that very great apprehension and alarm exists in the Native mind on this subject, that they dread a reversal of the pacific policy of the late Government, and a return to the policy of the sword, of which the honourable member has so long been a supporter. But the honourable member tells us that all that is changed—that a magic despatch from the Duke of Newcastle has worked his conversion—that, having been informed that war will not be countenanced by the Home Government, he is now prepared to support pacific measures. Well, sudden

conversions are not without precedent. I remember a friend of mine who used to relate that, travelling once in Yorkshire, he asked a hostler at an inn where he stopped, 'What sort of a dog do you call that?' 'Why, sir,' the man replied, 'he were a mastiff, and we used to call him Lion; but master has cut his ears and tail, and made a greyhound of him, and now we call him Fly.' I am afraid that greyhound would catch few hares; and I fear the Natives will be little inclined to trust the sincerity of one whose name they have only known in connection with such unprepossessing antecedents. It may be that the names of the honourable members, Mr. Dillon Bell and Mr. Mantell, may counterbalance the honourable member at the head of the Government; but as Mr. Mantell is not likely to retain office, I do earnestly press on the honourable member to find some coadjutor, whose known friendliness to the Native race may redeem his Ministry from the imputation under which his own presence in it may cause it to labour."

The debate that followed brought out public offers in the House by Mr. Domett to Messrs. Wood, Ward and Sewell, which were at once accepted by the two former, who were present. A written offer followed to Mr. Sewell, and was frankly and promptly accepted by him in writing. But Mr. Domett was soon made to feel, and the House to see, that the Premier was only Premier in name, that Mr. Thomas Russell had previously promised the position of Attorney-General to his partner, Mr. Whitaker, and that the Bank of New Zealand had willed that so it must be, even though a lawyer, with a written agreement, had to be dealt with. We have seen the bad faith with which Mr. Domett acted towards Mr. Fox, as well as towards his friend and promoter, Mr. Fitzgerald, and how he attempted—on August 5—to misrepresent to the House what he had done, but was promptly met by a contradiction from Mr. Fox, to which he could make no reply. On September 13, Mr. Sewell placed the Premier in a still more undignified position before the Legislative Council

when explaining to the Council the manner in which he had been treated by Mr. Domett. He produced a letter from Mr. Domett, dated September 12, in which Mr. Domett had written :—

" My dear Sewell,—In reply to your note of this morning, I have the pleasure to offer you a seat in the Cabinet, to be held, of course, in conjunction with the Attorney-Generalship.—I have, etc., ALFRED DOMETT."

To this Mr Sewell immediately replied :—

" My dear Domett,—I very readily accept your offer of a seat in the Cabinet. HENRY SEWELL. Sept. 12, 1862."

On the evening of the same day Mr. Sewell adds : " Whilst in Council Mr. Domett sent me a message requesting to see me. I found that he was hesitating as to the fulfilment of his engagement with me. He urged me to resume my original position, which I distinctly declined, and I left him, begging that he would let me know his mind by half-past nine this morning, and whether he would fulfil his offer to me or not. I heard nothing from him at the time fixed, and between ten and eleven I called on him, and found him in the same state of mind. I informed him distinctly that I would not depart from the terms of arrangement come to. This morning—a few hours ago—being in another place, I heard a question on this subject put to Mr. Domett by Mr. Fox, and in reply I heard Mr. Domett state officially that, although it was true that the offer of a seat in the Government had been made to and accepted by me, circumstances had arisen which had reopened the question ; that the matter was under the consideration of the Government, and would not be decided until Monday. I need scarcely say, under these circumstances, I felt it due to myself at once to resign the office of Attorney-General." In reply to a question from the Hon. John Hall, Mr. Tancred, who represented the Government, said that Mr. Sewell's statement was substantially correct.

At the conclusion of all these public offers and acceptances, Mr. Fox said that, after such a successful

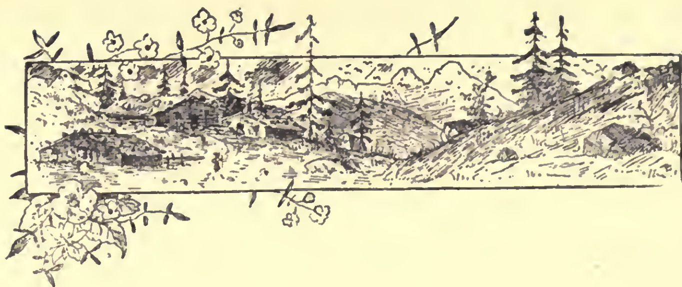
melodrama, it would be proper that an epilogue should be spoken, and that it should be spoken by him. He said :—

" I retire from the Ministry with entire satisfaction to myself. I consider that my mission has ended—for the present, at all events. Previously to the session of 1860 I had almost retired from colonial politics, and was living in retirement on my farm at Rangitikei, but the unhappy events of the Taranaki war forced me, on the meeting of the Assembly of that year, into the position of leader of a party in this House whose business it was to stand between the Natives and the great injustice which was being perpetrated upon them, and to avert, if possible, the calamities which the then Government was preparing for the whole population of this Island. We fought that battle on the floor of this House, and gained all the substantial fruits of victory. We exposed the falsity of the statements which Governor Browne had made to the Home Government on the events of the Waitara purchase, we denounced the unhappy war into which he had plunged the colony, we compelled the attention of the Home public and the Home Government to the subject, and we take credit to ourselves for having been instrumental in forcing the Colonial Office, however reluctantly, to recall Governor Browne, and to replace him by the man to whom we all look as the day-star under whose guidance we are to find our way out of our present difficulties. Sir, we stayed the sword—we averted the great crime of the extermination of the Native race, and the ruin, destruction and beggary of the European settlements of this Island, which, it appears from Governor Browne's despatch of the 6th July, 1861, it was his intention to bring upon us. . . . It was, I say, our mission—the mission of myself and those with whom I have acted since 1860—to avert those evils : we have averted them ; and I repeat that for myself I retire with great satisfaction to those less onerous pursuits in which I was engaged before the emergency of the last unhappy war forced me into a position of political prominence."

On the following day, a motion by Mr. Dick to remove the seat of Government to Cook Strait was lost by a majority of one. Mr. Stafford still advocated Picton, saying that it possessed advantages over both Wellington and Nelson. It had rapid communication with the East Coast, both of the North and Middle Island. It was equal to Nelson for accessibility to the West Coast, and had a splendid harbour which could be easily defended.

To not a few of the members the most interesting work of the session was the discussion of No. 1 and No. 2 Native Land Bills, authorising the sale by the Maoris of land to private individuals, the debate on which chiefly centred on the question as to whether the final registration fee should be a fixed charge of half-a-crown an acre, or be ten per cent. on the purchase money. No. 2 Bill was passed with difficulty, and reserved for the Queen's consent.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor on Monday, September 15—the House of Representatives having sat forty-six days, and passed forty-two out of fifty-seven Bills introduced. Four of the Bills passed were reserved for Her Majesty's assent. But the work of the session of 1862 which never can be forgotten, was the removal from power of the honest, pure-minded, patriotic Fox, and the enthronement of the corrupt, tyrannical, reckless Bank of New Zealand.



CHAPTER XLV.

The Waitara Purchase.

The present time wants men who have the courage to look the devil squarely in the face, and tell him that he is the devil. President Garfield.

In less than two hours after proroguing the New Zealand Parliament, Sir George Grey was on his way to visit the Maoris on the West Coast, and the following day he arrived at the Maori village of Ngatihuia on the south bank of the Otaki river. He was accompanied by the Superintendent of Wellington, by Sir Cracroft Wilson, Mr. Carter, M.H.R., and several other gentlemen. His Excellency was received with enthusiasm, and arrangements were immediately made for a meeting on the following day. The meeting was not so large as had been expected, as the Kingites and Ngatiawas who had been invited refused to attend. The Governor explained his proposed plans for their local government, and was well received by the Natives present. He afterwards consented to meet the Kingites at a bridge half-way to their own settlement, but he soon found that their attitude had not been improved by the late proceedings in the white man's runanga. Nothing could convince them that Mr. Domett was anything but hostile to them. At the bridge the Governor met about a thousand Maori men. The

Chief Wi Tako gave a very frank explanation of why he had joined the King movement. As interpreted, his words were :—" Listen to me, Governor: to the first of my thoughts about joining this King work. It was the crookedness on the side of the Pakeha. This is the crookedness of which I complain—Rawiri's death when he was following after the work of the Governor and the driving of Wiremu Kingi off of his own land. This is the reason I left the side of the Pakeha, because I saw the wrong; then I took up the King's work." His last words to the Governor were very pithy and practical. " Let us return to our work, you to yours and me to mine, that you may see the goodness of mine, and that I may see the goodness of yours."

As the vice-regal party proceeded Northward, the feeling was distinctly better. At Wanganui, the Europeans presented a loyal address, and tried their best to entrap the Governor into accepting a public dinner, which he avoided with his usual skill, and got to work as soon as possible among the friendly Maoris. At the Putiki pah he met some four hundred Natives and about half that number of Europeans. The Maoris welcomed the Governor and his friends with a dance, and feasted them on tuis and pigeons. A number of fine mats were presented to Sir George Grey by the Putiki Chiefs. A great Chief presented the Governor with a spear, and said, " This is the spear with which I used to kill my younger brothers; in this I was wrong, and now I hand it to you, Oh Governor." He then handed the Governor a small bag which contained £10, and named the runanga Chiefs by whom it was collected, saying, " This is for the Governor, and here is half-a-crown from myself." Some £24 was thus presented in various sums, and from various sources, which Sir George Grey graciously received and contrived most adroitly to hand back, with some addition, as his contribution to a mill in the course of construction in which they were all greatly interested.

After listening to a number of speeches, Sir George delighted the Maoris by discarding the assistance of an

interpreter and addressing them in their own language, which he is said to have done remarkably well after his eight years' absence from their country.

The Governor had not returned to Wellington many days before he received a return visit from his candid friend Wi Tako, who, with his wife and child and a retinue of twenty-two followers, all on horseback, arrived in Wellington on Wednesday, October 8. But the Chief's visit to Wellington did not improve matters at all, and his countrymen in Wellington evidently gave him a lower opinion of what to expect from the Domett Government than he had had before.

On October 10 Sir George Grey took his departure from Wellington on his return to Auckland, leaving the Wellington settlers to expect his return after a thorough investigation of Wiremu Kingi's claim to the Waitara Block, in about three months.

On the first day of the New Year, 1863, Sir George started on his last friendly visit to his old friends in the King Country. His spirits were evidently not buoyant, as he was being gradually forced to the conviction that his great personal influence with the Maoris, strong as it was, was not strong enough to conceal the influence, or to hide the past sins, of the men under whose advice he had now promised to act. Even with Mr. Fox the Maoris could feel no security so long as they knew that the change of one vote in the House of Representatives might, at any time, remove the supreme power from their best friend, and place it in the hands of their worst enemy. But when that change had actually been accomplished, and when Mr. Domett's rough, strong speeches in support of Governor Browne's worst actions had been duly read and translated to them, they could see nothing to rely upon, no powerful and friendly hand to trust. They met the Governor with joy, with affection, with gratitude, and with even their old enthusiasm, but, with tears in their eyes, they told him, almost in so many words, "We love you, we remember what you have done for us, but you have no longer any power to help us: you have now promised to do what the white

man's runanga tells you to do, and Domett acts for them—not for you, not for us."

Taking with him a fine canoe and a crew of twenty Maoris—most of whom were the friends of his old, true, powerful and trusted friend, Te Whero Whero—he proceeded up the Waikato river and landed about midnight at Paetai. At seven o'clock on the next morning two hundred Maoris had assembled round him. They were most of them strong partisans of the King; but they shouted for joy at sight of the Governor, and told him that if he had never left them, no King would ever have been heard of. Horses were ready to take him and his friends to Taupiri. Having arrived there early in the day, he left his escort and rode on alone to Ngaruhawakia, the residence of the King. Reaching the tomb of the first King, his old friend Te Whero Whero, he dismounted and sadly bent over his grave. The King's sister, Te Paea, came to see who the lonely stranger was, and several Chiefs came with her. He was at once recognised; they seized his hand, called him their father, their protector, their one good Governor. The King was not at home. He was a long way off, at Peria, and he was too fat to ride fast or far. The attempt made him ill, and from Rangiaohia he sent a certificate to the Governor, signed by a Missionary and a catechist, to prove that he was too ill to travel any further. But a greater man than the King was soon at the Governor's side, and the King Maker, shaking his hand, warmly expressed his delight at meeting his dear father, the good Governor, the great and true friend of their first King Te Whero Whero (better known as king by the name of Potatau). A great concourse soon assembled and public orations were delivered by the King Maker and by Taati of Rangiaohia. The King Maker asked Sir George if he was still opposed to the King, to which Sir George made the much-debated reply, "I shall not fight against him with the sword, but I shall dig round him, with good deeds, until he falls of his own accord." These are the words which Sir George Grey himself claims to have used, and they

are just such words as any one who knew Sir George would expect him to say; but they were soon sent all over New Zealand without the three words "with good deeds," which almost reversed the import of the Governor's reply, and added another contribution to the gathering suspicion of the Maoris. Rewi (or to give his full name, Rewi Ngatimaniapoto) kept aloof from the Governor, and the King Maker explained to Sir George how impossible it was for him to restrain Rewi and all the fiery spirits who sided with him, if Sir George would insist upon making the military roads and putting a war steamer on the Waikato river. Sir George said that such a great convenience as a steamer on the Waikato had been neglected too long, but the best way would be for the King party to put one there themselves, which he hoped they would do.

Before the important and exacting day was over, Sir George was taken ill. The rough riding, the rough food, the excitement, and the disappointment, had proved too much for him, and he was obliged to decline all the numerous invitations of the Chiefs he had come to see. The King Maker sent horsemen after him urging him, if possible, to visit all the Chiefs; but it was not possible. He was ill and evidently dispirited, and the work demanded of him required the soundest health and the highest spirits. His responsible advisers, so far from helping him as Mr. Fox had done, were now the chief cause of his difficulties, his disappointment and his downheartedness. The low ebb of his spirits at this all important stage of his all-important work can be easily seen in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, on his return to Auckland, in which he says:—

"My own health has completely broken down from the fatigue and exposure I was subjected to last Winter, owing to its having been rendered necessary for me to make overland journeys at an unfavourable season, the use of an efficient steamer not having been accorded to me. So thoroughly is this the case that I doubt if I shall ever again be able to undergo the fatigues which are necessarily incident to my position here. It is im-

possible, especially when in ill-health, to repress a sort of feeling of hopelessness at being thus left in a position of great difficulty, whilst powerful steamers have been, and are, found for all the ordinary duties of visiting the ports of Australia and Van Dieman's Land, where no difficulties exist, or have existed."

Dissatisfied with all that had been done, and still more with all that had been shunned, in any professed enquiry into Wiremu Kingi's legitimate claim to the Waitara Block, and roused to decided action by the truths he had heard on this vitally important subject in his conversation with the King Maker at Waikato, Sir George determined to personally investigate a subject into which enquiry had been so often promised but never held. On March 4, he went to Taranaki for that purpose.

Humbly, respectfully, and earnestly, Wiremu Kingi had written again and again to Governor Browne in a manly Christian style asking only that he and his land might be left alone. But, after Governor Browne had treated all his appeals with contempt, had attempted to kill him in his own pah, on his own land, had publicly proclaimed him as a rebel, had scornfully refused to hear his daughter as to his acceptance of terms of peace, had burned his cottages and driven his children from their homes, the persecuted chief steadily and haughtily declined to say another word about the justice of his claim, or to seek or expect any justice from the Governor or from any one appointed by him. He had, however, fully stated his case to his tried and trusted friend Tamehana, the King Maker, and Tamehana took his first opportunity to clearly and quietly explain the case to Sir George Grey. For the first time, Sir George thus learned two important facts, neither of which had been told him by his Ministers. The two important facts were (1) that Wiremu Kingi and more than two hundred of his people were actually living on the land in two pahs at the time the land was offered to Governor Browne by Te Teira, but were afterwards driven off and their pahs burned by the order of Governor

Browne; and (2) that there was a plan in the Land Office at Taranaki on which a line had been drawn marking off the occupied land as belonging to Wiremu Kingi. The Governor brought with him to Taranaki the Premier and the Native Minister, under the delusion that they would promptly advise him on the spot, and that Mr. Bell would assist him as Native Secretary, although Mr. Bell was still positive that there was no such plan in the Office, and that there never had been any settlers removed, or any pahs burned on the Waitara block. This seems the more incredible as Mr. Bell was Commissioner of Crown Lands at the time of the sale, and for four years before and two years afterwards. It was probably this fact which induced Sir George Grey to seek for evidence outside the Land Office. Lieutenant Bates, of the 65th Regiment, Native interpreter to the forces, at once informed Sir George Grey that the Waitara block of land was never under the control of Te Teira, and that he never had any right to sell it. Also, that, at the time of the attempted sale, the block contained two pahs inhabited by two hundred residents, thirty-five of whom were the immediate followers or relations of Wiremu Kingi, and that when the block was forcibly seized by the Government of 1860, the pahs and all the cultivations had been destroyed by the marines and the Maori allies.

One of the first, and certainly one of the most discreditable documents which Sir George had to deal with was a despatch, admittedly written by Mr. Bell, and signed by Governor Browne, on May 22, 1860, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle. In this document he found six reasons which Governor Browne is supposed to give in support of his conduct towards Wiremu Kingi. Below each of these six reasons we will place the counter statement given by Sir George Grey, nearly two years later, in his despatch to the Duke, dated April 24, 1863, after taking the evidence of the highest and most unquestionable authorities on the spot at Taranaki:—

Browne.—Te Teira's title has been carefully investigated, and found to be good.

Grey.—An investigation of Te Teira's title had not been made. It had not been found to be good: but it was still under investigation.

Browne.—It is not disputed by any one.

Grey.—It was, and is, disputed by many. Te Teira admits, in part, justly.

Browne.—The Governor cannot therefore allow Wm. King to interfere with Te Teira in the sale of his own land.

Grey.—William King was not interfering with Te Teira in the sale of his own land; he and his people were contending for houses and homes, where they had lived for years.

Browne.—Payment for the land has been received by Te Teira, who acknowledged on February 24, 1860, to have received the sum of £600 for the land, paid to him by Mr. Parris.

Grey.—Payment has not been made for the land, Te Teira never having received more than £100 for the land to the present time.

Browne.—It now belongs to the Queen.

Grey.—The land never did belong to the Queen; it never could have been said to belong to the Queen.

Browne.—The right of "mana" was the only right asserted by William King.

Grey.—The right of "mana," or sovereignty, was not what William King asserted or relied on. The only right that he insisted on was that of possession (meaning occupation).

We must next give the report of Lieutenant Bates to His Excellency the Governor, Sir George Grey, dated from New Plymouth, April 10, 1863:—

"Report by Lieutenant Bates to His Excellency the Governor.

"New Plymouth, April 10, 1863.

"Sir,—In obedience to your Excellency's instructions, I have made enquiry at the Survey Office as to whether, at the time that the Government took possession of the block of land called Te Pekapeka, which had been claimed by Te Teira, and sold by him to the Government, there were any cultivations or any pahs be-

longing to the chief William King standing on the block; and if so, if any such were destroyed by the troops, friendly Natives, or others, on the occasion of the Government taking possession of that block.

"I beg to report, for your Excellency's information, that I have ascertained from Mr. O. Carrington (who for 22 years has been surveyor in this province), that two pahs situated on the block, and called Te Kuikui (which was King William's residence), and Werohia, the former of which was occupied by about 200, and the latter by about 35 Natives of William King's followers, were burnt by Natives in the Queen's pay, assisted by marines and sailors, at the time of the Government taking forcible possession of the block. The extensive cultivations around these pahs were likewise destroyed by the troops, friendly Natives, and others, and an inland cultivation belonging to Tamati Teito and other Natives, some of whom were friendly (and which cultivation was situated at a "Kainga," or settlement, on the Waiongona river, called Poata), was also destroyed, together with the Native houses standing near it; immediately upon which William King's Natives retaliated by burning an exactly corresponding number of settlers' houses, no settlers' houses having been previously burnt or destroyed by them.

"Te Kuikui, Wherohia, &c., will be seen by the accompanying plan of the block sold by Te Teira.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your Excellency's most obedient,
"Humble Servant,
"HENRY STRATTAN BATES,
"Lieut. 65th Regt., & Native Interpreter to the Forces."

"P.S.—There was also a pah called Te Huriarapa, which stood on the block between the two pahs above mentioned, viz., Te Kuikui and Wherohia; this contained 30 or 40 Natives. This pah was not destroyed, but was occupied during the war by the friendly Natives, and is still occupied by Te Teira and his adherents.—H.S.B."

"I certify that the above statements are correct.
"OCTA. CARRINGTON."

After spending more than seven weeks at Taranaki in the most industrious and careful investigation on the spot, Sir George wrote a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, from which we extract the following paragraphs :

" My Lord Duke,—I am sorry to be compelled to trouble you once more on the subject of the land at the Waitara. Your Grace was originally informed, January 25th, 1860, that the title of Te Teira, and other proprietors of this land, had been proved and extinguished, and that you were only troubled with a reference to this subject as a matter of information, and that it was trusted that it might not be necessary to allude to it again. Your Grace was subsequently informed, February 27th, 1860, that there was no expectation of any serious difficulty arising from this affair, and that there was little doubt that the Natives would acquiesce in the course the Government had adopted. After, however, twelve months of a disastrous war, such difficulties had arisen, that the matter was left exactly as it originally stood before any disturbance had arisen, the Government having then notified—

" 1. That the investigation of the title and survey of the land at Waitara was to be continued and completed.

" 2. It is now my duty to report to your Grace, that, since I have been in New Zealand, I have made every effort in my power, and have exhausted every argument and influence I could bring to bear upon the Native race, to induce them to acquiesce in this decision of the Government. But I have altogether failed to shake their dogged determination upon this subject. They say, generally, that the title to the land is quite clear and well-known, and that what they regard themselves entitled to is an open enquiry into the whole subject, in order that it may be ascertained who is to be blamed for the evils which have befallen themselves and the whole country.

. . . .

" 7. Your Grace must be well aware that this

Waitara question was, from the first, made a party question, regarding which the most violent controversy raged, and men's passions were much excited. Like all other questions between races in a state of hostility, it was by many taken up as a question of Race, and it will, I fear, even now be difficult for any European to allege that the Natives are, in the main, right in their answers to the allegations made against them regarding the Waitara purchase, without raising a feeling of violent hostility in the minds of many people. Leaving apart, however, those far higher considerations which influence your Grace, I know that we are both to stand at the bar of History, when our conduct to the Native race of this country will be judged by impartial historians, and that it is our duty to set a good example for all time in such a most important affair. I ought, therefore, to advise your Grace, without thinking of the personal consequences which may result to myself, that my settled conviction is that the Natives are, in the main, right in their allegations regarding the Waitara purchase, and that it ought not to be gone on with. I have given the same opinion to my responsible advisers, as your Grace will find from one of the enclosures to this despatch. I hope they may adopt my opinion and act speedily on it. I shall, probably, before the mail closes, be able to report what has been done upon this subject."

In deciding to write such a despatch, in defence of a humble persecuted Maori, Sir George Grey had taken a bold and an honest course, and taken it with the full consciousness that he was bringing down upon himself the bitter hostility of his Ministers and all their powerful friends, as well as of the majority of the New Zealand newspapers and of the New Zealand people; but he could hardly have calculated that he was, at the same time, securing the strongest censure, and the permanent hostility of his chief, the Duke of Newcastle. The excessive courtesy with which Sir George had presumed, in his despatch, that the violence with which Wiremu Kingi had been driven off of the Waitara

block, and his crops and pahs destroyed by fire were new facts, unknown to his predecessors, and therefore, of course, unknown to the Duke, could not be accepted by the Duke as an excuse for such action and acquiescence. The Duke knew it all—and had approved it all—and could not therefore decently accept any of Sir George's excuses for him on that ground.

On August 25, 1863, the Duke replied that no injustice was done or intended to Wiremu Kingi; that his letters were insolent and insulting, and that he never assumed any attitude but that of defiance towards the Government; that if he had allowed the survey to proceed the portions of the land belonging to him and to Te Teira would have been ascertained, and full justice done to him, and that he and his people had in fact not been driven off at all, but ran away "in the consciousness of their hostility" before any balls or bayonets could reach them.

Well might Mr. Swainson say, when pleading for a "full enquiry into the Waitara question," in the Legislative Council, on December 11th:—

"What chance—what hope could there be for the Native people of these Islands when such an argument as that could be made use of by a Minister of the Crown? If they applied for redress to the Courts of the country, they would be told that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction in questions relating to their territorial rights. If they made preparations to protect themselves, they were dealt with as rebels against the sovereign authority of the Crown: and if, instead of attempting to maintain their ground, they retired under threat of martial law, and on the approach of the Queen's troops, they were told, as if to add insult to injury, that they had not been driven from their homes, but that they 'abandoned them in conscious hostility.'"

If there had been any thing that could be proved incorrect in Sir George Grey's despatch, there was, in both Houses, a majority of men who would have been delighted to expose any such error. In both Houses

Mr. Whitaker was getting all his own way, and he avoided all enquiry by saying that "he thought the question should be forgotten, as no possible advantage could accrue to the Colony by the further discussion of it." As the legal adviser of the Stafford Ministry, Mr. Whitaker was more directly and officially responsible for the treatment of Wiremu Kingi than even Mr. Richmond, and it was a great misfortune to the reputation of the Colony that he should have had it in his power—by his control of both Houses during that session—to suppress an official public enquiry and a full public report.

Sir George Grey, as well as the two Ministers who were with him at Taranaki, made a great mistake, and a very careless, if not a dishonest, mistake, when they adopted, both in their proclamation giving up the Waitara, and in their letters to the Duke of Newcastle, the polite but absurdly impossible excuse that the Duke, Governor Browne, and his Ministers were all ignorant of the fact that some hundreds of Maoris had been driven off the long and much disputed Waitara block. A moment's reflection should have shown them that neither the Duke, nor Governor Browne, nor any one of the Stafford Ministry, could possibly accept an excuse that could be contradicted by a thousand witnesses in their employ or under their direction, and Mr. Bell was very roughly handled in the House by Mr. Stafford and others, when he again suggested it there. It was, too, the only weak point in Sir George Grey's despatches to the Duke, and had to be admitted as such by Mr. Fox vhen compelled, in 1863, reluctantly to speak on a question which, as the colleague of Mr. Whitaker, he would so much rather have let alone. When Sir George Grey's despatch to the Duke was being discussed in the House, Mr. Fox said, "I retain the same opinion which I held in 1860 on this question, and I can see nothing in any way incorrect in His Excellency's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, except the simple fact that he stated that the facts which led to his opinion were

new facts. To me they are not new facts, nor can they be new facts either to Governor Browne or to the Duke of Newcastle, and I am not prepared in any way to controvert or to state to His Excellency that this House is prepared to controvert the despatches, or the enclosures which His Excellency has sent Home."

When the Waitara seizure first came before the House in 1860, it was Mr. Stafford who, to use the words of Mr. Fitzgerald, "endeavoured to stifle discussion and to refuse investigation." In 1863, he said it was his intention to demand "an indisputably searching investigation," but he never did demand it. Mr. Richmond said at the same time that he had asked the Governor to forward to the Secretary of State his "earnest demand for the fullest, strictest, and most searching investigation," but no such investigation was ever held. Mr. Weld gave notice that he would ask the House of Representatives to express their approval of the Duke of Newcastle's despatch controverting Sir George Grey's despatch to him; but when that motion should have come on, Mr. Weld was not to be found. Practically the whole Stafford Ministry followed the advice and example of their more wary accomplice, and their past and present legal adviser, who deliberately said in the Council in 1863, in reply to all demands for enquiry, that "he thought the question should be forgotten."

When Mr. Bates' report to the Governor was laid before Mr. Bell, the Native Minister, he professed to be "amazed" at this evidence, and left the room to look up the would-be seller of the block, Teira, and the murderer Ihaia. Such characters would have been poor witnesses in his favour; but they were grand witnesses against him. They reluctantly admitted that what Mr. Bates said was true, and, when Mr. Bell peremptorily demanded why they had not pointed such facts out to him before, they appeared equally amazed that such a question should come from him. They were silent for a time and then said, "We would answer that ques-

tion if we could, but we cannot; therefore we are silent." They further admitted that it was by a distinct tribal arrangement that Wiremu Kingi had for twelve years settled on the bank of the Waitara river after his return from Waikanae.

Sir George was equally successful in hunting up the map, the existence of which was so long denied by Mr. Bell and his officers ; and, on that map, Sir George found no difficulty in pointing out the exact boundary line which the truthful Wiremu Kingi had so long assured Governor Browne to be in existence. Mr. Bell again expressed his amazement ; but there was the map, and there was no getting away from the fact that the boundary line was there, and that every pretence of any right on the part of Teira to sell Wiremu Kingi's tribal land was scattered to the winds.

What was to be done ? It was a grand opportunity to manfully acknowledge the wrong that had been done, and to offer any reparation still left in the power of the Government. The momentous question of peace or civil war for years to come depended upon the manliness, the promptness, and the completeness with which the confession of proved wrong was now made, and the question with the King and the King Maker was—Will Sir George Grey do right now that he knows that wrong has been done, or will he let his Ministers do as they have done under Governor Browne and still pretend that the blame lies with us ? What Domett, what Whitaker, what Bell would do was very certain. Their own reputation and their party obligations would outweigh all other considerations with them. With them the question would certainly be—Could the cruelty to Wiremu Kingi and his party be concealed any longer, or must they now frankly confess their past ignorance, or their past cruelty in the light of day, and let the world see that the past war was all brought about by the blundering—if not by the barbarity—of themselves, their friends, their party, and their pet Governor ? The only question was: What will Sir George Grey do ?

We have seen that Sir George Grey was not in robust health and spirits, that he had pledged himself to act on the advice of his Ministers, that he was accused daily, even in friendly newspapers, of degrading his high position by truckling too much to the Maoris, and was constantly told that what the country wanted was a little of the vigour and decision with which he had tamed Hone Heke. But Hone Heke was wrong, and Wiremu Kingi was now proved beyond all doubt to be right, and the only manly thing, the only right thing, the only effectual thing, was to say so plainly, and at once, and thus to quench the smouldering embers that might, at any moment, become a destructive flame.

Sir George saw all this plainly enough, and he was prepared to instantly act upon the new light furnished to him ; but he saw that the humiliation to be incurred was with the responsible Ministers, not with himself, and he must give them a little time to consider their own position and that of their numerous and powerful friends. But every moment was precious, and his Ministers were taking a week to answer a single question.

On February 1, Wiremu Kingi had written to his friends at Taranaki, "If what the Governor says about Waitara is satisfactory there will be no difficulty about Tataraimaka. The sufficiency of what the Governor says must be this—the giving back of the Waitara into our hands, and then it will be right about Tataraimaka." Sir George Grey was sitting upon thorns ; Bell was talking, and Domett was dreaming as if time were of no consequence at all. On April 22, Sir George tried to stir them to action and to let them down as lightly as possible by proposing to bring out at once the following notice in the Government *Gazette* :—

"The Governor directs it to be notified that, from facts now come to light, and not before known to him, he does not think that the purchase of the block of land at Waitara is either a desirable one or such as the Government should make ; that His Excellency therefore abandons the intention of making this purchase and

forfeits the deposit of £100 which the Government has made upon this land."

In forwarding this proposal the Governor tried to wake up Mr. Domett by telling his Ministers that, "The country was in such a state that he felt by no means confident that this act would quiet the minds of the Maoris as a whole. On the contrary he fears that it may now be impossible to avoid some collision with them, but he believes it would at once win many over to the side of the Government; that it is a proper act, and that, if a contest must come, the closest scrutiny, either in England or in the colony, would result in an admission that every possible precaution had been taken to prevent the horrors of war."

Another week was consumed in considering this short proclamation, and then came a sleepy, do-nothing reply. Ministers had no doubt that some important new facts had come to light which were quite unknown to Governor Browne and Mr. Stafford's Government. It would clearly be necessary to abandon land that had been occupied by pahs and cultivations, but the Native Minister was of opinion that the proprietary right of the sellers to the greater part of the block would be found valid, and Ministers could not, therefore, be parties to the proclamation proposed by the Governor. Nevertheless, the Governor could do as he pleased, and they would help him. This tardy and half-hearted reply was not handed to the Governor until the evening of April 30th.

The Governor naturally asked what evidence there was that Teira had *any* right to sell *any* of the land. But the careless, unsupported style in which Mr. Bell had so long been allowed to assure Governor Browne and the Duke of Newcastle and the Parliament and public of New Zealand that the imposter, Teira, and Ihaia, the murderer of Katatore, were most reliable authorities upon land titles, would not do for Sir George Grey, especially when he was smarting under the mortification of having discovered that all that had so long and so often been asserted and written by Mr. Bell in favour of

Teira's title, was entirely unsupported, whilst every word that had been said in opposition to it by the persecuted Wiremu Kingi had just been proved—in the presence of Mr. Bell himself, and in that of his brazen, disreputable witnesses—to be absolutely and entirely true. Mr. Bell had now to proclaim himself and his friends to have been utterly ignorant of the fact that two hundred Maoris had been burnt out of their homes, and driven by the Governor, whom he always held up for admiration, off of their own land, and off of the very land about which he had written so much, and, as Land Commissioner, professed to know so much, and about which he ought to have known everything. But, difficult as it may be to believe this possible with so shrewd and so active a man, it is more charitable to accept the humiliating position he selects for himself, than it would be to suppose that, seeing and knowing all that had really taken place, he chose to conceal and to deny it, and constantly and ably to defend the guilty but powerful men by whom such crimes had been perpetrated.

In any case, Sir George Grey was bound now to seek better evidence than that of Mr. Bell in support of the opinion he was still asked to believe, viz. that Teira had a good title to sell any portion of the Waitara block; but he sought it in vain. Mr. Bell again consulted the imposter and the murderer; but they could give him no help. They had seen as completely as Mr. Bell himself that none of their pretences would stand for a moment before the impartial scrutiny of Sir George Grey, and after waiting for a few more precious days, the Governor says in vexation, "I ask again what evidence have you that Teira had *any* right to sell *any* of the land, and I ask in vain; it is evident that none can be produced. In each instance as yet brought under my notice I have found that the statements made by the Natives opposed to the sale of land were correct, although they had previously been contradicted by the Government."

Thus the last few days of possible peace were frittered away, and Ministers had been successful in their

determined effort to prevent any truthful, manly avowal of their past blindness and injustice. On May 4 Mr. Bell heard from Teira that "the fire had been put to the fern," that the troops had taken possession of Tataraimaka and that the Maoris, in revenge, had killed by an ambush seven officers and soldiers.

Thus the long and disastrous war was really begun. Whilst Ministers were fencing off the just exposure of their own folly, and that of their friends, for the past war, they had brought on another. The possibility of peace had passed away, and the infatuated Taranaki settlers were delighted to report that General Cameron had been heard telling the Governor that "he would not have his men cut to pieces in that fashion with impunity."

More low-spirited and disheartened than ever, Sir George Grey wrote, on the following day, to the Secretary of the Colonies:—

"I fear that I cannot now prevent war by acting in the manner justice required as regards the land at the Waitara. I take great blame to myself for having spent so long a time in trying to get my responsible advisers to agree in some general plan of proceeding. I think, seeing the urgency of the case, I ought perhaps to have acted at once, without, or even against, their advice; but I hoped from day to day to receive their decision; and I was anxious in a question which concerned the future of both races, to carry as much support with me as possible, indeed I could not derive the full advantage from what I proposed to do unless I did so."

Seven days after the Tataraimaka massacres—too late to do any good—and when it was certain to be accepted by the Maoris as the first-fruits of "the more vigorous policy" now adopted by them, Ministers published the following half-hearted, evasive, misleading proclamation:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"By His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., etc.

"Whereas an engagement for the purchase of a certain tract of land at the Waitara, commonly known as Teira's block, was entered into by the Government of New Zealand in 1859, but the said purchase has never been completed.

"And whereas circumstances connected with the said purchase, unknown to the Government at the time of the sale of the said land, have lately transpired, which make it advisable that the said purchase should not be further proceeded with.

"Now, therefore, the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, doth hereby declare that the purchase of the said block of land is abandoned, and all claim to the same on the part of the Government is henceforth renounced.

"Given under my hand at New Plymouth, and issued under the Seal of the Colony of New Zealand, this 11th day of May, 1863.

"G. GREY.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"ALFRED DOMETT,

"God Save the Queen."

What could clever, suspicious men—as the leading Maoris undoubtedly were—think of such a proclamation? Why did the Government go out of its way to say that the block was "commonly known as Teira's block" when every Maori knew that it never had been commonly known as Teira's block? And why did the Government of the present day pretend that the Governor and the Government of 1860 "knew nothing about the facts now brought to light?" Whose business was it to know—either then or now—that the land was marked in the Government Land Office as belonging to Wiremu Kingi, and that the highest authorities had always proclaimed that Teira had only a right of occupation in common with the rest of his tribe and no right whatever to sell. But, above all, who could secretly and without the knowledge of the Government have burned two hundred of Wiremu Kingi's friends out of house and home? And how could the Governor, who

must have authorised and who did authorise the burning of the pahs and crops, not know that such pahs or such crops had ever been on the ground? Without knowing anything about Shakespere, the common sense of the Maoris would instantly see that these friends of the guilty Governor were now protesting far too much. Mr. Bell's position at this time was the more awkward as he appears to have been himself the author of the despatch, proved by Sir George Grey to have been so full of inaccuracies, and signed by Governor Gore Browne. We learn this from Sir George Grey's despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated December 19th, 1863, in which he says, "I ought therefore to mention, that though I am quite satisfied from authority I cannot doubt, that although my predecessor's despatch (on which reliance seemed to be placed in England) was really written by Mr. Bell, he was, at the time he wrote it, entirely ignorant of the circumstances connected with the Waitara purchase which have recently been brought under your Grace's notice."

Haughtily as Wiremu Kingi so long refused to talk or to write about his wrongs, and whilst he spurned any appeal to tribunals in which he could no longer believe, an unsuppressible vindication of his right and a fatal exposure of their wrong appeared to follow up the chief actors in his persecution. It was six years after his rights had been set aside by all the powers concerned both in New Zealand and in England, and whilst Stafford was again Premier of the Colony, that a Court, which would have been only too willing to have approved of any of the actions of Stafford's first Ministry, was compelled, not by Wiremu Kingi, nor his friends, nor his witnesses, but by other appellants, including Teira himself, to investigate Wiremu Kingi's title to the block from which he had been driven by lawless and pitiless power, and to pronounce his title to be perfectly good and without a flaw. The Court was even adjourned for the presiding Judge to consult with the Ministry of the day as to the unpleasant consequences of making such an inevitable decision public,

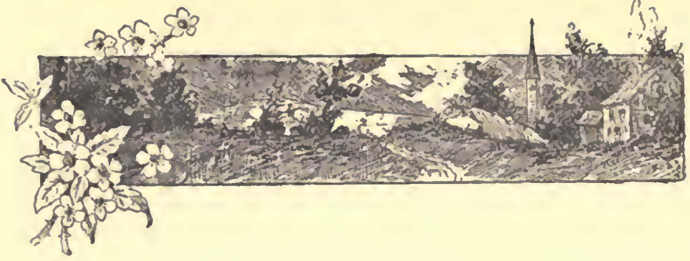
and a public proclamation was avoided by entering into a private arrangement with the claimants. But the Judges' official reports to the Government have nevertheless been allowed to reveal the truth. Again, in 1869, a judicial enquiry on the Rangitikei Manawatu case still further confirmed the double completeness of his title, under Maori laws and customs, both as a tribal Chief and as an authorised and legal resident. The latter qualification applied to his followers as well as to himself, not excepting the women who so courteously obstructed the surveyor's trespass upon the land they so fondly held and so laboriously cultivated.

On May 16 Sir George Grey cleverly tried to stir up his responsible advisers in language of which they could hardly complain. After saying that the Native Department must, by order of the Home Government, remain in the hands of Ministers, and hoping that there will be no hesitation in accepting what is not now left to the choice of either of them, he points out the inevitable result of divided responsibility, since, with any doubt on the subject, it would never be possible "to act in Native matters with that vigour and promptitude which he believed essential to successful administration. . . . Then, feeling strongly the great evils resulting to both races from the present system, in which all power rests really in the hands of his Ministers whilst responsibility rests upon himself, and that there can consequently be no rapidity of decision or vigour of action in Native affairs in this most important crisis in the history of the Colony, the Governor begs Ministers to accede to the advice of Her Majesty's Government by acting on the principle that the administration of Native affairs should remain, as it now is, with them, and that the Governor will be generally bound to give effect to the policy which they recommend and for which they will be responsible. This would give Ministers, who have now all the real power, the means of using that power vigorously and promptly, whilst their rapidity of decision and action must neces-

sarily be quickened by the sense of the great responsibility which will rest upon them. . . . If Ministers will not assume what the Governor believes to be their duty and exercise their powers and take that responsibility which goes hand in hand with power, then the Governor thinks they should, under present circumstances, relinquish them to him until the Assembly meets."

Mr. Domett took, as usual, a good deal of time to reply and then only told the Governor, "It was impossible to convey to His Excellency, at that moment, any expression of the opinion of Ministers as a body." Mr. Domett had, no doubt, to consult his friends in the South—Stafford, Weld and Richmond—as well as his directors in Auckland, before he could reply at all. So the Governor had to give up all hope of either forcing any action upon Domett or being allowed to act himself.

Sir George Grey, naturally prompt and efficient, was thus left pitiably helpless. Domett would do nothing himself, but would not give the reins up to the Governor. A thousand things were going wrong and required to be instantly handled with patience and skill; but where was Sir George to look for that patience and skill? The whole country would be in a blaze whilst Domett was dreaming for another month, and General Cameron—with whom he was not allowed to interfere—was bent on some act of revenge which was sure to make the restoration of peace impossible. The prompt hero of the Bat's Nest was thus left as helpless as Napoleon at St. Helena, and as mortified as Sir Arthur Wellesley in Spain under the mischievous restraints of Sir Harry Barrard. What would he not have given to have exchanged Alfred Domett for Waka Nene and General Cameron for Te Whero Whero?



CHAPTER XLVI.

Divided Authority.

If the building of Noah's Ark had been left to a Committee it would not have been finished yet.
Rev. William Jay.

Disgusted with the complete and disastrous failure of his earnest attempt to act with the Premier and Native Minister at Taranaki, we have seen that Sir George Grey fully recognised the hopelessness of all further attempts in that direction, and honestly and plainly asked Mr. Domett, either to take and to promptly use the power and responsibility which the Home Government had now so distinctly assigned to Ministers, or else to hand the power back to him and give him the opportunity to act with the vigour, the secrecy, and the certainty which alone could be successful in conducting the war that could no longer be avoided. But no answer could be obtained from the Premier about anything, as he had no permission either to use or to resign any power which was only nominally his.

With all the credit that is due to Sir George Grey for the just and able manner in which he forced his way to the long-concealed truth as to the inhuman treatment of Wiremu Kingi, and of the 200 Maoris who had been driven with fire and sword from their own land on the Waitara block, and for the patient manner in which,

from day to day, he had urged his Ministers to honestly and humanely proclaim the outrageous wrong they had so long denied or defended, and to make what reparation they could—or at least as much as would save the Colony from the horrors of a second war—his best friends cannot deny that he committed a very serious blunder when he permitted the troops to take possession of Tataraimaka before Waitara had been both actually and officially given up.

The Hon. Thomas Russell, a partner in the firm of Whitaker & Russell, who had at first taken office without portfolio, soon accepted openly what was now the new but the most important position in the Ministry—that of the Minister for Colonial Defence, whose power of expending money seemed to be absolutely without limit. The Maoris were thus visibly, as well as really, handed over to the tender mercies of Messrs. Russell and Whitaker. "A vigorous policy" was now to be adopted;—3000 additional soldiers had been sent for from England and from India—three millions of money was to be borrowed. There was to be no more "korero" about friendly Maoris; they were either to take the oath of allegiance and give up their arms, or leave their homes and forfeit their land, or be arrested and sent to prison. Mr. Bell and Mr. Gorst went to Sydney to obtain military settlers to be placed on the confiscated land, whilst other agents were picking them up in Otago.

Sir George Grey offered no resistance to the most vigorous policy. He felt that anything must be better than the divided, vacillating, dilatory, do-nothing policy he had mourned over at Taranaki.

At 4 a.m. on June 4, the Governor left Taranaki in H.M.S. Eclipse on his way to Auckland to take part in a concerted action against the Maoris at the Katikara river, where General Cameron attacked them at the same time with 770 soldiers. About thirty Maoris were killed and about three soldiers. Wherever the Maoris could be thus taken by surprise with overwhelming forces it was, of course, easy to defeat them; but they seldom

gave such opportunities, and nothing like a decisive engagement was ever likely to take place on either side, as the Maoris were almost always in a position to choose whether they would fight or not.

On his arrival in Auckland, Sir George Grey soon learned that both the King and the King Maker had denounced the shooting of the soldiers at the Tataraimaka ambush as murder and wrong. But the ever hostile Rewi contended that it was justifiable retaliation. On June 16, Archdeacon Maunsel, who was in a position not to be mistaken, assured the Governor that, whilst Rewi was, as usual, eager to fight, and might carry a majority with him, both the King and the King Maker still pleaded for peace, and were specially anxious that blood should not be first shed on their side. But Sir George knew that the King's forbearance would now only add to his difficulties, and that the Ministerial method of driving the friendly Natives off their own land because they would not accept their insulting and humiliating terms and allow their property to be confiscated, must soon drive the King and the King Maker into active hostility.

On Monday, August 10, a lively public meeting was held in Christchurch, at which all the representatives of Canterbury were requested to attend. Mr. Fitzgerald was the principal promoter of the meeting, and was intended to be the principal, as he was the first, speaker. About 500 persons were present, and the report of the meeting was not without its effect upon all the other centres of population in New Zealand. The meeting is now chiefly worthy of record because it affords a remarkable proof of the existence of the same, or even a worse, wrong-headedness in New Zealand upon the subject of war than we find recorded in England when John Bright and Richard Cobden were hounded from their seats in Parliament for not supporting Lord Palmerston in his Opium and Crimean wars. And what is, perhaps, even worse, the speeches of that evening, and the "immense applause" which they received, point conclusively to the fact that the

Domett Ministry had, up to that date, successfully concealed, even from their friends, the facts which Sir George Grey had brought to light at Taranaki, proving even to Mr. Bell, and beyond the possibility of a doubt, the honesty of Wiremu Kingi's claim and the inhumanity of his treatment.

Mr. Fitzgerald's object in calling the meeting seemed to be to insist upon an early meeting of Parliament; as the Ministry had not only entirely lost the confidence of the country, but were carrying out a policy exactly the reverse of the professions on which they had turned out the Fox Ministry, and upon which alone they had been placed in power. After condemning the Fox Ministry for not leaving the Maori policy entirely to Sir George Grey, they were now setting Sir George Grey entirely aside, and making the Colony responsible for all that was now being done. In other words, Mr. Domett now adopted the policy that he most distinctly renounced when he accepted office, with the reiterated pledge to leave Sir George to handle the Maoris as he thought best.

But Mr. Fitzgerald was soon made to see that he had made as great a mistake in appealing to a Christchurch audience to support anything but a policy of war and bluster as he had made in placing Mr. Domett in power to work under Sir George Grey. In those days Sir Cracroft Wilson was their oracle, and a few words about "leaving his bones in the desert," could command more cheers than Mr. Fitzgerald's highest flights of oratory. Peace was almost as unpopular as economy. The Maoris must be thrashed, Wiremu Kingi should be hanged, and the King Maker put in jail. Had not such fools as Fitzroy and Wynyard and Swainson been allowed to cry peace long enough? Governor Browne was the only man who had ever treated the Maoris as such savages should be treated, and he would always be remembered with affection and gratitude. Such was the sum and substance of most of the speeches in reply to Mr. Fitzgerald, and they were cheered to the echo. Not a word was said on either

side about the discoveries that Sir George Grey had made at Taranaki in proof of the justice of Wiremu Kingi's claim and of Governor Browne's cruelty to the 200 burnt out Maoris. It is much to be feared that they were not "discoveries" even to Mr. Weld, or, if they were, that he was still prepared to admire them as proofs of Governor Browne's wisdom. As to Mr. Fitzgerald, he could have known nothing about them, as, some seventeen months later, he actually asserted in a letter to the London *Times*, dated January 26th, 1865, that "Sir George Grey, although he had many months before promised to investigate the Waitara case and to do justice in it, proceeded, early in 1863, to march an army into the Tataraimaka to recover it *before having made any enquiry into the facts of the Waitara*." But Mr. Fitzgerald's language at this meeting shows clearly enough that he did not think any investigation called for or even allowable, as he is there reported to have said, "I want to know what event could have delayed the occupation of Tataraimaka one single hour? If we except the three days spent by the Governor at Waikato there was nothing to prevent the Government taking possession a week after the Assembly broke up. They were inactive when they ought to have been working. . . . . . I don't know how to express my opinion as to the abandonment of Waitara. No explanation has been given to the public why that great and important step was taken; and that act has done more than anything else to banish all faith in the Government from the mind of the country. . . . . . I know of no act of the present Government which has done more to cut off the friendship and to sap the faith of the best portion of the Natives in the truth and justice of Europeans than the giving up of Waitara. (Great applause.) . . . I implore the people of the colony not to put their faith in princes and governors, but upon the power of the people." He concluded by proposing that "the present state of the colony and the recent change which has been effected in the constitution, together

with the relations existing between the Government and the colonists, demand that a meeting of the General Assembly be called without delay."

Mr. Weld proposed as an amendment, "That regard being had to the failure of the recent temporising policy, the urgency of the present crisis in the North Island will warrant the Government, pending the meeting of the General Assembly, to pursue such a policy as may be necessary to ensure a speedy and decisive termination of the Native war, and to maintain material guarantees for the future maintenance of order amongst the insurgent tribes." He condemned the truckling policy of all the early Governors, and held up Governor Browne as the model Governor who, alone, had treated the Maoris as they ought to be treated. He read a letter from Governor Browne to Lord Stanley, describing Wiremu Kingi as "an infamous character," and quoted from his own speeches in Parliament about giving blankets and lillipee to the Maoris. He finished his speech by saying, "Our soldiers and volunteers led by a man like General Cameron could never be foiled." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Sir Cracroft Wilson said, "General Cameron is the boy. He knows what to do. He will keep them going. I am sick of being told that we could not follow Maoris into the bush or anywhere else. I am ashamed of all such desponding croakers."

Mr. Moorhouse had the courage to say, "I am perfectly certain that the time is not far distant when all will be of opinion that we have a duty to the Maoris which does not consist in killing and destroying them. We have already borrowed £700,000, and I am afraid that some of us forget that we shall certainly have to repay it." There were no cheers to that speech.

Mr. Hall was severely, although quietly sarcastic upon Mr. Fitzgerald. He hoped Mr. Fitzgerald did not suppose that all those who differed from him were "toadying to the Governor." It was very fine of Mr. Fitzgerald to say that the session should be short, and that members should work and not talk. Would Mr.

Fitzgerald set the example? Would his constituents expect him to come home without making a speech? Was there any probability that when all the members were together in Auckland they would feel less inclined to speak than the few did who were in that room just now? When the House met there would be a Ministerial crisis, and Native affairs would again be made the football of parties.

Mr. Travers said that "all the present confusions had been mainly caused by the over-indulgence and kind treatment of the Maoris. The question is, whether you, as fellow-colonists, will allow these savages to pursue their career of lawless violence, or whether you will reduce them to proper subjection."

Mr. Weld's amendment was carried unanimously, as was also one, or rather three, proposed by Mr. E. J. Wakefield, insisting upon "the absolute extinction of the Native rebellion."

Very different were the kind of meetings held in the Wellington Province by Dr. Featherston. He knew the Maoris, and they knew him, and there was no deception, or attempt at deception, on either side. Amongst Greyites or Kingites he was at all times a welcome visitor, and always felt perfectly safe to visit any part of his own province. The Maoris at Waikanae and at Otaki invited the Superintendent to meet them, and with him they very freely talked over the difficulties and dangers of the position. He succeeded in persuading them that the massacre of the soldiers at Tataraimaka was an unjustifiable murder, and that they had better not make themselves responsible for the actions of the murderous Rewi, and they convinced him that it would be better not to rouse them by the presence of any armed forces, or by any ill-usage of the King or the King-Maker, whom they sincerely believed to be good men who were very sorry for the Tataraimaka murders and were only roused by what they considered the bad treatment of the friendly Maori settlers which had lately been commenced in the North. "If," said a Chief, "the Governor seizes our land, or ill-uses

our King, we shall be evil, and we shall not expect you to call what we then do murder." The truth, if not spoken in love, was spoken with confidence and respect, and with an honest intention on both sides. The Maoris knew that the Doctor had never libelled them in the House of Representatives, and had always spoken just as fairly and kindly about them behind their backs as he had done before their faces. The result was, that, although no out-settlers in the North Island were more completely and dangerously isolated and exposed, or less expensively defended, than those in Wellington, there were none who so generally escaped intimidation or outrage. All the representatives of Wellington were known to have opposed the ill-treatment of Wiremu Kingi, and her Superintendent, like William Penn, was not afraid to rely upon the Natives' sense of justice and fairplay. When discussing the Three Million Loan Bill, which was being passed in the interests of Auckland only, to the utter neglect of Wellington, Mr. Fitzgerald truly said, "I say nothing else but the firm, open, and kind conduct, and at the same time resolute character of the Superintendent of Wellington could have kept the Maoris quiet. The language used by him has done that to keep the Maoris quiet at Wellington which your armies have not done at Auckland."

After surprising and killing thirty Maoris at the Katikara river, General Cameron embarked, with most of his soldiers, to encamp on the bank of the Waikato river, at its junction with the Maungatawhiri creek. This camp was about five hundred yards from the bank of the Waikato river, which is navigable for light draught steamers, and about forty miles south of Auckland, with which it is connected by a good metalled road. It was about forty miles inland, almost due east from the sea. At the point chosen, the river, after running some fifty miles almost due north, turns with a sharp angle, and runs west by south to the sea.

On the morning of July 17 an escort was attacked by a body of Maoris, and driven to the shelter of a

settler's house with a loss of four killed and ten wounded.

On the same morning a body of Maoris collected on the ranges in front of the advanced post, which had been stationed at Koheroa, were attacked by Colonel Austin with about five hundred men, who were soon joined and led by General Cameron. It was not an affair of much consequence; but it served for a long time to glorify General Cameron as he was never glorified in New Zealand afterwards. We will give the account as it appears in Sir William Fox's "War in New Zealand," p. 66, which was the general version of the affair as given in all the newspapers of the day, and which, no doubt, added not a little to the enthusiasm with which General Cameron's name was greeted at the Christchurch meeting where the report had so lately arrived. It is, nevertheless, difficult to understand how there could have been such heroic courage in the General, such wavering by the 14th Regiment, such an obstinate defence by the Maoris, such a good use of their rifle pits, and how they poured such a heavy volley on the advancing detachment of the 14th Regiment, when, after all, only one out of five hundred of the attacking forces was killed, and only eleven were wounded. Sir William says:—

"After proceeding in skirmishing order for about two miles, the rebels opened fire; but as the troops advanced they retired along the narrow crest of the ridge towards the Maramarua creek in their rear, making a stand on a very favourable position which the ground presented. As our troops advanced, they fell back on several lines of rifle pits, which, from the nature of the ground, could not be turned, which they defended with great obstinacy, and from which they were only dislodged by the bayonet. From one of these positions they poured so heavy a volley on the advancing detachment of the 14th Regiment, which had never before been under fire, that the troops wavered, and it was only by General Cameron rushing twenty yards to the front and cheering them on, that they were steadied to

their work. The rebel force was pursued from one position to another, a distance of about five miles, until they were driven in great confusion across the mouth of the Maramarua creek, where some of them escaped up the Waikato river in canoes, and others along its right bank, after swimming the creek. As no means of crossing this creek were at hand, the pursuit was here necessarily abandoned. The loss on our side was one killed, and eleven wounded ; one of whom, Lieutenant-Colonel Austin, of the 14th Regiment, afterwards died of his wounds. The loss of the Natives was not accurately ascertained, but was variously reported at from 17 to 100."

In the newspapers of that day the Maoris were never brave nor clever—at their best they were only obstinate or cunning—but, by their next manœuvre, they very effectually proved that they were far more than a match, in common sense and sagacity, for General Cameron, of whom they must early have formed a very low opinion.

They chose a position on the same river, only three miles south of the General's camp, where they collected together their best men and best leaders, and really gave the General such a chance to strike a decisive blow at their power as they never gave any one else and never gave him again. The Government and their friends were delighted to think that the flower of the Maori forces were all collected at Mere Mere, and expected every day to hear that General Cameron had killed or made prisoners of the whole of them. But no, the General saw that their defences were very strong in front, and they cleverly managed to conceal from him that they might, at any time, have been taken in the rear. The General demanded provisions and war material, which necessitated the employment of no less than 1500 cart horses, some of which, at that date, were worth £100 each, and they were kept on the road for more than three months. The most expensive material was piled up in confusion, and the Government granted whatever he demanded, feeling certain that he was at least

making sure that he was arranging to put an end to the war in one tremendous stroke, in one great and complete victory. At the end of fifteen weeks, and with an enormous outlay, including two river steamers, he was, at last, ready, and gave the Maoris notice that he was ready. What then took place is thus naively described by Mr. Fox:—

"On the night of the 31st (of October) he sent up a force of 612 men to a point about six miles above Mere Mere, where they landed without difficulty, and took up a commanding position about 400 yards from the river. He then returned down the river to bring up an additional force, with which to attack the rear, or rather right flank of the Maori entrenchment. The Maoris, however, were not asleep all this time. They had no intention of fighting; and they perfectly understood what was meant by General Cameron's movements. On the afternoon of November 1 they were observed by the officer in command of the advanced post to be abandoning their entrenchments, and escaping in their canoes up the Maramarua and Whangamarino creeks at their rear; which, in consequence of heavy rains and the flooded state of the country, afforded more than usual facilities for the manœuvre. Our troops appear to have been able to do nothing except look on from a distance. By the afternoon the Maori camp was evauated, and during the evening and the next day, a force of 500 of our troops took possession of the abandoned works. They proved to be extremely strong on their river front, rifle-pitted, and trenched over a space of 100 acres, and much protected on that side by the character of the country. But it would appear that at all times they could have been easily turned on their right flank and rear, and that an attack made from those quarters, before the flooded state of the country increased the opportunity of escape, must have ensured an easy and most important victory. With the command of the Whangamarino (peaceful harbour), and Maramarua which we had on one side, and the main river on

another, it only remained to throw a force across the rear and right flank, to shut them completely in. This last step was taken, as we have seen ; but no provision had been made to stop the obvious line of escape up the creeks, of which of course they took advantage, and carrying off bag and baggage, left us in possession of the empty honour of their rifle-pits. It was a great disappointment to everybody. It was believed that the flower of the Maori army was collected at Mere Mere, and after the long period of preparation it was thought that no precaution could have been omitted which might be necessary to bring the rebels to a general engagement, which might have decided the fate of the campaign and even put an end to the revolt."

Such was the result of the first great trial of "the vigorous war policy," under which the war was to be brought to such a speedy close. Such was the answer so soon given to Mr. Weld's bootless boast at Christchurch that "under such a general as General Cameron British troops could never be foiled." Such was the first war news that reached the white man's runanga as the result of the first half million of money they had so vigorously spent.

The Maoris had played none of their trump cards yet. They had not tried their hands on the scattered, defenceless settlers' homes. They had not asked the General to see what his soldiers could do upon a diet of fern root. They had not used the forests, the mountains, the rivers and the swamps which would always be their best allies. They had, with incredible temerity, amounting to apparent folly, met the General on his own ground, where all the appliances of wealth and of civilization could be placed at his command and brought to bear against them, and where he and his men could fare sumptuously every day. They had put all their eggs in one basket, and given the General an opportunity to crush the lot. They had urged him on to put out his costly efforts to the utmost, as the Spanish picador irritates the bull whose headlong strength he intends to evade. And when they saw

that the great General, with his great army, his artillery, his steamers and his engines, was ready to make the great rush for which he had for some months been preparing, they gave him the slip, and escaped without leaving him a blanket, or losing a hair of their heads.

Can we wonder that General Cameron was "disgusted with his experience in New Zealand," or that Sir George Grey was bitterly mortified to see the power, which he had once wielded with such small means, and with such complete success, taken from his able control and conferred upon a man with whom the clever Maoris could play such tricks, and whose incapacity they had so soon discovered and so conspicuously demonstrated.

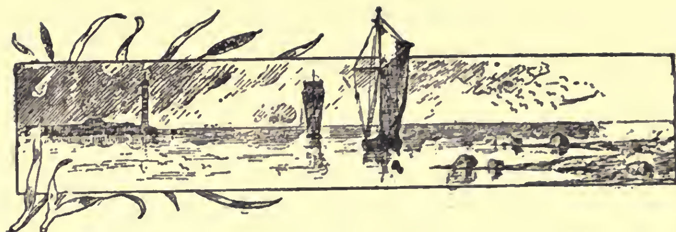
But whilst the House was, with one accord, arranging to borrow money by millions, and Mr. Russell and General Cameron were contriving to throw it away even faster than it could be borrowed, and daily proving their own inferiority to the brave, intelligent, and honourable men they were trying to destroy, the humanity and courage of the same race was elsewhere being exemplified in a manner to command, not only the respect, but the gratitude and admiration of their European neighbours.

On Friday morning, September 4, 1863, the brigantine Delaware, 241 tons, was wrecked in a gale on an extremely rocky coast, between Pepin's Island and the mainland near Wakapuaka. The crew appeared to be out of sight and out of hearing of all human assistance, but the mate, Henry Squirrel, who was an excellent swimmer and a remarkably brave man, tied a line round his waist in the vain hope that he could swin through the rocky surf to the shore. He lowered himself into the water by climbing down the martingale of the ship, but he was immediately dashed by the rough sea on to the rocks and rendered insensible, apparently dead. He was hauled on board by the rope around his body, and laid in one of the bunks of the forecastle. Just as this had been done, and all possibility of rescue seemed to be cut off, five Maoris—four men and a woman—appeared on the

Julia.

beach, and, led by the woman, they bravely dashed into the surf and swam to a rock near enough to the ship for the lead line to be thrown to the rock. This line they took on shore, and dragged a rescuing line after it, which two of them held so as to prevent it being broken by any motion of the ship, whilst the other three, including the woman, swam out again and arranged themselves so as to steady the less capable Europeans in their dangerous attempts to reach the shore. In this way the crew and the one passenger were all saved, except the disabled mate, who was supposed to be dead. The captain was, as he should be, the last to land, and, as soon as he was landed, the line parted, having probably been fastened on shore. The brave mate soon afterwards recovered consciousness, and appeared on deck, but nothing could be done for him, and, in a few minutes, he was washed overboard. His body came on shore next day, and upon it an inquest was held, at which all witnesses agreed that, but for the Maoris, not a soul could have been saved, even with the line, as the Maoris "rushed into the surf and dragged each man on shore as he came stupified from the wreck through the surf." Had Julia's heroic work been done in Great Britain, she would probably have figured as high in the world's history as Grace Darling herself, and, with her quiet, gentle, modest manner, she is still regarded as lovingly by the settlers of Nelson. On the recommendation of the Jury, the General Government gave £50 each to Julia, to her husband Martin, and to her brother Robert, and £10 each to the other two Maoris. The settlers of Nelson gave them each a gold watch and a complimentary address. The address to Julia ranked her with Grace Darling, and concluded in these words:—"That deed made Grace Darling a heroine; her fame spread throughout Europe; and her memory is still fondly cherished wherever the English language is spoken. And like her, Julia, your name and deed will find a place in local history. Your brave act is one of which a Queen might be proud. We present you with

a watch whereon your children and their successors may read with pleasure an inscription which testifies to the esteem in which you are held by the settlers of Nelson." Julia's husband made a neat reply in Maori, which was translated by Mr. Mackay, in the course of which he said that "none of the Maoris had the least idea of receiving any reward for saving the lives of their shipwrecked European friends, and only did what they could out of a desire to save life."



CHAPTER XLVII.

Misnamed Coalition.

I believe the conduct of the honourable member for Rangitikei (Mr Fox), when he abandoned the position of chief Minister, was that of a real patriot, and that his earnest wish was to serve his country; but I do think he has made a grave mistake, and that, in sacrificing his own interests, he has sacrificed the interests of his country, of his party, and of the Native race.—Fitzgerald.

The third meeting of the third New Zealand Parliament was opened at Auckland by a speech from the Governor, Sir George Grey, on Monday, October 19, 1863.

Mr. Domett claimed to have been the writer of the speech, and it evidently propounded the policy of Messrs. Whitaker and Russell; but some of its allegations sounded very strangely from the lips of Sir George Grey. It humbly apologised for the restoration of the Waitara block—as if that were a very doubtful piece of morality—and assigned every reason but the true and honourable one for having given it up. It referred to the three or four months during which the Maoris had bamboozled General Cameron before their pah at Mere Mere as "active measures" for the defence of the North Island. Ten thousand soldiers, and ten thousand volunteers and military settlers, "directed by such commanders as are now in New

Zealand," were to "bring the war at no very distant date to a successful issue." The "waste lands of the rebellious Natives" were to be occupied by military settlers; but the Natives were to have enough left for their own use. We are of course told that these measures had been adopted with the greatest reluctance, but "will ultimately prove a great furtherance to the operation of those efforts for the improvement and civilization of the aboriginal Natives, which have occupied so much of your attention of late years, and which, I am well aware, nothing that has taken place will prevent you from still prosecuting, with a generous regard for the future welfare of this people. I would now recommend your acceptance of the responsibility in Native affairs which Her Majesty's decision has placed upon the Colony."

Not more than half the members of the House were present. The House adjourned until the following Wednesday, when the Address-in-Reply was proposed in a short speech by Mr. Robert Graham, and seconded in a very short sentence by Mr. W. B. Rhodes. On the motion of Dr. Featherstone the debate was adjourned for a week; but, when the appointed day arrived, the Ministry, whose doom had for some time been evident, took the opportunity to resign, without giving any comprehensible reason, and without having even taken the usual course of advising the Governor upon whom he should call to form another Ministry.

Under these circumstances, the Governor naturally sent for the leader of the Opposition, especially as he had, the year before, instructed Mr. Domett to associate himself with Mr. Fox in the formation of the Ministry which had now resigned. Besides the hope that the return of Mr. Fox to power would carry some confidence to the Maoris, Sir George was, no doubt, desirous to see some amalgamation that would give to some Ministry the support of the House and the power to act with vigour and decision. Unselfish as usual, Mr. Fox at once attempted the amalgamation desired

by the Governor by completely sacrificing his own interest, and even his own reputation, in applying to his old opponent, Mr. Whitaker, and too generously offered him the Premiership, whilst still taking upon himself the arduous duties of Colonial Secretary, Native Minister, and leader of the House of Representatives. As Mr. Russell was to be Minister for Colonial Defence, and, as such, to pass the first flood of borrowed money through his own hands, the arrangement was evidently one in which Mr. Fox would get the lion's share of the work and the lamb's share of the power. What Mr. Fox then gave up, without obtaining any equivalent in return, was, thirteen days afterwards, truly and forcibly described by Mr. Fitzgerald in the House when he said, "When the honourable member for Rangitikei spoke to me, I said I believed the safety, or at any rate the good conduct and usefulness, of the Government required that there should be a coalition which should be made on equal terms; that there should be an equal number of both parties introduced into the Government. I think my honourable friend has committed the unfortunate mistake of going unprepared into the camp of the Philistines. I do not call it a coalition Government, but a sacrifice which has been all on one side. I believe the conduct of the honourable member, when he abandoned the position of chief Minister, was that of a real patriot, and that his earnest wish was to serve his country; but I do think he has made a grave mistake, and that, in sacrificing his own interests, he has sacrificed the interests of his country, of his party, and of the Native race. No Government could have proposed a policy more hostile to the Native race, or more opposite to that which the honourable member so well and so lately advocated, than that which is now proposed by this so-called coalition Government. If any words of mine could have effect, I would entreat him to abandon his present position, and to leave the responsibility of carrying out such measures to those who really approve of them. I believe the honourable member has acted in a thorough spirit

of self-sacrifice, and I believe that he is making sacrifices every day and every hour, that are as painful to himself as they are unsatisfactory to his party and to his friends. I feel that the honourable member has gone to draw water from their wells, and has been taken prisoner by the enemy."

Mr. Wood had become the useful standing Treasurer to both parties. He could talk figures well, and was a pleasant, lively, racy speaker upon general subjects ; but he was easy-going as a politician, and would, at any time, be more likely to give weight to the strong than to throw himself away upon a weakly supported cause. Mr. Gillies was at once captivated by such an easy position as that of Postmaster-General, with the great additional advantage of taking his work home with him. Such an arrangement was naturally lauded by Mr. Stafford and all his party, and even Mr. Bell expressed his satisfaction at his release from the heavy partnership under which he had struggled so vainly, and said in the House that there would now be a Government with "more vigour and firmness and power than existed in the Government which was placed by this House in power last session. . . I feel that the one man whose position in the Colony, whose experience in public affairs, whose creative genius and indomitable will pre-eminently fit him to take the command of the vessel of State is the Hon. Mr. Whitaker."

Besides his excessive gentleness, and continued deference to his comrades, Mr. Fox, as compared to Mr. Whitaker, was as plastic as clay and as unselfish as Gladstone. Even his party would be unable to depend upon him to insist upon having his own way, or to carry out any important share of his own views. The Ministry now formed was, therefore, really a War Ministry and a borrowing Ministry, in which Fox and Grey would have to follow, not to lead ; a borrowing and spending Government, in which the Maoris could no longer feel a particle of faith. They had nothing to hope for, either from the Governor, who had to obey, or from

the Bank of New Zealand, which could now rule without let or hindrance.

Five new members, none of whom carried any weight, had been added to the Legislative Council, viz., Major Whitmore, Dr. Renwick, and Messrs. Pillans, Walton, and Wither. The number of members in the House of Representatives was increased to fifty-seven, and, some Otago members having resigned, no less than six new members for that province took their seats in the House on the same day that the Domett Ministry resigned. One of those new members was the able Julius Vogel, who was so soon to lead New Zealand on in the dangerous financial quicksands into which the Domett Ministry had already plunged sufficiently deeply to give a tone of recklessness to the New Zealand Parliament, which it has ever since maintained, and a heritage of taxation upon the New Zealand settlers which has more than kept pace with the wonderful resources of the country, the enterprise of its merchants, the industry and frugality of its population, and its ever developing mineral productions. Mr. Vogel made his maiden speech on the same day that he entered the House, and, like most other frequent talkers, he rose to impress upon the leader of the House "that there should be no unnecessary delay during the session."

The Ministerial statement made by Mr. Whitaker in the Legislative Council, and that made by Mr. Fox in the House of Representatives, were both made on the same day—Tuesday, November 3—Mr. Fox rising to speak at noon and Mr. Whitaker at 2 p.m. In all the main declarations of policy, their speeches were the same. The wide and deep gulf that had once separated those two speakers' views on the Native policy had now been bridged over by a professed desire to pull together, in which Mr. Fox gave up everything and Mr. Whitaker nothing. The restoration of the Waitara block, so far as it was possible, appeared to have removed the most important and the most irritating bone of contention, and Mr. Fox now thought or

tried to think—like most other good subjects—that the time had passed for calling the justice of the war into question, and that it was now his duty to support what was so universally declared to be the policy most likely to bring the war to an early termination. His own consistency, his own reputation, his own will, were never thought of, in the fond hope that such a misnamed union might prove to be a national strength.

Both Ministers avoided all mention of the all-important financial question and the enormous expenditure and debt to be incurred, Mr. Fox saying that that was the business of the Colonial Treasurer, and Mr. Whitaker that it was the business of the House of Representatives.

It was seven days later, on the evening of Tuesday, November 10th, that Mr. Wood rose to explain the financial proposals of the Government. He had a good deal to do, and he did it honestly and cleverly. The figures were large and alarming, but there was no attempt to conceal the fact that they were so or to minimise or to exaggerate either side of the account. Nor were technical terms or uncommon names given to common things nor any other practice adopted to mystify his audience, such as have been so commonly adopted in the Financial Statements which have in later years been printed and read to the House. He knew only too well that he was addressing an audience of willing borrowers.

The Statement proposed to borrow three millions. As so large a portion of it was to be spent for the suppression of rebellion, it was hoped that the English Government would guarantee the loan, and so enable it to be raised at 4 per cent, but, failing that, it was to be borrowed at 5 per cent with 1 per cent Sinking Fund. The purposes for which the money was said to be required were £500,000, chiefly spent on war last year; £1,000,000 for war and war material; £300,000 on military settlers or immigration; £900,000 on public works; £100,000 for arms; £150,000 on telegraphs; and £50,000 on light-houses. Total £3,000,000.

At the close of his speech Mr. Wood made the usual mistake of all borrowing Treasurers, and proceeded, in the most wholesale manner, to count his chickens before they were hatched. It is difficult to understand how so much confidence could exist in the Treasurer's mind so immediately after the exhibition of folly at Mere Mere which had cost hundreds of thousands of pounds without producing even a spare blanket. But Mr. Wood was neither the first nor the last Treasurer who has coloured his picture too highly. He said, " The Interest and Sinking Fund of this Loan will be in the first instance, of course, charged upon the General Revenue of the whole Colony ; but when the lands in the rebel districts are taken and sold, the Loan itself will be a first charge upon the proceeds of the sale thereof. Exactly what amount of land will be available it is difficult to say ; but, if we take all the land that belongs to the rebel Natives in the Thames and Waikato, at Taranaki and at Wanganui, I think there will be nearly—after locating the settlers upon it—a balance of something closely approaching to two millions of acres. And we consider that although it will be impossible to realise upon that all at once, yet, before very long, the proceeds of these sales will repay the whole of this expenditure which we now ask the House to grant. "

Mr. Wood concluded his long and undoubtedly interesting speech by moving, " That in the opinion of this Committee the expense of suppressing the present insurrection in the Northern Island and colonizing the rebellious districts should be provided for by loan." This was agreed to without division and without debate.

Mr. Fox had in no way contributed to the removal of Messrs Domett and Bell from the Ministry. He had not spoken, nor even appeared in the House, prior to their resignation, and had made his arrangements to visit England as soon as the session was over. They were compelled to resign, not by their old opponents ; but by their old friends, not by the peace party, but by

the war party; not because they had brought on the second war by delaying the publication of the abandonment of the Waitara purchase, but because they had ultimately given their tardy consent to its abandonment at all. The incredibly wild assertions of Messrs Weld, Fitzgerald, Jollie, Travers and Wakefield, at the great Christchurch meeting, had only given voice to the assertions which were still maintained, without any regard to facts, by the old worshippers of Governor Browne, and which were even upheld by his most powerful accomplice, the Duke of Newcastle, who still stood ready to justify all that had been done by his consent and approval. These wilfully blind admirers fiercely attacked Mr. Bell in the House when he tried to shelter them by saying that the facts revealed by Sir George Grey's investigation were not known to Governor Browne and his advisers. Mr. Stafford saw at once that they could not pretend to be ignorant of what thousands of their officers and servants knew to be well known by them, and angrily said in the House, on November 11, 1863, "Nothing would have been easier than for Governor Browne and his advisers to have sheltered themselves under this statement of new facts, but they had no desire to do anything of the kind. Governor Browne had not, nor had any one of his advisers, been able to find in the paper any material new facts the knowledge of which would have materially affected the action they took in 1860-61. . . . It was his intention, when he could see the opportunity, to take such means as he considered most fitting to secure a most indisputably searching investigation." In this assertion Mr. Stafford was joined by Mr. Richmond and Mr. Weld, but not by his more wary and now more powerful colleague, Mr. Whitaker. If the four members of the late Stafford Government had really desired any "searching investigation," there was nothing of the kind that they could not have commanded at that time, either from the House of Representatives or from the Legislative Council. But the Premier knew that they wanted nothing of the sort and that their real interest was, as he said, to "let it be forgotten."

Mr. Fitzgerald attacked Mr. Stafford very severely for the manner in which he had brought on such an important debate without notice, and in which he now professed to want an enquiry which he had so long refused. Mr. Fitzgerald said, "It will appear on the records which are coming out clear and clearer every day that they (the Stafford Ministry) plunged the country into a savage war and encumbered its resources for many years to come, with the utmost recklessness of all consequences of the struggle, and in utter ignorance of the most ordinary and simple facts. Nay, it seems that the Government did not know the transparent fact whether or not 250 men and women were in a given place at the time. That is what the late Native Minister has proved. . . I have as much respect for Colonel Browne in private life as any one can have; but I do deprecate the language which I hear used from day to day with respect to him, because if that language, whether deprecatory on the one side or affectionate on the other, is so constantly indulged in, this fact must appear that Colonel Browne is proved to have been, in every sense of the word, a strong party Governor. I hold it necessary that his character should be shielded from what is said by his friends quite as much, if not more, than from what is said by his opponents. We all understand that in every thing he had a good motive; but because we think him honourable, upright and benevolent we are not bound to suppose that he is able and prudent in the conduct of large public affairs in a moment of difficulty."

The Waitara purchase necessarily cropped up again and again during this session, but we have thought it more convenient to our readers to treat that ever-important historical subject fully in a previous chapter. There is, however, one important thing which it will be convenient to say here, and that is, that the extraordinary differences of opinion upon this question that were expressed by Messrs. Fox and Fitzgerald in the House of Representatives, and those that they afterwards expressed when writing in London—without being morally

justified—are, to some extent at least, explained by the fact, that, when in New Zealand, they were defending the Maoris against the cruelty of a late New Zealand Government, but whilst in England, their mission was to establish the responsibility of the Home Government for the Maori war, and to represent the New Zealand Government as not being responsible for it. They had thus changed their brief, and "become Counsel on the other side." In the New Zealand Parliament, the etiquette of Parliament required them to put all blame upon Ministers and none upon the Governor; their mission in London required them to blame the Governor or the Duke of Newcastle for everything and Colonial Ministers for nothing.

On November 12th, two days after his Financial Statement, which was not debated, the Colonial Treasurer moved the second reading of the great Three Million Loan Bill, which gave rise to a discussion which was continued and adjourned from day to day from Nov. 12th to Nov. 17th. There were some good speeches made during the debate, but few of them were reported; indeed only one of them was fully reported. In his reply, Mr. Wood singled out Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Fox as the two best speakers; but neither of those gentlemen's speeches was strictly on the subject before the House, and certainly neither of them was a financial speech. Mr. Fitzgerald, besides several minor speeches, made one grand speech of two hours' duration, which was dashing, bold, lively and very interesting. What he said about the complete success of Dr. Featherston's consistent firm humanity at Wellington, and about the fatal mistake Mr. Fox had made in placing himself under Mr. Whitaker, was well said, and was both true and useful. It was, perhaps, dangerous to exaggerate the intentions of the Government as to the seizure of Maori land, but at that date, it required some manliness to say what all will now admit to have been called for by facts. "No language," he said, "can express the feeling of utter contempt I have for the military state of the North Island. Why, Sir, there is an armed force in the colony

enough, with a General who knew how to use it, to conquer not only this Island, but every island in the Pacific."

Mr. Fox replied to Mr. Fitzgerald only, and his speech was decidedly more amusing and brilliant than it was convincing. Mr. Vogel's speech, on the other hand, was not brilliant, and was not amusing, but it was business-like, and strictly confined to the subject in hand. He had not yet become popular in the House, and the chance manner in which he had been elected by only two or three electors at Dunedin, and his unprepossessing personal appearance, especially his remarkably retreating forehead, told, for a long time, against him, although, even at this time, as compared to either Mr. Fitzgerald or Mr. Fox, he was at home in the handling of figures and in writing financial essays. Dr. Featherston did not speak in the debate—he could not agree, and would not fight with his old friend Fox—and Mr. Weld did not come to the House until after the Bill had passed.

Most of the South Island members who spoke at all had a good deal to say against the Bill, and several of them left the impression that they would vote against it, but they did not do so. Early on the last day of the debate, Mr. Mantell proposed to strike out all the words after the word "That," with the view of inserting the following words :—

"This House will make liberal provision out of moneys raised by loan, secured on the revenues of the whole colony, for enabling the Government to raise such forces as may be necessary, in co-operation with Her Majesty's troops, to bring the present insurrection to a speedy and successful termination ; and this House will for that purpose sanction the settlement of military settlers on the terms under which the Waikato regiments have been enrolled, or under similar terms, to a number not exceding 5000 men ; and that, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to defer any further measures for the permanent colonisation of those districts of the Northern Island in which the Native tribes are in

arms against Her Majesty's sovereignty, until the insurrection now unhappily existing shall have been finally quelled."

On this amendment Mr. Mantell got ten members to vote with him, nine of whom were from the South Island, and one from Wellington. Thirty-three members voted against him. There were only two members in the House who were prepared to vote against both the Bill and the amendment. They were Mr. John Munro, the member for Marsden, and Mr. Saunders, the member for Waimea; but, as Mr. Munro was absent when the second reading came on, Mr. Saunders was not able to divide the House, and the Bill passed without a division.

As Mr. J. Munro rarely, if ever, spoke in the House, Mr. Saunders was the only speaker who condemned the Loan policy as a whole. He said that "members who had been elected for five years—more than half of which time was now gone—had no right to put such an enormous burden of debt upon their children's children. The Home Government had never suggested that they should or could do anything of the sort. It would be quite satisfied if they made reasonable sacrifices and practised reasonable economy. A time of war was no time to be heaping up the salaries of civil and uncivil servants, and paying inferior lawyers called Judges more than twice as much as they paid their Premier. A Judge's position was, no doubt, an important one, but not to be compared in importance to that of the Premier, and, notwithstanding all the fine things they had been told about the good effect which high salaries always had upon Judges, he had never been able to see it. As for the confiscated land which was to pay off everything—where was it? How were they going to get it? And how were they going to keep it if they had got it? They ought to have seen already that it would cost far more to conquer it than to buy it. They could drive the Maoris back to their old habits—to their forests and to their mountains; they could make them bushrangers instead of farmers, they could undo all that

Marsden had done for them ; but would that give to the European settlers any more secure possession of their peaceful homesteads ? As to the military settlers—the unmarried men they were now collecting—how were they going to persuade them to stay where they put them, or to stay in the colony at all without women ? The borrowed money would be certainly wasted, and worse than wasted ; an inferior class of immigrants would be introduced ; the high salaries now given to the drones would permanently impoverish the working bees of the Colony, and destroy those simple habits of thrift and self-denial and self-control which were the surest guarantee for the virtue and for the permanent prosperity of any country."

Several long debates occurred on the question of removing the seat of Government to a more central position, and the additional members that had been allotted to the Province of Otago had now given sufficient strength to the South to overcome the strong determination of the Auckland Members upon that subject. A motion, proposed by Mr. Domett, to leave the decision of a site for the seat of Government "in some suitable locality in Cook's Straits to the arbitrament of an impartial tribunal," was carried on November 20th, 1863, and soon afterwards resulted in the selection of Wellington.

The session was an unusually short one, being something less than two months, and was chiefly occupied with questions connected with the war and the Loan Bill. A very large portion of the time, in both Houses, was occupied in bogus motions and bogus debates on the Waitara purchase, which was, of course, an extremely sore and exciting question with the members of the late Stafford Government, and with many of the very strong personal friends who so firmly attached themselves to the Governor and Mrs. Browne.

There is little temptation to dwell upon the events of a session, the work of which has proved so disastrous to New Zealand, more especially as the leader of the House had placed himself in a position in which he was

not a free agent, and by which he was too often trammelled by what he believed to be his party obligations. Quick, clever, and conscientious as he was, he was really too unselfish to be reliable, too considerate for others to steadfastly pursue a straight and dignified course of his own selection. In the written and spoken work of the session, we can too often see that the pen and the tongue of Fox have been guided by the far stronger will of Whitaker. More especially is this to be seen in the final address of the House to the Governor, and in the Speech by which the Governor is made to prorogue the House. In both of these speeches we find assertions which were certainly not the opinions of Sir George Grey, and which are exactly the reverse of those so soon afterwards spoken and written in London by Mr. Fox.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FORMALITY VERSUS BRAINS.

> There are a sort of men whose visages
> Do cream and mantle like a standing pond;
> And do a wilful stillness entertain,
> With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit;
> As who would say, I am Sir Oracle,
> And when I ope my lips, let no dog bark.—SHAKESPEARE.

EMBOLDENED by their complete success in evading all the costly preparations intended for their destruction at Mere Mere, the Maoris moved only an easy day's journey from their numerous and well-equipped foes, and there made another stand, only twelve miles up the river in a south-east direction, at a village called Rangiriri, on a narrow neck of land, with the Waikato river on the West, and a lake on their East. They were not so numerous as they had been at Mere Mere, not numbering more than 400 or 500, but it is generally believed that both the King and the King Maker were amongst them when first attacked. They had probably expected the General to take a few months in making preparations to attack them, and had therefore not completed their back-door escape when he came upon them on November 20 with 4 gun-boats, 1300 men, and 2 Armstrong guns. Entrenchments had been constructed

across the isthmus, and a line of rifle pits parallel with the river at right angles to the line of entrenchments. But the outside entrenchments were far too extensive for the small force inside, and the Maoris were soon driven into a large central redoubt where they were protected by trenches nine feet deep and a parapet twenty-one feet above the bottom of the ditches; but not before some scores of their number, and all their royal visitors, had escaped on to the lake. Once driven into the redoubt, they might have been left to surrender when they pleased, as they had no means of subsistence, and the General, with all his paraphernalia, had no scaling ladders or platforms. Consequently the many good men who obeyed the order to make the attempt to scale the parapet simply threw their lives away, and were shot down like so many partridges. In this way 135 officers and men were killed or wounded, without the slightest advantage being obtained by their sacrifice. Even if the Maoris had been in a position to maintain life, their redoubt would have been easily sapped without losing a man.

The Colonial Secretary and Native Minister, Mr. Fox, says: "On scarcely any occasion had they more than a few hours' food inside their fortified positions; on more than one they had scarcely any food and absolutely no water; and had our troops simply surrounded them, availing themselves of the good offices of hunger and thirst to which a few hours must have subjected our enemy, employing the spade in the meantime to ensure quicker access if necessary, civilians cannot help thinking that the result would have been more satisfactory."

Referring to the affair at Rangiriri, Mr. Fox says: "The redoubt was defended with desperate resolution. The 65th having failed in the attempt to carry it, three separate assaults were made upon it; one by 36 men of the Royal Artillery, led by Captain Mercer, and two by 90 of the Naval Brigade, led by Commander Mayne of H.M.S. Eclipse. But all attempts to carry the works by storm were unavailing, while the assaulting parties

were literally mowed down by the heavy fire which was poured upon them. At last, it being nearly dark, the attempt to storm the work was discontinued. . . At early daylight, one of their chiefs appeared on the parapet with a white flag asking for an interpreter. The General was sent for, and they surrendered unconditionally. 183 men, 2 women, and 175 stand of arms fell into our hands." About 50 Maori bodies were found in the trenches, and in the swamp and lake where they had been shot as they tried to escape. The 183 prisoners were at first placed on board a hulk called the Marion, 347 tons measurement, in smooth water in Auckland Harbour, and afterwards placed on Sir George Grey's own island, Kawau, from which they soon escaped and entrenched themselves on an isolated circular hill called Omaha, about a mile from the seashore, and about 35 miles North of Auckland. They were in the midst of small farms and had to procure their own food, yet they committed no outrages, but were well supplied with arms so long as they remained together, and quietly dispersed of their own accord.

On December 8 the General and his army had arrived at the Maori King's palace, Ngaruawahia, about 25 miles further south and further up the river at the junction of two branches of the river called Horutui and Waipa. No one was there to receive or to resist him. Even Te Whero Whero's bones had been carried away to prevent insult such as had actually been offered to the bones of less honoured chiefs by some barbaric volunteers in the previous September. Here the army regaled themselves about two months "waiting for supplies," whilst the Governor and his Ministers at Auckland, with a little help from the General, commenced a long series of pitched paper battles, more disastrous to New Zealand than the incapacity of the General would otherwise have proved.

Fifty of the longest days of the year thus wasted at Ngaruawahia should at least have enabled General Cameron to have ascertained which branch of the river would take his army and all its paraphernalia most

easily and securely to the next point of resistance. But his habit of haughtily trusting to his own unassisted wisdom always seems to have deprived him of the guidance which Sir George Grey never failed to obtain by using Maoris to cope with Maoris on all occasions where accurate local knowledge and great natural sagacity were so essential to success. From the point at which the General and his army were now encamped, two branches of the Waikato river, and the Horutiu, join each other on the way to the North. The course up the Waipa leads almost due south by a very tortuous course, full of loops, snags, and quicksands, up which his largest steamer could certainly not be taken, and even his smallest could be taken only at great risk and uncertainty. The Horutiu would take him some fifteen miles east of his intended destination, but the channel was clear, straight, and much deeper, so that all his steamers could be taken up it, and all his provisions carried to a point accessible across a good level country. But the Maoris contrived to lead him on up the Waipa river, with all its loops and obstacles, and without his most useful river steamer. However, after losing another three or four weeks in this way, he obtained a European guide named Edwards, by whose help he was able to effect a night march with 1000 men and arrive before the late mission station, Te Awamutu, before the defenders were out of their beds, and whilst they were thus unprepared for effective resistance. But the principal object seems to have been to destroy the Maoris' stores of provisions at Paterangi, their great agricultural depôt. This was easily done, as most of the warriors were fighting elsewhere; but it was not done without an act of disgraceful cruelty. In his despatch the General says, "The few Natives who were found in the place were quickly dispersed, and the greater part escaped, but a few of them taking shelter in a whare made a desperate resistance until the Forest Rangers and a company of the 65th Regiment surrounded the whare, which was set on fire, and the defenders either killed or taken prisoners." It was

probably not until after writing that despatch that the General learned that women and children were destroyed in that fire. General Cameron had at last learned not to rush the Maoris' well-fortified and well-defended pahs, and was, of course, always successful in his encounters with small bodies of Maoris who were foolish or unfortunate enough to encounter him on the open plain. But he and his officers had yet to learn still more of what these wonderful warriors could do when driven to desperation, and when called upon for all their courage and for all their powerful physical and intellectual resources.

Brigadier-General Carey had been left with a large force in charge of Te Awamutu Rangioawhia and surrounding districts. On March 20 he learned that the Natives were entrenching themselves at Orakau. He at once called out a force of 1000 men and placed them round the enemy's position, which was only three miles from his camp, intending to make the escape of the Maoris impossible. Other troops afterwards arrived, making Carey's force up to 2000. At first he too rashly proceeded to rush the pah as General Cameron had been wont to do, with the same result. Captain Ring bravely led the Royal Irish and Captain Fisher the Colonial Forest Rangers to a desperate attack, and both fell severely wounded. After the third attack by Captain Baker of the 18th, the rash attempt was given up, and the spade put to work. The number of Natives inside was not more than 300; but they were commanded by Rewi Ngatimaniapoto, the great fighting Councillor and Chief at the Waikato, whose death or whose capture would have been a great point to gain. During that day and the following night, 40,000 rounds of cartridges were expended by our troops. On April 2, General Cameron arrived on the scene, but did not interfere with Carey's arrangements. As there were known to be many women and children inside, an interpreter was sent to tell them that if they would surrender their lives would be spared. Their answer was: "This is the word of the Maori, we will fight for ever,

and ever, and ever." "Yes," said the interpreter, "but send out your women and children." "No; the women will fight as well as we."

Shortly after this answer had been received, a private soldier threw his cap through a small breach, and rushed after it, followed by Captain Hertford, and about twenty others, chiefly Colonial troops. The Maoris shot down half of them in one volley, and then ran for their inner enclosure from which they shot down all intruders. Some militia men, and men of the 65th made a similar attempt on the other side, but with no better result. This was the third day during which the Maoris had had no food but a very few raw potatoes, and, hot as the season was, not a drop of water. Whilst still light, they were seen to be marching out in a body. An eye-witness says: "They were in a solid column; the women, the children, and the great chiefs in the centre, and they marched out as cool and as steady as if they had been going to church." The first line of the 40th were stationed under cover of a low bush which sheltered them from the fire of the pah. Jumping over their heads, the Maoris cut their way through the second line, and then quickened their pace toward a swamp and a manuka scrub, pursued by the astonished soldiers. Most of the fugitives would have escaped, but, as they emerged from the swamp, they were met by all the mounted forces who had galloped round the swamp and cut down more than 100 of the Maoris, including some women whom, the Brigadier says, could hardly be distinguished from the men. Amongst the wounded there were six women. But Rewi escaped unharmed, although so exhausted with the hunger and thirst he had suffered in the pah that he would have lain down to die, or be captured on the road, but was dragged on by his more hardy supporters, until they reached a stronghold of his tribe on the Waipa, some forty miles from Orakau. Altogether the Maoris lost 200 out of the 300 who defended Orakau against 2000 well-fed and well-armed troops.

We must only give one more example of the

Maoris' quality as defenders of their homes. As the Maoris had been starved out of the Waikato, and many of the East Coast Natives who had assisted them had returned to their homes, General Cameron requested the Government to send troops and volunteers to the Port of Tauranga on the East Coast, to which place he removed his own head-quarters on April 21. Some 300 Maoris had entrenched themselves on a narrow strip of dry ground bounded on each side by a swamp. There the General decided to attack. The force employed is thus catalogued in official documents: 16 field officers, 20 captains, 35 subalterns, 8 staff, 94 sergeants, 42 drummers, 1480 rank and file. One 110lb. Armstrong gun, two 40lb. Armstrongs, two 6lb. Armstrongs, two 24lb. Howitzers, two 8 inch mortars, and six coharu mortars. The Maoris had no artillery, and there was no water in their pah. With such a force placed around them, they were, in fact, in a trap, and might all have been taken prisoners in three or four days without throwing away a single life.

The 300 Maoris entrenched themselves in rifle pits covered over with brushwood, fern and earth, and hoisted their flag 100 yards in their rear, and at this flag the General was foolish enough to fire his expensive and weighty ammunition for two hours whilst the amused Maoris lay perfectly quiet in their retreat, without firing or receiving a shot. That they could have succeeded in such a simple delusion is the more wonderful as it was not the first time they had played the same trick upon the same General, and that General was now in a part of the Island where he could have obtained the advice and assistance of friendly Maoris as clever as those he had to contend with. When the successful ruse was at last discovered, some shells were dropped upon their earth-coverings, but without producing any reply or any confusion. They had no ammunition to throw away, and they saved all they had to repel the bayonets which they expected to see approaching them. After ten hours of this wasteful expenditure of war material, the waste of life began.

Three hundred marines and soldiers entered the breach with a cheer from their numerous comrades. With nothing before them to bayonet, the bullets came thick, and each coolly-fired bullet brought down its man, the officers being first laid low. Tumbling into traps which had been prepared for them, confused by the loss of their officers, and still more by the concealment and shelter of their death-dealing foes, the would-be assailants turned and fled, shouting, "There's thousands of them, there's thousands of them." Captain Hamilton, of H.M.S. Esk, rushed up with the reserve of the Naval Brigade, but he fell with a bullet through his brain, and bullets came too thickly through the small breach to allow any to enter and live. There were no Maoris in sight, but any quantity of well-directed bullets ready to deal death to those who dared to enter. Other parties were rallied, and plenty of men and officers were still willing to so uselessly throw away their lives, but at last the General hesitated and ordered to wait till the morning. Twenty-seven officers and men had been killed, and sixty-six wounded, many of whom died. The total deaths included ten officers and twenty-five non-commissioned officers.

The night that followed was unusually dark and the starving Maoris effected their escape with their usual skill and courage and, as at Orakau, no one seemed to know how they got through the army that surrounded them. Colonel Greer reports :—

"During the night the Maoris made their escape. I think that during the night, taking advantage of the darkness, they crept away in small parties, for during the night every division either saw or heard some of them escaping and fired volleys at them. The Maoris, careful not to expose themselves, never returned a shot during the night, but there were occasional shots fired from the pah, no doubt to deceive us as to their having left."

After all the tons of shot and shell that had been expended, not more than twenty dead and six wounded Maoris were left in the pah, and not more than three

or four had been hurt by the Armstrong guns or shells. The British dead had not been mutilated or stripped, and the wounded had been treated with the greatest attention and kindness. An old pupil of Bishop Selwyn's had even crept through the English soldiers and brought a calabash of water to allay their dying thirst. His name was Henare Taratoa. In the following June, he and 107 other Maoris were killed in a successful attack made by Colonel Greer on an uncompleted pah at Te Rango. On his body was found a paper containing a prayer, and ending with the words, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst give him drink."

During their long and unequal contest against superior numbers, superior discipline, superior arms, superior supplies, superior means of transit and all the advantages that wealth and civilisation could confer, these immediate descendants of Marsden's disciples never entirely forgot the Gospel teaching he had implanted in the minds of their fathers, and were never tempted to resort to the loathsome barbarities that had disgraced so many generations of their unreclaimed progenitors. Sorely tempted as they were by the diabolical actions of the evil spirits that infested the so-called Christian army, by the desecration of their burial grounds, by the slaughter of their brave retreating women, by the burning of their defenceless women and children in their own huts, by the destruction of their growing crops and undefended stores, they never entirely forgot the principles of humanity they had learned nor altogether unheeded even the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. They obeyed the King Maker's injunction to fight like civilised men—not to torture the wounded and not to slay their prisoners. With few exceptions, they still looked up to the high code of morality taught by their favourite Chief Wiremu Tamihana, they still venerated the fearless, unselfish, devoted Bishop Selwyn as he relieved the sufferings of their wounded, regardless of danger or reproach, and they still hoped for tardy justice through the steady, determined demands of true philanthropists

in England, and the unswerving defence of their rights that occasionally reached their ears from the province and rulers of Wellington. The unmitigated horrors of their ancient cannibalistic practices had yet to be reached by the Southern rejectors of Christianity and the prophets of the Hau Hau superstition.

The Maori prisoners had been treated with great kindness by the Governor and not a few of them were some of the King Maker's peace-loving disciples. They earnestly pleaded with their countrymen to come to terms with the Governor, and the King Maker did his best in the same direction, whilst Bishop Selwyn, Mr. Swainson and Sir William Martin used all the influence they could command with the Governor and his Ministers. The officers and soldiers, too, were disgusted with their work and were every day more compelled to admire the devoted courage of the Maoris. The Governor was quite willing and anxious to negotiate for peace on fair terms, and the English Government—now more humanely represented by Mr. Cardwell—were determined that English men and money should not be used for anything but the necessary defence and security of the settlers. But Messrs. Whitaker and Russell—now so incomprehensibly but so zealously, supported by Mr. Fox—insisted upon the necessity of showing the Maoris what they could do with 20,000 men, and of taking the Maori land for their military settlers and to pay their millions of debt. Rightly or wrongly, Whitaker and Russell were determined to have the land without which all their financial projects would prove an empty bubble, and they would become a laughing stock even to the shareholders in the Bank of New Zealand.

Mr. Cardwell's instructions to the Governor on this point were very distinct and peremptory, and Sir George Grey was again and again told that, so long as British soldiers were employed to coerce the Maoris, he was not to take the advice of his Ministers as to how much of the Maoris' land should be confiscated, but to act entirely upon his own sense of what was right and

just. Such instructions compelled Sir George to take a firm stand against the excessive and indefinite demand for confiscation made by his Ministers, and consequently to place himself in very unpleasant conflict with the firm of Whitaker and Russell and the newspapers under their control, and also with the directors of the Bank of New Zealand and with the majority of the House of Representatives. The question of what should be done with the prisoners led to some warm disputes, and to an exchange of angry letters between the Governor and his Ministers such as would have better suited two half-grown schoolboys, and which, but for the harmless character of the prisoners themselves, might have led to the most disastrous consequences to the settlers North of Auckland. What was actually done with the prisoners was, at one time, approved by both parties, but was afterwards made a subject for recrimination by both. This miserable dispute occupied 120 pages of printed foolscap paper. It is probable, and much to be hoped, that few persons have ever read it. There is nothing else on record so painful to read by any friend of Sir George Grey and still more so by any friend of Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox allowed himself to be made the catspaw of his more wary colleagues, who never had any concern for his reputation, and rejoiced in any thing likely to degrade the Governor they so bitterly hated. It is evident that both Mr. Fox and Sir George Grey were, in that correspondence, giving vent to the real dislike they had long felt for each other, but which had till now been cloaked under the enforced civilities of official etiquette which had at last broken down under the strain of their ever increasing dislike for each other. It would be difficult to find in history a more striking proof of how small great men can sometimes be. We will only give one illustration of this.

Sir George Grey, in objecting to the retention of the prisoners on the hulk, quoted a report from a Dr. Monat in which the Doctor says that the "prisoners are in dirt, foul air, and despondency." To this Mr.

Fox replied that some former prisoners, taken in hand by Sir George Grey, had been treated much worse. He writes, "Your prisoners—Ihaka and the rest—taken, not in arms but on suspicion only, and shut up at Otahuhu, were in a wretched, neglected plight, and several died, as did Ihaka himself shortly after his release. Ours in the hulk were taken in arms, and we took such care of them that they got fat and lost their loathsome diseases, and only one or two out of 200 and odd died. Ministers were constantly visiting the hulk, you never went near it, although you were so much interested and shocked, and although it was only 500 yards from the Government House." At Mr. Fox's request, this letter was sent by Sir George Grey to Mr. Cardwell in a despatch in which Sir George says not a word about the treatment and death of the Otahuhu prisoners, but in which he gravely informs the Secretary of State that he had employed a surveyor to measure the distance between Government House and the hulk, and that he encloses the surveyor's report showing it to be 1300 instead of only 500 yards.

On the subject of confiscation, Ministers took up the utterly unjustifiable position that the quantity of land to be forfeited must be regulated by the necessities of the Government—altogether regardless of the criminality of the insurgents—at the same time they refused to specify any definite quantity that would be taken for that purpose. In this way they did very much to justify the suspicion—so freely expressed in English newspapers and supported by General Cameron—that Ministers wanted to use British troops to drive the Maoris into rebellion in order that they might have an excuse to seize upon their land. Sir George Grey insisted that the Maori land owners should be dealt with as their actions deserved, and deprived of any reasonable portion of their land to pay expenses caused by their rebellion. In other words, that the quantity taken must be measured by their misconduct, not by our extravagance or foolish experiments.

It was not until after the Ministers had tendered

their resignations to the Governor that they complied with his frequent request to tell him, at least approximately, what quantity of land they wished him to demand as one of the main conditions of peace. On the 30th of September they told him that they had made up their minds to demand only 1,600,000 acres, and that they had been induced to put their claim so low "for the purpose of avoiding any imputation of prolonging the war for the acquisition of territory."

The Governor naturally requested that, before resigning their positions as Ministers, they should give him some information as to the financial position of the Colony, pointing out how unreasonable it would be for him to ask any member of the House to accept office without knowing, on some responsible authority, what were the financial difficulties he would have to contend with. But these financial difficulties were just what had made Ministers so anxious to resign, and just what they had no desire to parade at that moment. They therefore curtly told the Governor that "Ministers did not understand that it is the duty of His Excellency or themselves to furnish information as to the financial position of the Colony to any person who may profess a willingness to accept office; indeed they foresee probable evil consequences as the result of such a communication to men not under responsibility."

The Treasurer, Mr. Wood, had just returned from England, bringing with him the most gloomy financial information. The Three Million Loan had not been a success. The English Government would only guarantee one million, and that on condition that half of it was to be immediately paid to them, and that Mr. Wood and his colleagues would, in future, cordially co-operate with the Governor "in his just and temperate policy towards the Native race." This Mr. Wood had agreed to on behalf of the Ministry, and his acceptance of the conditions was "laid before the English Parliament, and was pronounced perfectly satisfactory and complete in this respect." Nearly three-quarters

of a million had been drawn against a million and a quarter of debentures held in London for sale or hypothecation, upon which the highest rate of bank interest had to be paid. One million of the Three Million Loan had been offered at 5 per cent, but only £500,000 had been tendered for at 10 per cent. below par, i.e., only £450,000 could be obtained for £500,000 of debt incurred, and no more was forthcoming even at that price. There were no less than £1,400,000 of outstanding debts, and still the daily expenditure was far in excess of the daily income, and not more than £80 could be obtained for every £100 that was borrowed. Such was the gloomy financial position of the Colony when the Whitaker Ministry endeavoured to resign office on September 30, 1864, and to leave the Governor to carry on the war without a Ministry, without a Parliament, without money and without credit. Sir George Grey, however, appears to have refused to accept their resignation, and they certainly drew their salaries and continued, not to assist, but to wrangle with the Governor until the forced and unseasonable meeting of Parliament some two months later.

There have been few periods in the history of the world in which reckless expenditure and the consequent compulsory borrowing would have been so ruinous and so unwise. Both the Federates and the Confederates in America had reached a stage in which the power to borrow was the power upon which the fate of their cause depended, and both were determined to borrow at any cost, as long as a lender could be found. Under the very able guidance of President Davis, and the assistance of officers selected by those who had everything to lose by their incompetency, the Confederates were, for a long time, successful in the field, but in the money market their case soon grew desperate, and as "rebels" their securities proved little better than might have been offered by the New Zealand Maoris. Under such circumstances, the price offered for money, and the amount of money demanded, was altogether abnormal, and the conduct of the New Zealand war was by no

means reassuring amidst such competition. But what made the case of New Zealand far worse in the eyes of the English money-lender was the incredible epidemic of borrowing which, at such an inauspicious time, seized upon each of the New Zealand provinces. Mr. Bell's successful eloquence in the House of Representatives, as he described the insignificance of a few "paltry thousands," the "dignity which always resulted from high salaries," and the self-remunerating character of his proposed loans, certainly reached beyond the Colonial Legislatures, and was echoed in each of the provinces, but especially in Mr. Bell's own province, where he was soon surpassed—if not in the eloquence at least in the wildness of his proposals—by such kindred spirits as Mr. Julius Vogel and Mr. James Macandrew. With a revenue from all sources of £374,000, the Superintendent of that province was authorised to expend £929,404, and to sell £650,000 of debentures. But, as the debentures would not sell at any price, and as only about £300,000 could be obtained at any price from the bank, only about £678,000 was actually expended. In April, Canterbury called a special meeting, and decided to construct a railway to Timaru and Kowai Pass—paying partly in debentures bearing 6 per cent. interest, which were to be received by the contractors at 90 per cent. on their nominal value. Marlborough called a special meeting to express its disgust with the General Government for not consenting to their Loan Bill for £100,000. And, in December, 1863, even the prudent province of Nelson passed a Loan Bill for £70,000 which was not allowed by the General Government.

But—with all the imprudence of its Colonial and Provincial Governments—in the year 1864 New Zealand was prosperous and contented. In fact it was probably the extraordinary prosperity of its producers that made its legislators so presumptuous and speculative. In March, wheat advanced five shillings per bushel in less than a week, and remained at a high price for the rest of the year, reaching at times as

high as fourteen shillings and fifteen shillings per bushel, whilst all kinds of agricultural and pastoral produce were abnormally high. This, accompanied with the fact that some of the gold-diggers were making a fortune in a few weeks, naturally fostered a speculative spirit, not favourable to the dictates of prudence, but adding force to that tone of contempt for economy with which public men are so constantly assailed, and by which they are so unfortunately so often influenced.

The prosperity insured to the agricultural and pastoral interests, by the extraordinary and entirely unforeseen and unexpected high prices ruling, both in Australia and New Zealand, and the consequently increased population induced to settle on the New Zealand soil, added to the large discoveries of mineral wealth in different parts of the Colony, were the potent, and indeed the only, factors which made it possible for the comparatively prudent Stafford Government to stagger on at all after the credit of the Colony had been so completely destroyed by the reckless extravagance of the Domett and Whitaker Ministries, and by the profuse, mischievous, and uncontrolled expenditure of General Cameron.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE WELD MINISTRY—LOST FAITH IN OLD FRIENDS.

All is upset by the political action of Lieutenant-General D. Cameron. I can hardly believe that 600, or at most 800, half armed fanatics could battle for months, in a comparatively open country, with upwards of 6000 well armed Englishmen unless the General was acting on political motives. The Governor has been very badly treated, and it will, of course, be impossible for him to remain in office unless General Cameron is at once recalled.—MR. WELD TO LORD ALFRED CHURCHILL.

SOME three weeks after the Whitaker Ministry had tendered their resignation to Sir George Grey, and whilst their wrangle with the Governor was at its full height, Mr. Weld made another great speech to another great meeting in Christchurch, and was cheered even more loudly than he had been in the previous year, although the object of his speech was to advocate the adoption of a public policy exactly the reverse of that which he had insisted upon both in the House and in the same hall in 1863. He had assisted to turn Mr. Fox out of power in 1862 because he had proposed to accept a small share of responsibility in Native affairs: he was now still more anxious to turn him out because he had not taken the whole responsibility. Still there was some consistency, and a good deal of truth, in his contention that the power and the responsibility must go together, and that, if the Colony was plunged into debt at the rate of a million

and a half a year, it must have some potential voice in the expenditure of the money and in the control of the ruinously expensive army. The most absurdly inconsistent part of his speech was that in which he condemned every thing that had been done by the Government, and yet insisted upon the great capacity of his old friends who undoubtedly led that Government, whilst his old opponents in the same Ministry, who had so meekly done his friends' bidding, came in for all the censure and ridicule which could justly only belong to their leaders. He truly told his audience that the Government were "going a downward course, until they were in a position of having lost their credit at home, and being themselves in a mass of confusion, of which there has been no parallel in the history of this Colony. Yet, of the leaders in this same Government, he informed the Christchurch meeting that "Mr. Whitaker was a good business man, with a shrewd, hard head, with good judgment, and great talents for working out administration, and Mr. Russell he believed to be a good administrator." It was thus absurdly evident that Mr. Weld's old friends could do nothing wrong, whilst his old opponents—Fox, Wood, and Gillies, who had only too weakly followed his friends—could do nothing right. His exalted opinion of British troops, who, at his last meeting, "could never be foiled under such a General as Cameron," had also undergone a complete change. He would now have our own men under our own commanders, and would accept neither a soldier nor a shilling from the Home Government.

This was just the policy that Sir George Grey and Mr. Cardwell wished to see adopted by the Colony, and Sir George at once communicated with Mr. Weld with a view to entrust him with the formation of a Ministry prepared to carry out a policy that would no longer demand any assistance in men or money from the British Government.

On his arrival in Wellington, on the 20th November, 1864, Mr. Weld was immediately sent for by Sir

George Grey, and formally entrusted with the formation of a Ministry, which resulted at once in the appointment of Mr. Fitzherbert as Colonial Treasurer, Major Atkinson as Minister of Defence, Mr. Sewell as Attorney-General, and Major Richardson as Postmaster-General. Mr. Weld himself took at first the offices of Premier, Colonial Secretary, and Minister of Native Affairs; but the office of Colonial Secretary was soon conferred upon Mr. James Crowe Richmond, and that of Native Affairs upon Mr. W. B. Durant Mantell —making six Ministers in full pay, besides the Premier. For the last two months of the Ministry's existence, Mr. Mantell's place was supplied by Mr. James Edward FitzGerald.

Up to this time there was evidently no marked cordiality between Sir George Grey and Mr. Weld, as, in announcing his appointment to the House, Mr. Weld prominently and ostentatiously paraded the fact that he did not accept the appointment without getting Sir George Grey's signature to a written agreement, and, up to this time, Mr. Weld had never ceased to be a prime favourite with the leaders of the ex-Ministry— Messrs. Whitaker and Russell.

The House met, and the Governor's speech was delivered on November the 24th. It is more than usually difficult to guess whose speech it really was, but it was evidently a mixture, some parts of which the Governor claimed to be his own, and for other parts he evidently felt no responsibility. In as few words as possible it said, "The resignation of my late Responsible Advisers has rendered it imperative upon me to call the House together at an unusual season. . . . With the least possible delay I have appointed gentlemen of both Houses of the Legislature as my Constitutional Advisers. . . . Acting on my individual responsibility, I have offered certain terms of pardon to Natives now in arms against Her Majesty's authority. . . . Her Majesty having seen fit to entrust to me large and discretionary power, so long as the Colony accepts the aid of British troops for the

suppression of internal disturbances, it will be your duty to consider whether the time has arrived when the Colony can depend upon its own resources for its internal defence. . . . I propose immediately to remove the seat of Government to Wellington. . . . The financial position of the Colony will require your most serious consideration. . . . Bearing in mind the especial circumstances of this session, and the condition of the Colony at the present moment, it is probable that the consideration of many important subjects must be deferred until another, not distant, meeting of the Assembly."

The Address-in-Reply was, as usual, a mere echo of the Speech itself, as were the speeches of the Proposer and Seconder, but the first speech that followed them was, as might have been expected, a strong protest from an Auckland member against the Speech, the Reply, and the constitution of the Ministry. Mr. O'Neill said that "he regretted that Responsible Government had ever been introduced to New Zealand. Let them take their Responsible Ministers to the Middle Island, and let Sir George Grey govern the North Island himself, and if that were done he was sure that the provinces of the North Island would soon be in a most prosperous condition."

In speaking to the Address-in-Reply, Mr. Weld gave a very clear and decided expression to his own views on the policy to be adopted by himself, his colleagues, and the House. Upon most important points these were exactly the reverse of those he expressed when opposing Mr. Fox's motion in 1862. Then he would leave the Governor entirely alone, and take upon the Colony no responsibility — at Christchurch he would do the reverse, he would take all responsibility and let the Governor not interfere— now he would do exactly what Mr. Fox proposed to do in 1862, against which Mr. Weld then spoke and acted so strongly. He now said "I am of opinion that the proper constitutional view—and it is the one that I shall endeavour to adopt—is that it is the duty

of a Colonial Ministry at all times to afford every information to the representative of the constitutional Sovereign—to consult freely with him—to give his views the due weight that fairly may attach to his position—that weight which a constitutional Sovereign might properly be expected to exercise in his relations with the Ministry in the Home country, and after full and careful consultation and consideration of the reasons advanced, supposing difference of opinion to occur—then, in the case of any serious division of opinion after such full and careful deliberation, I believe it to be the duty of a Ministry at once to resign. Upon this I take my stand. Should such a contingency occur, whether upon Native subjects or any other subjects, it will be our duty to at once resign. And I believe this to be the root and basis of all constitutional government." Altogether Mr. Weld's declaration of policy was manly and straightforward; but, as he had been only a week in office, he was unable to give the House much information, and was not willing to give what he might have done, as the financial condition reflected so little credit upon the Government of his old colleague, Mr. Whitaker, against whose Government he was, so far, determined to say nothing. But he came out strongly, and with good effect, against the cruel and mischievous action of the Domett Government in calling upon friendly Maoris to give up their arms. He put this fatal blunder in words that are worth quoting from a member of the old War Ministry, when he said, "I will unhesitatingly say that any such attempt would be fatal to all hopes of peace—it would mean extermination. But if honourable members go on to say that we should disarm the whole of the Natives of New Zealand, then I must declare that such a thing is absolutely preposterous. As the old story says, there are many good reasons against it, the first being that it is impossible. Could you succeed at all, it would be in disarming the friendly Natives and leaving them at the mercy of their enemies. . . . We have no right to drive

any set of people into desperation." Most of the other speeches on the Address-in-Reply were mere squabbles about the removal of the seat of Government, which ended in a division, in which Mr. Stafford voted with all the Auckland members against the removal, giving a minority of 17 against 29. In the Council, Mr. Sewell's speech took up more time than all the other speeches, and was not very patiently listened to.

On the following day, Mr. FitzGerald proposed, in a very strong and startling speech, a Committee of Enquiry into the financial transactions of the Whitaker Government. In the course of his speech, he said that "he felt sure that there was no member of the House who knew within a million how much of the loan had been expended. The late Treasurer had left their securities in England to sell at a discount of 17 per cent., or whatever they would fetch, and had left half a million in the same loose way with the Bank of New Zealand." Mr. FitzGerald said "that he had avoided placing members on the Committee who were very deeply interested in the Bank of New Zealand."

In seconding this proposal, Mr. Bell came out with a decision entirely unusual with him, and provoked a storm of indignation such as he probably never provoked before or since. The language was so unlike his usual judicial style when he said that, bad as the late Treasurer's action was in England, in leaving the agents to sell our securities on commission for whatever they would fetch, "he considered that the honourable gentleman's contract with the Bank of New Zealand, after his return from England, was a thousand times worse. . . . to sell them in London for whatever they would fetch. No Minister ought to have power to get rid of securities in such a manner. There was a large number of members in that House who were largely interested in the Bank of New Zealand, but, notwithstanding that fact, he felt sure that they would feel it a disgrace to themselves and to the House to sanction public money being placed in the hands of the Bank to be dealt with in such a way. He

was not disposed for one moment to blink his duty, and, if there was nothing behind to lessen their culpability, it would be the duty of himself and other honourable members to apply some kind of punishment to the members of the late Government, and justly would they deserve it if it was found that they had misused the power entrusted to them. . . . Honourable members would not be doing their duty unless they brought them to book for their conduct." All this was as true as it was unwelcome to the audience to which it was addressed; but it contrasted too strongly with the load of flattery so recently heaped by the same speaker upon the head of the Government which he now condemned.

Mr. Wood himself supported the motion for a Committee, and said he courted every enquiry, but all the other members who spoke objected to the Committee, and strongly condemned the proposer, and still more strongly the seconder. The treatment they received was vigorous and distinctly suspicious. They had evidently but few friends, and many very powerful antagonists, in the House, and what they were made to suffer had the desired effect in suppressing all further complaints as to the incredibly reckless and unauthorised financial transactions of the Whitaker Government.

Although the avowed objects of the session were almost exclusively the construction of a Ministry and the order of finance, there were very few members in the House who dared to say a word about either of those subjects. Mr. Weld had not sought the position he occupied, and was, in fact, expecting a far more easy and better paid occupation than that of a Premier of a Colony so hopelessly immersed in debt. He consequently held his unattractive office as a swallow sits on a smoky chimney, and gave both the Governor and the House to understand that the slightest breath of disapprobation would at once drive him from a perch so little in accordance with his taste or his interest, whilst a session of fifteen working days gave no time for the ordinary process of exchanging one Ministry for another.

In the financial debate no member of the House was anxious to distinguish himself as the reducer of salaries, the imposer of taxes, or the offender of the Bank of New Zealand; so that the Colonial Treasurer was allowed to have all the talk to himself, and spent some four hours in endeavouring to picture, in his own way, the financial state of the colony. No one knew better than Mr. Fitzherbert how to conceal the truth, with a profusion of details, a confusion of parentheses, and an absence of order, which even an ex-Treasurer could never hope to understand, and which was in reality never understood, debated nor replied to by any one.

Five days later, Mr. Fitzherbert made a much more important, a much shorter and more useful speech when he proposed to adopt his remedies for the paralysed financial condition of New Zealand. As one who all his life contrived to live in luxury upon public money, Mr. Fitzherbert was never tempted to propose any real economy or to restore any of the "paltry pounds" which Mr. Bell had so eloquently and so recently persuaded the House to throw away upon a luxurious Civil Service. His remedies were, first, to borrow a million upon debentures; second, to raise the rate of interest to be paid on loans in England; and third, to increase the customs duties by £200,000 a year. Unpopular and oppressive as all these measures were, no one could deny that something of the sort was necessary and must be done, and no one in the House felt quite free to throw the first stone at the Treasurer when he said, "The Government regret the necessity of these measures, but I trust the Committee will not forget this, but refresh their memories with the fact, that these imperious necessities, which will not be put aside, were not circumstances of their own creation." Mr. Fitzherbert was as careful not to find any fault with his friend Mr. Fox as Mr. Weld was not to call in question the wisdom or patriotism of his friend Mr. Whitaker; so that practically little or nothing was said against the two past Ministries whose careless extravagance had brought New Zealand into such a hopeless

financial condition. Mr. Fitzherbert's proposals were amended by no one, and his Customs Duties Bill, adding £200,000 to the customs duties of the Colony, was passed through all its stages without a division before 2 o'clock in the morning of Friday, December 9, 1864, and was only one of the many burdens permanently heaped upon the Colony by the folly of the two preceding years.

At noon of the same day, the Standing Orders were again suspended to pass through all its stages a Bill to increase the rate of interest to be paid on the unraised portion of the Three Million Loan from 5 to 6 per cent, a Bill having previously been passed to borrow a million on debentures of three years' currency at 8 per cent. On the following Tuesday, which was the last day of the session, Mr. Stafford moved: "That it is desirable that a Bill be prepared by the Government during the recess, to be submitted next session, for imposing an Income and Property Tax of sufficient amount to provide a Sinking Fund for the Three Million Loan necessitated to meet the expenses of the Native rebellion." At the request of the House, the motion was withdrawn, the Premier promised that "the Government would consider the motion." Mr. Stafford was always far-sighted enough to believe that the land speculators and large land holders of New Zealand would not long be able to keep some fair share of taxation off their own shoulders by heaping it all on the customs duties, and he wisely and steadily advised his fellow runholders to submit to a direct Property Tax, both as a means of averting the Land Tax and of making the small property holders of the Colony directly feel the burdens imposed on them by the extravagance of the men who were professional seekers of public salaries, and who so constantly formed a majority in each successive Ministry. But, at this time and long afterwards, the upper public servant and the runholders in the House were too confident of their numerical and educational strength to listen to any such prudent counsels, and believed themselves able to avoid any

troublesome proposals to tax land speculation by resorting only to an indirect taxation, and taking care never to ask for additional taxation to meet proposed extravagance, but always to meet previously accomplished and therefore indisputable indebtedness.

Even in this short session, the strength of the runholders in the Legislature, the apathy of the tax payers, and the non-existence of Henry George's disciples, was strikingly demonstrated by the unopposed passing of a Bill dealing with the Canterbury runs under which a distinct premium was put upon that land monopoly which has since been so distinctly singled out for special discouragement and taxation. Under this Bill, existing runholders were enabled to add an additional ten years to their existing leases, and to pay for them, not on a scale that increased, but on a scale that diminished enormously by the increase of the quantity held. It was, in fact, a graduated Land Tax which, like Governor Fitzroy's Property Tax, graduated in the opposite direction to that devised by Mr. Ballance some twenty-seven years later, and one under which a Canterbury runholder, leasing less than 1,000 acres, was required to pay £3 4s. per hundred acres, but, if he had succeeded in grasping more than 5,000 acres he was only required to pay £1 per hundred acres.

The short session was brought to a close on Tuesday, December 13th., by a speech in which the Governor stated that he would advise the removal of the Imperial land forces so as "to remove all necessity for interference on the part of the Imperial Government in the management of the internal affairs of the Colony." He would use the power now given him to make roads through the lands owned by either race, and would "convoke a session of the Assembly at Wellington before the expiration of the current financial year."

Unlike Premiers in general, Mr. Weld did not find himself much relieved by the dismissal of a Parliament in which he had no real opposition. In his Ministry, and especially in his Treasurer, he had more than enough talking power to amuse the House, and there

was no one in the House who wished to add a feather to his very real financial difficulties. The English money market had become more easy for those who had any security to offer; but New Zealand securities had become unsaleable at any price, and the Bank of New Zealand could do no more than it had already done even with the old unrestricted terms. Agents were sent to Australia, and amongst them the Inspector of the Bank of New Zealand. He reported that "the chief causes of failure were the general *ignorance* which prevails as to New Zealand affairs, and the impression that the Colony is involving itself in debts the redemption of which will be problematical." Only one Melbourne capitalist offered him £9,000 for £10,000 of debentures bearing interest at 8 per cent for three years, and one Melbourne bank, as a great favour, lent him £40,000 for six months at 10 per cent per annum. All this time the Colony's share of the military expenses alone exceeded £400,000 a year, and nothing like a clear balance-sheet of this financial period has ever been produced.

Under such circumstances, there was nothing for it but to make an abject appeal to the Imperial Government for charitable aid, in which the haughty, independent Mr. Weld, who, (at the Christchurch meeting) would not receive a soldier or a shilling from England, and Sir George Grey—who, when acting in his own capacity, had been so freely supplied from England with whatever he thought necessary—had to join. They begged Mr. Cardwell to recognise the claims and the necessities of the Colony "either by covering the remainder of the Three Million Loan by an Imperial guarantee, or by making to the Colony an annual grant in aid of extraordinary expenditure for the next four or five years." But Mr. Cardwell's reply was as cruel and crushing as it was decided. He told Sir George that if he were to apply to the English Parliament for what was now asked, that Parliament would want to know what good had been done with the two millions already expended in New Zealand, and more especially what

had become of the glowing picture of the Colony's wealth and "unlimited resources" as so lately described by Mr. Wood when asking Parliament to guarantee the Three Million Loan.

Four days after the rising of Parliament, the Governor issued a proclamation confiscating a large block of Maori land over which the troops had passed in the Waikato district. About the same time, the troops were transferred from Tauranga on the East to Waitara on the West coast. The General was every day growing more disgusted with his work and less reticent in giving expression to that disgust. He moved with incredible slowness and demanded 5,000 more troops to help him to do nothing. He quarrelled both with the Governor and with his Ministers, and sent railing accusations against them to England which they had no opportunity to see or to refute. Even his official correspondence with the Governor was so abusive and vulgar that at last Sir George was induced to instruct his private secretary to return a letter to the General's military secretary with the statement that "If Sir D. A. Cameron will be good enough to put it into more usual and becoming language his Excellency will lose no time in replying to it." As Mr. Fox says, in his *War in New Zealand*, "The campaign between Sir George and General Cameron seems to have been by far the most vigorously prosecuted of any which was ever carried on in New Zealand."

Mr. Weld's unbounded but illfounded confidence in General Cameron had now so completely disappeared that he decided to resign, on the ground that all the efforts and sacrifices of the colonists, the Government, and the Ministry were rendered useless by the determination of the General to do nothing. A letter written in July by Mr. Weld to Lord Alfred Churchill was published in the London Times, explaining the cause of Mr. Weld's intention to resign. In this letter Mr. Weld says:—"All is upset by the political action of Lieutenant-General Sir D. Cameron. He has been writing secretly to the Home Government, making ac-

cusations against the Governor and the Ministry, and will not give the particulars or the grounds of his attack, so that for months we have been condemned unheard. The Governor has been very badly treated, and it will be of course impossible for him to remain in office unless General Cameron is at once recalled. I can hardly believe that 600, or at most 800, half-armed fanatics could battle for months, in a comparatively open country, with upwards of 6000 well-armed Englishmen, unless the General was acting on political motives." Immediately after writing this letter, Mr. Weld became acquainted with Mr Cardwell's despatch, dated April 26, by which he learned that General Cameron's resignation had been accepted, and that the discretionary powers, so long and so unwisely vested in the General, were again restored to the Governor. In consequence of this information the resignation of the Weld Ministry was withdrawn.

On January 28, 1865, Mr. J. Perry Robinson, the working mechanic who had been three times elected Superintendent of Nelson with greatly increasing majorities, was drowned by the swamping of a boat on the Buller bar, and his body was never recovered. His place was filled by the election of Mr. Saunders, who was opposed by the Speaker of the Nelson Provincial Council, who was, in virtue of that office, the Acting-Superintendent of the Province during the election. The candidates were both old settlers, having both left England on the same day, and Mr. Barnicoat arrived in Nelson only a few weeks later than Mr. Saunders. Both were J.P.'s, and long accustomed to sit together on the same Bench, and both were members of the Provincial Council, of the Board of Education, and Governors of Nelson College. Mr. Saunders had three times successfully proposed Mr. Robinson as a candidate, and Mr. Barnicoat had opposed Mr. Robinson twice as an elector, and once as a candidate. Mr. Barnicoat was not a run-holder, nor in any way implicated in land monopoly. He was a successful, but not a large farmer; but he had generally voted with the

run-holders, and took a very able, leading part with them in the taxation of improvements. He was the only man of their party who stood the slightest chance of being elected. He was one of the Special Jury who had, five years before, found Mr. Saunders guilty of a libel on District Judge Travers; but he was a leading spirit in the effectual demonstration against the savage sentence, and still more savage invective of the presiding Judge Johnston. He was a man of the highest character, universally respected by all who knew him well, and had proved honest, intelligent and effective in the many public positions to which he had been entrusted. Such a man was, of course, a model candidate, and an opponent to respect and be proud of. On the night following the day of the election, Mr. Barnicoat was supposed to have been elected, but, on the receipt of the more distant returns, Mr. Saunders was found to be the successful candidate, and on the following General Provincial Election, he was again returned without a contest. Equal as the contest was, and strong as were the interests at stake, no considerable expense was incurred by either candidate. In this, and in several other respects, the election was a marked contrast to the contest for the Superintendency which took place in Canterbury during the following year, between Messrs. Moorhouse and Lance, which was said to be the most expensive Provincial election ever conducted in New Zealand.

Three days after the election of the Nelson Superintendent, the deservedly popular Dr. Featherston was, as usual, returned by a large majority at the General Provincial Election as the Superintendent of Wellington, including the city which had now become the New Zealand Capital or seat of Government. This election was followed by the re-election to the Provincial Council of his most constant supporters and of a few able and valuable new friends. Dr. Featherston was, on this occasion, opposed by Mr. Borlase, and a vigorous attempt was made by the Opposition paper, The Observer, to convince the Wellington electors that there

was as much danger to them, from the constant re-election of the same Superintendent and his strong party, as there had been to Nelson by the long monopoly of power by the land speculators of that Province. But the two cases were entirely different. Nelson had never suffered any injustice from her popularly elected Superintendents, but from her self-appointed officials and nominees, from whose tyranny she was released as soon as she was wise enough to elect a Superintendent by a majority of the provincial voters even under a property qualification. No man ever trusted more completely to the free votes of the people of his own Province than did Dr. Featherston, and no man was more steadfastly opposed than he was by the land speculators and Conservatives of the House of Representatives, and still more by those of the nominee Legislative Council. There was nothing of the autocrat about Dr. Featherston; he thoroughly understood, and consistently acted up to the proper safeguards of Constitutional Government, and was often even too willing to be guided by the able friends he trusted, and who shared his responsibilities. But, apart from the many other qualifications that endeared him to his friends, and caused the people of the Province to trust him so long, there was the now all-important influence that he never failed to exercise over his Maori constituents. With the savage, murderous proposals of the Hau Haus ringing in their ears, the failure to re-elect their trusted, powerful, consistent friend to the position in which he could do so much for them and exert so much influence over them, would have been little short of madness, and a species of madness which persons, situated as the Wellington out-settlers then were, would be little tempted to fall into. Thus we find that, both before and after his re-election, both the Superintendent, and the many officials acting under his control, took care to lose no opportunity to explain to their Maori neighbours the disastrous consequences that must follow to both races by the adoption of the new fanaticism.

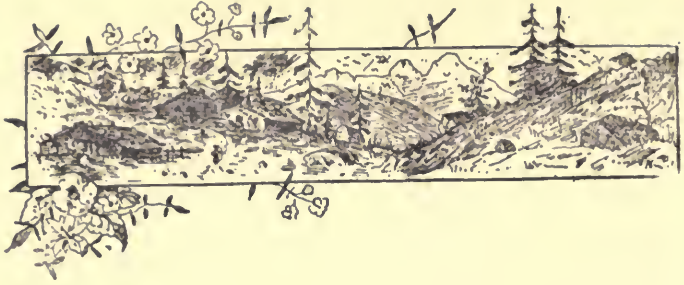
In the New Zealand Gazette of April 29th a notice

appeared, signed both by the Governor and by the Premier, denouncing the dangerous and atrocious character of the HauHau doctrines, which were described as "consisting as they partly do in murder, in the public parade of the cooked heads of their victims, in cannibalism and in other revolting acts repugnant to all humanity," and announcing that "all persons, whenever they may be apprehended, who may be convicted of instigating or participating in such atrocities and crimes, will be punished."

To a deputation which waited on him early in May to request him to become a candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives, Mr. Whitaker said that "the whole conduct of the Weld Ministry was wild and reckless, and sooner or later must bring disasters to the Colony, and little short of destruction to the Province of Auckland." This was strong language to use against the Government of an old friend and comrade who, under very strong temptation, had so carefully avoided bringing any railing accusation against Mr. Whitaker's own Government, which was certainly not without its full share in the financial ruin of the Colony, now so evident, and so unanimously deplored. It was certainly not for Bell, Domett, Whitaker, Russell, Wood, Weld, or Fitzherbert, nor for any of their most prominent supporters, to call each other black in reference to the hopeless financial condition of the Colony, to which they had each and all contributed. Not one of them could claim to have lifted a timely voice or to have given a timely vote against the war, against the loan, against the increase of salaries, against the ten thousand British troops, or against the wildest, costly vagaries of the wrong-headed General. Each in his own way had led on to the humiliating result. Each had practically decided that might — not right — was the thing demanded to put Maori warriors in their right place. Each had acted as if they had the revenues of an Empire, and not those of an infant Colony at their command. Each had practically expressed approval of the conduct of the war being transferred from the

proved able control of Sir George Grey, to the unknown capacity—or incapacity—of one of the many imbeciles who had purchased a commission in the British Army. Each had actively, or passively, allowed that General to expend a million and a-half a year not voted, not sanctioned, and—except to Mr. Russell—not known to the representatives of the people's purse; and now, as the thin veneer of political partisanship or official etiquette is broken through, we find each leader prepared to assert that whilst he was right—all the others were hopelessly and shamefully wrong.

> And, though self-idolized in every case,
> Hate their own likeness in another's face.



CHAPTER L.

WITH AND WITHOUT GENERAL CAMERON.

> Despite those titles, power and pelf,
> The wretch, concentred all in self,
> Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
> And, doubly dying, shall go down
> To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonoured and unsung.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

AFTER the incomprehensible folly of ordering so many brave men to certain and perfectly useless death at the Gate and other pahs, General Cameron seems to have made up his mind that he would attempt the capture of no more well defended pahs, and set to work with his pen to accuse the Governor and his Ministers of being utterly regardless of the lives of his men and officers whenever they suggested that the troops should be employed at the work for which they were supposed to be in New Zealand. In the Wanganui district, to which he was now to direct his attention, there were estimated to be 1500 Maori men, women, and children, of whom the Governor estimated that 400 would be fighting men, but the General said there were 600. General Cameron had under his command 6000 regular soldiers, with about 1000 friendly Maoris and local militia. Yet he insisted that he could not and would not make any aggressive movement until 2000 more

soldiers should be sent from England. As the Parliament had decreed that all the English soldiers should be recalled from New Zealand, of course the Governor could not agree to General Cameron's demand, and the Colony had no means by which such an immense force—ten times greater than the enemy to be encountered — should be kept idly waiting for a large addition to their already embarrassing multitude.

On the 25th January, the Maoris mustered all their forces—probably 400—and boldly attacked the General at Nukumaru, on the south side of the Waitotara. The attack was made both in front and on flank. The pickets were driven in, and the Maoris came within 150 yards of the General's tent. They were repulsed with some difficulty, and driven to the bush by the cavalry; yet they only left 11 dead bodies on the field. One cannot understand how any of them could have escaped from such a force. The force they attacked consisted of 46 officers, 45 sergeants, and 878 rank and file, 11 of whom were killed and 19 wounded. This was the only engagement of any importance during the last year of General Cameron's stay in New Zealand. The rest of the summer was spent in a fifty mile march from Nukumaru to Waigongoro, which was commenced on February the 25th, and completed on April the 7th, being sixty-one days in advancing fifty miles on a road passable to horses, and mostly on the sea beach. After that exploit, the Maoris called the General "the lame sea-gull." When the General commenced this celebrated march, he left upon the coast, on his right hand, a strong pah, supposed to be occupied by 300 Maoris, and certainly sheltering a large portion of the Maoris who continued to threaten the adjacent town of Wanganui. When the Government called the General's attention to the danger of leaving such a stronghold in his rear, General Cameron replied :—"I consider my force insufficient to attack so formidable a work as the Wereroa pah. . . I should require 2000

men. . . I do not intend to attack the pah, but to cross the Waitotara, and see what can be done on that side." The Governor enquired if the General had any objection to the pah being taken by the friendly Natives. This was replied to with great indignation, and Mr. Mantell, the Native Minister, who suggested the idea to the Governor, was described by the General as "an excitable person entirely devoid of common sense, and I shall pay no attention whatever to his opinions." But, nevertheless, impossible as he said it would be without a large addition to his force, the General wrote a few days later :—"The country north of Wanganui to the Patea cannot be subdued without taking possession of the Wereroa pah ; indeed, I believe, that the capture of that position is all that is necessary to give us possession of the whole country between the Kai-iwi and the Patea, for between the Waitotara and the Patea the country is perfectly open and not likely to be defended. . . . As your Excellency, however, still confines yourself to the expression of opinions in which I find it impossible to concur, and leaves the decision of the question to me, I must exercise my own judgment as to the time and manner of getting possession of the place, and I shall not allow myself to be influenced by remarks, however disparaging, to undertake an operation, for the success of which I alone am responsible, in a manner which I do not fully approve."

But whilst he wrote this, the General was in Auckland, leaving his army in "Winter quarters," and with no intention of returning again, as he was daily expecting his release. Under such circumstances, the temptation to Sir George Grey was too great to be suppressed by military red tape, and the old spirit with which he assailed the Bat's Nest came upon him. He knew perfectly well that, under his own command, there were plenty of troops to take the Wereroa pah—even in "Winter"—and away he went to do it. But Brigadier-General Waddy, who had been left in command by the General, understood

that he could not allow the troops to move, even for the Governor, without General Cameron's orders. This would have sent most aspirants home again, but not so Sir George Grey. He bargained with the Brigadier-General to let a few of the troops be seen without acting, but even that bargain was only partially fulfilled, and the capture of the defenders was consequently made impossible. Sir George hastily got together 309 friendly Natives, and 139 colonial forest rangers, and 25 Wanganui cavalry. Approaching the pah by a dense bush track over a precipitous country, his forces captured 50 Maoris on their way to defend the pah, and obtained possession of an outlying redoubt, which commanded the pah, and made it practically indefensible. In two days the pah was in his possession; but, for want of troops to surround the pah, most of the defenders escaped. It was a very interesting piece of information to accompany the General home to England, especially as the "impossible" pah had been taken by the Governor without the loss of a single life by the small force employed. It was, however, considered such a great crime at the Horse Guards that a regulation was made to render it impossible for such a thing to ever occur again.

As soon as General Cameron took his departure to Auckland, Colonel Warre, with 500 men, accomplished, without loss, some very useful work, which had also been pronounced impossible by General Cameron, but which also put the Colonel out of favour with the military authorities in England.

Sir George Grey of course received no thanks. It was only another piece of audacity which made it desirable to remove him as quickly and quietly as possible from the Government of any Colony. Mr. Cardwell expressed his lively satisfaction at the gallant conduct of the friendly Natives, and of the Colonial forces, who had acted under Sir George, but to the Governor himself he had only to say that his "assumption of so great a share in the direction

of military operations, in presence of the regular forces and their officers, had given rise to grave questions on which he would be subsequently addressed." In taking the course he did to prove the General's indolence, obstinacy, and utter incapacity, Sir George had also proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the costly and unjustifiable mistake which the English authorities had made in depriving such an able and well-proved commander as Sir George Grey of the supreme authority as "Commander-in-Chief," and leaving the lives and security of both races in New Zealand, and the expenditure of millions by England and New Zealand, to be made worse than useless in the hands of such a General as Cameron. It was therefore not to be expected that even the Governor's wonderful success would meet with the approval of Mr. Cardwell. Sir George must either have desired no further employment from the English Government, or he must have known that his offences were past all forgiveness, as he replied to Mr. Cardwell's letters in a style which must in any case have branded him as an official rebel. He told Mr. Cardwell he would cheerfully bear any penalty that he chose to inflict upon him for doing his duty, and endure with patience any injustice which Her Majesty's Government might, for want of correct information, inflict upon him. And worse still, he writes, "I assert confidently that Sir Duncan Cameron, in making such gross accusations against me privately to Lord de Grey, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and his Lordship, in privately receiving them, are the wrong doers, and not myself in treating accusations so received as having been publicly made." The mortified and enraged General, on his way to England, had written an insulting letter to Sir George Grey, and published it at once in the Melbourne newspapers. But the successful Colonel Warre was the officer who was made to suffer most by General Cameron's undeserved influence at the Horse Guards. The total result was painfully illustrative of how much in-

capacity could be overlooked, and how little unpleasant truth could be tolerated in that military establishment.

The departure of General Cameron from New Zealand at once changed the whole character of the New Zealand war. Instead of incredibly ruinous expenditure with the most insignificant results, we have henceforth to record important results achieved by an expenditure quite within the means of the unassisted Colony. Instead of fifteen weeks expended in preparations to attack a single pah, and getting nothing but the empty pah at last, the strongest pahs and their defenders were now surrendered in a few hours. Instead of taking sixty-one days to march fifty miles in an open country, small but determined parties of well armed men now travelled a greater distance through the roughest bush country in less than as many hours. Instead of proclaiming no faith or trust in friendly Maoris, both men and officers learned to admit that they never felt so certain that they would not be outwitted as when allied with the matchless eyes and ears of these unequalled bushrangers. Instead of concluding that "it is of no use to follow the Maoris into the bush," the Maoris were at last made to feel that they could be followed and overmatched even into their favourite retreats without cannon, without steamers, and without a thousand carts and horses. In fact the Maoris were at last shown that Britons are not always led by "lame sea-gulls," who have purchased the right to throw away the lives of wiser and better men than themselves.

But some months before General Cameron left New Zealand a change had taken place, not only in the locality of the war, but, by the adoption of the Hau Hau superstition, a greater and more important change had been effected in the character and intentions of the tribes to be encountered—a change grievously lamented by the missionaries and discouraging to every religious or moral reformer, and one which was, for a

time, supposed to make the restoration of law and order more hopeless than it had ever been before. But this change eventually divided the Maoris into two antagonistic camps, with the result that the laws, the religion and the policy of England were very ably and very sincerely supported by that large portion of the Maoris who were repulsed and disgusted by the atrocities committed by the votaries of the new superstition, which had revived some of the most atrocious features of cannibalism.

Driven from his own home and, to a great extent, from his own people, Wiremu Kingi had never forsaken his faith in Christianity nor his trust in Archdeacon Hadfield, and his association with the King Maker at Waikato was well calculated to confirm his Christian faith and practice. But his less able and reflective Taranaki neighbours, who were grieved and astonished at the cruel treatment he had received from a professing Christian Government, were driven to suspect the sincerity of the pakeha's Christianity, and were thus prepared to accept a new faith called Hau Hau-ism, whose prophets were for some time able to make them believe that they possessed miraculous power and could offer them material advantages in fighting with the pakehas.

According to Mr. White, the first exhibition of this faith took place on the 1st. of April, 1864. On that day a detachment of 100 of the 57th. Regiment, under Captain Lloyd, were scouring the country around New Plymouth to destroy Maori crops. As they saw no Maoris about, they paid little attention to order or combination, and when they were suddenly attacked by a strong force of Maoris, Captain Lloyd and six of his men were killed and nine wounded. The Maoris cut off the heads of the slain, drank their blood, and buried their heads and bodies in separate places. The next thing we are told is that the angel Gabriel appeared to those who had partaken of blood and instructed them to take up the Captain's head, to cure it in their own way, and send it round to the other tribes. The head was henceforth to be the medium of man's communion with

Jehovah. The head, of course, immediately appointed Te Ua to be high priest, and Kereopa and Rangitan ra to be his assistants. The head also told them that their followers should be called Pai Marire, that Gabriel would protect them, and the Virgin Mary would be constantly with them, provided that the English Scriptures were burnt, no notice taken of the Sabbath, and no more marriage ceremonies performed. As soon as the head had completed the circuit of all the tribes, legions of angels would assist the Maoris to exterminate all Europeans, etc. The Hau Haus were not successful in their first engagements, and, in an attack upon the friendly and civilised Maoris around Wanganui, they suffered severe loss. Still, for a time, the superstition spread rapidly and grew darker in its savage character, until it culminated in several very revolting murders, including that of the Rev. C. S. Volkner—one of the most devoted, unselfish and trustful of the Missionaries.

The Rev. C. S. Volkner had come to New Zealand, 18 years before his death, as a Missionary under the auspices of a Hamburg Society of Lutherans, but subsequently accepted employment as a Church of England Missionary at Opitiki, in the Bay of Plenty, amongst Maoris who had seen little of Europeans and heard but little of the Christian religion. Slowly and patiently, and with great courage, he and his wife won their way amongst them ; so that, before his death, he had a good congregation, a good Church building and a good residence. When the war broke out at Waikato, Mr. Volkner was arrested and treated with some suspicion by some of his people; but they soon released him, when he took the opportunity to take his wife to Auckland, but returned himself and insisted that he was in no danger, as he probably would not have been but for an unfortunate visit of the Hau Haus, with the preserved head of Captain Lloyd, who were at Opotiki on Mr. Volkner's return from a second visit to Auckland. On the 5th. of March, 1865, Mr. Volkner arrived at Opotiki in a small schooner called *The Eclipse*,

owned and commanded by Captain Levy. He was accompanied by another missionary—Mr. Grace. As soon as the schooner anchored, a strong party of Maoris came on board and dragged off the two missionaries. After drawing lots to decide which of the missionaries should be first killed, they told Mr. Volkner that they were going to kill him. They, however, left him alive that night, and with a cheerful, calm face, he attended to the little commissions they had entrusted to him at Auckland. About 2 p.m. some twenty armed men came to his house and dragged him away, locking Mr. Grace up in the house. He was first taken to his own church, where his coat and waistcoat were taken from him and he was led to a willow tree where the Maoris had hung a block and tackle. He saw now that his death had been decreed by the fanatics who brought Captain Lloyd's head. He asked for time to pray. After a few minutes he rose from his knees and said, "I am ready." A rope was thrown over his neck and he was run up to an arm of the willow tree, where he was allowed to hang for an hour. The body was then taken down and a Hau Hau named Kereopa gouged out his eyes and swallowed them, whilst the bystanders drank the blood from his heart and smeared their faces with it. His body was then subjected to the most loathsome indignities, but was afterwards buried by Captain Levy, assisted by some Maoris. Mr. Volkner was married, in 1854, to Emma Landfear, sister to the Rev. Thomas Landfear. They had no children. He was 46 years of age at the time of his murder. He had worked 18 years as a missionary in New Zealand.

For a fortnight Mr. Grace was expecting to meet the same fate; but, on the 16th. of March, H.M.S. *Eclipse* arrived off the river, and Captain Levy ventured to get Mr. Grace into his boat—concealed under some empty sacks—and took him on board the man of war.

On the 22nd. of July, most of the occupants of the cutter *Kate* were killed at Opotiki and the cutter burned,

by the same fanatics—Mr. Faloon, a half-caste Government interpreter, being one of the murdered.

The horrible nature of all the details connected with the murder of such a noble and inoffensive character as that of Mr. Volkner, caused a great sensation throughout New Zealand, and helped not a little to drive all the Christian Maoris to take a very decided part against the Hau Hau fanatics.

A man of war was sent to Opotiki but failed to capture any of these Hau Hau murderers. The Governor had received instructions from Mr. Cardwell that the British troops were not to be employed in any new military operations. But after the Governor had captured the Wereroa pah, a strong force of colonial troops, under Major Brassey, with some friendly Maoris, under Major Macdonald, amounting together to 580, were sent to Opotiki, where they were joined by Mokena, a loyal Chief from the East coast, commanding 500 friendly Maoris prepared to do their utmost against this outburst of Hau Hau-ism. The Hau Hau rebels were in great force, and severe gales made the landing of the troops difficult; but all obstruction was overcome, and the Hau Haus defeated in every engagement with heavy loss. Several pahs were taken quite as strong as any that had so long occupied General Cameron in the Waikato, although the country was an exceedingly rough one, with no navigable river and no steamers or artillery to give the assailants any advantage, whilst the rain was so incessant that they were often wet to the skin for days together. With no baggage waggons, they were often short of food and sometimes without ammunition; but still they carried all before them, and pahs, stronger, and far more inaccessible, than any of those attacked by General Cameron, were starved into submission in a few days without any serious loss of life to the besiegers.

Other strong parties of friendly Maoris were at work against the Hau Haus with even greater success. More than 80 Hau Haus, with their prohpet Te Ua, had taken refuge in a strong pah at Te Teko. To this

retreat they were followed by a strong party of friendly Arawas accompanied by the Resident Magistrate, Mr. Mair. They had no cannons to breach the palisades, no provisions to enable them to spend three months before the stronghold; and, like sensible men, they at once set to work with their spades to undermine the pah. But, as usual, the besieged had no means of holding out and were soon compelled to surrender unconditionally. Amongst the prisoners were 28 Hau Haus, including the prophet Te Ua, implicated in various atrocities.

Although it was a necessary concomitant of the low estimation in which he held the capacity of his soldiers to meet the Maoris, especially in bush warfare, it may not have been exclusively General Cameron's own fault that what little fighting his troops did in New Zealand was waged almost exclusively with the most civilised and Christianised of the Maoris. So long as he proclaimed as he did that it was not safe for five hundred regular British soldiers to subject themselves to the attack of two hundred Maoris in their march through an open country and that it was perfectly useless and only perilous for any number of soldiers to attempt to follow the Maoris into the bush, there could be nothing for his soldiers to do except to get through a few pitched encounters with those who were so quixotic or so rash as to go, or to remain, to fight an army with steamers, Armstrong guns, shells, rockets and baggage waggons on the banks of a navigable river or in the vicinity of a macadamised road, in the summer time. Such encounters could only be voluntary on the part of the Maoris, and could have no effect whatever in enforcing the Queen's authority upon those really dangerous tribes who took no part in such civilised military experiments, and had as little sympathy with the King Maker and his Christian followers as they had with Bishop Selwyn. It was not until General Cameron left the Colony, after wasting many valuable lives and throwing away two millions of money, that the really dangerous Maoris were encountered at all, and, with the help of

the Christian Maoris, the murderers of innocent men, women and children were followed over the rivers and mountains into the bush and shot or hanged in sight of their own dens. This was done at less than a tenth part of the outlay that General Cameron had been allowed to dictate for the supply of his unutilised forces with every luxury of steamers, guns, shells, provisions, tents and clothing that his aristocratic education could suggest.

The pursuit of the Hau Haus, who expected no quarter and no mercy, into their own forest pahs, protected even more by nature than by art, affords the strongest possible contrast to the inaction of General Cameron. We find the colonial forces, led by men like Fraser and Biggs, who pushed on through rain, cold and privation until their men fell by exhaustion, climbing dangerous precipices in competition with the friendly Maoris led on by such Chiefs as Ropata, Ihaka Whango and Kopu. In some of these feats of skill and daring, the very poverty of the Maoris appears to have added to their efficiency, as we are told by Lieutenant Gudgeon that "the Maoris, bootless and trouserless, went up the cliffs; but the pakehas, encumbered by civilisation, laboured behind." In a few days eighty-seven Hau Haus had been killed, and forty-two wounded were taken prisoners.

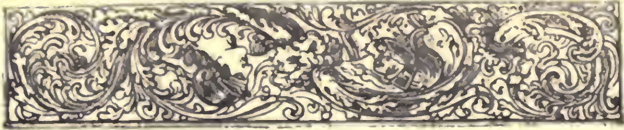
Prisoners were a great trouble both to the combatants and to the Government. Where the soldiers had not half enough to eat, it was not to be expected that the prisoners could be properly fed, and especially that the friendly Maori Chiefs could be persuaded to treat them as well as their own obedient followers. Some of the captives were desperate characters whose capture had cost too much to justify their liberation. This led to many very regrettable cruelties. In 1865, Ropata shot, in cold blood, eleven of his own tribe who had joined the Hau Haus contrary to his orders. At another time the combatants were greatly encumbered with 500 prisoners, a majority of whom were women and children. But on all occasions even

the friendly Maoris refrained from any avoidable cruelty to female prisoners whose retention was of little consequence. There can, however, be no doubt that the friendly Chiefs took upon themselves to shoot some of the leading and most desperate Hau Haus without the legal or official enquiry which, under more desirable conditions, should have been enforced.

But injustice to our invaluable and long-suffering Maori allies is what we have most to be ashamed of. They trusted us only too implicitly, and they proved only too conclusively that we were not trustworthy. The following letter from one of our most constant allies, without whose help the history of New Zealand might have been very different to what it is, is unfortunately only a sample of many others, equally true and equally unanswerable. The Arawa tribe had always been friendly and helpful to the Europeans, and often at great sacrifice and danger to themselves. England would not trust us. Mr. Cardwell had demanded, and had obtained, debentures for half a million of money, just in the time of the Colony's sorest need, for the troops which she had placed under a General who had caused them to be worse than useless in the suppression of a rebellion forced on by an English appointed Governor. English and Australian capitalists demanded written bonds and usurious interest. The poor, naked, half fed Arawas were told by Mr. Weld's Government that the New Zealand Government was poor and had much difficulty in getting ready money, but would be sure to pay them what was just when able to do so. They asked for no bonds, they asked for no written proof of his promise. Their skill, their courage, their lives and their daily food were placed at the Colony's service, and, twelve months afterwards, their Chief, Poihipi Tukiraingi, was obliged to write a letter in which it is admitted that he simply states the truth when he says:—

" We paid no heed to the fact that it was the time of putting seed into the ground. We thought not of our wives and children, but only that the Pakehas

were to be our parents. . . . We worked on till the work was ended. . . . Now we have given up those wicked men into your hands; not one escaped from us; neither did you give us any Pakehas to assist us. The only thing you did was to supply one half of the food, I myself finding the greater portion. Eighty days did we stand up to fight. We did not make a backward movement. The Native Minister came to Maketu. He expressed in words his recognition of our services, but it occurs to our minds that thanks expressed in words only will not keep us alive. That Minister then pleaded that the Government was poor, and told us of a sum of £1500. We were much troubled because the amount was so small, and we wept for our wives and children. . . . Look also upon the fatigue we endured, and our having plunged into the midst of death in scorn of consequences. Suppose it had been Europeans instead of Maoris, would they have been satisfied with this pay,—£2 5s. per man for three months? . . . Look upon the money spent by us in this work as compared with the army which you landed at Opotiki, to capture Kereopa and Patara, and which did not accomplish its purpose. Look at the cost of that army. Was it not £40,000? To us simple-minded persons it appears that the Government is not poor, inasmuch as it can afford to throw money away upon work which fails in its objects."



CHAPTER LI.

Stafford's Return to Power.

He was not all we could wish, nor all that we wanted; but we have never succeeded in getting anything better.—Sir David Munro.

The Parliament which had been prorogued in Auckland on the 13th of December, 1864, met in Wellington on Wednesday, July 26, 1865. During that time nine members had resigned their seats, including Mr. Fox and Mr. Reader Wood; and Mr. H. Sewell had resigned his seat in the Council, and had been elected to the House for the town of New Plymouth.

The Governor's speech plainly indicated that Sir George Grey and Mr. Weld had each learned to respect the other more as the result of closer observation. The annual farce of thanking General Cameron for his "active service" was at last discontinued, and not a word of regret was expressed for his departure. He is only mentioned as having failed to carry out the Governor's instructions to take possession of the Wereroa pah, and honour is given where honour was so distinctly due. This is gracefully expressed in the eighth paragraph of the speech, which says, "Additional proof has been afforded, throughout the operations at Taranaki and Wanganui, that the Colony may rely with confidence on the skill and gallantry of its own officers and men, whilst the devoted courage evinced by the loyal Natives has placed beyond

doubt the attachment of a large portion of the Native race to the Crown, to their European fellow subjects, and to the cause of order against turbulence and fanaticism."

As it was the last session of the third Parliament, the Speech of course advised the readjustment of the representation of the Colony. No less than ten members were added to the Legislative Council, nine of whom were from the South Island. As usual, general, but no specific, economy was recommended, and Parliament was assured—although by no means shown—that the financial difficulties and depression were "temporary in themselves, and already beginning to disappear."

In debating the Address-in-Reply, General Cameron's action was freely spoken of as the cause of the Colony's disasters. Even in the Council, the proposer of the Address said that "his (General Cameron's) inaction was absolutely disastrous. It afforded ground for the notion so insidiously spread by the priests of the Hau Hau fanatics that the General was spell-bound by their incantations. When the Natives saw this noble force of British troops, who were so well capable of crushing them, fall back from the line of operations to the sea coast, and wander among the sand hills, he thought the priest Teha might well say that he had spell-bound them, and compare General Cameron to a lame sea-gull." Mr. Pharazyn, who proposed the Address in the House, said that "the army had been placed in a position most humiliating to brave men by the action taken by General Cameron." One of the most noteworthy admissions of the debate was that made by Mr. Stafford when he said "that since the Waitara war, there was, so far as publicly known, no more quiet or innocent man than Wiremu Kingi." Mr. J. C. Richmond also came out in a new colour when he concluded his speech on the Address-in-Reply, by saying that "General Cameron had come out as one of England's most promising Generals—he would go back reduced to the reputation of being a good enough

Colonel, to lead a regiment which would go anywhere without leading, whilst Sir George Grey would retrieve a reputation which seemed waning at Home, and add to his former character that of a prompt and able General."

In the House, the Address-in-Reply was carried at midnight, on August 1st, without a division. In the Council, it was carried on August 3rd, on a division, in which only the Hon. John Johnston, of Wellington, and the Hon. A. H. Russell, of Napier, voted against it. In the debate, there had been some sparring between Mr. Stafford and Mr. Weld; but there was not the least sign of any danger to the Weld Ministry, until the production of their financial proposals; after which Mr. Vogel took up a decidedly hostile attitude, and succeeded in attracting more attention to his criticisms than he had ever been able to arouse before. His action throughout this session becomes the more noteworthy as his energies were all directed to retaining unimpaired the revenues and powers of the provinces which, ten years later, he was to take the lead in destroying. He now said of Mr. Fitzherbert—what would so much more truly have applied to himself when he became Colonial Treasurer—that, besides depriving the provinces of their share of the customs duties, "the Treasurer had undoubtedly fixed his greedy eyes on the provincial lands,"

Mr. Fitzherbert had taken the Colonial Treasurership under circumstances that presented enormous difficulties, and that would, in fact, have been intolerable to a more sensitive man. Even a more conscientious and patriotic man would have suffered more without being at all sure to accomplish anything more satisfactory. But bad bargains had to be made where good ones were impossible, and it was, under such conditions, as well to have a Treasurer who could make a joke of the melancholy fact that the "confiscated land which was to have repaid the loan under the calculations of Mr. Bell and Mr. Reader Wood had so far failed to pay even a tenth-part of the interest."

In his Financial Statement Mr. Fitzherbert says, "The actual sales of confiscated lands have amounted in gross only to £36,277, from which there has to be deducted £9539, leaving a net balance of £26,738 wherewith to help to recoup that three million sterling which we were taught to believe would eventually be provided for out of this fund. The figures thus brought into juxtaposition present an irresistibly droll effect. It is permitted even in the dulness of finance to be enlivened by the exhibition of the giant and the dwarf. We might never have appreciated the full nature of the Three Million Loan unless it had been displayed in all its gigantic proportions beside the £26,738, the pigmy proceeds of the confiscated territory.

The termination of the great American civil war had lessened the demand for money in Europe, and the brightest thing which the New Zealand Treasurer had to say, in consequence, was that he had been able to pay off a considerable proportion of the overdraft of £918,000 on the Bank of New Zealand by the sale of £788,348 of the previously unsaleable 8 per cent. debentures for £791,904. The London agents for the Colony still reported that it would be useless to attempt to float the unguaranteed portion of the Three Million Loan, at 6 per cent., and that the only present hope would be in the continued sale of the two year debentures at 8 per cent. A letter from Sir George Grey to Mr. Cardwell was laid on the table, showing that the Governor had used all the little influence he now retained in that quarter to persuade the English Government to guarantee a Three Million 4 per cent. Loan. In a letter to Mr. Cardwell, dated April 8th, 1865, he had written:—"In giving this guarantee Great Britain would incur no risk, and would get rid of a very large annual expenditure at no cost to itself. At the same time it would confer a great boon on this Colony; and I think it will be generally admitted that New Zealand in now so cheerfully taking upon herself such large responsibilities, in pursuance of a line of policy which the Home Govern-

ment wishes to see adopted, has really established large claims on the consideration of Great Britain, and that it seems a sound and generous policy not wholly to abandon a people involved in such difficulties as Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand now are."

The large increase in the customs' duties, which had been legalised in 1864, and which the Treasurer then estimated to produce £198,000, had only produced at the rate of £130,000 a year. It was now proposed to add "direct taxation in the shape of stamp duties, to treat all ordinary revenue as colonial revenue, and to appropriate annually to provinces a quota of the customs." Short as the time had been during which Mr. Fitzherbert had occupied the position of Colonial Treasurer, in exchange for that of Provincial Secretary for Wellington, the transformation in his estimate of the relative importance of the financial claims of the Colony and of the Provinces had become marvellously complete. He had thus secured the confidence of his chief, who had always been the consistent despiser of all provincial claims; and the active opposition of Mr. Vog l who was, as yet, more interested in his province than in the Colony. The House still personally disliked Mr. Vogel, and voted against most of his proposals. His language at that time was not so parliamentary as it afterwards became, and he more than once declared that there were not ten members in the House who approved of the Government policy, but that a large majority supported the Government for mere personal reasons. There was some truth in this, especially with regard to minor questions; but the distinct leaning of the Government against the pretensions and aims of the provinces soon drove about one half of the House into the lobby with Mr. Vogel on distinctly provincial claims, and finally gave Mr. Weld the chance which he was watching for to resign his still highly unsatisfactory position.

On the 11th. of October, Mr. Vogel proposed a Committee to consider whether a portion of the revenue

from the stamp duties should not be divided amongst the provinces in the same way as the customs duties. The motion was hardly debated at all, but the House divided with the result of 17 on each side—neither Mr. Weld nor Mr. Stafford being present. The Speaker gave his casting vote with the Government.

On the same evening, Mr. Stafford passed, without a division, the second reading of a Bill in opposition to the Attorney General, disqualifying General and Provincial Government officers, except elected Superintendents, from sitting in the House. This Bill would have disqualified Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Richardson, the Treasurer and Postmaster of the Weld Ministry, and was, no doubt, a very important factor in bringing about their resignation; but it would not have been a good subject upon which to base their resignation, especially as no division was recorded. After consulting with Mr. Weld, Mr. Fitzherbert moved, at 9. 30. on Wednesday evening, that the House adjourn until Friday next at noon.

When the House met on Friday, Mr. Weld, who was out of health and out of spirits, made a very short statement, attributing the resignation of the Ministry to the fact that "the House was not prepared to give the Government that decided support on financial questions from which alone we could derive the means to carry out our policy of self-reliance." He said nothing about the mover of the resolution upon which their resignation was based, but said, "I advised the Governor to send for Mr. Stafford, because I believe that honourable gentleman to be the person, among those who had usually opposed our policy, who was the most likely to be able to form a Ministry."

Happy as Mr. Weld was to find himself able to resign a position so extremely onerous, and which had not even any pecuniary attraction to him, he was still more happy in having successfully recommended as his successor his old chief Stafford instead of his much dreaded financial critic Vogel; but his satisfaction on either ground was not shared by his large staff of col-

leagues, who—except, perhaps, Mr. Richardson—were, all their lives, eager office seekers and, after so much of the session had passed, were especially enraged to see one of the very few real and bold economists who were at that time in the House placed at the head of the Government and apparently determined to control the Treasury. They had been called "The Ministry of all the Talents" and they certainly carried with them more debating power, and more official experience than any other six members that Mr. Stafford would be able to call to his assistance. But Mr. Stafford had, before accepting office, clearly seen and duly appreciated all the forces he would have to contend with in any effort to restore the credit of the country by the unpopular policy of economy. It was not the first time that he had played a waiting game, and it was natural that he should believe that, while the tax receivers in the House would oppose him, the tax payers in the Colony would support him.

There was a coolness, almost amounting to audacity, in the calmness with which Mr. Stafford met the House, as Mr. Bell said, as "one honourable gentleman, without officers of state, without a Treasurer, without an Attorney-General, without any one." But Mr. Stafford pleased the Auckland members, when he said that he did not intend to hastily form a Ministry, without at least doing his best to get a representative from each of the largest centres of population. Although he announced this to be his special aim more distinctly than any other Premier had ever done, he cannot be said to have succeeded in that direction. It is true that he soon obtained a resident from each of the largest provinces in his Attorney-General and his Minister of Defence; but, of the four Ministers he at first selected, only two were members of the House of Representatives, and neither of them brought much debating power to his assistance; so that it soon came to be said that, whilst the Premier had too much debating power, his Ministers had by far too little.

It was Thursday, the 19th of October, before Mr. Stafford attempted to make a Ministerial Statement to

the House. He then made a speech, by no means long, or bold, or startling, but full of that prudent common sense which had been so distinctly wanting in the Premiers' and Treasurers' Statements of the previous four years. The tone of the speech was distinctly friendly to Mr. Weld and expressed approval of his self-reliant policy so far as it could be said to be self-reliant, but there could be no self-reliance in a policy which had sent the Colony all over the world begging for credit at 8 per cent., and left it totally unable to meet its engagements without the credit it could with so much difficulty obtain. "We believe," said he, "that the unity of the Colony can best be obtained by economising the expenditure of the General Government, and that the true policy of self-reliance is not to enter into obligations which we cannot meet by our own resources. . . A question connected with the subject of expenditure is the state of the Civil Service generally. It has now grown very large and it will be impossible during the present session to determine in what direction any changes can be made which would be fair both to the country and to the officers affected by them. What we do propose is to appoint a Commission to enquire into the state and the working of the whole Civil Service of the Colony. . . What we have objected to is to add to the burdens, already sufficiently great, of the people of New Zealand. Before I leave the question of finance, this may be the proper time to refer to what I said when in opposition about reducing expenditure by £240,000. I am happy to be able to inform the House that I do see my way to that reduction, and, at the same time, I shall leave the Government as amply provided for as it ever was before. . . We think it impossible to hope that members will remain to consider all these large questions; but we do think that whatever honourable members may do or whatever they may determine to postpone still, they cannot refuse to go into the many questions of finance without incurring a responsibility which in future they will not be able to shake off. . . We have

taken office under peculiar circumstances, from no desire or wish of our own, we have neither desired nor attempted to eject our predecessors from office. Whilst I have thought it right at the present juncture to assume the cares of office, yet, on the part of myself and of my colleagues, I can say that none could more willingly retire than we will when the country has declared that it no longer desires our services."

With a precipitation that would, in any case, have defeated his object, Mr. Sewell at once gave notice that, on the next sitting day, he would move a vote of No Confidence, but withdrew it after some remarks from Mr. Stafford and Mr. Weld. To any calm or less irritated listener than Mr. Sewell, the obvious interpretation of the last sentence of Mr. Stafford's speech would have clearly shown that the only effect of any vote of censure on the Government at that stage of the session and at that age of the Parliament must have been to hasten the dissolution by the sacrifice of several very necessary measures only waiting their final stages and equally agreed on by both parties. And, still worse, it must have brought on the General Election without that equal adjustment of representation to the population which had so long left Otago most unfairly under-represented in the House. Mr. Stafford had few—if any—warm personal friends in the House, he was not a prime favourite even with the Governor, and no House would long consent that the strongest half of his Ministry should be taken from the Legislative Council. But Mr. Stafford was not an infant to be frightened from his post by the crack of a whip. He knew that he had been sent for, not because he was loved, but because he was needed. He knew—and the country knew—that he was the only New Zealand Premier who had ever held that office long enough to have learned his work, and that he had long been the head of the only New Zealand Government whose finance had not been absolutely disgraceful and disastrous.

The most angry speeches on the ministerial state-

ments came from Mr. Bell and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were, of course, sure that no economy could be effected. The most influential speech in support of Mr. Stafford was that of Mr. Russell who, as a leading director of the New Zealand Bank, spoke with much knowledge and costly experience when, replying to the late Colonial Treasurer, he said, "The honourable gentleman had laid a deal of stress on the necessity for increasing the taxation of the country with a view to increasing the value of our debentures at home. That was the panacea he would invent for raising the price of the Colonial securities in England—to add to the burdens of an already overtaxed country. In his opinion that was a most bungling way of doing it. The feeling in England and in the colonies was that New Zealand had already undertaken more than it could accomplish—that the weight was greater than she could carry—and the honourable gentleman proposed to relieve us by putting on a little more. The best way to give confidence to those who generally purchased our securities was to show them that we meant to live within our income—that we meant to cut down our expenses. Nothing would help our credit more in the English money market than the knowledge that we were cutting down our expenses."

Mr. Stafford facetiously congratulated Mr. Fitzherbert on the far more lively and interesting style of his speeches in opposition as compared to the painfully restrained and reserved utterances he had made under the trammels and responsibilities of office. He said he quite agreed with him that it was a most deplorable thing for the country that Ministers should be changed every session and was glad to find that he could depend upon Mr. Fitzherbert's able assistance in his sincere efforts to avoid the recurrence of that evil.

As Mr. Stafford had not sought to supplant the late Ministry, so he made no attempt to suppress the measures they had introduced, except where they interfered with his ideas of economy; and this course of action he carried out so impartially that the Bills intro-

duced by the Weld Government were quite as generally carried as they would have been if conducted through their final stages by their own parents. There was little of a party bias in any of the Bills, and if there had been, the real political opinions of Mr. Stafford were not widely different from those of Mr. Weld. Even the Representation Act, 1865, went through without any of the trouble and prolonged angry debates which usually accompany such Bills, and did little more than give thirteen additional members to the South, making the total number of the House up to seventy members—fifteen of whom were from Otago.

Mr. Sewell unwisely, angrily and factiously, but nevertheless sometimes beneficially, attempted to oppose and to alter everything that originated with Mr. Stafford. His opposition was especially useful in one case where Mr. Stafford was attempting to please his not very clean-handed Auckland friends who were well known to have axes of their own to grind in connection with the wasteful expenditure and ruinous inaction of General Cameron. When less than thirty members were left in the House, and the majority of them were Aucklanders, Mr. Stafford proposed a vague and dangerous vote of thanks to the Governor for the action he had taken in not removing the troops when asked by General Cameron to do so in May last. The troops had not been removed until Sir George Grey had taken the Wereroa pah; but the General's personal friends were most anxious not to have a word said about that pah or the General's inaction. Mr. Sewell, however, insisted upon getting both mentioned, and, in that way, spoiled a game so discreditable to Auckland, and especially to Mr. Russell, who was even more responsible than the General himself for the lavish manner in which he had kept him supplied with the enormous means so absolutely wasted. Mr. Fitzherbert took a fairly severe revenge upon this newly converted economist when he said he could quite understand the deep interest he felt in the omission of the unwelcome words about the General's inaction. "He was perhaps one of those

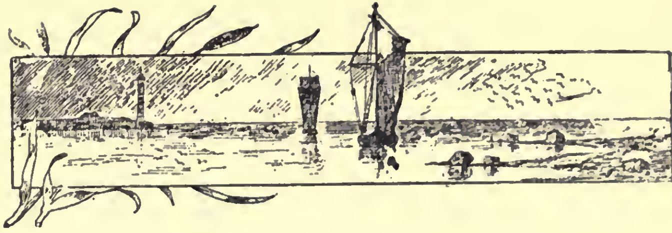
who had contributed towards the presentation of the sword to the General, and which was truly a worthy recognition of the services rendered to that province by that important branch of the military—the Commissariat."

In the Legislative Council the Stafford Government was represented, during the eleven days that the Council sat after the resignation of the Weld Ministry, by a lawyer and a soldier, both professing to know little about public business outside of their profession, and claiming only to give a very unvarnished and humble expression to the views of their chief. There was indeed quite a pathetic and charming tone of humility in the effort which Colonel Russell made to assure the Council that they must expect nothing original from him. Mr. Prendergast was, no doubt, a good Attorney-General. Colonel Haultain, although not active or able, was a prudent Minister of Defence and kept well out of mischief, as did Colonel Russell as Minister of Native Affairs; but the work of all of them had become negative rather than active, and the lion's share of all real work and all real responsibility inevitably rested upon Mr. Stafford, who held in his own hands the offices of Colonial Secretary, Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster-General, and, in the course of two weeks, had brought the session to a close in the face of what was certainly the most interested, able and united opposition that a Premier ever had to contend with. No less than seventy-two out of the ninety-two Bills that had been introduced were actually placed on the Statute Book; the public expenditure was placed under better checks; and, without adding to the taxation of the country, the financial prospects were at last restored to something comprehensible and almost respectable.

The position that Mr. Stafford had chosen to accept was a very unusual one, a very unattractive one, and a very arduous one. He could not, under the circumstances, be suspected of having aimed to remove Mr. Weld from office or to force himself into the extremely unpopular, and almost single-handed fight for

economy and constitutional control of expenditure which he now insisted upon. In this main object, the House was almost unanimously against him, and the support he got from Auckland and Otago was incidental and rested entirely upon party and provincial considerations—not at all on the constitutional question of whether a Government should be allowed to expend a sum equal to a fifth of the year's revenue without parliamentary authority and then to quietly place it as a permanent addition to the colonial debt. Mr. Fitzherbert had no doubt correctly gauged the private wishes of the majority of the House when he proposed to treat the large unauthorised expenditure of the past year in this way; but, when Mr. Stafford made a ministerial stand against it, his ground was too strong to be chosen by the ex-Ministers as a desirable battle-field at the approaching election. It was at once seen that it would be more easy to let Mr. Stafford have his own way, and then to taunt him with being unable to effect the large economies which he had promised, but which could only be effected by the co-operation of a willing House. There was certainly no other man in the House who would have dared to attempt such a task besides taking the offices of Colonial Secretary, Treasurer and Postmaster-General into his own hands. Nor can we say that it was wise of any man, however capable, to attempt so much.

Parliament was prorogued, on Monday, October 30th, in a very judicious speech which carefully acknowledged the good legislation proposed by the Weld Ministry, but firmly said: "You may rest assured that the supplies you have voted for the public service will be administered with a regard to that strict economy which is imperatively required in the expenditure of the public money, and which will mainly tend to preserve the unity of the Colony. I have gladly assented to the Bill for effectually preventing the expenditure of the public money without the authority of law."



CHAPTER LII.

"SLEEPY NELSON" AWAKE TO DUTY.

It has been proved that the chances of escape are in proportion to the co-operation the bushrangers can secure. Where they are left to their own resources, and where the hand of every man is against them, not even the bush with all its opportunities of concealment, can long protect them.—SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 1866.

Freed from the galling chain of over-estimated party obligations, and completely divorced from his too influential associations with Governor Browne, General Cameron, and his old colleagues—Richmond, Whitaker and Weld—Mr. Stafford was now, for the first time in his position of Premier, free to follow the dictates of his own political and economical convictions, and, contrary to the expectations both of his friends and of his foes, he soon proved himself to be the sincere, sensible and successful advocate of sound peaceful relations between the aborigines and the settlers of New Zealand. No true economist in any country could ever be the advocate of a prolonged and needless war, and, whilst Mr. Stafford rejected the estimates of the Weld Government for the expenditure of £1,408,948 and adopted an actual expenditure of £1,158,183—being £250,765 less —, he was able, at the same date, to inform the House that his modest, quiet Native Minister, Colonel Russell, had, "in contradistinction from the four Native Ministers who preceded him, not introduced a single matter which had caused a new dispute between the Natives and the Europeans."

There was no relaxation, nor any talk of relaxation, in the vigorous pursuit and punishment of murderers which had been adopted by Major Atkinson as soon as the removal of General Cameron made such proceedings possible, but even more vigour was combined with an economy that was perhaps carried to some excess. The Hau Haus were soon shown that all British Commanders were not "lame sea-gulls," and that, if all the British troops were withdrawn, there were men in New Zealand—including their own countrymen—who could, and who would, follow them into any retreat and make their punishment certain. At the same time, no impossible terms of peace were talked of, and no want of confidence was shown towards those whose leanings were on the side of peace, law and order.

There was still a coarse brutality, even in the leading articles of such papers as the *Nelson Examiner*, which went far to justify the low estimate of the New Zealand colonists that was now entertained by the philanthropists of England. In the *Nelson Examiner*, of January 23, 1866, there appeared a leader commenting on the proceedings of General Chute which was concluded in these words:— "There were no prisoners made in these late engagements, as General Chute, we are told, does not care to encumber himself with such costly luxuries. What a pity General Chute was not sent to New Zealand at the commencement of the Native war." But it would be grossly unfair to condemn General Chute on the evidence of such friends. General Chute was engaged in no common warfare with no common criminals and under no common conditions. He was pursuing men who could only be reached by the most desperate exertions, and the most dangerous privations on the part of his troops and his allies, and it was not to be expected that when such criminals were reached that his half fed friends could be starved to save the lives of men who were so apparently entitled to be treated as murderers. It would have been especially impossible to persuade the loyal chiefs to starve their brave followers to prolong the existence of men

who had revolted from their control and disgraced the name of their own tribe. Under such circumstances, we cannot wonder that a rough and ready court-martial was all the trial that the Hau Hau prisoners could rely upon, or that many of them were despatched without all the precautions that would have been taken under more favourable conditions. The most regrettable and unjustifiable executions were those that were undertaken by the friendly Chiefs without any authority from General Chute, and that were practised chiefly on what they regarded as their own disobedient subjects. But, taken as a whole, the brave and resolute men of both races who so effectually put down the Hau Hau conspiracy after the departure of General Cameron—with so much suffering, privation and danger to themselves—were guilty of few avoidable cruelties and certainly of none such as followed or accompanied the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

The commencement of Mr. Stafford's Government was marked by much successful pursuit and punishment of the Hau Hau criminals, as well as by much progress in peaceful arrangements with Maoris who should never have been treated as insurgents nor driven to desperation by unreasonable, and often impossible demands. His Native Minister and his Minister of Defence were not orators, nor were they men of much original power; but they knew a good deal of the Maori character, and they came at once to a good understanding with Mr. Stafford as to what should be done to bring as many Maoris as possible into friendly relations with the Government; and with Mr. Stafford's zealous approval, they accomplished some very good work in that direction. These three Ministers were thoroughly agreed in this work, and, without being pledged to any extreme views in any direction, their plans were distinguished for their moderation, their common sense, and their practicability. The later appointed Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Jollie, was possibly useful to Mr. Stafford in his office, and probably harmless in his Executive Council; but he was the weakest link in

the ministerial chain, and the link that ensured its early severance and gave an early triumph to the well organised ex-Ministers in their efforts to force Mr. Stafford to accept some combination from which they should not be altogether excluded. In the House, Mr. Jollie's language and manner were weak and pretentious, his well remembered and unbounded worship of Governor Browne and General Cameron, and his assurance that the Maori character was amenable to nothing milder than the "soldier's bayonet" and the "hangman's axe," had not added to his small reputation for wisdom and had entirely disqualified him for any friendly negotiations with the Maoris. But the strain was complete when even Mr. Vogel, who was supporting Mr. Stafford, took his Treasurer to task for the weakness of his Financial Statement, and added, "I cannot think that it is in consonance with the dignity of the House that he should find it necessary to read his Financial Statement."

Mr. Weld had not long been released from his parliamentary duties, as well as from the responsibilities of office, when he made his way to Christchurch, and, for the third time, addressed an admiring audience there with a speech more remarkable for its variety and originality than for any semblance of ministerial dignity or accuracy. His language displayed no venom towards the Premier who had succeeded him, but was remarkable for the proof that it gave of the completeness with which he had changed his opinion of the Premier who had preceded him, and had lost every particle of respect and admiration for the person or the policy of his old friend and colleague, Mr. Whitaker. Considering that Mr. Weld had absented himself from the House during the passage of the measures he now condemned, and had never said a word, nor moved a finger to prevent either the borrowing or the expenditure of the Three Million Loan or the introduction of military settlers, Mr. Whitaker would hardly be prepared to read the report of what Mr. Weld now said about those momentous and disastrous transactions. In ex-

plaining the circumstances under which he took office, Mr. Weld told his Christchurch audience that "about a year ago there was a Ministry which had induced the Assembly to let them borrow £3,000,000 to be recouped out of the sale of confiscated lands, to occupy which they had sent for immigrants from England and the Cape. These persons were persuaded to come through false pretences, to the eternal disgrace of the Colony; and, after the Ministry found their scheme had failed and that they had overwhelmed the Colony with liabilities, and after they had quarrelled in the most unseemly manner with Her Majesty's representative and made the name of New Zealand stink in the nostrils of the people of England, they threw down the reins of office without coming to the Assembly to give an account of their stewardship. . . . The Auckland people were carried away by the desire of having the troops there and the continued military expenditure. . . . Under the Whitaker Ministry £1,500,000 was paid away without any details being recorded. . . . At the time he came into office the Colony was in a very unpleasant position and bound hand and foot to the Bank of New Zealand."

This unmitigated condemnation of the Whitaker-Russell Ministry by Mr. Weld completes the circle of all the successive borrowing Ministers in their unqualified accusations of waste, extravagance and deception against each other.

> "Each thinks his neighbour made too free,
> But likes a slice as well as he."

At the date of delivering this address, Mr. Weld appears to have intended to offer his services to one of the Canterbury constituencies as a member of the House of Representatives; but, some weeks before Parliament was dissolved, he altered his mind and addressed a letter to the electors of Canterbury in which he expressed his intention to retire altogether from public life, which he practially did so far as New Zealand was concerned.

The third Parliament of New Zealand was dissolved by proclamation in the Government Gazette of January 27, 1866, and, on the same day, Mr. Stafford addressed the electors of Nelson in the Provincial Hall. He was courteously, but not enthusiastically, received. His speeches were never sensational, his Native policy was considered too tame by the Nelson electors, his economies were easily misrepresented by a very able opposing candidate, and the Nelson *Examiner*,—once so decided in his favour—was working strongly against him. He was in no danger of losing his seat, but he saw that a city constituency demanded too much attention from an overworked Premier, and that it would in future be wiser for him to fall back on a smaller but more unanimous and less excitable constituency. Throughout the Colony his opponents had found it easy to make the constituencies believe that, although Stafford's prudence and ability must be utilized, he must not be allowed to fill the ministerial seats with his own obedient satellites. In this way the General Election of 1866 may be said to have gone in favour of Mr. Stafford, but distinctly against his Ministers, and with a strong leaning towards some of Mr. Weld's more talkative colleagues.

With all the hard work and close personal supervision which Mr. Stafford's determination to place New Zealand finance upon something approaching to a solvent condition necessarily inflicted upon him, he did not entirely forsake his old habit of collecting statistics affecting the moral and intellectual condition of a Colony which he had reason to believe would present some exceptionally good features in that direction, and which he could fairly attribute in some degree to his own early efforts in the cause of public education. Early in 1866, he sent out circulars calling upon the Superintendent of each province for returns showing the number of criminal convictions in the past, and the present number of persons above twelve years of age who could not read or write. The returns show that, at that date, the province of Nelson had produced the

smallest number of criminals and of dunces, and the preeminence of the province in these respects was officially attributed to the facts that, since the year 1842, more than half the children in the province had joined the Band of Hope, under the energetic supervision of Mr. Benjamin Crisp, and that—at the same time—Mr. Matthew Campbell had devoted the best energies of his life to supply, with the most insignificant expenditure, almost every child in the province with the means to obtain a useful amount of elementary education. Both of these benefactors of their province had worked in a humble, quiet way—without fee or reward—and were never ranked amongst the rulers, the honourables or the esquires of the province; but many a sincere and deserved blessing has been and will yet be pronounced upon their unselfish work, and such names will be remembered with honour when those of the more selfish and conspicuous pursuers of wealth and distinction will have faded in oblivion.

With all her great public misfortunes and mistakes, with the wonderful incapacity of a Hobson, a Shortland and a Fitzroy, added to the animosity of a Gipps and the cruel, protected frauds of the New Zealand Company, the early settlements of New Zealand were blessed far above the common lot, and to an extent not easily accounted for, in the generally high character of the imported settlers that seemed so promiscuously thrown together for many years of struggling poverty and financial misfortune in Wellington, Nelson and Taranaki. We are not writing of the two denominational settlements—we have no difficulty in understanding why such men as Captain Cargill and Dr. Burns brought out and long kept together a body of men and women who were a law unto themselves, nor why the proud representatives of the English Church at once took up a high moral standard; but we do feel some surprise and some special cause for thankfulness that a Company—dishonest themselves and bungling in everything else—should have achieved such a large measure of success

in the high moral character of the first emigrants they sent to New Zealand, so that in Nelson their settlers were able to live together for quarter of a century without the use of locks and keys, without employing a hangman, and perfectly indifferent to all legal forms of personal protection. We shall presently see that, even when the gallows was first called into use—and no gallows was ever more usefully employed, it was not the failure, but the absolute perfection, of the morality of her original settlers which caused it to be erected.

On Tuesday, the 12th day of June, 1866, four men left Canvas Town, Wakamarino, in the province of Marlborough, for the purpose of going to Nelson. Three of them, named John Kempthorne, Felix Matthias, and James Dudley, were storekeepers, and one, named James Pontius, was a gold-digger. They had hired a pack-horse to carry their swags, and the owner of the horse was engaged to come after them to take the horse back before they arrived in Nelson. Each of these men had a considerable sum of money in his possession, and one of them was carrying seventy ounces of gold for sale in Nelson. Soon after passing Franklyn's Flat, the owner of the horse could hear nothing of the party, nor of the horse he intended to follow. On Sunday, June 17th, the horse owner arrived in Nelson with the alarming tale of the missing men and horse, and, on Monday morning, three armed policemen and a friend interested in the missing men, left Nelson to search the vicinity of Franklyn's Flat for any evidence of what had become of the party. But before the arrival of the horse owner, four strangers had arrived in Nelson, and on Thursday, June 15, had sold gold to the banks, and were searching for birds of their own feather whose association might make them less conspicuous. But they soon discovered that they had come to the wrong place; to a place where they were necessarily marked men, and where not even a beer shop could be found that would welcome their ill-gotten gold. Every move that they made or attempted to make

was reported to the vigilant police. There was not a tittle of evidence against them, not even any proof that any murder had been committed, but every man in Nelson knew that if there had been a murder, and if the murderers had come on to Nelson, these, and these only, were the men. Their man of business was arrested on Tuesday morning, when the movements of the other three soon confirmed all the suspicions of the police, and they also were arrested. On Thursday the body of the concealed horse was discovered, and the bullet that had caused his death brought into Nelson. Over sixty men continued to search vigorously for the bodies of the men who had so evidently been murdered, and a committee was elected, and subscriptions raised by which the number of searchers was daily increased until it reached over a hundred and twenty. The days were at their shortest. and the weather was unusually cold and wet, but nothing could be more determined, or more systematic, than the search made for the missing bodies. The men arrested were at once recognised by the Otago police as old criminals, and there were old scars and other marks on their bodies which made their identity certain; but still not a particle of legal evidence could be obtained to connect them with the crime of which they were suspected, and every objection that law or money could devise was made by their lawyer to their recommittal without any legal evidence against them. Mr. John Poynter, the Resident Magistrate, was too deaf and otherwise too old and infirm for his position, but all his defects were well supplied by his very able clerk, Mr. John Sharp; and the chief constable, Mr. Shallcrass, was a man who required little guidance and no urging to ensure the most vigilant and intelligent performance of his now really important duties. The Superintendent of the province went over to Wellington and explained the difficulties of the position to Mr. Stafford, who at once consented to offer a free pardon to an accomplice in the four murders supposed to have been committed. This offer soon made a very evident

commotion amongst the four prisoners, and left no doubt that they were quite willing to betray each other, and that they were all guilty; but there was still a difficulty, which none of them could see how to get over. There were four men in custody. Sullivan was a strongly built man, above fifty years of age, five feet seven inches high, with a great deal of mental and physical power, and a very remarkable capacity of accurate observation and a correct memory of the most minute details. He was, too, a man of cautious speech, cool courage, and perfect self-possession. Richard Burgess was a vain, blustering bully, fond of notoriety, careless of danger, pain or punishment. He was about forty years of age, five feet four inches high; had spent some years in prison; had committed many murders; had obtained and spent much gold; had been severely wounded and flogged, and should long before have been hanged. Kelly was a little, cowardly, bloodthirsty animal, delighting to inflict cruelty upon others, but quite incapable of facing danger; an adept at every description of cunning and deception. Levy was a Jew, about forty years of age, five feet five inches high, with projecting brows and low, retreating forehead. He was a man of no words, and betrayed no feeling, so that even his comrades believed that no one would ever succeed in getting any information from him. As the man of business for the murderous firm, his reticence was well adapted to cover some of Burgess's dangerous defects; but no judge of character would ever have trusted a man with such a head and face.

The Jewish Rabbi in Nelson took a great deal of interest in Levy and tried to convince the police authorities that they might rely upon it that he had not taken an active part in any of the murders, and would consequently be the man to whom a pardon should be offered as an accomplice. On the Rabbi's suggestion, Levy was consequently separated from the other three, and efforts were made to obtain a confession from him. But Levy saw the same danger to an informer that all

the rest had seen and was not the sort of man to assist in convicting himself.

Sullivan saw that there was no time to be lost if anything was to be gained by a confession, but the offer, as it was announced in the hand-bills, was of no use to him nor to any of his comrades, although it added much to their individual danger. He very cautiously felt the pulse of the chief constable, who was just as capable of feeling his, and soon learned more than Sullivan had intended to convey to him. This interview was followed by one with Mr. Sharp, the Clerk to the Resident Magistrate, who was also more than a match for Sullivan, and who had a very much easier part to play. Finally Sullivan declared that, before he would risk giving any information, he must see either the Superintendent of the Province, or the Premier of the Colony.

The sun was setting on the evening of Thursday, June 28, when the Superintendent entered Sullivan's cell to learn a catalogue of murderous deeds which demanded immediate action on his part before they could be made public. Sullivan objected to any one else being present, and the police authorities had good reason to make the same objection, but we are able to give the substance of the dialogue as written down the same night :—

Superintendent—You have something you wish to say to me, Sullivan ?

Sullivan—I don't know if I have or not, but I see by that handbill that you want information, and I can tell you that that offer won't get it, as it is really no offer at all.

Superintendent—What more do you want ?

Sullivan—I don't want anything ; but have you anything more to offer ? You must know that the men who killed these four men, whoever they are, are pretty sure to have killed other men, so that they will be none the better for your pardon for the four unless you offer a pardon for all.

Superintendent—There is no one in this Province

who has the power to offer any pardon at all, and no one could advise the Governor to offer a pardon for every murder that has ever been committed.

Sullivan—Then I am sorry that I troubled you to come here. I can't give you any information if that is all you can do.

Superintendent—As the matter evidently stands, it becomes a question of whether the Government should trust you or you should trust the Government. The Governor's pardon is certainly not offered with any view to entrap any one. But I don't see how I could advise the Governor to do anything more, and he will certainly not offer a free pardon for every possible murder—known or unknown. You have no right to expect the Governor to trust you, you have no right to expect that the Government will play you any tricks, or take advantage of anything you do in good faith to them. If you tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, I shall consider that you have faithfully fulfilled your part of the bargain, and if you don't intend to do that, I would advise you to let me go, and to say nothing more to me about what you know. But, mind you, I am not the Governor nor the Government, and I have no power whatever to pardon anything. But if I were in your place, I should expect that the Government would treat me honestly.

Sullivan—Then you won't promise a pardon for any other murders ?

Superintendent—I have no power to pardon anything, and I won't advise the Government to pardon anything more.

Sullivan—Well, I suppose you are right, and I must tell the whole truth and chance it.

Superintendent—You may depend upon it you will save your neck in no other way, and I hope you will have the sense to try no other way.

It was soon evident that Sullivan understood the bargain, and was prepared to tell the whole truth with all the disgusting and ghastly details, not only of the four murders at the Maungatapu, but of the many other

murders on the different goldfields in which he and his companions had taken part. Sullivan had evidently been brought to a complete conviction that he must tell the whole truth, and that it would be dangerous for him to keep anything back that was known to Burgess. He knew Burgess well, and correctly estimated that, as soon as he saw his own conviction inevitable, his burning desire would be to get Sullivan hanged. Sullivan's confession was consequently as unreserved and complete as it was horrible and revolting. After giving the full particulars of the murder of the four men known to be missing and where their bodies were to be found, he gave particulars of the murder of a fifth—murdered at nearly the same time and place—who had not been missed. He then described the murderous career of his comrades on the West Coast, and told of the murder of Mr. Dobson, whose body was consequently recovered. And lastly he explained that tools and disguises had been sent for to Sydney for the purpose of murdering, in the most diabolical manner, the Manager and clerks of the Bank of New South Wales in Nelson. This order was quickly executed and duly came into the hands of the Nelson police. The murderous plan was to enter the Bank a few minutes before the hour of closing and, whilst one of the gang was to ask to see the Manager and strangle him, the others were to lock the doors, to cover the clerks with their pistols and strangle them all but one. The survivor was then to be employed in finding the keys and giving any information required on the promise of his life, after which he was to be led silently through the town after dark to some remote spot, where he was to be killed and his body carefully concealed so as to give the impression that he had murdered the other bankers and absconded with the booty.

On the same evening, with Sullivan's tale still ringing in his ears, the Superintendent attended, by request, a meeting called to urge the Provincial Government to push on the search for the bodies more vigorously than ever. At that meeting he had a difficult

part to play, as he knew where the bodies were, and that the searchers might all come home; but it was most important that Sullivan's confession should not be made known until his acomplices on the West Coast, now named, should have been arrested. At the meeting the Superintendent was rather fiercely attacked for not agreeing to send off a larger search party at once; but he and his able assistants managed to keep the secret long enough to get the murderers who had been pointed out by Sullivan arrested at Hokitika and the Grey.

As soon as Sullivan's confession was made known, Burgess decided to devote the rest of his life to revenge himself upon Sullivan. He had previously declared himself a Baptist, and had obtained the spiritual counsel of Mr. Daniels, a leading Baptist, who was also the Land Commissioner of the province, and a highly respected man. To Mr. Daniels, Burgess now professed to renounce the Devil and all his works, and to be concerned only about making his peace with God. He not only confessed to all the murders he was accused of and to a still blacker list of his own confession; but he also insisted that Sullivan had been his active accomplice, and that Kelly and Levy were innocent as doves, and had done all they could to keep him and Sullivan from the crimes they had committed. These fabrications were, of course, eagerly supported by Kelly and Levy; but they crumbled to dust on the first breath of cross-examination, whilst nothing could shake the marvellously full and accurate details supplied by Sullivan.

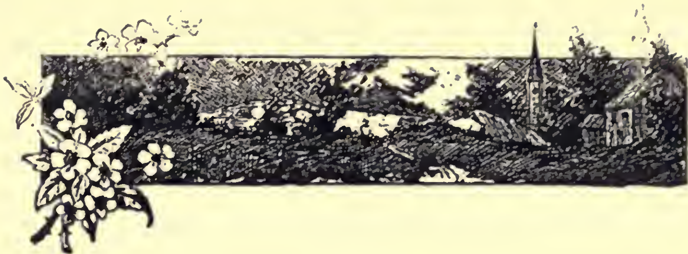
No expense was spared to secure the prisoners as they awaited their trial. Their cells were cased with iron, and a double watch kept over them day and night. They tried pretences of hidden treasure and various other tricks; but they found no helpers, no sympathisers and no simpletons to deal with. Burgess and Levy died with stolid indifference. Kelly roared like a whipped hound, and implored to the last on knees that would not support him under the drop. Sullivan was

sent to the West Coast to give evidence against his accomplices there. But the juries there preferred to let the other murderers remain at large rather than to hang them on the evidence of Sullivan, although that evidence was supported by details and facts which could not have misled them.

If Sullivan had now been set at liberty, it is almost certain that the murderers still left on the West Coast, or in Australia, would have killed him before many weeks had passed, and some of the murderous gang would probably have been hanged for his death. But Mr. Stafford and Judge Johnston insisted upon his being put on his trial for one of the murders which he had confessed, and for which no pardon had been offered. He was, of course, convicted and sentenced to death; but, contrary to his own entreaty, that sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. Seven years later, under Mr. Vogel's Government, this dishonourable course was crowned by liberating him secretly and attempting to convey him clandestinely to be set at large in a friendly country.

Whilst in Nelson jail, Burgess wrote a tale which he called a history of his own life. It was a clumsy jumble of facts and fiction in which he aimed, not at truth, but at notoriety, and displayed a desire to figure as the Jack Sheppard of the Southern hemisphere. It appears to have been his intention that the manuscript should be handed to his solicitor, Mr. Pitt, as a payment for his defence; but the Superintendent of Nelson impounded the document as one that should not be allowed to emanate from the Nelson jail. Mr. Pitt applied to the Supreme Court to order the Superintendent to give him the manuscript; but Judge Johnston refused to interfere, and spoke in strong terms of approbation of the action of the Superintendent in not allowing such a mischievous, demoralising production to be made public. On the same day the Judge wrote to the Superintendent, thanking him for the course he had taken and asking to see the manuscript. The manuscript was at once sent to the Judge. It was never re-

turned, and soon afterwards appeared in print. No explanation of how or why it was allowed to be published was ever given to the Superintendent.



CHAPTER LIII.

MR. STAFFORD YOKED TO HIS OPPONENTS.

The weakness of the Ministry, especially in debate, had been apparent from the first. Even on questions of mere detail, in whatever department, Mr. Stafford was almost the sole spokesman. If a member asked why an occasional tide waiter at some unknown port in Auckland had been dismissed, or why an extra deputy-assistant letter carrier in a gold fields village in Otago had had his salary raised, Mr. Stafford was the man to answer, and showed himself to be acquainted, not only with the circumstances of the case, but with the whole history of the individuals referred to from the day of their entering the service. This extensive acquaintance with the details of departments, combined with Mr. Stafford's other qualifications, convinced the House that he must be a member, if not the head, of any Ministry to be formed.—MR. OSWALD CURTIS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS, OCTOBER 26, 1866.

THE General Election for the enlarged Parliament, in which the gold-fields were to be, for the first time, represented in some proportion to their population, and their revenue, excited a good deal of interest during the first three months of the year 1866. The question of war or no war, which had so generally influenced the voters in the General Election of 1861, was now disappearing as an election cry, and Mr. Stafford's opponents were more successful than they deserved to be in attracting the main interest of the electors to an entirely false cry of self-reliance, which was supposed to mean the removal of the British troops from the Colony. The cry, as directed against Mr. Stafford, was as unfair as it was unfounded. As to the removal of the British troops, theoretically Mr. Weld had not only adopted

Mr. Stafford's views, but had also accepted Mr. Stafford's own amendment, as proposed in the House, word for word, and had used his Ministerial position to get it passed unanimously through the House. Practically, Mr. Weld never sent Home a single soldier; but, during the very election in which Mr. Stafford was being accused of a desire to retain the British soldiers, he was sending them away as fast as vessels could be found to take them. Financially, we have already seen that Mr. Stafford's was the only self-reliant policy, as he alone proclaimed that there could be no real self-reliance unless the war expenditure was kept down within the power of the Colony to meet it.

It was the more easy to misrepresent Mr. Stafford's action and policy as we have seen that he addressed the electors of Nelson on the same day that Parliament was dissolved, and he gave no further time to his own defence. The most violent, and the most unfair attack made upon him was made by Mr. Oswald Curtis, who was now one of the candidates for the city of Nelson. He was a far more able man than his brother, Mr. Herbert Evelyn Curtis, who was now retiring from Motueka. Mr. Oswald Curtis had long been a provincial power in Nelson, who, for twenty years, strongly opposed the strict economies of his predecessors in the Superintendency, Messrs. Stafford, Robinson, and Saunders, so that, on this occasion, Mr. Stafford was proposed by Mr. Saunders, who took that opportunity to very fully expose the many misrepresentations to which the Premier and his policy had been subjected. Mr. Stafford himself obtained 376 votes; but his opponent, Mr. Curtis, received 248. Thus, in his own constituency, Mr. Stafford had the misfortune to be associated with one of his most able opponents, whilst Mr. Luckie, who was his out-and-out supporter, and the Editor of the Nelson Colonist, obtained only 212.

As usual, the best and most influential, although by no means the most one-sided, speech during the Election was the speech of the Wellington Superintendent, Dr. Featherston, and he spoke with an authority

well-earned by his past honesty, consistency and success in everything connected with the war. With the kindest personal feeling towards Mr. Weld, and the fullest acknowledgment of all that Wellington owed to him for the prompt and resolute removal of the seat of Government from Auckland to Wellington, and for making Wellington the port of call for the Panama steamers, Dr. Featherston gave the unanswerable history of all Mr. Weld's inconsistent and contradictory views and actions as to the employment or the removal of the British troops, and how he had turned out the Fox Ministry because it had made reasonable and practical provision for a self-reliant policy of which Mr. Weld now claimed to be the author and the leader. As one who was so long and so violently accused of being the friend of rebels, and the advocate of peace at any price, it is interesting and instructive to read Dr. Featherston's very decided views upon the disloyalty of General Cameron. Mr. Weld had lately given as one reason for the removal of British troops that they "were not fitted for New Zealand warfare." To which the Doctor replied, "I readily admit that 10,000 troops under General Cameron did little or nothing, and that they were rather a hindrance than an assistance to the pacification of this country. But whose fault was this? Who is responsible for the inactivity in which they were kept? Surely no one will tell me that the British army has degenerated, that they are no longer of the same stuff as those who have, in all ages, fought and conquered, who have carried and planted the British standard in all parts, to the remotest ends of the world, and have raised the military reputation of the British Empire higher, far higher, than that of any other nation that has ever existed. I say openly, and I speak advisedly, had General Cameron discharged a single one of the duties which devolved upon him; had he instead of devoting himself to unseemly altercation with the Governor and his Ministers; had he instead of employing his time in inventing and propagating the vilest calumnies against the colonists; had he instead

of preaching to the officers and men under his command that the war was an unjust war, a war undertaken solely for the purpose of satisfying the settlers' greed for Native lands; had he instead of doing his utmost to demoralise his army, and establish a fear of the tomahawk, followed Sir George Grey's instructions and simply led his men, or allowed his officers to lead them against the enemy, the war would long since have been brought to a close. But when we know as we now know, that General Cameron's instruction to his officers were not to undertake any operations against the enemy, not to allow the men to go a hundred yards from the redoubt, I do say that we are fairly entitled to call upon the Imperial Government to pay to the Colony the two millions which General Cameron has forced it uselessly to expend, nominally on war purposes, but really to aid him and his staff in the conspiracy in which they were engaged against the colony. And that General Cameron has wasted two millions of the Colony's money is proved beyond a doubt by General Chute having achieved, with a flying column of some 300 regulars, and about the same number of Colonial forces, pakeha and Maori, what General Cameron, with some 5000 or 6000 men, dared never even to attempt."

In the South, the elections were not a little influenced by a very able pamphlet of thirty pages, written and widely circulated by Mr. Weld's post-master, the Hon. J. L. C. Richardson. The best portions of this pamphlet were largely copied by the newspapers of the Colony. It was very temperately and judiciously written, representing Mr. Weld in the best possible light, and was completely successful in proving that Mr. Weld's Government was a great improvement upon either of the two wildly extravagant Governments which had preceded it. Nor did it fail to show that Mr. Stafford's large promises of reduced expenditure could not be entirely realised, and that the reductions which would be shown on paper were not always advantages or really beneficial economies.

In the same locality Mr. James Macandrew worked hard, and with some success, to persuade the electors of Otago that their interests would be best served by sending men to the House who, like himself, would combine with the largest of the other provinces to secure the provincial interests of Otago and Auckland.

The new Parliament met at Wellington, on Saturday, the last day of June, 1866, when Dr., now Sir David, Monro, was re-elected Speaker. The Governor's Speech contained some unusually sensible, as well as some very important and satisfactory—or at least hopeful—announcements. Some most important steps had been taken in the direction of peace. Nothing so really true and practical in that direction had ever been announced in any previous Governor's Speech. The Governor was able to say—"The unbroken success which has attended the operations, on the East Coast, of Her Majesty's Colonial forces, largely aided by loyal Natives, has resulted in the surrender or capture of most of the hostile Natives. Our prestige has been restored, and the Maoris have been convinced that the British soldier, when properly led, can follow them to their fastnesses, and is nowhere to be successfully resisted. My Government has eagerly watched for, and gladly accepted, every indication on the part of any of these Natives of a desire to live peaceably with their fellow-subjects. And with a view of removing any cause of irritation, the larger portion of those who had been taken in arms have been restored to liberty. By perseverance in a policy of kindness and consideration towards the well-disposed, and of firmness towards the turbulent, Her Majesty's subjects will be assured of the advantages to be derived from habits of order and a respect for law. The extension of telegraphic communication with the Colony by means of the electric cable shortly to be laid across Cook Strait will also conduce to the progress of the country, and the development of its resources."

The Address-in-Reply was proposed and seconded the day after the Speech by two new members. It was

carried with little debate, and without a division, early on the same evening. The new Parliament decided to meet daily at 2 p.m., instead of at noon. In the Legislative Council some small, cynical, and somewhat faithless amendments to the Address-in-Reply were proposed by Mr. Mantell, and were adopted in a somewhat jocular spirit, after which, the Reply passed without a division.

On July 5, on the motion of Mr. Stafford, a Select Committee of ten was appointed "to consider and report as to the best manner in which the debates of the General Assembly can be reported and printed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Legislative Council for the same purpose." Of this Committee Mr. Fitzgerald was appointed chairman. Their report was brought up and debated on the 17th, but was not adopted.

From July 24 to July 31, the House was chiefly occupied in discussing the question of Separation as proposed by Mr. Whitaker. Several amendments were proposed, and several divisions took place, but, at midnight on July 31, Mr. Whitaker's motion was rejected on division by 44 to 18, all the Ministers voting against it.

On the evening of Wednesday, August 8, Mr. Jollie brought down his Financial Statement, which proved, as was expected, the chosen battle ground for the Opposition. The Statement was perfectly honest and straightforward. It dealt in no mystifications, but admitted, with almost child-like simplicity, that the past extravagance of the House, and the burden of interest that resulted from it, "made it no longer possible for this or any other Government to continue the old arrangement of subsidising the Provinces with three-eighths of the Customs." What was, perhaps, still more humiliating, after the condemnation of Mr. Weld's proposed stamp duties, was that the Statement —which was the first Financial Statement to be read in the House—had to conclude with the words, "That it is desirable to revise the present tariff, and that the Hon. the Commissioner of Customs be authorised to

take such measures as may be necessary for the collection of any new duties." There was, too, another admission by the Colonial Treasurer which pointed to his incapacity, and confirmed the general belief of the House that Mr. Stafford was his own Treasurer, even down to the arrangement of forms and details. With regard to the estimates, Mr. Jollie said, "I am happy to state that they have not only been carefully considered, but are now ready to be laid on the table in a complete form. My honourable friend at the head of the Government has applied himself, with his usual assiduity, to the task of arranging the whole into a new form, divided into distinct and well-defined classes, modelled upon the existing arrangements of the United Kingdom."

On Tuesday, August 14, Mr. Stafford moved that the House go into Committee of Supply, when Mr. Fitzgerald, in a long and able, although not very temperate or accurate speech, moved—"That this House, having heard the Financial Statement of the Colonial Treasurer, and having before it the proposed estimates for the current year, desires to record its regret that the prospect held out in the last session of Parliament of a considerable diminution in the public expenditure of the Colony has not been realised; that, whilst this House recognises the duty of providing for the security of life and property, and the maintenance of the public peace in all parts of the Colony, it does not perceive the necessity for creating a permanent military force of the magnitude contemplated by the Government, at a cost which cannot fail to inflict burdens unnecessarily heavy upon the inhabitants of the Colony; that no financial arrangements will be satisfactory to the Colony which fail to relieve the Provinces from the embarrassments which arise from the precarious and uncertain nature of the revenues which are at present placed at their disposal." After some long speeches from Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Moorhouse, and Mr. Vogel, both the motion and the amendment were rejected, and a motion proposed by Mr. Moorhouse,

stating "That the Ministry, as at present constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House," was carried by a majority of 47 to 14. In moving that resolution, Mr. Moorhouse said that "if Ministers went out of office on that resolution he hoped they would have the gratification of seeing his honourable friend the Colonial Secretary at the head of the new Government, which should embrace an important and considerable part of the late Weld Administration. I hope we shall see my honourable friend the Colonial Secretary at the head of a strong Government, at the head of a Government that will last for several years to come; because I am convinced that nothing so much concerns the Colony at the present moment—both here and with regard to our relations with England—as that we should keep at the head of affairs a strong and competent Government, instead of having a change of and a new Administration every session." Such an unusual and unmistakable expression of how he, as the mover of such a resolution, would act towards the Premier naturally and necessarily prevented Mr. Stafford from advising the Governor to send, as usual, for the mover of the resolution, so that the Governor was left to act on his own judgment, and immediately sent for Mr. Moorhouse. After a conversation with the Governor Mr. Moorhouse took a day to consult his friends, and then advised the Governor to send for Mr. Stafford; who—after consultation with the Governor — again retired to find out what he could do in the way of selecting a Ministry that would satisfy the Governor and the House of Representatives. This proved very easy. Both the Governor and the House sincerely desired that Mr. Stafford should continue at the head of the Cabinet. He was called on to part with Mr. Jollie, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Paterson, whose places were willingly filled by Messrs. Fitzherbert, John Hall, and J. C. Richmond, with the addition, without portfolio, of the able and influential pamphleteer, Major Richardson. Mr. John Hall, the new Postmaster-General, was an expert in his department, and was as

systematic and as hard working as Mr. Stafford himself; but there was a wide gulf between the proclaimed policy of Mr. Stafford and the financial policy of Mr. Fitzherbert, or the native policy of Mr. Richmond. The financial difficulties and dangers to be encountered were still very great, and their settlement was not only the most important task devolving on the Premier, but was also the one upon which Mr. Stafford was supposed to be most distinctly at variance with Mr. Fitzherbert, the new Treasurer, now forced upon him, whose financial policy in the main the House evidently expected Mr. Stafford to adopt.

By every rule of party government; by all that was due to the colleagues who had been faithful to him; by every consideration for his own reputation; by his undoubtedly sincere and strong desire to restore New Zealand to something like a sound financial position; by a calm, clear, and conscientious consideration of all that he had led New Zealand to expect from him, and of all that his *bonâ fide* supporters relied upon him to uphold or to resist; Mr. Stafford should firmly have refused any partnership or any compromise with such a speculative, time-serving Treasurer as Mr. Fitzherbert, or with such a representative of revengeful, war-loving Taranaki as Mr. J. C. Richmond. The very day upon which Mr. Stafford agreed to such an unnatural alliance marks a distinct change, a visible loss of power, in all his future public work. On that day, like Issacher, he bowed his strong, reliable will, and "saw that rest was good." Reluctantly, but languidly, he left the Treasury to Mr. Fitzherbert; he no longer tried to do the work of two or three officials with his own hands; he no longer fought for unpopular economies; he no longer objected to increase the National Debt by Millions; he no longer prohibited unprovoked attacks upon the Maoris for the cost of which no provision had been made; he no longer rejected Financial Statements based on the expectation of guarantees that were never forthcoming; he consented to the barbarous practice of offering re-

wards for the heads of the Maoris' most able chiefs: and most fatally of all, he dismissed from office the most potential mediator between the two races as if he were only a street sweeper. The Stafford who, in 1865, could explain to the House why the salary of a constable in Otago had been raised, could not, in 1869, explain why the transactions of the Treasury could not be understood by the financiers of the House. He had no doubt been discouraged by the thankless attitude of the House for all the hard work he had too willingly taken on himself; he had seen how little the House objected to, or cared about, the ever growing National Debt, and how much they admired the practice of skilfully transferring the liabilities of each year to the shoulders of posterity. It was a great misfortune to New Zealand that, like many other public men, Mr. Stafford preferred to retain such partial power and impaired influence, and such diminished popularity as his new position would leave to him, although now made responsible for actions which he could not control, and for national calamities which he foresaw and predicted, but was not allowed to avert.

Upon some very important questions, the new Ministry did not profess to be agreed. On the fourth day of their existence, Mr. Stafford and Mr. J. C. Richmond expressed themselves in favour of an elective Legislative Council, whilst Mr. Hall said that the nominated Council had worked well and should not be altered.

On the proposal to go into Committee of Supply on August 28, Mr. Moorhouse said that he "would not be a party to any further taxation. He believed that a good deal might be saved on the estimates in departments. He was prepared to strike out, at one fell swoop, the Defence and Native estimates, and to reduce the miscellaneous items by £15,000. By these means he believed that £350,000 might be reserved for the prosecution of public works in the Provinces." He found but few supporters.

Mr. Fitzherbert brought down his Financial State-

ment on September 5. The increased gold revenue from the West Coasts of Canterbury and Nelson had been more than sufficient to compensate for a decrease at Otago, so that the Customs were estimated to produce £850,000, one-third of which would be required for Interest and Sinking Fund, and Mr. Bell's "few paltry thousands" to the Judges and Magistrates brought "Law and Justice" up to £65,000, so that Mr. Weld's stamp duties were still required and were expected to produce £50,000. But with all the past reckless borrowing, and with all this extravagance in high quarters, the bulk of the civil servants were still paid at such moderate rates that it was still proposed to hand £318,000 to the provinces.

Mr. Moorhouse led the Opposition to the stamp duties, and characteristically suggested that any deficiency in the revenue should be met, not by new taxes, but by Treasury Bills. The debate continued for more than two weeks, and was distinctly the debate of the session, as it afforded the best opportunity to attack or to support the Government upon almost any ground, so that old sores and old scores were dragged in with more or less effect, but in no case with any danger to the Government, which easily commanded a majority of from 20 to 25 for its financial proposals.

Before the House got into Committee of Supply, the Chairman of Committees, Mr. Carleton, took the opportunity to make a very long speech, in which he enlarged upon the wrongs that Auckland had suffered by the votes of the Southern members. "The North," said he, "has too often been coerced by the votes of the South. From their coercion in 1860 came all the present troubles and financial difficulties. But for the Southern votes that miserable war would have been checked almost at its outset." Mr. Ward proposed that the stamp duties should be placed on the North Island only, and got fifteen members to vote with him. Mr. Stevens made the first and best of what we may call his annual unofficial financial statements, in which he ably and strongly condemned the proposed issue of

Treasury Bills as "wrong in principle, and delusive and certain not to be paid off at maturity, but would form a permanent addition to the National debt." He also stated that within the last few months £100,000 o New Zealand Colonial Debentures had been sold at 60 per cent on their face value.

But, from a strictly financial aspect, the ablest speech of the debate must be ascribed to Mr. Vogel, although it was undoubtedly a speech that might, a few years later, have been used most effectually against his own financial proposals. He cleverly struck the weak point in Mr. Fitzherbert's attitude when he said, "No doubt the Treasurer's reply was a great intellectual exercise, but he answered arguments with jokes." Still more remarkable—still more in contrast with what he had done and with what he had still to do—was the brave reproval of extravagance by Mr. James Macandrew. All the really practical, useful reductions of expenditure by which both taxation and increased debt might have been avoided now came from him. From the Stipendiary Magistrates, from Law and Justice, he would strike off £20,000; from the expenses of the General Assembly £5000. But, above all, he, boldly and without contradiction, asserted that "it is a fact of which the House and the Colony may well be ashamed, that while the pay and rations of a thousand men for the current nine months cost the Colony £50,000, the expense of the staff for the same period—that is the official class engaged in serving out the pay and the rations of this one thousand men—amounts to £90,000."

On Wednesday, October 3, a handsome mace sent out from England by Sir Charles Clifford, the first Speaker of the House, was formally presented to the House by the Speaker, Sir David Munro, whose speech on the occasion was ordered to be entered on the Journals of the House. Sir David Munro was not likely to lose such an opportunity of expressing his unmixed admiration of all that belongs to the British form of Government, and concluded his speech in these words:—"And, above all, gentlemen, I venture to express a

trust that this House, when it looks upon the mace, will never forget that, though in itself perhaps a 'bauble,' it is nevertheless a 'symbol,' and that its presence here may ever be a reminder to this House of the history and example of the House of Commons. The mace has there for three centuries been the symbol of the most beneficent authority which has ever existed, under which the people of our parent country have attained to a degree of happiness and liberty that have never been equalled by that of any other people whom history records. It must be the anxious and earnest desire of every member of this House that, under God's blessing, the same results may attend its presence here."

A penny postage was placed on newspapers which had previously passed free. Eighty-two Acts were passed during the 101 days' session, some of which were consolidating Acts, many were amending Acts, which experience had proved to be necessary , one was a very bungling and costly pretence called an "Act to allow the Distillation, Purifying, and Compounding of Spirits in New Zealand," and one was an Act to prevent persons from extorting money as a consideration for abstaining from bidding for the purchase of Crown Lands at public sales by auction. Parliament was prorogued by the Governor on October 8. The prorogation speech intimated that the stamp duties that had been imposed would "enable the Government to give effect to the wish strongly entertained by them of lightening the taxes which have hitherto been imposed upon many articles of necessary consumption," and the House was assured that "the attention of the Government will be directed during the recess to the consideration of a general measure having for its object the establishment of Municipal institutions throughout the country on a large and liberal scale."

CHAPTER LIV.

"THE POOR MAN'S LAMB TAKEN AWAY BY THE RICH."

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man."—SHAKESPEARE.

SOON after the new Parliament had begun to sit in Wellington, the new Land Court and the Compensation Court began to sit in Taranaki, and were soon called upon to decide judicially what had so long been disputed politically—the title to the Waitara South block of land which included the block of land that Governor Browne had determined to buy from Teira, and from which the Governor had driven the rightful owners, Wiremu Kingi, and two or three hundred of his tribal partners, by sword and by fire. It will be remembered that Governor Browne had, in March, 1860, with the assistance of Mr. Bell, and with the full approval of his Ministers, written to the Secretary of State, asserting that "Te Teira's title has been carefully investigated and found to be good. It is not disputed by any one. The Governor cannot therefore allow Wiremu Kingi to interfere with Te Teira in the sale of his own land."

The Premier now in power, the Judges of the Compensation and Land Courts appointed by him,

the brother-in-law of Mr. C. W. Richmond, who appeared as Crown Agent, were none of them exactly disinterested arbitrators such as would have been chosen or approved by Wiremu Kingi or his friends. Kingi himself was excluded as a rebel who could not be heard, and who could have no rights; whilst the chief witness and the chief claimant was his old enemy, and the old perjurer, Te Teira. Yet the Court found all that Kingi ever claimed to be perfectly correct. They found that by descent, Wiremu Kingi, and not Te Teira, was the superior Chief, and that, whilst neither of them had any exclusive right to sell the land, Wiremu Kingi, both for himself and his tribe, had the first right, and the most obvious duty to forbid the sale of this tribal land by any individual member. Teira's assertions, and his claims, were so preposterous and unfounded that his own Maori friends jeered him out of the Court after hearing his false evidence; and Wiremu Kingi's title, without a voice to demand it, stood undisputed and indisputable before an unwilling Government, an unwilling tribunal, and an unwilling audience of more than 400 of Teira's friends and abettors. As to Teira's right to sell the land, without the consent of the tribal Chief, even if his title had been equally good as, or even superior to, that of Wiremu Kingi, the Court reported that, under Maori usages, which the law required them to recognise, it could not possibly exist. In their report the Judges said, "Each individual has a right, as against the rest of his tribe, to a pretty well defined piece of land, part of the tribal estate, which he could hold and cultivate as against any member of the tribe; but his power extended no further. He could not alienate it out of the tribe, and if he abandoned it another member could take possession. The tribal estate belonged to the tribe, and no man could weaken the tribe by alienating any part of it to any tribe or person out of the tribe, or to any outsider."

On the first day of the year, 1867, the Stam Duties came into operation, and, with them, bega

that direct taxation which the people and the people's representatives in New Zealand never liked and never intended to have, but which has, from that time, been forced upon them by the same thoughtless folly with which they had, in 1863, consented to borrow money by millions to support a sytem of extravagant expenditure, which would never have been tolerated, and could never have taken place with anything but with borrowed money. The proposed extravagance comes first, and has always been popular; the consequent oppressive taxation, which must follow, has always been kept out of sight as long as possible, and is usually altogether denied, until Parliament is called upon to face the stern realities of truth, and to make the odious choice between the oppressive, crippling taxation, or repulsive, ruinous repudiation.

During the Summer of 1866-67, all the military operations of the Government were successful; all the revolts of the Hau Haus were suppressed and punished. The Governor himself was no sleeping partner in directing the forces, or in regulating the punishments. The Minister of Defence, Colonel Haultain, worked in harmony with the Premier, and both were practical and economical. The troops were brave and resolute—although the moral standing of the military settlers was unsatisfactory, their officers were bold and daring almost to a fault, and the friendly Maoris were clever, loyal and efficient, Up to December 27, 1866, Wiremu Tamihana, the King Maker, gave the Governor and the Stafford Government all the assistance in his power; steadfastly advising peace and moderation, and pouring out his full share of indignation upon the Hau Hau abominations. But, on the above mentioned date, he died as he was being conveyed to Wahau. For some time prior to his death, the Government had learned in some degree to appreciate his honest desire for peace, his steady detestation of cruelty, and his really efficient advocacy of Christian civilization. Although they stuck to his confiscated land, they provided liberally for his wants and growing infirmity, and Dr. Sam attended him assiduously to the last.

With all these favouring elements the war appeared to be practically at an end, and little more than an efficient police force was needed to suppress a few petty insurrections that some restless spirits attempted, which met with no general support or approval from their countrymen. The Governor took the opportunity to visit the different provinces, and gave the usual favourable impression of his own charming personal manner, both in public or private, wherever he went. The expressions of pleasure with which he was everywhere greeted, especially where he was best known, had no doubt their effect in afterwards deciding him to permanently take up his residence in New Zealand when he was so soon afterwards dismissed from the service of the British Government without any of the compliments that the Colonial Office had lavished upon his incompetent predecessor.

It was in the year 1867 that Marsden's great successor, Bishop Selwyn, left for England, and practically concluded his quarter of a century of heroic missionary work in the Colony, or rather in the South Sea Islands. He went to England to attend a conference of Bishops held in London in that year. His powerful friends in the English Government invited him to fill a vacancy in the See of Lichfield, and he accepted it. His retirement from the service he had rendered with such wonderful self-sacrifice, zeal, and courage, demanded no apology; he had given, without reserve, the best twenty-five years of his life to a work that very few men could have performed, and through which very few men could have lived. During that quarter of a century he had shunned no peril, no exertion, no privation, no unpopularity, which his high sense of duty led him to incur, and he might well feel that he had earned a rest. But our knowledge of the man leads us rather to believe that his standard of the physical, as well as of the mental and moral, efficiency demanded for the position was so high that he believed it should be filled by a man whose physical powers

were not on the wane as his undoubtedly were. But, in any case, we should have preferred to see him finish his life in New Zealand, where he had acquired experience, reputation, authority and respect, more valuable than the physical powers of a younger man, and which no new Bishop could bring with him. His early conflicts with the Wesleyans, about non-essentials, had rubbed off some rough corners, and had softened many of the sectarian prejudices which even the noblest minds are prone to acquire in any of the exclusive schools of sectarian orthodoxy. The Maori view of his departure to the land of religious, intellectual, and moral wealth was naively, although somewhat poetically, expressed in a Maori address presented to him and to Mrs. Selwyn from a Maori congregation, by the Rev. Matiu Taupaki, in which they say :—"We heard gladly that you were to return to us. Great was our joy. And now, hearing that it cannot be so, we are again sad. Sire, great is our affection for you both, who are now being lost to us. But how can it be helped, seeing that it is the word of our great Queen. Our thought regarding you is that you are as the poor man's lamb taken away by the rich man."

At Oxford the Bishop said, "Twenty-six years ago I was told to go to New Zealand, and I went. I am now told to go to Lichfield, and I go." He paid a parting visit to New Zealand in 1868, during which he received the strongest expressions of affection and admiration from both races whom he had so bravely and honestly served, and was met by his greatest friend, Bishop Patteson, from Melanesia, who was as much respected in New Zealand, and even more beloved than himself.

Since 1854, John Coleridge Patteson had devoted himself to the work of civilising and Christianising the inhabitants of the Melanesian Islands, and was often accompanied by Bishop Selwyn. They established a school at Kohimarama, near Auckland, for the instruction of Melanesian converts intended for local mission-

aries. But the result had never been satisfact o1y, such a large proportion of the pupils died. The complete change from a fruit and vegetable diet to a diet of white bread and meat was more than their digestive organs could stand, and they died generally of dysentry. When Bishop Selwyn left New Zealand in 1867, the training establishment was transferred to Norfolk Island with more satisfactory results. In 1861, Patteson was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia, but was killed by the Natives whilst in the loving and fearless performance of his duties in 1871. It is said that he could converse with his pupils in more than twenty different languages.

On July 16, in the same year that Bishop Selwyn left New Zealand, Archdeacon Williams died. He came to New Zealand with Marsden in 1823, nine years after Marsden's first visit and at a time when the Missionaries' work was still very dangerous and by no means luxurious. But by boundless courage, physical strength, and active resolution, he was admirably adapted for the work he had undertaken, although he was not a model of Christian meekness, nor of the same unselfish devotion and self-abnegation that was displayed in such perfection by his employer, Marsden. In 1817, at the age of twenty-five, he was a lieutenant on board H.M.S. The Thames, but left the sea in that year to prepare for Missionary work, and was engaged by the Church Missionary Society in 1822. His education was probably more manual than mental, as he was never a scholar, and, on his arrival in New Zealand, he at once undertook to build a sixty ton schooner, with which he expected to supply many of the wants of the Missionaries who had not yet learned to seek their supplies by cultivation. He soon supplied himself with a good boat, in which he habitually made useful coasting excursions which would not have been attractive to a more timid man or to a less skilful sailor. The most important work of his life, and a work which will long be remembered for good or for evil, was the advice and assistance he gave to Governor Hobson, and his promo-

tion of the Treaty of Waitangi. He was a constant antagonist to Colonel Wakefield, and, although the Colonel was generally wrong, he might have been opposed with less acrimony and with far more consideration for the welfare of the settlers who were made to suffer so much from the delays and the contentions that the pugnacious missionary did so much to promote. The large quantity of Maori land acquired by himself and his numerous family has proved a bad example to his comrades, and has necessarily lowered the high opinion once so justly formed of the Missionaries employed by the unselfish Marsden.

On August 4, 1866, when speaking to the motion proposed by Mr. Fitzgerald, the member for Christchurch, which led to the defeat of the second Stafford Ministry, Mr. Stafford said, "If I were asked to state what man in the House was least competent to treat of a matter of finance, I should say the honourable member for Christchurch. The honourable gentleman has shown an absolute ignorance of what he was saying." And yet, only five months later, we find Mr. Fitzgerald resigning his seat for Christchurch because he had been appointed by Mr. Stafford's Government to the very comfortable position of Comptroller of Public Revenues. Mr. Fitzgerald's speeches had often pointed to the creation of such an office, and an Act had been passed in 1865 by the Weld Ministry, of which Mr. Fitzgerald was a member, to authorise the appointment. The office was held by him for twenty-nine years; but he never aimed at economy, and under his vigorous manipulation, the cost of the New Zealand Audit Department has grown to exceed £10,000. The appointment no doubt relieved Mr. Stafford's third Government from a very fearless and an able opponent, and deprived the House for ever of one of its most interesting and popular speakers. Without being reliable, careful, correct, or consistent, he often dared to say what was true, so that his speeches were always liable to be interesting, and sometimes startling, and although generally too long, were usually regarded with much attention. His

Hon. James Macandrew.

appointment was generally popular, and even his chief local opponent—the editor of the "Lyttelton Times"—was able to say of him at the time, "We have usually differed from him in opinion, and have often regarded his policy with suspicion, but we can join with our fellow-colonists in saying we are all proud of him."

On March 28, the whole financial and local policy of the Province of Nelson was suddenly and completely reversed, as the land and power monopolists of Nelson achieved a great triumph by the election of Sir David Monro's first lieutenant, Mr. Oswald Curtis, as Superintendent of that Province. Their unexpected success was not due to any improvement in their own reputation nor to any reaction in the political opinions of the majority of the electors, but was entirely caused by the utterly inexcusable action of the candidate chosen by the great majority of the electors who, after unconditionally accepting the largest requisition ever forwarded to a Nelson candidate, resigned on the very day and hour of the nomination, and thus left his supporters without any candidate of their own and, consequently, with no choice except between two Monro-ites whom they regarded as just about equally objectionable, but one of whom they were thus compelled to elect. No constituency was ever more cruelly, completely, and helplessly betrayed, but it was generally believed that the retiring candidate was not a conspirator, but the victim of a storm of scurrility which he was too thin-skinned to endure. Be that as it may, the consequence to Nelson, and even to New Zealand, was something very serious; as the prudent, self-reliant, provincial policy of Stafford, Robinson, and Saunders was at once reversed, and the so-called "progressive policy" of their opponents was soon to lead to the subjugation of the popularly-elected Superintendents by the farce of "responsible Provincial Government," to the steady diminution of the provincial revenue, to the separation of Westland, and to the addition of another borrowing, wasting, and begging Province in the Councils of the Nation.

Under all her so-called "non-progressive Superin-

tendents," the revenue and the credit of Nelson had steadily increased, and she had even advertised for the recall and redemption of the debentures for £20,000 spent on the City Water-Works, and the cash to meet those debentures was actually deposited in the Bank, whilst she had no other debt; but now she was to join the ranks of those who laughed at the idea of paying off old debts, and who clamoured for the utmost share of all the borrowed millions that, under the name of a Public Works Policy, were to lower the reputation and to retard the future progress of the Colony. Under this unfortunate change her revenue diminished, her "progressive Superintendent" was put in leading strings and driven by a representative of the West Coast who soon took the lead of the Provincial Executive Council. Her gold-fields were taken from her, as well as from Canterbury, where another "progressive Superintendent" had been put in fetters by a "responsible Provincial Government."

In Canterbury, Mr Fitzgerald, with his newspaper, and many wealthy friends, had been bending all their energies to get Mr. James Lance, a large run-holder, elected as Superintendent. The contest was a very lively one, and one in which very large sums of money were spent, both by Mr. Lance himself, and by his wealthy friends, but they were not successful. Even Canterbury had lost faith in its nobility, clergy, and gentry; so that, although both of Mr. Lance's opponents were lawyers, and not of the most prudent type, Mr. Moorhouse was elected on May 30, 1866, and well fulfilled the promise that he made to the Canterbury electors in 1861, when he said, "I have got into debt, and I will do so again."

But it was to Otago that the attention of the whole Colony was again directed by the election of Mr. Macandrew to be again Superintendent of that Province. Six years had elapsed since his daring appropriation of public money had aroused the universal condemnation of the New Zealand press, as well as that of a majority of the Otago electors. But he was, nevertheless, soon re-

elected to the House of Representatives, where he had so boldly condemned the extravagance of the General Government and defended the interests of Otago that, besides charming the diggers and the new-comers generally, he became a prime favourite, even with a majority of his own more prudent countrymen, and was now elected to be Superintendent of Otago by the largest number of votes that had ever been given to any Superintendent in the Colony, and with an overwhelming support in the Provincial Council which gave him far more real power for good or for evil than any Superintendent had ever had before.

The position was an exceedingly difficult one for Mr. Stafford, and one that was sure to prove troublesome and dangerous to his Government, whatever course he might take. His nature was sure to lead him to try and take a middle course; but that course proved to be the worst for himself he could have taken. He might have refused to confirm the election, and in that he would have been supported by the New Zealand press generally, outside of Otago. Or he might have chosen to overlook what had happened six years ago, and left the electors of Otago to take the consequences of their own imprudence, which would undoubtedly have been his most easy course, and, we think, the wisest and safest, although not the most vigilant or irreproachable. But Mr. Stafford and his Government, in which Major Richardson was the representative of Otago, confirmed the election of the defaulting Superintendent, and then ensured the bitterest antagonism of the Superintendent and Provincial Council of Otago by refusing to delegate to the Superintendent the control of the Gold-fields which had been delegated to every other Superintendent, and appointed, not some other provincial favourite, but an obnoxious nominee of their own to administer the power that had hitherto been left in the hands of the Superintendent. Matters were not improved by the appointment of the Colonial Auditor, Dr. Knight, to enquire into the alleged defalcations of 1860. Mr. Macandrew refused to supply Dr. Knight with any of the

Provincial papers and documents that he required, and promised to secure to the Gold-field officers a year's salary if they would obey him and not the appointee of the General Government.

Without access to the Provincial papers, Dr. Knight could not assert that Mr. Macandrew personally benefitted by the £1012 14s 5d which had been lost to the Province whilst he was Superintendent, but he concluded his report by saying : — " It thus appears that twenty-six days after the final payment in the Colony of the claims of the ' Henrietta,' the Superintendent drew bills purporting to be on account of the ' Henrietta ' in favour of parties who had no claim on the Provincial Treasury. There is, then, no question that the revenues of the Province have been twice charged with the second moiety of the passage money of the ' Henrietta,' and it is equally clear that some party has procured a pecuniary advantage of £1012 14s 5d at the expense of the Provincial Treasury."

Of course no innocent man would have held back the Provincial documents that would have proved his innocence ; but Mr. Macandrew and his united Otago friends, now led in the House by Mr. Vogel, made no attempt to prove or even to claim his innocence, but adroitly contrived to make the question a motion of No Confidence in the Stafford Government, and their action in withholding the powers from Mr. Macandrew was unjustly hailed by all the Provincialists in the House as a proof of Mr. Stafford's hostility to Provincial Governments. Consequently, although the debate in the House only lasted two days, it was generally referred to in the press as the most important debate of the session, and in the division, in which the Government was only saved by a majority of four, was distinctly a division of Centralists versus Provincialists.

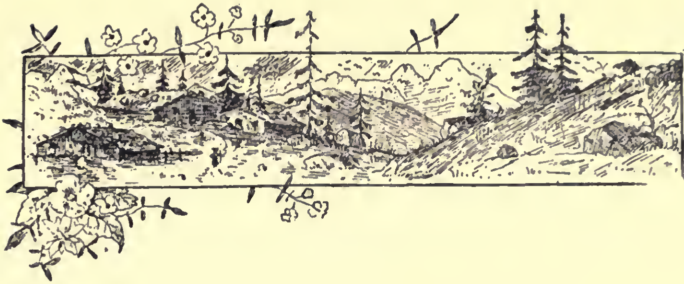
Mr. Stafford was steadily confirming his old reputation as an anti-Provincialist, and losing his character as a resolute economist ; and, in this case, it was easy for his opponents to point out that he might have shown his want of confidence in Mr. Macandrew by re-

fusing to accept him as Superintendent of Otago, instead of leaving him to be nominally the Superintendent, and then injuring the Province, by transferring something like one-half of its area from the man so decidedly elected by the people, to one of his own nominees.

On Thursday, September 5, 1867, a large public meeting was held in Nelson, called by a requisition signed by sixty-seven electors. Mr. Stafford's best friends had been greatly disappointed in the result of his partnership with Mr. Fitzherbert and the general failure of his promised economies. It was only too evident that after the House had insisted upon the appointment of Mr. Fitzherbert and other members of the Weld Ministry as his associates, Mr. Stafford had felt bound to accept, with Mr. Fitzherbert's person, more or less of that gentleman's financial policy, with the result, that while his Government was doing very little in the way of effecting any real reduction of expenditure, proposals were being edged in that would propitiate the Bank of New Zealand, quietly increase the debt of the Colony, and make things pleasant for the time being at the expense of the future. In this state of things, it was natural that those who deplored the past reckless extravagance, so disastrous to the Colony—which had only been made possible by careless borrowing, were awakened to the necessity of making some effort to arouse the electors to a sense of the danger. Dr. Irvine, an intelligent and consistent economist, took the chair at the meeting. Mr. Wilkie, the father of the Nelson "Colonist," and the ever-consistent denouncer of living on borrowed money, was, as usual, silently leading, and the Editor of the "Colonist," Mr. Luckie, was a prominent speaker; but their good intentions were neutralized by the action of friends of the Bank of New Zealand, and of the chief culprits in the borrowing of the past, who professed to work heartily with them, but insisted that nothing offensive should be said about the past, and nothing but vague generalities about the future; so that, although some very good resolutions

were passed, and several meetings held in other parts of the Colony, the total result was nil. At most of the meetings, the following excellent resolution was unanimously carried :—" That this meeting views with alarm the proposal to increase the debt of the colony and thereby to augment the public indebtedness, when policy and justice alike demand that the expenditure of the Colony should be kept within the limits of its ordinary income." It was also proposed and carried unanimously at the Nelson meeting :—" That this meeting is of opinion that a Financial Reform League should be established in New Zealand for the purpose of watching the Colonial taxation and expenditure, and protecting the interests of the people." The Chairman said that if any Government in England could be supposed capable of attempting to increase the taxation of that country from £2 to £5 a head, every city, town, and village in the kingdom would be aroused to resist such an act of cruel oppression ; yet this was about what the last few Governments had done for New Zealand, and the people had sat quietly under it all. It was clear that no redress would be obtained unless the people of New Zealand really stirred themselves to obtain it.

But still the borrowing went quietly on, Mr. Fitzherbert was to have a pleasant passage to England, the holders of Provincial debentures were to pocket some hundreds of thousands, Mr. Stafford was getting less popular, Mr. Vogel was slowly coming to the front, and was yet to prove that the boldest borrower would take the highest place in the confidence of the New Zealand electors.



CHAPTER LV.

SHOULD PUBLIC MEN BE HONEST?

Of the various executive abilities no one excited more anxious concern than that of placing the interests of our fellow citizens in the hands of honest men, with understanding sufficient for their stations. No duty is at the same time more difficult to fulfil.—THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ELIAS SHIPMAN, 1801.

WHEN the last Parliament to be called by Sir George Grey met on Tuesday, July 9, 1867, Mr. Stafford was looking pale, thin, and careworn, and was evidently not in good spirits. He had not been doing all the work of the whole Cabinet as he did during his second Premiership, and there was no evidence, nor even any rumour, of any jarring disagreement between himself and the Ministers who had been forced upon him; but it was evident to those who knew the man that he was not getting all his own way, especially in matters of finance. He was never the man to blame his colleagues for what he was officially responsible for; but he was painfully conscious that the expenditure of the impoverished Colony was unjustifiably large, and that he had not been able to carry out his own intentions or his own promises. But, however dissatisfied he might feel with his Treasurer, he could not honestly consent to give way to the Opposition that had now come

up from Otago, led by Messrs. Macandrew and Vogel, who were thirsting for revenge upon him because he could not conscientiously consent to confer powers that he was able to withhold upon a man who had dishonestly abused much smaller powers in the past. Then, added to his other difficulties, was the rupture between Sir George Grey and the Secretary for the Colonies, for which the Premier was in no way responsible, but for which the Colony was sure to suffer.

But such troubles as these could not be expressed in the Governor's Speech, so that the Speech itself was a cheerful one, as the Governor was able to say, "I congratulate you on the re-establishment of peace generally throughout the North Island, in no part of which do I anticipate in future any systematic or sustained hostility to the Queen's authority." The conduct of the Colonial forces, of the friendly natives, and of Lieutenant-Colonels Whitmore and McDonnell, were said to "deserve the highest praise." The Governor then added, "During the recess I have made a journey, partly on foot, through the North Island, and have traversed Native districts which it had for some time past been deemed unsafe to enter. I everywhere found the embers of disaffection dying out, and I was received by the Maori population, even in districts recently in rebellion, in such a manner as to inspire confidence in the future peace of the country."

The Address-in-Reply was the usual formal echo of the Speech. Twenty members of the House had not arrived in Wellington, and the Provincial Council of Canterbury was still in session. Mr. Vogel made an effort to get the debate on the Address adjourned for a week. This the Government resisted, and at once made it a ministerial question, which Mr. Vogel said only proved that Mr. Stafford wanted an excuse to resign. After a second day's debate, the Address was carried without a division. In the Council, which now consisted of thirty-six members, only four members spoke on the Address-in-Reply, and no division was called for.

On the first day of the second week of the session, Mr. Vogel, who was the Provincial Secretary of the Province of Otago, brought forward what had now become the burning question in Otago, by proposing "That, in the opinion of this House, the authority under the Goldfield's Act should be delegated to the Superintendents of the Provinces within which the gold fields are respectively situated." Neither Mr. Vogel nor any of Mr. Macandrew's friends attempted to deny or to palliate the defalcations of 1860, but all took the course of hoping that the debate would not descend to personalities. But Mr. Vogel was unable to conclude his long speech without adopting some strong personalities against Mr. Stafford and Mr. Richardson.

The motion was seconded by Mr. O'Rorke, who spoke, as he always did, as a firm believer in the retention of all their constitutional powers by all the Provincial Governments. He said, "With regard to the papers entitled 'The case of Mr. Macandrew'; I have perused them carefully. It is not my intention to palliate the conduct of Mr. Macandrew; it is not in my power to exculpate him. But, granting that there was malversation of office on the honourable member's part, was there not a malfeasance of duty on the part of the General Government in not bringing an offender of such magnitude—if offender he be—to trial, instead of allowing him to go unindited for such a long period?"

Mr. Stafford at once rose to contradict statements made by Mr. Vogel, and to propose an amendment that made the motion harmless and meaningless. He made a short, firm, and temperate speech, in which he said nothing about Mr. Macandrew, except that, in contradicting an assertion made by Mr. Vogel, he said, "The whole of the Government are, and always have been, of one opinion; and that is that they could not advise the delegation of the powers of the Governor to the present Superintendent of Otago." In replying to the statement that the Government should have dis-

allowed the election of Mr. Macandrew, unless they were prepared to give him all the Governor's powers under the Goldfields' Act, Mr. Stafford said :—" It is one thing to interfere with an active step taken by the electors of a portion of the Colony ; and it is another thing to stamp their act with approval by electing the same person also to exercise the powers of the Governor. The latter course would have made the Government absolutely participators in the act of the electors, and that act meant plainly, ' Here is a man in whom we have trust, and there is nothing to prevent him holding the highest office in the Colony.' That was the position in which the honourable mover asked the Government to place themselves, to say that they agreed that the present Superintendent of Otago is fit to occupy any office in the Colony, to exercise equally with the Governor all the powers and functions conferred on his Excellency. That is a step which the Government were not prepared to take, and it may possibly simplify the decision to which the House may come on the present question if I state that it is a step they are not now prepared to take." The last sentence of Mr. Stafford's speech was :—" So far from seeking for such a case, and still more from seeking it out greedily and anxiously as the honourable member (Mr. Vogel) stated that I had done, I can sincerely say that in the whole of my experience of public life, extending over sixteen years, I never had to perform any duty with greater regret, or with a nearer approach to a sigh, than on the occasion of the previous removal of the Superintendent of Otago from his office, and the non-delegation to him now of the Governor's powers. I beg to move that, after the word 'should,' the words 'unless under exceptional circumstances' be inserted."

Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Cargill, and Sir Cracroft Wilson all declared that no Government would be justified in delegating important powers to a man of Mr. Macandrew's antecedents. Mr. Ludlow said, " There was no doubt that Mr. Macandrew had, not only once or twice, but constantly, used the public purse of Otago

for his own private purposes." Mr. Cargill said, "The first duty of a man aspiring to a high official station was to put aside and remove any stigma which attached to him, which Mr. Macandrew had not attempted to do." Sir Cracroft Wilson said, "No doubt, in the case of a convicted felon, whose time was expired, it might please any Province to elect him as their chief man, but to tell him that the Government must necessarily delegate the powers of the Governor to him was going too far." In a second debate on what was practically the same question, Major Atkinson said, "It should be borne in mind that the question was altogether a personal one, namely, whether the Superintendent of Otago was or was not a fit person to exercise the functions of his office. He regretted that the Government did not take what he considered the legitimate stand on the question. They should have told the country and told the House that that gentleman was not fit to exercise the powers of that high office. The question was a personal one, and should never have been allowed to become the ground for a fight between the Colonial and Provincial parties." The Superintendent of Wellington spoke with his usual good taste, consistency, and eloquence, when he advised the House and the Government to be satisfied with the protest they had already made against Mr. Macandrew in the past, and to accept the voice and the unmistakable wishes of the Otago electors as to what should be done for the future. He said, "We know that he has been elected Superintendent of Otago for the second time by the most overwhelming majority that was ever known in a similar contest. We know that the various constituencies in Otago returned members to the Provincial Council pledged to support him through thick and thin. We know, also, that, at a recent session of the Provincial Council resolutions were passed declaring that in its opinion it was absolutely essential for the good Government of Otago that the goldfields should be handed over to him as the Superintendent of the Province. But we know more. An appeal has been

made to the people of the Province to ascertain their wishes, and we all know the result—seven or eight thousand on the one side, and less than two hundred on the other. The people of Otago—the people most deeply interested—had emphatically and unmistakably declared that the honourable member for Clutha was the man in whom they had the greatest confidence; the man whom they desired to administer the goldfields, and I, for one, am prepared to bow to that decision. If Mr. Macandrew was unfit to exercise the powers of the Goldfields' Act, was he not more unworthy to be entrusted with the discharge of those higher functions and more important duties conferred on the Superintendent by the Constitution Act, and by the Legislature? If the Government was right in refusing to delegate the powers, would it not have been more right in advising the disallowance of the election? It was most unwise of any Government to attempt to run counter to the wishes of the people. I do not in the least doubt, nay, I am sure, that, in advising His Excellency not to entrust these powers to Mr. Macandrew, the members of the Government had discharged what was to them a painful duty; but, having thus expressed their disapproval of the election, and their reluctance to entrust Mr. Macandrew with the delegated powers; having tried, but failed, to win the approval of the people of Otago, they had now come to a point at which they could gracefully retire from the position, and so put an end to the unhappy struggle."

With less eloquence, but with more unanswerable arguments, Mr. Hall replied to the Doctor in one of the best speeches he ever made, a speech as forcible as it was temperate, systematic, cool and judicial. "If," said he, "I could adopt the doctrine of the honourable gentleman, which I am bound to say I was very sorry to hear from his lips, that a popular election could condone crime—for I cannot call it by any other name —that a popular vote can wash out such stains upon a man's character, I should even then still say that the

present question of whether the Governor's great powers under the Goldfields' Act should be delegated to the present Superintendent of Otago is not merely a question for the people of that Province, but one deeply affecting the reputation of the whole Colony of New Zealand." After enlarging in detail upon the vast extent and importance of the powers in question, Mr. Hall continued, "The House is now asked to compel the Government to advise the Governor to delegate such powers as these to Mr. James Macandrew; so that, however unpleasant the task, we have no right to shrink from a very full enquiry as to whether Mr. Macandrew is a fit and proper person to exercise such powers. The honourable mover of this resolution has deprecated the introduction of personalities into this debate. As well might a judge and jury when trying an accused person decide that they would hear no evidence for or against him. Mr. Macandrew is on his trial before the Parliament of this country, and we are to say to-night whether he is, or is not, a fit and proper person to whom these large powers are to be delegated. We must not therefore shrink from looking at facts and returning an honest verdict according to the dictates of our conscience. The mover of this resolution has said that to introduce these personalities would be discreditable to the House. I must say that not to go into them, to give a verdict without considering the evidence, is the course that would really discredit this House. With as great a desire as possible to avoid unnecessary pain, I will quote only two cases of those which appear in the papers which have been laid before this House, which are now printed and have become a part of the history of the Colony, and will go down to our children, and to our children's children, as a record of this time, as a description of the character of the man whom this House thinks it right to select or to reject as a proper person to hold these important and responsible powers." After reading extracts from Dr. Knight's report, Mr. Hall continued, "I think it is an insult to the House to say

that there is not in these papers ample proof that Mr. Macandrew did take away money from the public chest and used it for his own private purposes. Mr. Macandrew is now a member of this House with these grave charges hanging over him. Let him ask for a Select Committee of this House to enquire into these charges. He can lay before such Committee any documentary evidence, personal testimony or other information which he may desire to do. The country will, I am sure, willingly pay the expenses which may be necessary for this purpose. If he comes out clear from this investigation, I will not only concur in advising his Excellency to delegate those important powers to him, but I will retract and apologise for what I have said this night, but if he cannot, even by these means, clear his character, the country at large ought to know it."

But, after all that was said about Mr. Macandrew, both the debate and the division depended less upon what Mr. Macandrew had done or had not done in 1860-61 than upon each member's aims and objects as to what should now be done with Superintendents and the provinces generally; so that the division list, taken at midnight on Wednesday, July 17, was practically a list of the Centralists and Provincialists in the House on that day. The numbers were twenty-eight for and twenty-four against, Mr. Stafford's amendment —saving the Government by a majority of four only.

After making ministerial questions of Mr. Vogel's two motions, the ballot, proposed by Mr. Reynolds, came on for discussion, and was treated as a question too small to occupy the time of the House. The Premier supported it and his Ministers opposed it. The debate is only worth mentioning as showing what great questions can be, and usually are, treated as contemptible, until public opinion forces them to the elevation of party questions. The Colonial Treasurer said there "was plenty of work to do without frittering away the time of the House in mere *dilettante* discussions." Mr. Hall said that "voting was a public trust and ought therefore to be exercised in the light

of day," and that "if the ballot was un-English it was still more un-New Zealandish." Mr. Carleton said that "so long as he lived he would never be a party to anything which, either directly or indirectly, held out any encouragement and temptation to untruthfulness." Mr. Reynolds said that "in obedience to the desire of the House he would withdraw the resolution."

On July 24, the Speaker of the House received a copy of a resolution passed unanimously at a public meeting held in the Princess Theatre, Dunedin, and forwarded to him by the chairman of the meeting. This resolution the Speaker refused to lay on the table of the House on the ground that "no one had a right to expect that the Speaker is to be made the vehicle by which these insults are to be offered to the Legislature." The resolution was thus worded:—"That this meeting protests strongly and indignantly against the recent vote of the House of Representatives in refusing to delegate the usual powers under the Gold Fields Act to his Honour the Superintendent, as it is a deliberate insult to the people of this province. And further, that the people of this province will no longer submit to such usage, but will use every and any means to resist such unconstitutional encroachments on their representative institutions." On the same day, Mr. Vogel brought on a third No Confidence debate by proposing a Committee to enquire into the financial state of the Colony. The debate was not prolonged, as the Treasurer's amendment was accepted by the mover and a Committee of ten ultimately appointed by ballot. We shall soon see that this Committee was made the means by which the financial history of New Zealand, and the reputation of Mr. Stafford and his Government, were to be seriously and injuriously affected.

Nearly two weeks were occupied in debating a Local Government Bill which had been promised and commended in the Governor's Speech. This debate again degenerated into a Colonial and provincial fight. But, on the second reading of the Bill, the

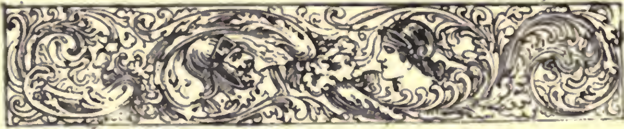
Government was defeated on Thursday, August 8, by a majority of thirty-six against twenty-seven. But, on the following Wednesday, the Government defeated the leader of the Opposition and his Otago friends on an amendment to the Gold Fields Act by a majority of thirty-seven to twenty.

On Thursday, August 22, Mr. Fitzherbert made his Financial Statement, and, in the interests of the Bank of New Zealand, a very masterly Financial Statement it was, exhibiting all the boldness and shrewdness of Mr. Fitzherbert steadily directed for three successive years to an exhaustive consideration of the overwhelming financial difficulties and disastrous confusion and embarrassment resulting from the actions —or the reckless carelessness—of the three short-lived Governments which had preceded the Government in which he was now getting so much of his own way. In this speech Mr. Fitzherbert's monotonous tone and his proneness to enlarge excessively on small details were made less apparent by the magnitude and importance of the large and maturely considered proposals he was prepared to make. Without making any direct reference to the accusations that had been brought against the Stafford Government for not fulfilling its leader's promises of economy, Mr. Fitzherbert commenced by laying before the House the main figures which showed the results of the last three years as compared with that of the three years which preceded the Stafford Government. By these it appeared that, whilst the Customs revenue had increased under the Stafford Government from £643,000 in 1864-65 to £864,000 in 1866-67, the expenditure for colonial defence had decreased during the same period from £886,000 to £327,000; whereas, during the Domett, Whitaker and Weld Ministries, the expenditure on colonial defence had increased from £54,000 in 1861-62 to £886,000 in 1864-65.

The most important feature in the financial proposals of the Government was the re-arrangement and consolidation of all the loans contracted during the

Mr. W. Fitzherbert.

last five years by the General and the Provincial Governments. It was proposed to borrow sufficient money in England, on the security of the consolidated revenue and collaterally of the land revenue, to take up all the confused and heterogeneous mass of bonds and debentures that had accumulated under the careless importunity of the short-lived Governments; or, as Mr. Fitzherbert so characteristically and so artistically described it, "to put in motion the vast power of a common credit which is now frittered away and wasted by being exercised provincially." The proposal would have been vastly better if Mr. Fitzherbert had first raised the credit of the Colony by three years of rigid, self-denying economy, instead of using all his influence, and that of his old colleagues, to discredit Mr. Stafford's ideas of economy which he was pleased to designate as "cheese paring."



CHAPTER LVI.

THE NATION OR THE BANK.

What boots it at one gate to make defence
And at another to let in the foe?

THE Government proposals, as now brought down by Mr. Fitzherbert, for securing and consolidating the Provincial loans, although not so advantageous to the Colony as they might and should have been, were harmless, judicious, and honest compared to those that were finally adopted by the Government, professedly under the advice of a Committee which had been nominated by Mr. Fitzherbert when proposing the second reading of the Consolidated Provincial Loan Bill. That Committee, instead of reporting as Committees usually do, sent down a Bill, to be adopted by the Parliament, by which the whole increased value of the Provincial securities resulting from the guarantee of the General Government was to be appropriated, not by the Colony that was to give the increased value by its security and by the costly responsibility that it assumed, but by the present holders of the Provincial securities, many of whom were members of the New Zealand Parliament, and deeply interested in the Bank of New Zealand. It was in vain that Mr. Stafford and his Government endeavoured to shift the responsibility of this unpardon-

able transaction upon the shoulders of what Mr. Stafford was pleased to call "a highly intelligent and well-informed Committee." It was quite impossible to conceal the fact that the same power that appointed and controlled the Committee, that elected and guided a majority of the House of Representatives, that undermined Mr. Fox, and enthroned Messrs. Russell and Whitaker, that borrowed the three millions of money, and poured such a large portion of it out upon the contractors of Auckland, was the power that now told Mr. Stafford what he might or might not do. It could hardly be called "the SECRET power behind the throne," as there was little secrecy about it. Only those who were wilfully or indolently blind could fail to see that the Parliament of New Zealand was, on financial questions, little better than a farce, whilst the Bank of New Zealand was the stern reality that had to be humbly consulted by any Premier who desired to retain his position. It is quite possible that Mr. Stafford may have had reasons of his own for taking a step as injurious to his future reputation as it was to the interests of the Colony; but it is quite certain that he was not coerced by a Committee of his own appointment, containing himself and his Treasurer, and the Superintendent and the Provincial Secretary of Otago, of whom he had formed so low an opinion as to refuse to give them the usual powers given to all other Provincial Superintendents on the New Zealand Goldfields. Yet these two untrustworthy members, in Mr. Stafford's estimation, added to his own vote, were the votes that carried the draft Bill through the Select Committee authorising the unconditional payment of Provincial Debentures by the Colony without any compensation. The members of the Committee, on whose recommendation Mr. Stafford's Government claimed to have altered their original proposals and consented to sacrifice at least some £400,000 to the holders of Provincial Debentures, were eleven in number and, on the clause of their draft Bill, giving away this enormous sum to the Provincial Debenture holders, they voted as follows:—Ayes: Messrs

Stafford, Macandrew, Vogel, Campbell and Jollie; Noes: Messrs. Stevens, Williamson and Dr. Featherston. Messrs. Fitzherbert, Curtis, and Moorhouse absented themselves from the Committee. But if it were possible to believe for a moment that Mr. Stafford was diverted from his original honest intentions by the Committee votes of Messrs. Stafford, Macandrew, Vogel, Campbell and Jollie, pitted against such votes as those of Messrs. Stevens, John Williamson, and Dr. Featherston, such a belief must be dissipated by the vigorous protest against accepting the ruling of a Committee which Mr. Stafford himself made in the House on the 24th of the previous July—or less than three months before that Committee was appointed. Replying to Mr. Vogel's proposal to appoint a Finance Committee, Mr. Stafford then said that what the honourable member proposed would imply the conviction on the part of the House "that for the future no Government should trouble itself with finance at all, but should simply undertake matters of departmental routine and leave financial questions, which are at present most grave ones, entirely out of consideration, referring them every session to a Financial Committee. Any one acquainted with financial affairs will say that the most dire results would ensue if that course were taken. In that case the Government had better give up office and allow their work to be done by clerks. I do not think that is what the Colony desired when it wished to have responsible Government."

When Mr. Fox returned to New Zealand and deplored the heavy loss which the Colony had suffered by the vacillating action of the Government, he spoke, as a matter of course, of the Bank of New Zealand as the power that had compelled the Government to defraud the Colony, and, although in the past he had not escaped harmless himself from a great deal of the same coercion, he made a show of defending one of the old colleagues who had driven him astray, whilst he really pointed him out as a man ready to pursue his own interest at any cost to the Colony, and one whose voice on

great public questions it was wrong to value. When speaking on Mr. Stafford's Disqualification Bill—which proposed to exclude paid public servants from the House—Mr. Fox said:—"I only wish that it was possible to exclude from this House a certain power behind the Treasury or any other corporation which had proved so capable of making the Ministry work in a diametrically opposite direction from that in which they at first intended to work, and so manifestly opposed to the interests of the Colony. I cannot blame the recognised agents of the Bank for any influence they have brought to bear on this House or upon the Ministry. My late colleague, Mr. Thomas Russell, is a commercial man and pursues a commercial course in what to him is purely a commercial matter, and as such would no doubt consider it his duty to make the best terms he could with men who should have been the firm protectors of the public welfare. If, by shaking his whip over the heads of the Government, he could make them change their course from light to darkness, he would study, not their reputation nor our interests, but the interest of the commercial firm which depended upon his acute commercial sagacity to ensure their success. Although I hold this opinion so far as Mr. Russell's action is concerned, I do not hesitate to say that the influence which has been exercised is a most mischievous interference with the independence of this House, and, if it were possible to get hold of such an impalpable element, a Bill ought to be passed to exclude it from this House."

The dishonest concession made to the Provincial bond-holders at the expense of the Colony, clearly facilitated a visit of the Colonial Treasurer to England, where his presence was also really needed to aid in the settlement of the large claims made by the British Government against the Colony, and the counter claims made by the Colony against the British Government. The greater part of both these claims were, to say the least, fairly liable to objection. The British Government had made up a claim amounting to £1,304,963, by

going back as far as 1848, and charging compound interest capitalized annually upon an expenditure incurred by the Governor appointed by themselves in which expenditure the colonists had no voice. Nor was it possible to deny the fact, however awkward it might be for Mr. Stafford to assert it, that the Waitara war was due to the folly and injustice of England's appointed Governor—Governor Browne—who could not plead any right to have acted under the influence of Mr. Richmond. On the other hand, the counter claim of the Colony for £906,856, included many miscellaneous items which might well be disputed; so that there was every reason to believe that Mr. Fitzherbert, with his greater familiarity with all the items, would be able to induce the Secretary for the Colonies to save himself a very difficult and unpleasant research into the past by simply consenting to sink the claims on both sides and leave the Colonial Government to struggle somewhat less hopelessly with difficulties that would still be sufficiently formidable. This is what Mr. Fitzherbert was actually able to acomplish by his visit to England, for which he received, and no doubt deserved, the general thanks and approval of his colleagues as well as of the Parliament an dpeople of New Zealand.

In the same Financial Statement all hope of any financial advantage to the Colony from the confiscated land was openly and candidly abandoned. "Great expectations were," the Treasurer said, "once entertained, but these have been disappointed. On large grounds of policy the Government has, after very careful consideration, decided to hand them over to the provinces. In a financial point of view, I am not going to pretend that any great boon is being proffered. There are some who are sufficiently sanguine to believe that a considerable revenue will be derived from this territory. For my own part, I candidly confess that, judging from the past, during which the cost has far exceeded the proceeds, I cannot arrive at the same conclusion."

The debate on the financial proposals was con-

tinued from day to day, with intervals, until September 6, but was then concluded without a division.

Speaking on the last evening of the financial debate, Mr. Stafford paid the following tribute to his most formidable opponent, Mr. Fox, whose re-appearance in the House had been predicted by Mr. Ormond:—"With respect to the remark of the honourable member for Clive that, when Mr. Fox returned, the leader he declares to be now wanting will appear, I desire to express my earnest hope that Mr. Fox will again take his seat in this House. I shall be disappointed (should such be his desire), if the honourable member for Wanganui, or the honourable member for Rangitikei, did not give him an opportunity of doing so. The country wants men of experience in the management of its affairs, and especially men who have a sense of responsibility from having previously administered the Government. 'Throwing away a chance,' indeed, by not taking action before Mr. Fox returns! Why, after having narrowly watched his conduct when he was in office, I know of nothing which would prevent us from voting on the same side of the House tomorrow. We want men of that kind in the House. We want those experienced in public affairs. We have seen men, so soon as they left office, quitting Parliament altogether, totally regardless of the responsibilities of parliamentary life, and that it was only fitting that they should remain to be subject to criticism on their conduct while in office. I tell the honourable member for Clive that if my making way for Mr. Fox—and I believe he would have a fair chance at Nelson, at least he would have had a few years since—would enable him again to enter this House, I would do it tomorrow."

The adoption of the Financial Statement by the House was necessarily followed by the introduction of Bills for legalising the proposals. These were, principally, the Public Debts Bill and the Consolidated Loan Bill, which were passed, the former by a majority of thirty-seven to twelve, the latter without a division.

We cannot do better than to describe the proposals in the words used in the House by the indignant Dr. Featherston in the presence of their authors, who made no attempt to contradict his unanswerable assertions.

On the second reading of the Public Debts Bill, Dr. Featherston said :—" There are two ways, by either of which a profit might be realised to the Colony. The first is, to go into the market and buy up the bonds at a discount ; the second is to offer the bond-holders such fair and reasonable terms as should induce them at once to exchange their debentures for colonial bonds. A proposal has been made by a gentleman who, I regret, is no longer a member of this House, to this effect, viz., that the General Government should offer the holders of the provincial bonds to give them in exchange colonial bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, on condition that they pay the Colony for the exchange a premium of five per cent. He proposes that the Colony shall reap a profit of five per cent. on all bonds so exchanged ; in other words, he says, if you adopt his proposal and convert two million bonds of provincial into colonial stock there will remain a profit on the transaction of one hundred thousand pounds ; if you convert three millions, then the profit will be one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. I must say that this offer, made by a gentleman who represents something like half a million of provincial bonds, is, in my opinion, conclusive against—is fatal to the proposals now submitted to the House. For if a gentleman so largely interested in these loans openly and frankly offers you a premium for the conversion, what right has this House to refuse such an offer, to decline taking the profit so freely offered, and give away such a large sum that would honestly go into the colonial chest ? You will surely recognise that we are met in this House, not to promote private interests ; but to do the best we can for the good of the Colony. I admit that the terms suggested by the gentleman to whom I am referring are not unfair or unreasonable ; but the very offer leads me to believe that we should be justified in

demanding a higher premium, say, of six, seven, or even ten per cent., without doing the slightest injustice to the bondholder. For what really is the nature of the transaction ? By the act of conversion we increase the value of their securities by probably twenty or thirty per cent. We give them in exchange for a £100 bond—which probably could not be sold for £80, which might be utterly worthless—a Colonial bond which they can at once dispose of at a considerable premium ; so that the premium charged by the Colony for the conversion is in reality only nominally paid by the bondholder. They sell their Colonial bonds at £106 or £108, whereas probably they could not have sold their provincial bonds at £80. You have raised the value of their property by 20 or 25 per cent. If we convert three millions of these bonds at a premium of 10 per cent, we put into the chest £300,000 ; but under no circumstances can the profit be estimated at less than £150,000. I again ask you what right have you to deprive the Colony of this profit ? You are already offered five per cent. premium ; and you declare you will not accept any premium. There must be some reason for such a strange proceeding as this. Surely there must be some good and valid reason for such an unheard of transaction, which has yet to be disclosed, as I hope it will before this discussion ends. It surely cannot be for the purpose of paying increased dividends to the shareholders of the New Zealand Bank. All I ask is, let the reason be disclosed."

Again, on the third reading of the Public Debts Bill, Dr. Featherston boldly and truly said : "It is not a scheme for the consolidation or conversion of loans for the benefit of the Colony ; but it is a consolidation for the benefit of persons who are holders of provincial securities ; for the benefit of the shareholders of the Bank of New Zealand ; for the benefit of those who have already sent private telegrams to their agents at home to buy up the debentures at a discount, with the object of making a large profit out of the transaction. If this Bill passes, the Government will have

enhanced the value of paper in the hands of private individuals without giving any equivalent to the Colony. I say for the last time I protest against this Bill as committing a robbery—for it is neither more nor less than a robbery—on the Colony of two, three, or four hundred thousand pounds. The Bill is a gross fraud and a gigantic swindle."

The daring proposals of the Select Committee to give the whole advantage of the General Government's security to the holders of provincial bonds, and thereby to raise the value of those bonds from £80 to £106 without any charge or compensation, were at once accepted by the Government, and voted for by all its members. Had such a proposal been made a year sooner, the whole of the members for Nelson must have voted against it, and their claim to be exempted from an arrangement in which that province had everything to lose and nothing to gain must have been admitted and provided for; but, under Nelson's reversed financial policy, her Superintendent did not vote at all, and all her other members voted for the proposal. Although the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Vogel, eagerly supported the Government, as did the heavily indebted provinces of Auckland and Otago. Indeed the Public Debts Bill, as it passed, besides throwing away several hundred thousand pounds, was a standing premium upon reckless borrowing, and an effectual damper upon provincial economy.

During the session of 1866, Mr. Moorhouse, who was then the only representative of Westland, brought in a Bill to increase the representation of the gold-fields, an increase to which they were evidently entitled on the score of revenue and population. Both the Government and the House were conscious that the claims of the gold-fields could not be disputed on those grounds, and yet both felt that it was not desirable to increase the proportionate representation of the roving and borrowing population, and thus the Bill was allowed to sink so low on the Order Paper that Mr. Moorhouse saw that he had no chance to get it before the House,

and accepted the promise of Mr. Stafford that the Government would bring in a Bill next session dealing more generally with the representation. A Bill was, therefore, brought in, in 1867, in which Mr. Stafford attempted to give two more members to Auckland; but his Bill was fairly objected to as not daring to deal with the over represented provinces of Taranaki and Nelson, and was, after much debate, rejected by the House. At this time it was shown that the revenue contributed by the two Islands was as seventy by the South to thirty by the North; that the population was two hundred and seventy-four to one hundred and forty-six; and that the existing representation was as two hundred and thirty-nine to one hundred and seventy-one. In population, Taranaki had one member to 1453; Nelson, Marlborough and Hawke's Bay, one to 2000; Wellington, one to 2415; Canterbury and Otago, one to 3000; and Westland, one to 4000.

Perhaps the most important feature of the session was the passing of the Maori Representation Bill, connected as it so appropriately was with the last session during which Sir George Grey was Governor. There was little debate upon the subject, especially in the House of Representatives, as the proposals of Mr. Fitzgerald had been exhaustively debated there. In the Legislative Council, the Lords were very unwilling to hobnob with a Maori colleague. So long as a property qualification was required for a European voter, the tribal title presented a difficulty and eventually led to the adoption of special legislation for Maoris and half-castes. Four Maori districts were constituted, to be called the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western districts. Each of these districts was to have one representative, and no attempt was made to adjust the representation to the number of the population. The district north of Auckland was estimated to contain a population of 9274; the Western division of the North Island below Auckland to contain 15,198; the Eastern division of the same Island, 12,635; the South

Island, 2000. More effectual means had been lately taken to correctly estimate the total Maori population, with the result that the whole population was now estimated at 39,107. A Bill was also carried making a provision of £4000 a year for Maori schools, in which schools the English language was to be taught.

The County of Westland Bill, passed this session, although called a "provisional and temporary measure," was really a measure by which the principal gold-fields of the colony were taken out of the hands of the Superintendents and Provincial Governments of Canterbury and Nelson and placed under the control of a County Council and the General Government.

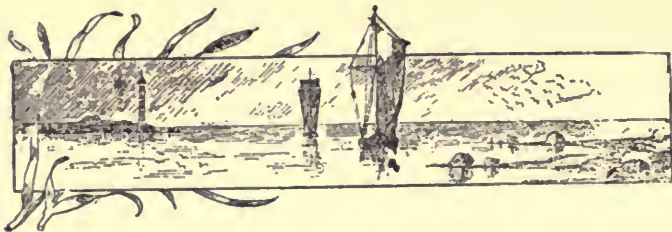
During the session, the frequent and really childishly violent altercations between the Chairman of Committees and the leader of the Opposition often betrayed a degree of bitter personal animosity and coarse accusation and recrimination not usually attempted or tolerated in a Legislative Assembly; and rarely, if ever, adopted by a member who was so soon to attain to such a commanding position in the Colony as that afterwards obtained by Mr. Vogel.

On the proposal to vote £600 for Ministers' residences, the Speaker, Dr. Monro, spoke very strongly on the insufficient payment of the responsible Executive, and concluded his speech by saying that "the best service which could possibly be obtained should be given to the Colony, and the Colony had no right to expect such service unless it was properly remunerated." Mr. McLean said the sum proposed was insufficient, and he would propose to increase it to £1000. Mr. Stafford admitted the insufficiency of Ministers' salaries, and said that he had been a great loser by accepting office, but added, "At the same time, the Government could not but consider that, with the income and expenditure of the Colony being so nicely balanced, and the salaries of deserving officers reduced, it would not be opportune for the Government to assent to any proposition for an increase in the salaries of Ministers."

As soon as the business of the session was over,

Mr. Fitzherbert lost no time in hurrying off to England, where he expected to accomplish great things amongst the bankers and stockbrokers of London, but where wiser men knew that he would be amused and overmatched. During his long absence, Mr. Hall, with his usual fondness for overwork, accepted the position of Acting Treasurer in addition to that of Postmaster-General. His experience in the service of the English post office, together with the methodical assiduity with which he always performed any duty he undertook, had effected great economy and efficiency in that department; and under his well chosen and well trained assistants, the work was going on so smoothly that he was able now to devote most of his attention to his new work. It is quite safe to say that whatever success attended Mr. Fitzherbert's financial transactions in London, either with Government or the banks, was due less to his own adventurous originality and a reputation for smartness which is always apt to excite suspicion, than to the well sustained character for economy, assiduity and prudence that his colleagues, Messrs Stafford and Hall, had individually maintained, although discounted, as their good intentions had so often been, by the ever baneful influence of the Bank of New Zealand.

During the session, ninety Bills were passed, two of which were reserved for the Queen's assent. On October 10, Parliament was prorogued by the Governor in person. In his last speech as Governor of the Colony, Sir George Grey was appropriately able to say:—"The liberality of the measure you have passed for granting special representation to the Maori population will commend itself to that race and tend to confirm the peaceful and friendly disposition which is everywhere spreading throughout the tribes recently in rebellion. The endowment for Maori education will contribute to the same good purpose and assist the Natives to qualify themselves for the position of citizens."



CHAPTER LVII.

With and Without Sir George Grey.

The question before the Committee was, so far as he could make it out, should they or should they not pursue a policy, which had led to the loss of thousands of human lives, which had involved the Colony in the expenditure of four millions of money—an expenditure altogether unproductive; a policy, moreover, which had brought desolation and distress into hundreds of happy homes, and which had laid prostrate in the dust some of the fairest provinces in New Zealand.—Mr. Macandrew.

On the day that the Duke of Newcastle received the despatch informing him of the result of Sir George Grey's enquiry into the treatment of Wiremu Kingi and his tribe at Waitara, Sir George Grey's chance of promotion in the British service was gone. When he told Mr. Cardwell that he had refused to treat his accusations against him as private, but had laid them before his Executive Council, there was an end to any courteous correspondence from that quarter; but when he added that Lord de Grey was "a wrong-doer" in accepting private accusations against him, and condemning him for what he had never heard of, the measure of his transgression was full, and the services of such a capable but daring officer were no longer required. Any

amount of incapacity had been, and would still be, tolerated in a New Zealand Governor; but to call in question the infallibility of the powers that could promote or degrade him was a sin never to be pardoned, never to be tolerated. No courteous communication ever came from head-quarters to Sir George Grey after such daring expressions of opinion had been received from him. His advice was no longer sought, and no longer noticed when it came without seeking. But, on August 27, 1867, a despatch was received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated June 18, which abruptly concluded with the words—"I shall then also be able to inform you of the appointment of your successor in the Government of New Zealand, and of the time at which he may be expected to arrive in the Colony." When this despatch was laid on the table of the Legislative Council by Major Richardson, Colonel Whitmore at once moved "That the Council adjourn until to-morrow, in order to enable honourable members to show by a mark of respect to his Excellency the regret which they feel at the announcement which has just been made." This was unanimously supported, and the Council immediately adjourned.

What may justly be called addresses of sympathy with the Governor, and of indignation at the conduct of the Home Government were unanimously adopted by the Legislative Council, by the House of Representatives, and by the Executive Council, in which Sir George's fourteen years' administration was applauded with a fervour and a unanimity that must have made them valuable to the Governor, and not agreeable to his powerful persecutors. All of these addresses are sufficiently historical to justify our giving an extract from each.

The Legislative Council said—"Twice summoned by our Sovereign to the Government in times of difficulty and danger, as being especially qualified to meet an emergency, your Excellency has for more than fourteen years in all, more than half the age of the Colony, administered its affairs. During that time your Excel-

lency has spared no exertion either of mind or body in the conscientious discharge of your duties and in the promotion of the welfare of both races of Her Majesty's subjects in these Islands. Conversant with the customs and language of the natives and conspicuous for your influence with them, your Excellency has shown unwearied industry and activity in these improvements, and has cheerfully encountered peril, privation, and fatigue, whenever you considered your presence among them conducive to their peaceful union with European settlers, and to their advancement in civilization."

The members of the House all agreed to say:—"In asserting the honour of the Crown, and maintaining the position of the Governor as representative of the Crown and the constitutional rights of the Colony, as well as in vindicating its character from unjust aspersion, your Excellency has put aside all personal considerations, and has not been dismayed by menace or misrepresentation. This spirit of self-reliance has well-earned for your Excellency the gratitude of the Colony, and we feel sure that when the passions of the moment have passed away, and personal feeling and prejudice no longer obscure the perception of the distinction between right and wrong, it will be universally admitted that your Excellency has, in the interests of honour and justice, fulfilled a duty to the Crown which you represented, and to the Colony which you governed."

All the members of the Ministry signed an address expressing the utmost confidence in the Governor with whom they were acting, and their regret that a Governor, who had for twenty-six years served Her Majesty with so much devotion, celerity, and success, should be summarily dismissed without a word of explanation, and they add:—"Ministers desire to express their sympathy with His Excellency at having been, by so unusual a proceeding, subjected to what appears to be a studied act of discourtesy."

To this last address His Excellency replied:—"It is fitting that I should briefly acknowledge the far more than friendly words which you have addressed to me on

my removal from my office of Governor of New Zealand. These words, coming from those who not only have seen and known the trials and difficulties I have had to encounter, but who also, amidst those difficulties, have been my advisers and fellow-labourers, are very valuable to me, and I shall often think of them in my retirement. I will only further say to those who, by their advice, by their sympathy, and by their own toils and devotion to public duty, have so often guided my path in difficulties, and lightened the labours imposed upon me, that I thank them for the services they have rendered their Queen and country; that I also thank them for their affectionate farewell, and that, whatever may be the future trials and changes of my life, I shall always think myself fortunate that they were so long given me as companions and associates in the trying duties I had to perform in New Zealand."

Addresses were presented to the wronged and insulted Governor by public bodies of every kind, and no Nation was ever more unanimous in its feeling of indignation at the outrageous national insult and injury which the Duke of Buckingham had so wantonly and gratuitously inflicted upon the struggling settlers of New Zealand, regardless of the danger to both races by the shock which such conduct could not fail to inflict upon the irritated and suspicious Maori temper by removing for the second time, without notice and without justification, the only Governor upon whose good will they had ever been disposed to rely.

Sir George Grey was superseded in the government of New Zealand by Sir George Ferguson Bowen, on the 5th February, 1868. The new Governor was courteously received by Sir George Grey, who gave him all the assistance in his power. This was handsomely acknowledged by Sir G. Bowen in one of his early letters to the Colonial Office, in which he seemed to think it necessary to explain that he had accepted an invitation to be present at a banquet given to Sir George Grey, which was presided over by Sir David Monro as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and at which

he had the pleasure to acknowledge the personal attention and assistance he had received from his "able and accomplished predecessor, whose name will be inseparably connected with the history of New Zealand."

In acknowledging the despatch in which the Duke of Buckingham informed him of the appointment of Sir George Bowen, Sir George Grey wrote:—"I request your Grace to be pleased to state to the Queen that I present my duty to Her Majesty, and in receiving this notification of my Sovereign's pleasure, I beg to be permitted humbly to represent to Her Majesty that, in the year 1845, a rebellion prevailing in New Zealand, I was, by Her Majesty's commands, especially sent to this country, and that when I relinquished the Government in the year 1854 it was my happiness to leave it in a state of tranquility and prosperity; that in the year 1861 a rebellion having again broken out in New Zealand, I was once more especially sent here; and that it is again my happiness, upon being removed by your Grace's advice from this Government, to leave New Zealand in a state of tranquility and returning prosperity, and that I humbly represent to Her Majesty that I desire to claim no merit for these circumstances, but rather to attribute them to the blessing of Divine Providence, and to the abilities and exertions of Her Majesty's subjects, who have advised me and aided me in my duties; and further, that I humbly trust that the almost unanimous voice of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand, amongst whom I have laboured in Her Majesty's service, will satisfy Her Majesty that I have done my utmost to promote the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of this part of Her Majesty's possessions."

The Duke promised to lay Sir George Grey's statement before the Queen, which he probably did in the same spirit that had dictated his own despatches, as no reply, no distinction, no further appointment, no thanks, no common acknowledgment

of his successful work, was received for his long, able, and much needed services.

Soon after his second arrival in New Zealand, Sir George Grey purchased the island of Kawau from an English Copper Company which had found the island not sufficiently rich in copper for their purpose. On the island he had located several Maori families and an interesting collection of New Zealand, African, and Australian birds and animals. It was to this island that the Maori prisoners had been sent in 1864 and from which they escaped and caused so much alarm in the North Island and so much angry recrimination between Sir George and his ministers. It was only a few hours' steam from Auckland, so that whilst the seat of Government was in that city the island was a frequent and interesting holiday resort for the Governor, to which the members of parliament were occasionally invited, and to which Sir George now retired for a short time from the cares and mortifications of his useful but badly requited public work. Without building any costly palaces he appeared for a time to heartily enjoy his completely rural retreat where he was monarch of all he surveyed; but towards the end of the year he left his pheasants and hares and ostriches, his kangaroos and wallabies, and paid a visit to England.

Three months after Sir George Grey had been removed from the Government the war broke out with more savage resolution and perhaps with greater capacity and certainly with more unrestrained ferocity on the part of its Maori leader than had ever been manifested before. It is not too much to say that but for the earnest advice of the noble king maker, continued up to his dying hour, and the steadfast aversion of the Maori King, his able sister and his Christian adherents, to the Hau Hau superstition, backed up as they were by the long persecuted, maligned and hunted Wiremu Kingi, it must have proved a war of desolation, approaching to extermination, as the crowning danger was averted, not by English help, nor by the military settlers, but by the courage and capacity of the friendly Maoris.

The military settlers, picked up in the streets of Sydney and Melbourne by Messrs Bell and Gorst, were not generally cowards, but a large proportion of them were drunkards and their bad habits were greatly fostered by the folly of the provincial authorities in Taranaki, who for revenue purposes multiplied the facilities by which intoxicating drinks could everywhere be obtained by these defenders of their province. The immense number of dismissals from the ranks for drunkenness was by no means a formidable or effectual deterrent, so that the colonial forces which had endured such hardships and fought so desperately in 1866 were not equally conspicuous for their efficiency in 1868 and 1869, but would have been certainly overwhelmed but for the greater efficiency of their Maori allies.

In May, 1868, some European's horses were stolen, for which a chief and two men of his tribe were wrongly arrested at Ngutu-o-te-manu, in Titokowaru's district. Some well armed Maoris interfered and compelled their release, and Titokowaru, who up to this time had given friendly and useful assistance to the Europeans, became as openly hostile as he was undoubtedly capable. Some huts, put up for the troops at Wirea and Wahi, were burned, a sergeant, three privates and a settler were killed and Europeans were forbidden to enter Titokowaru's district. Soon afterwards a small garrison of twenty-five men about three miles south of Wahi was attacked, when ten of the garrison were killed and five wounded.

The Maori prisoners who had been sent to the Chatham Islands and whose wives and families had been permitted to join them had been promised their liberty when the war was over, but although the Governor and the Government had proclaimed, in more ways than one, that peace now prevailed, these prisoners were still retained under circumstances of much provocation.

The Under Secretary of the native department, Mr. Rolleston, had visited them and had reported unfavourably of their treatment by the men in charge

of them. He thought they were compelled to work when ill and one of the sergeants in charge admitted that he sometimes gave them a kick. Eleven of the one hundred and seventy-three prisoners had been permitted to return, and there was no good reason why the whole should not have been returned as promised. But, just about the same time that Titokowaru was preparing to revenge his insults and to be declared a rebel instead of an able supporter as he had hitherto been, a schooner named the Rifleman was sent to the Chatham Islands with supplies for the Maoris and with a despatch which the Captain read to the Maoris, informing them that the supplies now sent must be made the most of, and must suffice them for food for the present and for seed for the following year. Such a message, just when they were expecting their promised release, decided them at once that they would no longer be kicked and insulted by the nine men in charge of them but would take advantage of the last vessel they were likely to see at the island. On the day after the despatch had been read to them they seized the guard room and bound their keepers and the captain of the schooner. One of the guard who resisted was killed but no unnecessary violence was offered and the European women and children, although greatly frightened, were not molested.

The Maoris thus had a schooner of eighty-two tons, all ready provisioned, at their command, and one hundred and sixty-three men, sixty-four women and seventy-one children crowded into the little vessel and started in the middle of the winter on their voyage home. As a matter of course they took possession of all the arms and ammunition they could find, either on the island or on the schooner, and as usual found a leader as brave as Nelson and as vigilant and resourceful as Xenephon. In five days the whole party was safely landed at Poverty Bay and at once began their desperate march. It was the tenth of July when they landed and the news of their arrival was telegraphed to the Government on the day after parliament met, on the ninth. After loading themselves with provisions

and all that they wanted on their march, the Maoris told the sailors that they could take the schooner wherever they liked as they did not want it or them any longer.

The nearest Government force to Poverty Bay was under the command of Major Biggs, who had been so successful in pursuit of the Hau Haus. He heard of the landing of the prisoners, led by Te Kooti, on Sunday, July 12th, and at once started in pursuit with fifty Europeans and fifty-three Maoris. The prisoners, with the women and children, were moving very slowly, and were easily overtaken. Te Kooti was respectful, but firm. He sought to harm no one, but he would surrender to no one, and Major Biggs knew that he meant what he said. Major Biggs therefore wisely returned and telegraphed for reinforcements. They were again overtaken by a force of ninety under Captain Westrup, who was less prudent. He foolishly divided his small force, placing the strongest part of it across Te Kooti's path in front, and leaving a part with his horses and baggage behind. Te Kooti at once pounced upon the baggage, horses and ammunition, and scattered his imprudent pursuers both before and behind him.

After this Te Kooti, by desperate efforts, cut a narrow way through some few miles of a forest by which he was able to send the women and children forward where they would not be easily overtaken, whilst with the men he prepared to resist the attack of any forces which Colonel Whitmore was hurrying to collect. In the meantime another force under Major Richardson had endeavoured to stop him at the Wangaroa river, but the Major was soon compelled to retreat. On August the 8th he was overtaken by the large force which had been collected by Colonel Whitmore, but although he lost eight men, and was himself wounded in the foot, his retreat was not checked until he reached the rugged Uriwera country, through which it would be useless as well as dangerous to pursue him. The officers engaged agreed that in such fighting, and in such a retreat, "the generalship of Te Kooti could not be surpassed."

Colonel Whitmore reported :—"He held a desperate body of men in reserve to charge whenever he sounded the bugle. His fire was deliberate and never thrown away, every shot fell close to its mark, if it did not reach it, and there was no wild volley-discharging during the action. He began the fighting himself, and no opportunity was offered me to summon him to surrender." He was next heard of more than a hundred miles from the coast.

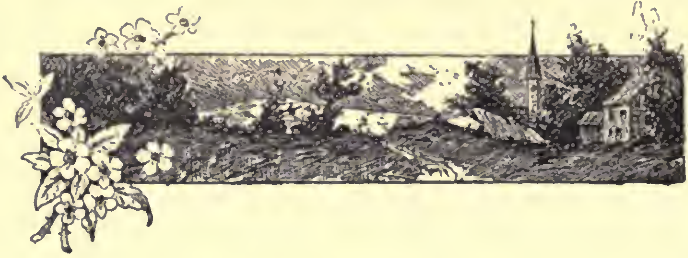
Although he had proved so very capable of protecting the women and children entrusted to his care, and of resisting the best armed European forces, Te Kooti well understood that the irresistible strength of the Maoris would always be found in their swamps, their rivers, their forests and their mountains, so that as soon as he had so bravely and skilfully accomplished the desperate task of conducting one hundred and forty women and children to their inland retreat, he next proceeded to defy and bewilder the Government by his sudden flights from one end of the Island to the other, in which the Government could have no possible hope of overtaking him. He was not restrained by any of the religious or civilized motives which had held back the Waikatos and the persecuted Wiremu Kingi, and it was only because they would not associate with him in his wild, reckless vengeance, and refused to see him, or to allow him to pass through their districts, that Te Kooti was not permitted to desolate a larger number of out-settlers homes. Enough was done in that way to show what Te Kooti and his followers were prepared to do if more generally supported by their more civilized and respectable countrymen.

On the ninth of November a party of Te Kooti's followers surprised by night the village of Matawero in Poverty Bay. Twenty-nine Europeans and thirty-two friendly Maoris were shot or bayoneted as they rose from their beds. No respect was paid to sex or age. This roused the friendly Maoris to revenge in the same style. On the thirtieth of December Colonel Whitmore, joined by three hundred and seventy Maoris under Ropata, attacked Te Kooti in a very strong pah at Nga-

tapa, where one hundred and thirty-eight of his followers were killed, and he was again wounded, but not taken. He was still heard of in every direction, but could be caught nowhere. At the Huka pah, at Mohaka, about fifty miles from Napier, he killed seven Europeans and fifty-seven Maoris, destroyed the plantations and carried off the rifles and ammunition. With a powerful band he went to the Waikato. He reached Tokaugamutu, where Tawhiao was living, but the King would have nothing to do with him. A reward of £500 was offered for his capture, but neither he nor Titokowaru, although often defeated, could ever be captured.

Prior to the meeting of Parliament on July 9, writs had been returned for the election of the first Maori members to the New Zealand House of Representatives. Their names were Frederick Nene Russell for the North, John Patterson for the South, Te Moananui Tareka for the East, and Kingi Pactahi Mete for the Western district. Russell was a nephew of Sir George Grey's squire and trusted counsellor, Waka Nene. The most elaborate and expensive arrangements were made for the interpretation of their speeches and of all documents in which the Maori race was affected. Such facilities for the convenience of members who could not speak English were provided with the best intentions, and were perhaps advisable as a concession to the first representatives of the Maoris, but they should not have been continued up to the present time as they have been. In the interest of both races, but especially in that of the Maoris, every reasonable encouragement, or even coercion, should be put in force to compel the adoption of one language by those who are to live in the same country and under the same Government; and true humanity and justice should have aimed to convey to the Maori electors the undoubted truth that it was at least quite as necessary for their members to understand what was said, as it was to make themselves understood, and that therefore no man could effectually guard their interests in the

House without a knowledge of the language in which the business of that House is conducted. The Maori electors would never have had any real difficulty to find intelligent and trustworthy Maoris who understood English, and for several years past there have never been more than one or two Maoris elected to the House who could not speak that language. The present representative of the Southern Maoris, Mr. Parata, speaks and understands English better than the average Englishman; the representative of the North, Mr. Hone Heke, is an educated English scholar; and Mr. Carroll, the half-caste Maori Minister, is the only fairly well educated man in the Ministry, and is one of the most pleasant and polished speakers in the House. The Maori members, with their great natural combativeness, usually take up the position of strong party men, and in the practice of "stonewalling," or obstructive speaking, they can derive immense advantage by employing an interpreter for whom they have no more legitimate need than the English leader of the House.



CHAPTER LVIII.

Truth Forces its Way to the Surface.

If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, duty performed or duty violated is still with us, for our happiness or our misery. If we say, the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light our obligations are yet with us. — Daniel Webster.

Early in 1868 Mr. Fox returned to New Zealand, after an absence of four years, and in June was elected by his old constituents at Rangatiki, Mr. Watt, the sitting member for that district, having patriotically resigned to make way for his election. There was, unfortunately, no improvement in the feeling between Sir George Grey and Mr. Fox, who were never afterwards friends, even nominally. Nor did Mr. Fox hesitate for a moment to condemn the action of his old friend, Mr. Fitzherbert, as Treasurer.

In his first speech to his old constituents, he said:—" My once friend, though I suppose I must now call him my political enemy, has gone home as the representative of our financial interest. . . . . By no amount of stock jobbing, or working the oracle on the Stock Exchange, can you get out of the fact that you owe seven millions. You have got it to pay; there it

is, a millstone round your neck. . . . . Mr. Fitzherbert says that the Whitaker Government spent it, and in his neat way adds, 'after a scatterer comes a gatherer.' Well the Domett Ministry, which we succeeded, gathered an army of five thousand men, and a fleet of nine steamers, and left us as a legacy a harassing and expensive war. The Parliament empowered us to borrow three millions, of which we, the scatterers, spent £1,200,000, and the gatherers who followed the other £1,800,000. . . . . . Our finance is undoubtedly in a very unsatisfactory state, and so long as we have a debt of £7,000,000 hung round our necks, and no larger population than we have, it must continue so. But if it cannot be made better, it may easily be made worse, and that I fear it has already been made by the unfortunate Public Debt Act of last session. That Act has already aggravated the evil to the extent of £200,000 or £300,000, which might have been saved to the Colony if common sense had been allowed to guide the councils of the Assembly. How it was done under the influence of a certain bank, deeply interested in the result, and by threats of expulsion from office of certain members of the Legislative Council, is matter of history, and little creditable to the Government which forced the Act by such illegitimate means through the Assembly. . . . . Mr. Fitzherbert has, however, written from England to announce some wonderful feat of his, effected by buying up seven per cent. debentures, and paying for them with four per cents. But until I hear more about the matter I shall, I confess, have grave doubts whether the transaction will not prove to be one of those very clever jobs which end in putting a large profit into some bank, and leaving the Colony to be laughed at by shrewder heads for its imaginary generosity. I hope it may prove otherwise, but I greatly fear that the result of Mr. Fitzherbert's tour to England will prove to be nothing else but a large addition, or some clever scheme for a large addition, to our already excessive liabilities."

Prior to the arrival of Governor Bowen the Provincial Council of Auckland passed a resolution :—"That to secure the pacification of the country and the welfare of both races a general amnesty should be proclaimed with as little delay as possible." On consulting with Mr. Stafford and Mr. McLean, the new Governor was advised not to proclaim a general amnesty, but to select a comparatively small number of those who had not committed murders for pardon or for objects for special mercy. As a matter of course the new and inexperienced Governor acted on the advice of his constitutional advisers, with the result that New Zealand was, as we have seen, so soon committed to a new and disastrous war which was once more to demonstrate the fighting power of the Maori when driven to desperation, and the complete delusion of trusting to the badly selected and imperfectly trained or controlled military settlers.

Few things could be more injurious to the popularity of the Stafford Government than the demonstrations of the complete failure of their military arrangements which the able defence, retaliation, and defiance of Te Kooti had placed beyond a doubt just as the Parliament of 1868 was called together in Wellington. We have seen that Parliament met on the 9th of July, and that Te Kooti commenced his encumbered and difficult, but his defiant, able and successful march on the 10th.

Besides the addition of the four Maori members, three additional members had been allotted to Westland, so that the House now consisted of seventy-seven instead of seventy members. Beyond the re-appearance of Mr. Fox, in the room of his less celebrated friend Mr. Watt, there were not many important personal changes. The most noticeable was the entrance to Parliament of Mr. Rolleston, who had, without a contest for either office, been elected to succeed Mr. Moorhouse as the Superintendent of Canterbury, and Mr. Reeves as the member for Avon. By common consent Mr. Fox was at once called to lead the Opposi-

tion, and, after several smart minor skirmishes, he proposed, on July 13, what was necessarily treated as a no-confidence motion, although it was debated under the name of "The Policy of the Government." It was the principal and the best debate of the session, in which some able speeches were delivered on each side.

The motion was a long one, but its substance and object was expressed in the concluding words, which were:—"This House is of opinion that no further business ought to be proceeded with until the Government should have placed before it a full and precise statement of its policy, and indicated the extent to which it proposes to alter or extend existing institutions, and shall have made a clear statement as to what is being done in reference to the existing native disturbances, and its intentions with regard to native affairs in future.

The debate, as was usual under Mr. Stafford's third Government, was largely directed to the consideration of the relative powers of the General and Provincial Governments.

In the course of a long and lively speech, Mr. Fox said, in reference to the action of the British Parliament in giving to New Zealand, in opposition to the advice of Mr. Gladstone, a nominated chamber instead of a chamber elected by the Provincial Councils, "I never could help regretting that the advice of William Ewart Gladstone was not taken, and some better machinery interposed between the Provincial Governments and the General Governments, so that the former might be left to the full exercise of their powers. If that great statesman's advice had been taken, we should not have had these unseemly quarrels so constantly going on, and each Government would have been left undisturbed to its own proper functions."

Mr. Vogel's elaborately prepared, and really eloquent peroration in that debate, ought not to be lost sight of, containing, as it does, the most withering condemnation of his own action in destroying the provinces

as soon as it became his interest to increase the power of the General Government when that Government had come under his own control. At the date of this debate he was holding the position of Provincial Secretary and Superintendent's adviser for the Province of Otago, and consequently he thus anathematises the action of the Stafford Government in daring to destroy or to lessen the power or revenue of the provinces :— "I know that if you succeed in revolutionizing the institutions of this country, if even you proclaim that no provinces shall exist, you will have a revolution of the people, who will go back to the institutions which they have learned to believe in. . . . Our constitution may battle in the dark waters of personal ambition and misrepresentation, it may be done to death, but its soul of liberty and freedom will not die. The people may be cajoled for a while into accepting as free institutions a dominion which aims at nothing short of a pure despotism, but they will awaken to their error, and the day of their knowledge will be the day that will grow up an unquenchable hatred of their undoers. The hand that strikes the blow will not be at rest before the retribution will arise. Woe to the deceivers! They will have wrought much misery—the misery of two revolutions—the one which will hurl down, the other which will restore to its people its liberty."

Mr. Rolleston took up the condemnation of Mr. Stafford's Native policy, and with all his official experience and observation he told the Government that —"If on the long strip of country, skirted by the bush between Wanganui and Waingongora, there were two hundred and fifty rebels resolved to prevent the peaceful occupation of the country, it will not be two hundred or three hundred or five hundred or a thousand men gathered from the streets of Wellington or elsewhere—the waifs and strays of the people, as they have been termed — that will ensure the peace of a district like that."

After about two weeks' debate the division and pair lists showed thirty-one for and forty against Mr.

Fox's motion. Of this majority Auckland, Otago, and Westland gave three each; Hawke's Bay, Marlborough, and the Maoris two each, and Taranaki one. The sixteen votes thus obtained were reduced to nine by a majority for the Fox motion of four in Wellington, two in Canterbury, and one in Southland, Nelson counting for nothing with three on each side.

It was 9.30 p.m. on Tuesday, Sept. 1, that Mr. Hall came forward to deliver his Financial Statement. It was not only a lucid financial statement, but also a very bold and clever proposal for a definite adjustment of all Provincial liabilities, cleverly adapted to take the wind of the Opposition sails, and offering baits which some of the leading Provincialists were expected to nibble. The expenditure on the Postal service had been reduced by £42,000, and it proposed to reduce the expenditure for Native purposes by £11,000, but six days after the Statement had been made all such calculations were frustrated by a heavy disaster to the troops under Colonel McDonnell, in which Major Von Temskey and four other officers, and thirteen men were killed, and twenty-five wounded. The revenue from the confiscated land had amounted to £11,929, whilst the claims and charges on the same fund amounted to £54,410. Mr. Hall concluded an able and well-arranged speech by proposing a series of four resolutions, all relating to the division of revenue between the Colony and the Provinces.

In these resolutions Nelson was offered a present payment of £90,000, and Wellington £15,000 to induce them to consent to the interest and principal on the large debts of the less prudent provinces being paid annually from the Colonial revenue. In both cases, but especially in the case of Nelson, the compensation was ridiculously inadequate for the proposed surrender of all the advantages of their past prudence, but cash down at any cost to the future always offers a strong temptation to public men in the possession of power which they hold upon a very uncertain tenure.

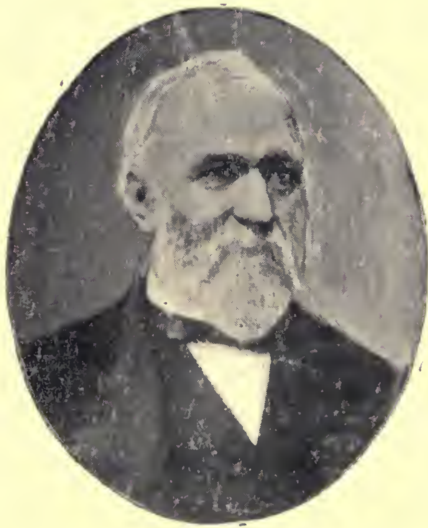
Mr. Vogel was more at home than Mr. Fox in at-

tacking the financial proposals of the Government, and he was fast improving in his grasp of the fearful and shameful character of the past financial transactions of New Zealand Governments. He began by admitting at once that although "he had been a member of the House since 1863, he had heard no financial statement so frank, clear, and explicit, as that to which he had just listened." He consequently directed his attention almost exclusively to the delusions uttered by Mr. Fitzherbert in 1867, and he did not attempt to be mild or even parliamentary in the language he applied to them. Of Mr. Fitzherbert's last year's speech he said:—"I defy any honourable member to look at the Financial Statement of last year, and at the accounts laid upon the table of the House by the Treasurer, and not to say that from beginning to end they contained nothing but utter deceit. He stated that the actual expenditure, exclusive of the amounts paid to the Provinces, was £715,000, and by the accounts I find the actual expenditure to have been £926,000. He told us that the cost of defence was £71,000, and that was a very important element in the Statement; but what is the fact? The cost is charged at £159,000. If honourable members are indifferent to such statements as these, then I say let us have no Financial Statement, and let us have no such sin as this of coming down and endeavouring to mislead the House."

After a long and acrimonious No-Confidence debate on Mr. Hall's resolutions, they were carried on September 18 by a majority of seven. Seventy-one members were represented on the division.

The Standing Orders were suspended in both Houses to pass the Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill through all its stages at once, as Dr. Pollen said that the condition of the defence forces was really shocking. "It had been stated that on one occasion a small party of Maoris might have captured the whole garrison at Patea and have knocked every man there on the head."

It was soon to be proved that it was on Native affairs



Dr. Pollen.

Mr. J. D. Ormond.

Sir Donald McLean.

—on the demoralized condition of the defence forces—on the culpable negligence and indecision that had led to the escape of the prisoners from the Chatham Islands, and the inexcusable rashness with which those well-armed, able and desperate men had been pursued and attacked by small and unreliable forces, that the Government was so little trusted by the House. On Wednesday, September 16—two days before Mr. Hall's financial proposals were carried by a majority of seven—Mr. Donald McLean proposed, "That this House views with alarm the position in which the Colony is being placed by the action of the Government in relation to Defence and Native affairs." Mr. McLean was regarded in the House as a high authority on Native affairs, and, in his late quarrels with the Stafford Government, his objections to their policy had been justified by after events. His motion thus came before the House with all the advantage of faith in his knowledge and experience in Maori affairs, added to much sympathy with him as a valuable officer whose somewhat pretentious advice had been harshly rejected by the Government with very serious consequences. The debate on Mr. McLean's motion was adjourned from day to day until September 25, when the House divided equally upon it, and it was only lost by the casting vote of the Speaker, 32 members voting on each side.

The debate on Mr. McLean's motion was carried on with unusually bad taste and bad judgment on both sides. Mr. Fox lashed out, and Mr. Stafford lost his temper and indulged in bitter personal attacks on Messrs Fox, Bell, and Atkinson, and most unwarrantably related private conversations that had passed between himself and Mr. Ormond. He spoke of Mr. Fox as having lately "gone down from Judea to Jericho" leaving the House to infer that he had consequently "fallen among thieves." He described Mr. Bell's speech as "a long, droning, fearfully tiresome speech, in which he accuses the Government of having allowed the country to drift into war, a war which has never ceased since the Government in which Mr. Bell, as

Native Minister and the most active member, first drifted the country into. Then, again, the honourable gentleman assisted the country in drifting into war by an action for which he himself has told us that he was hissed in the streets of Auckland, when, at Mangare, regardless of the safety of the defenceless women and children, he called upon Natives to come in within a few hours and take the oath of allegiance or take the consequences. I do not wonder that he was hissed on that occasion, as he stated in his place in this House."

After allowing a great deal for the strong provocation he had received in Mr. Bell's daring, inconsistent speech, it is not possible to admire Mr. Stafford's taste or wisdom in turning round on one who was no doubt largely influenced by a desire to save the reputation of Mr. Stafford's Government when, in 1863, he brought on the long, disastrous, and ruinously costly Waikato war by refusing to comply with Sir George Grey's earnest and repeated appeals to do what was right and honest in acknowledging the just claim of Wiremu Kingi and promptly giving up the Waitara block. But the cause of truth could not be better served than by thus placing on record Mr. Stafford's unqualified admission when sufficiently provoked to forget party obligations. In him we have the Premier of 1860, as well as the Premier of 1868, and the best informed man in the world, upon every feature of the seizure of that Waitara block, publicly telling one of his principal and most active accomplices that his action in delaying the restoration of that block in 1863 was the cause of the most disastrous war that ever degraded and impoverished New Zealand.

Major Atkinson fared still worse, and was not only accused, but, by his own admission, was convicted, of a crime little short of those of which the New Zealand Government had been accused in Exeter Hall. Mr. Stafford said,—" If ever there was any particular part of the country requiring a most sagacious and reliable officer it was at Opotiki. And what was the character of the man sent by the honourable member for New Plymouth to command there ? An incurable drun-

kard whom, against all discipline, his junior officer was obliged to put in arrest for *delirium tremens*. And yet my honourable friend gave that officer not only the power of holding court martial, but also professed to hand over to him the Queen's prerogative of mercy, and to enable him to execute persons without reference to her Majesty's Representative. When I heard of that, one of my first actions, after I took office, was to get that authority cancelled, and I sent up an express despatch to deprive him of that enormous power. That is a part of the prudence and caution which the honourable gentleman has displayed. That is a sample of the men he chose and of the enormous power he gave them of life and death. But, fortunately, that officer was unable to exercise those powers. When a Court Martial was summoned he was in such a state of drunkenness that his own junior officer arrested him."

In reply to this grave charge it is much to be regretted that Major Atkinson had no defence, and only made matters worse by attempting to justify his indefensible action. He said that "Major Brassey was an officer who had earned for himself great distinction in India and had done good service at Pipiriki. Unfortunately, like many other officers, he was addicted to drinking. It was a dangerous power to give to any man, but the case was critical and the Government was perfectly justified in what they did. He would go further and say that if his honourable friend, the Colonial Secretary, would only come down and bring in a measure authorising Colonel McDonnell to hang Titokowaru the moment he could catch him, he (Major Atkinson) would support him." Such was the morality that the Major had learned in the atmosphere of Taranaki.

The position of the Premier after such a vote was made more difficult by the action lately taken by his constituents at Nelson, they having, at a public meeting, passed resolutions expressive of no confidence in his policy. Five days after the division, Mr. Fox proposed as an amendment upon going into Supply that, for certain reasons enumerated, "It is expedient that there

should be an immediate dissolution, and that the writs should be issued without delay on the close of the session." His amendment was lost by a majority of nine, 24 voting for, and 33 against it. Mr. Stafford undoubtedly made a good defence. After pointing out that, on questions of finance and a declaration of general policy, the House had just given his Government two votes carrying a majority of nine and seven, and that it was evident that no working majority could be commanded by the party at present in opposition, he could not but feel that it would be criminal for his Government to throw up the reins at such an eminently critical time. Although his Native policy had been most distinctly unsuccessful, and the loss of Mr. McLean as Native Minister had so evidently proved a fatal mistake, it was natural that he should feel that he could not at such a crisis hand over the Government to a party that could not command a majority in the House, and that he would not be justified in entering upon the excitement and confusion of an election in the midst of military disasters. He said, "I believe the most injurious thing that could happen to the settlement of the Native question and financial affairs would be a dissolution. That is an important consideration for the Government at the present moment, considering it, as they do, their duty to meet the present emergency as promptly as possible. In the event of a dissolution instead of having a House educated to a fair intelligence of these matters, we should have members elected who were pledged not to vote one penny for Native purposes. The Government must exercise their discretion as to the time of election, and, even if there were not the Native question requiring the undivided attention of the Government to be bestowed on suppressing the insurrection where it exists, and taking precautions for peace in other places threatened, we think that a time of great excitement, of sensational telegrams and newspaper articles, is the very worst time in which the electors could coolly consider whom they should elect as representatives for some five years. There ought,

too, to be a carefully considered redistribution of representation before another election."

On Friday, October 16, the last day of the session upon which there was practically any opportunity for a debate—Mr. Fox made his final, and perhaps his most able onslaught of the session upon the Stafford Government. As usual, most of his time was spent in attacking their anti-provincial policy. In handling their Native policy, he said that the danger on the East Coast was attributable partly to utter neglect and partly to their treatment of McLean. The escape of the Maori prisoners was caused by "the most culpable carelessness of the Government after repeated warnings by their own officials. And, when danger resulted, levies of untrained and undisciplined men were rashly hurried into action against a most wary and practical foe, a course followed by inevitable disaster and the loss of many brave men who had served their country well in many a hard campaign. They have not carried one single measure of policy. Everyone of their measures which had for their object the dismemberment of the provinces and the absorption of provincial powers has been withdrawn and abandoned. In spite of requisitions of their constituencies to resign their seats in this House—in spite of the loudly-expressed disapprobation of their policy by public meetings in the large centres of population—in spite of the failure of all their measures during this session—they are prepared again to meet this House and again to try to pass their long-rejected measures."

Mr. Stafford's reply was cool, good-tempered and manly. He began by expressing the pleasure with which they had all listened to such a lively speech, saying, "It is not necessary to agree with the honourable gentleman's statements, or to coincide with his opinions to derive pleasure from such sparkling wit and good humour." But his speech was chiefly remarkable for its very unusual frankness as to his intentions towards the provinces, intentions that he had long carefully avoided proclaiming to the public. But he now said—

" I shall now, however, urge our friends to take every opportunity of pointing out how miserably insufficient the present provincial system is to meet the wants of the people, and of demonstrating how, whatever little efficiency it once possessed has, as a rule, died out. The honourable member always forgets that there is a large portion of the Colony which does not belong to the large centres of population. He has never got beyond the time when New Zealand consisted of six small fishing villages, as was the case when the Constitution Act was passed in 1852. He speaks as if these six little villages still represented the people of New Zealand. He also ignores the fact that Provincial Government in New Zealand is, for the most part, reduced to a petty central power, and that the most despotic Government ever seen in the country is what may be styled the rump of a Provincial Government. The provincial system has been tried and found wanting, and cannot long survive. The honourable gentleman said that we had failed to do what Mr. Weld would have done as to defence. I do not know what Mr. Weld might have done had he remained in office. He might possibly have obtained a larger provision for a defence force, but he had not obtained any when he went out of office."

The concluding speech in this debate was made by Mr. John Hall. It was, as usual, one of those carefully considered speeches, giving evidence of the laborious application that he always devoted to his public work, now more than doubled by the absence of the Treasurer in England. He expressed his regret that more than three-fourths of the sessions had been devoted to party struggles that could have no beneficial result. His telling speech was concluded in these words :—" I take this opportunity of saying that although I shall shortly be no longer found working with my present colleagues as a member of their Government, I leave them solely because of impaired health and from no want of agreement upon any important political question. I have for two years worked with these gentlemen with satisfaction and with pleasure ; and when no longer a mem-

ber of the Government I hope I shall always be able to afford them a very cordial and hearty support."

At 2 p.m. on Tuesday, October 20, the session of 1868 was prorogued by the Governor in person, after fifty-two Acts had been passed and twenty-seven had been rejected or neglected.

It was during this session that a resolution was passed legalising the adoption of one uniform time for New Zealand. After much debate, it was decided to adopt as the legal time for the whole of New Zealand, the true time for the longitude of 1724 degrees east of Greenwich. This is nearly the average longitude of the different parts of the Colony, and has the advantage of being exactly eleven and a-half hours before the true time of Greenwich, which is the legalised time kept by the railways and telegraphs of England.

On October 18 there was rather a severe earthquake on both sides of Cook Strait, which did much damage to chimneys, bridges, etc., but no lives were lost.

At three o'clock on the morning of Monday, November 9, Te Kooti's followers entered Poverty Bay and murdered some settlers—men, women and children, and twenty friendly Maoris. Ten houses were burned. The place attacked was Matiwherowhero, about seven miles from the township of Taranganui.

CHAPTER LIX.

STAFFORD AGAIN SUFFERS FOR THE SINS OF HIS COLLEAGUES.

Remember that every person, however low, has rights and feelings. In all contentions, let peace be rather your object than triumph: value triumph only as the means of peace.—S. SMITH.

The session of 1868 had hardly closed before Mr. Stafford gave the best possible reply to his constituents at Nelson by resigning his seat and accepting a requisition from the electors of Timaru asking him to become a candidate for that seat. In his reply he expressed views as to the application of the land fund to the improvement of the outlying districts which were quite sure to be popular at Timaru. He was returned without opposition. As a member of the House he was, no doubt, wise in accepting such an easily-won seat, which would make no distracting demands upon his time or attention, as it not only gave him a more secure seat, but also allied him with a constituency whose political views were at that time far more in accordance with his own than were those of the electors of the city of Nelson. But as the Premier of the Colony, the change naturally added to his unpopularity in the large centres of population, and classed him more justly and more

distinctly than he had ever been before as the representative of wealth, of land speculators, and of the Bank of New Zealand.

On Friday, October 2, a large public meeting was held in Christchurch, at which over 800 persons were present. A resolution, very ably proposed and supported by Mr. W. Reeves and seconded by Mr. J. G. Hawkes, was carried unanimously, amidst cries of "Down with Stafford!" The resolution was:—"That this meeting has no confidence in the Ministry, and is of opinion that the present Parliament should be dissolved immediately after the session." On December 4, Mr. Hall met his constituents at Prebbleton and, after speaking more than three hours, he was met by a unanimous resolution—"That the thanks of this meeting be accorded to the Hon. John Hall for his attendance here this evening, but this meeting does not approve of the conduct of the Stafford Government."

Soon after the close of the session, Governor Bowen and Mr. Stafford visited some of the disturbed districts and exchanged opinions both with the Maoris and the settlers; but they cannot be said to have been successful with either race. Governor Bowen, like Governor Browne, told the settlers that they "must rely for protection chiefly on their own stout hearts and strong arms," and they told him at a public meeting in Wanganui—"That Wanganui, Turakina, and other centres of settlement are in imminent danger, and that every exertion should be made, within twenty-four hours, and no necessary expense spared, to render those places secure from the apparent designs of the enemy. That the people of this town and district have no confidence in the present Defence Minister, and his weakness and want of capacity to understand the situation of affairs are such that he should no longer be permitted to hold his present office."

Neither the Governor, nor Mr. Stafford, nor his Defence Minister, nor the Colonel commanding the defence force were popular either with the Maoris or the Europeans, nor were they capable of exercising any

good influence upon either race. Both races and both parties, including Mr. Stafford himself, knew that the removal of Mr. McLean from the position he was filling so ably was a costly and a fatal blunder. The only thing that saved the North Island from a general devastation, at this time, was the abhorrence of the Hau Haus and of their proceedings which was felt by the followers of the Maori King, by the long injured and persecuted Wiremu Kingi, and by all the many Chiefs under the influence of these nobler spirits. Several of the successful European Commanders of 1865-66 had been killed or otherwise lost to the Colony, and the moral tone of the forces had sunk very low. The present commander, Colonel Whitmore, was a man of great energy and courage, but wanting in prudence and foresight, so that the friendly Maoris were naturally unwilling to serve under a General who too often called upon far better informed men than himself to uselessly throw away their lives. The Colonel often had reluctantly to admit this himself, and eventually learned to consult with reasonable humility, the remarkably able leaders who were almost universally placed at the head of the Maori forces. This was especially the case in his most successful encounter with that wonderfully able Hau Hau Chief Te Kooti, when that long and vainly hunted warrior was surrounded in the strongest of his strongholds at Ngatapa.

On December 27, 1868, Colonel Whitmore surrounded this naturally inaccessible pah with a force of 242 armed constabulary and 430 friendly Maoris. He was accompanied by the Native Minister, Mr. J. C. Richmond, who offered £1000 for the body of Te Kooti, an offer that was afterwards increased to £5,000. Ropata, the Chief of the friendly Maoris, was ill, and Mr. Richmond did his best to persuade him to retire, but he answered, "My tribe would be of little use without its Chief." The truth of this was made sufficiently apparent by the result. Colonel Whitmore would have attacked the pah in front; but Ropata would not allow

his men to throw away their lives in that way, and the Colonel was compelled to accept his advice. After the pah had been captured, a correspondent of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* wrote: — "I have seen quite enough to convince me that if Ropata's advice had not been taken, and Ngatapa had been stormed when the Colonel proposed, most of our force must have been destroyed, and every man of the force with whom I have conversed is of the same opinion."

The pah stood on a rocky peak, 2000 feet high, with perpendicular precipices on its longest sides. The outer parapet, seven feet high, extended to the precipice on each side, with projecting angles, protecting the defenders, from which they could shoot down their assailants. The inner parapet was twelve feet high, the loop holes in which were guarded with sand bags, so that the defenders could shoot down their assailants in safety. But there were no less than 200 women and children in the pah, and, as usual, there was no sufficient provision either of food or of water. Te Kooti, who had not recovered from a former wound, was now wounded again, and his capture and that of his friends was supposed to be certain, as every apparent avenue of escape was strongly guarded. But, during the darkness of night, he and his strongest followers—worn down, as they were, by some six days' famine—were silently lowered with ropes down the precipice, and the starving and wounded Te Kooti was again a wanderer hunted by all the forces that the Colony could command and with a reward of no less than £5,000 offered for his head. The slaughter of the prisoners was disgraceful. One hundred and thirty-six brave defenders were killed, without a trial and mostly in cold blood, by the friendly Maoris.

The intrepidity with which Ropata exposed his person, regardless of danger, and the coolness with which he retained his good judgment and great sagacity in the midst of the most apparent and exciting danger were worthy of a Nelson. These qualities on more than one occasion saved the armed constabu-

lary, as well as Ropata's own countymen, from destruction; but his relentless cruelty to the Hau Haus, and his wholesale massacre of unresisting prisoners, draw a dark cloud over his own reputation, and reflect not a little discredit upon those who should have interposed to prevent such an exhibition of the unrestrained cruelty of the half-reclaimed savage. Under his skilful guidance, the loss to the besiegers in capturing this strongest of Te Kooti's strongholds was only eleven killed and eight wounded. In his official report, Colonel Whitmore wrote, "to none was I more indebted than to the chief Ropata Wahawaha. His courage in the fight was equalled by the wisdom of his counsel and the command he possessed over his men; whilst his knowledge of the position, derived from a previous chivalrous attempt to take the place with a handful of his tribe and three or four Europeans, was of the greatest value. He was well supported by Hotene, Wikiriwhi and other chiefs."

In February, the Rev. J. Whiteley, an aged Wesleyan minister who had laboured thirty-seven years in New Zealand, but who had—perhaps more than any other minister of religion in New Zealand—allowed himself to follow rather than to guide the actions of his congregation and had defended the action of Mr. Richmond and Governor Browne in their treatment of Wiremu Kingi, was shot dead as he was riding from Taranaki to Pukearuhe, a blockhouse at the Whitecliffs where Lieutenant Gascoigne, his wife, two children and two other Englishmen had been killed. Against all such outrages in his own locality, Wiremu Kingi steadily and strongly protested, and positively denied a passage through his territory to the turbulent Titokowaru. Mr. Parris reported to the Government that, next to the King, the action of the unfriendly Maoris depended upon Wiremu Kingi, as he had only to express his wishes and they would be obeyed.

Early in April, the Duke of Edinburgh paid a visit to New Zealand, and was received with loyalty and enthusiasm which was naturally the more demonstrative

in consequence of the brutal and unprovoked attempt to assassinate him made by some lunatic in New South Wales. He was enjoying a picnic party at Clontay which had been organised in honour of his visit, and conversing with Sir William Manning, when he was shot in the back by a revolver and fell wounded on his face. It proved to be only a flesh wound, and the Duke was about as usual in less than a week; but it was a cruel disappointment to the Australians to find that their royal visitor could be subjected to such entirely unexpected danger, and the affair did not a little to prevent the happy effect that had been fondly expected from his visit to Australasia. The revolver that had inflicted the wound was prominent amongst the curiosities that the Duke took home from Australia, and is probably still not without its effect upon the Queen when asked to send another of her descendants upon a similar visit. Some not very wise attempts were made to persuade the Maori King top ropose an interview with the young Prince; but they were not successful. The King and his advisers were quite sufficiently well read and informed to understand, better than most of their European neighbours did, how little the duke had to say or to do with the public affairs either of England or of New Zealand, and they were not so much charmed with the treatment they had received from either Government as to be willingly betrayed into the expression of any enthusiasm at the sight of the juvenile representative of their King's great rival. Rauparaha's son and heir, who had no son and heir of his own, presented the Duke with a greenstone heirloom. In making the presentation he said, "As my House is gone like the Moa, I bequeath the talisman of my fathers to the son of the Queen of England and of New Zealand."

Whilst the Duke was still in New Zealand, a great Maori meeting was held at Hangatiki in compliance with the invitation of the Maori King. Only two Europeans were permitted to be present, but 3500 Maoris were there, 1,700 of whom were men in arms.

Many loyal Maoris had been invited and attended and were heard with patient attention. Without being at all satisfied with Mr. Stafford's Government, they were quite convinced of the useless suffering produced by war; so that even Riwi said that he had now "put the thought of war away from him." This was the all important, the well-considered and the influential decision upon which had really hung the fate of the North Island settlers of both races, and Mr. Stafford followed it up by sending an ex-M.H.R., Mr. Firth, with two interpreters, in a semi-official capacity, to get, if possible, some definite proposals of peace. But, as usual, Mr. Stafford under-rated the really wise and good men he had to deal with. They knew as well as Mr. Stafford himself how impossible it would be for him to lavish money in the future as Cameron had done in the past. They were quite as much disgusted with the murders of men, women and children by the Hau Haus as any European could be; but nothing could induce them to admit that all the wrong doing had been on their side. They knew that, in espousing the cause of Wiremu Kingi, they were espousing the cause of the wronged and of the oppressed, and that their trusted and leading men had acted throughout the war—far more than Mr. Stafford had done—within the bounds of civilization and in the spirit of Christianity. Mr. Firth and his missionary interpreters were met by such men as the Rev. Tamati Ngaporo and Whitiora te Kumeti, who had set such a noble example of magnanimity, justice and courage in their contests with General Cameron in the Waikato war. Both of these men were highly esteemed by all who knew them, and no single act of cruelty or injustice was ever laid to their charge, although they were quite ready to admit that there had been faults on both sides.

Whitiora said to Mr. Firth, "If I were to kill you now that you are here on a friendly visit, that would be murder. If I inveigle you under friendly guise and then kill you, that is foul murder. And here are your foul murders. General Cameron told us to send our

women and children to Rangiaohia where they should remain unmolested; but he went away from Paterangi with his soldiers after them, and the women and children were killed and some of them burned in their houses. You did not go to fight with the men; you left them and went away to fight with the women and the little children. These things you conceal because they are faults on your side, but anything on our side you set down against us, and open your mouths wide to proclaim it. That deed of yours was a foul murder, and yet there was none to proclaim it."

No one was more anxious for peace at this time than the Maori King and his trusted, honest and influential advisers. He had scouted all the proposals made to his less prudent followers by Te Kooti, and had forbidden him to remain in his territory; but the New Zealand telegrams and the New Zealand *Press* still continued to speak of the King as a dangerous, artful enemy who might be expected any day to join Te Kooti and to bring all his influence and all his able forces to the aid of that desperate outlaw.

The always energetic Mr. Firth was now, no doubt, sincerely anxious for peace, and he understood the King and his followers far better than ever Mr. Stafford did; but he was not heartily supported in his present efforts by the Stafford Government, and he was too well known to the Maoris as having been one of the most zealous supporters of Governor Browne's aggressive policy and of the first Stafford Ministry. Both the natural disposition and the life experience of the Maoris had implanted in them a distrust for all professions of friendship from an old enemy; so that neither Mr. Firth nor Mr. Stafford should ever have hoped to be treated with much confidence by them. If the early actions of Mr. Stafford in his second Ministry had ever softened their hearts at all, they were now for ever hardened against him by his harsh dismissal of Mr. McLean, in whom they had more confidence, and with whom they were more disposed to enter into important negotiations for peace than with any other Euro-

pean except Dr. Featherston. Even Mr. Fox never recovered any approach to the confidence they once placed in him, after his easy and astonishing acquiescence in the demands of the Whitaker Ministry of which he had so unwisely become a subordinate member.

In January, the Panama Mail Service came to an end, after having long cost to New Zealand more than it was worth. The loss was little lamented, as facilities for the carriage of mails were evidently growing in various other directions.

Mr. Stafford had always paid great attention to educational statistics for New Zealand; and as the statistics taken at the end of the year 1868 came slowly to hand, the results of the various systems of education were shown to give, everywhere, the advantage to those Provinces that had made the nearest approach to a thoroughly national and to a purely secular system of public education. Nelson still stood at the head, whilst Auckland, with its reprehensible indifference to the general education of its population, and its determined decision to aid only denominational schools, was left conspicuously behind all the rest. The number of children attending schools in each of the six original Provinces, from every hundred of the population, was—

In Auckland	....	3·7
Taranaki	....	3·9
Wellington	....	4·4
Canterbury	....	8·1
Otago	....	8·2
Nelson	....	9·4

Of children between 5 and 15 who could not rea there were, for every hundred of the population—

In Canterbury	....	59
Otago	....	54
Auckland	....	53
Wellington	....	52
Taranaki	....	44
Nelson	....	44

Of public money spent, per head of the population, on education there was—

		s.	d.
In Auckland	....	0	3½
Taranaki	....	1	4
Wellington	....	2	4
Canterbury	....	3	10
Otago	....	4	11
Nelson	....	5	7

The proportion per hundred, of the whole population, who could both read and write, was—

In Canterbury	....	27
Otago	....	30
Auckland	....	33
Wellington	....	35
Taranaki (chiefly educated in Nelson)	....	42
Nelson	....	42

Governor Bowen landed in Lyttelton for the first time on the morning of Monday, January 11. After receiving the usual patriotic addresses, he came on to Christchurch, attending a public lunch at the Town Hall, and driving to all the objects of public interest.

The fourth session of the fourth New Zealand Parliament was opened on Tuesday, June 1, 1869. In the absence of the Governor, the Speech was read by the Speaker of the Legislative Council, and dwelt almost exclusively with Native difficulties and the conduct of the war which had now so evidently become the rock upon which the Stafford Government must be wrecked. Weakened as the Government was by its injurious and unreasonable concessions to the powerful shareholders of the Bank of New Zealand when it gave the colonial guarantee to their provincial debentures without any compensation, it made an even more fatal blunder when it relinquished the services of Mr. Donald McLean, and employed Mr. Whitaker, as their agent in the most important Maori district. Both sides of the House were firmly—and, as was soon to be proved, rightly—convinced that, in the absence of Sir George

Grey and Dr. Featherston, Mr. McLean was the man who could exercise most influence on the Maori movements, whilst the Maoris had good reason to especially distrust the name of Whitaker, associated as it was with so many acts of aggression and oppression injurious to them. Followed as the change was by a widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the Maoris, and by a marked absence of system in coping with the Hau Haus, it was evident, even before the meeting of Parliament, that the Stafford Ministry would have to give way to some Ministry more likely to be trusted by the Maoris or to be respected by the Europeans. The far-seeing economists, few of whom were now in the House, had trusted Mr. Stafford's plain declarations of simple, unmystified retrenchment and economy, which they knew to be the only safe policy for the colony to adopt and which they were justified in expecting from Mr. Stafford's antecedents. They had, with more patience than wisdom, waited for the exhibition of his promised financial policy only to ultimately realise that he had politely left the Treasury to Mr. Fitzherbert and all his clever devices, which were now too plainly seen to be only the old spendthrift's policy of "be merry to-day and not think of to-morrow," a constant series of negotiations to provide for present extravagance by the large and permanent increase of the national debt. Instead of his one homely, but effectual safeguard from financial disaster, Mr. Stafford had gone—like the cat to the fox—to witness a series of tricks, supposed to be very clever, but none of which proved so successful as the one to which his own natural instinct would have led him would certainly have been. It is probable that he himself was not either fascinated or deluded by Mr. Fitzherbert's popular mystifications in finance, but thought it politic and, perhaps, constitutional to comply with the proposals so evidently approved by a majority of the House, and by the colleagues whom he had unwisely accepted at the dictation of the House. Such a concession more naturally than justly caused him to be

afterwards accused of a desire to retain office at any sacrifice of his own dignity or his own convictions.

When the Parliament met, his weak Minister of Defence, his theoretical Native Minister, and his inaccurate roaming Treasurer, added not a little to the difficulties of Mr. Stafford's situation, and to the general dissatisfaction with the confusion, and expense and danger of his military operations and preparations. Such real difficulties were made the most of by the effective satire of Mr. Fox, as well as by the often just and able, and always plausible, financial criticisms of Mr. Vogel; whilst, on all Maori questions, Mr. McLean was able to speak with an authority which no member of the Government could over-ride, and to a House prepared to resent the injustice he had received at the hands of the Ministry. Thus it was that Mr. Stafford met the Parliament of 1869, fully convinced that he would be able to carry no party measures, nor long to hold the position of Premier.

It was just in the first few days of his helplessness as a Minister that the Ballot Bill was brought in by Mr. Reynolds as a private member, and although not finally adopted in this session, was carried through its first stages by a majority of 37 to 18, Mr. Stafford voting for it, as he always had done, and his Treasurer, Postmaster, and Native Minister voting against it. The Premier and the leader of the Opposition voted in the same lobby. All the Nelson members voted for the Bill, and most of the Canterbury members against it. In the Council the second reading was carried by a majority of 19 to 6.

Four days after the Ballot Bill had passed its second reading, Mr. Fox proposed a formal vote of No Confidence, which was carried, after two weeks' debate, by a majority of 40 to 29. Mr. Fox spoke well, and made a crushing attack upon the Government, especially on their Maori policy, which Mr. Stafford struggled vainly to justify. Even Mr. Carleton, who voted for and professed to speak for the Government, was quite unable to say anything in

their favour, except that they were less guilty than any other New Zealand Government. He said:—"I say that no one Government we have ever had is entitled to cast a stone at any other Government. It is a question only of degree: some have been more and some less guilty." This was a low ground of defence, and had as little weight with the House as it deserved to have. The No-Confidence motion was carried by a majority of eleven; and what was practically Mr. Stafford's second reign of five years came to an end. In both cases he lost the confidence of the House, less by his own faults, although they were neither small nor few, than by his adoption as his own of the fatal mistakes of his colleagues, by accepting, against his own better judgment, in the one case the Native policy of Mr. C. W. Richmond, and in the other the Native policy of Mr. J. C. Richmond, and the financial policy of Mr. Fitzherbert.

Mr. Stafford had occupied the position of Premier during nearly ten of the thirteen years in which New Zealand had practised Responsible Government. He had brought to his work many highly useful qualities; he originated many of the most desirable laws that are still on the New Zealand Statute Books. But for his unfortunate absence in England during the year 1859, the Waitara war—and the two other disastrous wars which resulted from it — would probably never have lowered the reputation, and wasted the early resources of the young colony. The three years that followed his first resignation, and preceded his second administration, were the three years of the most prodigal waste, the most helpless incapacity, and the most reckless administration that any New Zealand historian is ever likely to have the misfortune to record. He was the constant, consistent advocate of truly liberal national education. His constitutional aims were high, his knowledge of successful and unsuccessful political history was large; but there was an absence of personal magnetism, as well as of high devotion to duty, which

left him sometimes without the necessary power, or the necessary firmness, to do what did not appear politic, although it was manifestly right. This sometimes lowered him from the statesman to the politician, and made him aim at success when he should have been guided by duty. But there was yet a lower standard by which he was, more or less, justly estimated at the end of his public career in New Zealand. He did not always soar above the apparent claims of his own interests. He began his career in Nelson as a representative of the people, he wound up in Wellington as the trusted representative of his own class. His voice was the voice of democracy; his hand was not unfrequently the hand of privilege and monopoly.

But to no one was the defeat of the Stafford Government so unwelcome and so alarming as to Mr. Fitzherbert, and the manœuvres which he was assisted to perform, in his own interest, by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gisborne, throw a very strong light upon how the public interest may be, and too often is, sacrificed to the very men who are selected and highly paid to protect it. One of the most common fallacies put forward by the advocates of extravagant salaries to civil servants is the assertion that you cannot expect men to be trustworthy unless they are highly paid. Any faithful history of the world, but especially of New Zealand, could not fail to show abundant evidence to the contrary. There is perhaps no country in the world whose public interest has been so ably and faithfully protected during the last fifty years, as that of Switzerland, and none where such good and able and highly responsible public work has been done for so little money. The sterling, honest, incorruptible, badly paid public servants of New Zealand can be counted by thousands. The honest patriots, the unselfish administrators, the men in high places who have sought the public interest before their own, whilst being highly paid for handling millions of the public money, could certainly be counted on the fingers of one hand. The great frauds, the great public salaries, the unaccounted for defalcations,

the fraudulent and ruinous contracts have been almost exclusively practised by men in the best paid positions, and not infrequently by men who have been publicly elected to those positions.

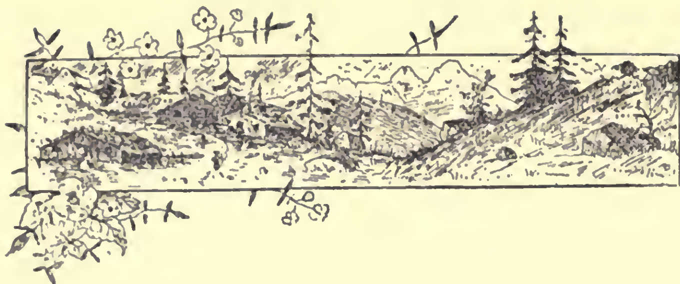
An Act had been passed, under which the civil servants of the Provincial Government of Wellington, to which Mr. Fitzherbert belonged, were to be treated in the matter of pensions as if they had been servants of the General Government, and entitled to retire on a pension after a certain period of service, and after reaching the age of sixty years. This right Mr. Fitzherbert had forfeited by throwing up his office of Provincial Secretary to take the political position of Colonial Treasurer in the Weld and Stafford Governments. But, in the Fox Ministry, there were no "skinflints" to deal with, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gisborne, had put himself in exactly the same position as Mr. Fitzherbert, and was equally dependent upon the law being framed or construed in his interest. But there were a number of other obstacles to the coveted pension. Mr. Fitzherbert was now out of office altogether, and the law required continued service up to sixty years of age. Mr. Fitzherbert was not yet fifty-eight years of age, and had already received a year's leave of absence, which was all the law allowed any Government to give. But even that little difficulty was amicably arranged, and Mr. Fitzherbert got leave of absence for two years, eight months and one week.

On December 2, 1869, the Hon. William Fitzherbert wrote to his friend, the Hon. William Gisborne —"The date of my baptismal register is August 15, 1810. I am at least therefore well advanced in my 60th year, which I submit meets the requirements of the Act." This was rather too much even for the Hon. W. Gisborne to take upon himself, without legal advice, so that he applied to the Attorney-General, Mr. Prendergast, who seems to have been a distinctly hard-hearted man, as he sent the Hon. William Gisborne the following oracular answer :—"I am of opinion that in order to attain the age of 60 years a person

must live 60 years. It cannot be said that an infant at the instant of its birth has attained the age of one year, and similarly it cannot be said that the instant a person has lived 59 years he has attained the age of 60 years." So that poor Mr. Fitzherbert had to wait, still under leave of absence, until the 10th of August, 1870, and then his friend applied in confidence for the production of "the baptismal register" that had been relied on, but received for an answer,—"Since the receipt of your letter I have searched for the certificate of my baptismal register, which I expected to find with the documents of my life insurance, but have been unable to find it." But even that did not matter; there was no one to defend the interest of the poor taxpayers, and the Colonial Secretary sent Mr. Fitzherbert a very kind letter, in which he said,—"In reply I have to state that, although the baptismal register is mislaid, I have no doubt that your memory is correct as to the date of that register; and therefore I think it is only equitable to allow a month previous to that date as the probable date of your birth."

Mr. Fitzherbert's pension, thus illegally obtained, was paid to him for more than twenty years, notwithstanding the fact that, up to the day of his death, he was also receiving some £600 a year as Speaker, either of the House or of the Legislative Council.

After so much experience in this line, the Hon. W. Gisborne was of course well versed in the convenient use that could be made of "leave of absence," and when applying for his own pension on January 18th (whilst still receiving £800 a year on leave of absence), he wrote to the Colonial Secretary:—"As another complete year of my service will end on the 12th of July next, I have the honour to request that my leave of absence may be so far extended as to meet that date, and thus allow me to count another year's service in the calculation of my retiring pension."



CHAPTER LX.

THE TRIUMPH OF A BOLD BORROWER.

PARADOXICAL as it may appear, considering the many articles in newspapers insisting upon economy and retrenchment, there is nothing which makes a Government so unpopular. I say, from my own experience, that there is nothing which makes a Government so unpopular as a careful economy. —MR. STAFFORD TO TIMARU ELECTORS, MARCH 1, 1871.

ON June 28, 1869, Mr. Fox took his seat for the third time as the Premier of New Zealand. He was at first associated with only two colleagues as Ministers. Whilst Mr. Fox was acting as Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Vogel had been his financial, and Mr. McLean his Native adviser, and they had both been treated by Mr. Fox with all the unlimited, unsuspecting, kindness, trust and confidence that he so invariably extended to his friends, his colleagues, or his associates. To avoid the drudgery which Mr. Fox had performed when Colonial Secretary, under Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Gisborne—the Under-Secretary in the Colonial Secretary's office—was soon appointed Colonial Secretary, with a seat in the Legislative Council. Dr. Featherston and Mr. Bell, with an eye to something better in England, consented to act as members of the Executive, without portfolio. Such arrangements made the position more easy to Mr. Fox than he had ever found it before, and

left him at liberty to give his best attention to what he was sure to do best as the lively leader of the House of Representatives, and the conductor of platform campaigns in the provinces. But, as usual, his colleagues were to be everything, and he was to be little more than the medium of bringing them into popularity and power. Indeed, he was now associated with two no common men, whom he was to nurse, as the hedge sparrow nurses the cuckoo, until they were strong enough to no longer need his assistance, although it cannot be said that they ever forget his kindness.

It would have been well for New Zealand, and, ultimately, for Mr. Vogel himself, if he could have been left to continue his useful opposition work, with no power to carry out those bold financial speculations, made still more dangerous by his connection with Mr. Macandrew, but which had, up to this time, been restrained by his own very limited resources, and by the deeply pledged credit of the province of Otago. When he had, five years before, taken such a really prominent part in turning Mr. Weld out of office, he had distinctly calculated upon being at least included in Mr. Stafford's Ministry, and afterwards openly complained that he had been used as the cat's-paw to get the chestnuts out of the fire, without having received any adequate reward. But, as a rule, he kept a very steady eye upon his own gratification, and might, no doubt, have been longer successful if he had not always kept his own personal interests quite so conspicuously in view. However, he learned a great deal in the five years of not very patient waiting for promotion. Mr. Stafford's experience during that period was an object lesson to him, and gave him the key which he used so unmercifully but so successfully to place himself, for a few years, on the pinnacle of his highest ambition.

It must be admitted that he never pretended to be a patriot, and it requires no exercise of the imagination to picture him saying, "What have all Mr. Stafford's objections to increase the National Debt, his projects of economy, his condemnation of extravagance, done

for him ? Simply reduced him to the position of playing a secondary part to such an inferior man as Fitzherbert, to a man who had but little of his solid, useful natural power, none of his prudence, and none of his patriotism. Had not Bell, Domett, Whitaker, Russell, and Fitzherbert, and his dear friends Macandrew and Moorhouse, all scorned economy, and all assisted to vigorously pile up the crushing unequalled National Debt of New Zealand? And yet who blamed them even after the result of their always popular extravagance was seen ? Had not Stafford been more worried for talking about economy than any one of these spendthrifts, or all of them put together, had ever been denounced for creating millions of debt ? In every case, the bolder the extravagance, the more certain was it to be adopted and applauded, and surely I could outbid them all and easily make the money-hunters and the wire-pullers of the Colony believe that the blessings of peace, which must follow upon Mr. McLean's Native policy, were really the blessings produced by a bold system of finding a good Government position for all my disciples, raising the salary of every civil servant, giving 'substantial endowments' to every Road Board, and borrowing the money, and selling the national estate to keep all going merrily until I could get myself appointed as Agent-General in England, and leave some one else to find the interest of the borrowed money and the increased expenditure of every inflated and superfluous Government department. In this way I could immediately get a thousand a year for my salary, more than a thousand a year for my travelling expenses, and how joyfully would the Bank of New Zealand honour my overdrafts, however large, and say nothing about them if they were never paid. My benevolent friend Fox would be sure to support his 'able Treasurer;' Stafford would wonder what had come to New Zealand—he might even talk about 'standing by her cradle and following her bier,'—but he would not dare to say another word about economy, and, in any case, he would only be called an old fossil ; John Hall

and Mr. Stevens could not help rejoicing to see the provinces they hated so much over-ridden and abolished by such a strong central Government, and Atkinson would be sure to come and offer himself as an apprentice to such a successful dictator, whilst both Atkinson and Richmond would be on the look out to get some more borrowed money for Taranaki. Of course the Temperance party would support the 'Fox Government,' and the Publicans would always support the boldest borrower. Macandrew would lead the Otago members, and Moorhouse would show what the City of Christchurch thought of the 'progressive policy.' The advertising newspapers would necessarily come in for no small share of the 'general prosperity,' and the now numerous electors on the gold-fields would not care a rush about who had to pay the National Debt of the future. Where, then, could the power be found that would make a firm, bold stand against such certainly popular proposals? Vogel would for a time be the favourite in every constituency; the auctioneers would chant his praises at their sales; the land speculators would extol his wisdom; and, with so much money to borrow and to spend, it would be his own fault if he did not make abundant friends amongst his old comrades, amongst the mammon of unrighteousness in the great metropolis of the world."

Such were not the dreams of a visionary enthusiast; they were the deliberate decisions—the more than realised calculations—of one of the shrewdest of men, based on many years' experience of public life in Auckland, in Otago and in Wellington, and with the most complete insight into the character of the public men, the public servants, and the public electors of New Zealand.

But whilst Mr. Vogel was preparing to open the arteries of the Colony in one direction, Mr. Fox and Mr. McLean were humanely closing them in another, and on the great question of Native administration no Ministerial change was ever more beneficial to New Zealand than that which now gave Mr. McLean the

power to use his great influence with the Maoris in the restoration of peace, and with the House in the adoption of possible finance, instead of continuing its wild and ruinous expenditure, and degrading New Zealand by abject appeals to the power which had, with the best intentions, brought on most of her disasters and impecuniosity by sending her 10,000 troops under such a commander as General Cameron.

On the day after he had accepted office, Mr. Fox frankly and forcibly confessed the hopeless military and financial condition to which the Colony had been reduced. In his first Ministerial Statement he said to the House—"As far as we have been able to obtain an insight into the state of affairs, we are, I may almost say, dismayed to find the extent to which we are now involved in general hostilities, and at the enormous cost of the operations conducted against the Maoris at this season of the year. We believe many of those operations to be attended with the most ruinous results and imminent peril to the forces in the field, and that the costliness of these operations is such that it is impossible for this country to face it. The intention of the present Government is to retire as far as possible from agressive operations, to throw ourselves into a more defensive position, and to reduce, by a very large amount, the Colonial forces, and the tremendous expenditure which is being carried on in connection with them."

Mr. Fitzherbert had returned from his long stay in England entirely unsuccessful in obtaining any concession, either in the way of troops which had proved in the past such a white elephant to the Colony, or in the last fond and forlorn hope of the deluded Stafford Government, that England would guarantee a loan of a million and a-half, without which it was impossible to continue what Mr. Fox now found to be the "tremendous expenditure." It is fortunate that England at this time so firmly refused Mr. Fitzherbert's application to give this financial aid, as if it had been given it would most likely have been thrown away, for if it could have been obtained it is very unlikely that a majority of the

House would have supported Mr. McLean—as they were now compelled to do—in his sensible and successful negotiations for peace with the Maori King, with Wiremu Kingi, and with the many powerful Chiefs who only waited to follow their example.

Prior to the removal of the Stafford Government, both the Government and the House had practically reached a position of helplessness. Their enemies were increasing, their resources and their credit were alike exhausted. Te Kooti and Titokowaru could not be captured, and the barbaric reward of £5000 for either of their heads had brought much discredit upon New Zealand, and had tempted none of their defenders to betray them. The avenues for peace were clearly accessible; but neither the Stafford Government, nor the House under their lead, appeared either able or willing to resort to them. They talked only of some way, however humiliating, of destroying their enemies, of restoring their credit, and of increasing their debts. The war had degenerated into something little better than a series of savage, discreditable acts of retaliation on either side; and yet in truth, both sides were deeply feeling that nothing was to be gained by the continuance of such an utterly hopeless and profitless contest. Thus no man ever had a clearer field in which to figure as the friend and benefactor of both races than that which was now entered upon by Mr. McLean in the full-blown power of a Native Minister, fully trusted and empowered by his own party under their indulgent chief, and hopefully watched, even by his political antagonists. From the day on which he entered, with unlimited authority, upon his peaceful mission, what we may call the third and last of the disgraceful, calamitous wars, which originated with the cruel and unprovoked maltreatment of Wiremu Kingi, was practically abandoned by both races, although both parties vainly continued the pursuit of Te Kooti as the common enemy of both.

Mr. McLean's work in this direction must have been as pleasant as it was successful. Mr. Fox was, as usual, more than willing to give to his colleague all

the power he could desire, and all the credit he deserved, whilst Mr. Vogel was almost equally happy in being left unfettered to obtain all the popularity that awaited the Treasurer who could first bring down a Financial Statement in which he was not called on to provide for the unlimited demands of a ceaseless, senseless war.

Each week brought telegrams recording the success of Mr. McLean's mission to the various Maori centres, and even some of the bellicose newspapers had ceased to blow the flames of the ruinous war that had so completely exhausted the long drained resources of the Colony. In the last month of the year, a telegram stated that "some Natives had stopped the progress of the Opunake road and seized the surveyor's theodolite, asserting that surveying was only the first step of the pakeha before seizing the land;" but this was immediately followed by a telegram stating that "Wiremu Kingi is very angry with the Natives. He recovered the surveyor's implements, and the surveying party is again at work."

In describing the effect of the change of policy by his Government, to a crowded and applauding audience in Christchurch, on May 10, 1870, Mr. Fox said:—"I have said, and cannot repeat it too often, that the great difference between the late Government and the present Government is this—that they went in to have a great war, and have it regardless of consequences. Now, that is all very manly and bull-doggish, but utterly destructive of our interests, and would have the result of laying three millions, if not more, on your shoulders. We wish to terminate the war with as little of the bayonet as possible. (Hear, and cheers). . . At the time we took office two expeditions were out—one on the West and the other on the East Coast. Both of these were in a state of absolute and open mutiny; and what we deemed proper was to recall both these expeditions—the one because we calculated that it had a tendency to provoke an open rising of the King party, and the other because it was such a state of disorganisation that it was absolutely useless, if not

injurious, and was costing the Colony £800 a day. . . During the greater part of the time the late Government was in office they thought they had achieved some success in the Native War, yet they had nothing but disaster. Their forces were driven within four miles of the town of Wanganui, from the country lying at the bottom of Mount Egmont right down upon the town of Wanganui; and though they did recover their position to a certain extent, by Te Kooti being driven out, or leaving the country for want of food, still they experienced great disasters, and before their eyes settlements were destroyed, the people driven out, and some of them out of New Zealand altogether. On the East Coast they had little or no success. It is true they captured Ngatapa with Ropata's assistance. During the year we have been in office we have never had one single reverse before the enemy. (Cheers). I believe I am strictly accurate in saying that whether the enemy was attacked by Native allies or ourselves, we have always had a signal victory. (Cheers). We have had a great, marked, crushing, and conclusive success. (Renewed cheers). Now I am fain to think, and hopeful to believe, and it is my firm conviction that we have actually struck the last blow that will have to be struck in New Zealand. (Cheers). I feel confident of this that if the same success attends our operations during the next few months as has attended them up to the present time, there is no probability that there will be anything again in the way of a Native rebellion or war in the North Island. (Hear and cheers). . . It cannot be denied that Mr. McLean has great power over the Natives. They have a sort of superstitious belief in him, and in him lies the working out of this great problem; and glad was I to stand on the same platform, and avail myself of his influence in solving the Native problem. (Cheers). If he is allowed to do it, Mr. McLean will be able to effect that which our opponents unfortunately never have done, to gain the confidence of the Native race. It was an unfortunate thing that the late Ministry was viewed by the Natives

in the light it undoubtedly was looked upon by them. The late Ministry actually stank in Native nostrils; Mr. Richmond was one of a family looked upon by the Natives as being the cause of all their troubles by the Waitara purchase. . . . . Colonel Whitmore, the man who had the war department put into his own hands, had the utmost and most sovereign contempt for the Natives, and never lost an opportunity of showing it."

A few days before Mr. Fox addressed the large meeting in the Christchurch Town Hall, Mr. Rolleston had been re-elected Superintendent of Canterbury. His election was opposed by his predecessor, Mr. Moorhouse, who, as usual, came forward as the friend of progress, and described Mr. Rolleston as the friend of stagnation. Mr. Moorhouse's unbounded faith in borrowing was put by himself in a few words addressed to the electors in his usual unguarded style when he said —"In proportion as we increase our indebtedness we are certain to have a more than equally increased power of paying taxes." But the majority of the electors of Canterbury had by experience lost their old faith in this sanguine assurance, and elected the more prudent of their two tried public servants by a majority of two to one—by a majority of 1800 for Mr. Rolleston against a minority of 897 for Mr. Moorhouse.

It was, however, only a few months after this defeat that the new charms of Mr. Vogel's proposals for wholesale and continuous borrowing, ably and unreservedly backed as they were by the "Lyttelton Times," so completely enchanted the electors of Christchurch, that their member, Mr. Travers, who had not been an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Vogel's schemes, was provoked to resign his seat, and Mr. Moorhouse was elected without opposition on the full understanding that he would aid and abet Mr. Vogel in carrying out the most vigorous, hopeful anticipation and appropriation of future revenue that Vogel *cum* Macandrew *atque* Moorhouse could devise.

The year 1870 will thus be always remembered in New Zealand as the year in which the Colony was re-

Hon. William Rolleston.

lieved from the exhausting financial pressure brought upon her by the follies or crimes of 1860, abundantly supplemented by the incapacity of General Cameron, and by the mingled weakness and wickedness of the three following short-lived administrations. In that long war, the virgin wealth of her widely spread gold-fields, the fabulous prices received for her agricultural produce, and the rapid increase of her flocks and herds on a thousand hills, were, for the most part, wastefully and recklessly dissipated, and the revenues of the future anticipated, not for purposes of honest defence, but rather in the expectation of exhibiting to the Maoris a military superiority which we never possessed. It was a just retribution for our pride and our folly that, after all, the long, useless war was brought to a close, not by any glorious victories, not by any exhibitions of our own superior valour, not by any demonstration of the righteousness of our original demands, but by practically conceding all that Wiremu Kingi had ever claimed from the very first—by simply letting him and his alone as he so pathetically entreated Governor Browne to do, by seeking the moral influence of the very Maoris we had attempted to destroy, and by employing as our allies the brave men and the skilful officers that we had so foolishly expected to astonish and to intimidate with our military superiority.

Nor was it less instructive to the nation that the reconciliation was now brought about by the man who had, in the capacity of Chief Native Commissioner, so far back as March 20, 1861, persuaded the Maori King Maker to send back his 400 armed Waikatos from Taranaki, and Wiremu Kingi to retire quietly to his inland home; who had, in fact, concluded honourable terms of peace that would have saved the loss of many millions of money, thousands of lives, and incalculable disgrace to New Zealand, but which were disallowed by Governor Browne in consequence of the unfortunate arrival of General Cameron ten days later.

But, just as the plague of war was stayed, the plague of reckless expenditure, made possible by pro-

longed and systematic borrowing, seemed to take possession of the majority of the electors, and of all the rulers of New Zealand. Just as the flame of war had been fanned for ten years by the cry of "We are not going to be bossed by the Maoris," the curse of wild extravagance and ever-growing taxation was carried shoulder high by the cry of "We must have a railway through our land," or, "Why should we pay for railways for our great grand-children?" No man could be elected who would not promise to vote for "our railway," and no man was listened to who dared to suggest that the proper fund with which to build railways was the money taken for land now so rapidly sold, and which was to be made accessible and valuable by their construction. Mr. Fox, and even Mr. McLean, were hardly remembered as being members of the Ministry at all, and the one man whose "transcendent ability" was proclaimed, not only all over New Zealand, but throughout Australia, was the great borrower, the man who had shown the way to instant prosperity, the man who had put every capitalist buying land, the man who would listen to no miserable, cheese-paring economists, who would place the establishment of the Governor of New Zealand upon a footing that would "do honour to the Colony," who could command palace cars, and special trains to convey him through Australia and America, and, above all, who could raise the salaries, not of a few dozen favourites only, but actually put 15 per cent. increase on the whole batch at one masterly stroke, and could find employment, or at least find salaries, for some 10,000 men in the great Liberal Public Service of New Zealand. Such a great man was not only idolized, he was, unfortunately, imitated. The public men of Australia, as they saw him riding in their palace cars, and heard of his sailing in the same way across the continent of America, were all infected with his "transcendent ability" and enthusiasm, and vied with each other in piling up comprehensive and respectable National Debts.

The time for the sudden exhibition of all this reck-

less expenditure was most unfortunate. The gold-fields of California, of Australia and of New Zealand, had just completed their first and heaviest contributions to the circulating medium of the world; so that gold was just at its lowest value, and it therefore required nearly three times as much of it to purchase a given quantity of railway iron and other material as would have been required a few years later, when the remarkably rapid appreciation of gold had more than doubled the value of the interest to be paid for the cheap gold borrowed and expended, and of the salaries which the multiplied civil servants had been taught to expect. This most unfortunate appreciation of gold was made to injure New Zealand even more than it would naturally have done by the foresight and acuteness of the English ironmasters, who, during the whole time of the rapid and enormous fall in the price of iron, found means to induce the unsuspecting authorities in New Zealand to take a large portion of the borrowed money in railway iron, and thus to lay in immense stocks of material that were every month falling in their gold value.

In little more than three years after its separation from Otago, which took place in April, 1861, the Province of Southland had borrowed half a million of money. This soon brought the small population of that Province into difficulties, and left the Provincial Government unable to meet its engagements. In the session of 1869, a permissive Bill was passed, allowing the two Provinces of Otago and Southland to be re-united by mutual consent. That consent having been agreed on by both Provinces, an Act, called the Otago and Southland Union Act, was passed in the session of 1870 to complete the union. At the time of this re-union, Southland's Provincial debt was £453,700, besides £13,000 owed to the General Government and £1700 to private individuals. The Colonial Secretary informed the Legislative Council that from "the end of last March the Southland Government were unable to carry on their departmental functions, and the General Govern-

ment were compelled to advance money to maintain hospitals, harbours, jails, police, and other institutions. Of course the General Government had no legal authority to do this, but it adopted that course with the view of preventing anarchy and confusion." In the whole Province there were said to be at this time, only 11 schools, with a total average attendance of 195 children.

On November 24, Mr. Vogel announced that he had concluded a contract for the carriage of mails to and from San Francisco, the payment for twelve monthly trips to be £40,000, and the half of any subsidies in aid contributed by Australia or New Caledonia.

As Commissioners for the Colony in London, Dr. Featherston and Mr. Bell were well chosen by Mr. Fox, and were distinctly successful. Their position in London was greatly improved by the happy negotiations for peace which were being effected by Mr. McLean, and reported by every mail from New Zealand. The English Government was naturally more willing to guarantee a loan to be expended upon public works than it would be to do so for a loan to be lavished on a war which they never believed to be either necessary or justifiable. Dr. Featherston's reputation as a peacemaker, and as an opponent of all the actions that had led to the war, would add much to his influence in London, and the manners of both of the Commissioners were courtly and attractive. Of these Commissioners the "European Mail" reported at the time:—"Their obtaining the Imperial guarantee to a Million Loan is a surprise alike to political and city circles, and the ability, tact and firmness with which they concluded the negotiations were admitted on all hands."

Of this period the London *Times* wrote:—"If ever men were born soldiers the Maoris are these men. It will be no slight advantage to turn these skilful warriors into hardy labourers, and surely the genius which produced all those impregnable earthworks in the shape of fortified pahs might be easily diverted to the more useful arts of civil engineering."

On returning to Canterbury, after his warm support of Mr. Vogel's proposals, Mr. Moorhouse expressed his intention of retiring from public life, and was hailed with almost as much enthusiasm by the people of Christchurch as when he returned from Australia with the contractors for the Lyttelton tunnel. Nor was his patriotism seriously questioned when it was seen that the Government had rewarded his services to them by appointing him to the well paid position of Registrar General of Lands. On the 24th of November, 1870, Mr. Sawtell proposed in the Canterbury Provincial Council that a sum of £2,500 should be given to Mr. Moorhouse in consideration of his great public services. Mr. Cowlishaw told the Council that they had no power to vote money for such a purpose; but he was told that he was altogether too fond of raising legal objections, and the proposal was carried by a majority of 15 to 6.

The General Elections, which came off in February, 1871, were conducted in the same spirit, although Mr. Vogel's past financial performances in Otago were the subject of much ridicule, and he was roughly handled at a meeting in Dunedin; but even in his own country, he was afterwards well heard. He, however, revenged himself upon the electors of Otago by transferring the honour of electing the future Premier of New Zealand to the city of Auckland, where he was not opposed. Mr. Stafford had no opposition at Timaru; but there was no general enthusiasm behind his election; it was not to him that the Colony owed the fertilising showers of borrowed millions, and, with all his power and experience, it was evident that he would now be completely overshadowed by the man he distrusted so much, and had despised so long. Even in Taranaki Mr. J. C. Richmond had become unpopular; as he condemned the speculative policy of Mr. Vogel with no uncertain sound, and was badly defeated after a very unpleasant contest. Mr. Rolleston was returned unopposed for the Avon, and Mr. Hall for the Heathcote. For the city of Christchurch East, Mr. E. J. Wake-

field defeated Mr. Duncan. Mr. Wakefield's career had long been a downward one, and the *Lyttelton Times* said of his election:—"Mr. Wakefield is thoroughly known in Canterbury and it is therefore unnecessary to say that we think his election is a calamity which the whole province will be more than sorry for." But the most eagerly contested and the most practically important election in Canterbury was the election for Selwyn, in which Mr. Reeves, the Managing Director of the *Lyttelton Times* and *Canterbury Times*, defeated Mr. Stevens by a majority of one only. Mr. Stevens occupied nearly the same position in the control of the *Press* newspaper that Mr. Reeves occupied on the staff of the *Lyttelton Times*; so that it was an interesting struggle between the two newspapers, as well as between an early and a very pronounced supporter, and a very able critic of the Vogel policy. Still more prominence was given, both by the candidates and by the electors, to the question of protection or no protection to the farmers in the form of a corn law which was vigorously advocated by Mr. Reeves and well, long and consistently opposed by Mr. Stevens. In Auckland, Mr. Reader Wood was returned for Parnell by a large majority as an avowed opponent to the Vogel policy; but the majority of the members elected were decided Ministerialists, including Mr. Swanson, so long afterwards the favourite representative of Newton. In Otago, Mr. Macandrew defeated Mr. Jago for Port Chalmers by a large majority; Mr. Bell, at Mataura, obtained 235 votes against two opponents who only obtained 143 between them.

In the Nelson district, the greatest interest was excited by the contest between the Speaker, Sir David Monro, who opposed the old member, Mr. Parker, for the Motueka. The result was declared by the Returning Officer to be a tie, and his vote was given for Sir David; but a Committee of the House decided against Monro and censured the Returning Officer. The long standing Chairman of Committees, Mr. Carleton, who aimed to be the lawgiver and claimed to be the

Father of the House, and had often come into very severe collision with Mr. Vogel, was not re-elected to the House ; but his absence was not a national calamity, as it led to the occupation of the chair by Mr. O'Rorke, who also occupied the chair of the Auckland Provincial Council, and was thus in good training for the Speaker's chair, which he was destined to occupy for so many years with unexampled ability and satisfaction. The elections, upon the whole, were supposed to have given a majority of from 12 to 15 in favour of the Fox Ministry, or, as Mr. Vogel called it, "in favour of his great Public Works policy."

But even these successful elections, added to, and mainly resulting from, Mr. McLean's complete success in putting an end to the war, were not the most important factor in the wonderful combination of favouring incidents that seemed for a time to crowd round the daring projects of the applauded speculator. The main factors which gave lustre to all his enterprises, which concealed all his over-sanguine calculations, which gave confidence, even to the money lenders, in defiance of the unparalleled debt upon the small population, were the great facts that, during the year 1871, the price of New Zealand wool rose to two shillings per lb., and that, during a portion of the year 1872, both wheat and barley were selling at seven shillings per bushel. Such were the facts which multiplied the Customs revenue, put every one seeking for Government land, and thus gave the Treasurer the means to set 8,000 enriched Civil servants chanting his praises and pointing the finger of contempt to the "old fossils" who believed debt to be dangerous and had objected to his "enlightened enterprise."

In 1872 Wiremu Kingi was induced, by the persevering efforts of Mr. McLean, to forgive all the wrongs he had suffered, and once more, by his return to Waitara, to treat his European neighbours with the confidence they had so long and so justly forfeited. After twelve years of seclusion, in which he suffered and acted like a sincere Christian and lived down all the scanda-

lous misrepresentations that had been heaped upon his truly noble character, the children of the very settlers who had applauded Governor Browne for attempting his destruction took a most prominent and interesting part in the public welcome which awaited his return. They now crowded round him and were delighted to proclaim that the good old man had affectionately shaken their hands and commended them to the blessing of God. It was an appropriate reception for the brave old man who had so firmly resisted the powerful oppressor, but who had allowed no provocation to betray him into acts of revenge upon the innocent or the weak.

CHAPTER LXI.

Vogel in the Zenith of his Power.

The Government has greatly abused its powers and patronage, and has inculcated the lesson that the avenue to advancement and profit lay through the door of political prostitution. I trust that the House in such an emergency will rise above the spirit of party contention to a sense of its duty to the country, and place the administration of the government of New Zealand in the hands of men who will act under some sense of what is due to their own responsible position, and to the honour and safety of the Colony.—Sir David Monro, November, 1872.

The first session of the new Parliament was formally opened on Monday, August 14, 1872, by Commission; but the Governor delivered his Speech in person on the following day. The unauthorised contract by the Treasurer for the San Francisco Mail Service was made the first subject for congratulation. But the death of Tamati Waka Nene, who died at Kororareka, August 4, 1871, received an early and appropriate notice in the words, "he was alike distinguished for his loyalty to the Queen, and his friendship with the pakeha, and, whether in peace or war, was ever ready to aid in establishing the Queen's authority by promoting colonization." The Speech gave more prominence to the subject of National education than any other Governor's Speech had done. The sixteenth paragraph was: "It is of the greatest importance that elementary in-

struction should be more widely diffused, and that popular education should be raised to a higher standard. A Bill will be laid before you to provide for both these ends."

Sir David Monro, whose own election to the House was in dispute, proposed Mr. Dillon Bell as Speaker. This was seconded by Mr. Brandon, and Mr. Bell was elected without opposition.

Mr. Hall was induced to resign his seat for Heathcote and to go into the Legislative Council to conduct the business of the Council as a member of the Fox Ministry. It was claimed by the New Zealand Press generally that he could not fail to bring to the Ministry a certain amount of prudence, and still more certainly a striking addition of methodical industry. As the representative of Heathcote his place was filled by Sir Cracroft Wilson, who was perhaps the most outspoken opponent of the Ministry that could have been found. He told the electors of Heathcote that he should be "a dirty blackguard" if he were to support a vote of twelve millions to be given to Mr. Vogel to spend just as he pleased for the next ten years.

It was very soon evident that Mr. Vogel's large majority had diminished before the stern realities of the public works that would, and that would not, be carried on at once. Any number of districts had been easily appeased with promises; but, when it came to a question of settling upon the lines of road that were actually to be first constructed, even the millions of borrowed money proved quite inadequate to meet all the high expectations that had been encouraged, and the malcontents were largely multiplied. The private contracts, to the extent of a million pounds, which Parliament had so madly allowed the Government to make with Messrs. Brogden and Co., were beginning to show up in their true light; and Mr. Fox could not fail to see that he had again lent his honest, unselfish name to facilitate transactions of the most selfish, irregular, and ruinous description. He had thoroughly enjoyed his own useful work in connection with Mr.

McLean ; and their joint action was hailed by all parties, both in and out of Parliament, as having been the salvation of New Zealand. But their beneficent action, and their well-earned reputation, were so heavily discounted by the profusion of their dangerous partner that it was soon evident to Mr. Fox himself that he had better retire from such a fearfully responsible partnership—in which he was so little consulted on the question of piling up debts which he could not possibly approve, and which the country could never redeem.

For many years past Mr. Fox had been losing his interest in politics, and had become increasingly absorbed in philanthropic work. During his late long stay in England he had undertaken employment and formed personal friendships which were far more in accordance with his natural disposition than his unsatisfactory work and his usually uncongenial colleagues in New Zealand had ever been. What time-serving, self-seeking politicians always call fads had become the serious, all-important work of his life. The general struggle for personal elevation, usually called politics, had little or no attraction for him. The envied name and the tinselled honours of successful emulation were never the aim and end of his ambition. His genial benevolence could find ecstasy in the hope of doing justice to the weak and to the oppressed, in the possibility of removing temptations that had bowed down the strong and degraded the virtuous, and in the elevation and salvation of those who had been their own oppressors and their own destroyers.

The House had not been in session many weeks before the Premier and the Treasurer had an opportunity each to display the gulf that separated them in estimating the comparative importance of the selfish aims and interests of the few as opposed to the moral elevation and extended virtue and happiness of the nation as a whole. Very early in the session Mr. Creighton brought in a Permissive Bill, which many members, who were most anxious that it should not be carried, were pledged to vote for. Mr. Fox forgot that he was

Premier, forgot that "Temperance was only a low, unpopular fad," forgot that a vote of No-Confidence in his Ministry would be coming off in a few days, and spoke as if he were in Exeter Hall enlarging on the millennium that would follow on the abolition of alcohol as an article of human consumption. But the Treasurer, Mr. Vogel, pointed out what an unworthy subject it was to occupy the attention of a House that had to decide upon great public works and great public expenditure, and said that prohibition would be advocated by the most wicked and designing reprobates, in the hope of injuring the highly respectable licensed publicans and brewers to make way for a swarm of sly grog shops. When the great party struggles came on, Mr. Fox authorised Mr. Vogel to say that he would not, under any circumstances, again accept the position of Premier. It was Sunday, August 20, when Mr. Vogel reached Wellington, in the mail steamer Nevada, on his return from England, where he had certainly not been idle, although he arrived sadly crippled with the gout. Besides agreeing to pay £60,000 for the San Francisco mail service for twenty years, borrowing a few millions of money, and a few trifles of that kind, he had actually, just before leaving England, arranged the great Brogden contract, both for the introduction of labour and the construction of railways. Of course this bargain was said to be "subject to the approval of Parliament;" but, nevertheless, Mr. Vogel brought with him Mr. Henderson, a member of the great firm of Brogden and Co., with two engineers, ready to go on with the work immediately, and it will be seen that the Colony had to pay, indirectly, a ruinous price for any deviations from that contract.

It was quite natural that the House should feel that they had nothing to do until the great man and all his bold proceedings were before them. The undoubtedly useful work that had been carried on by Mr. Fox and Mr. McLean during the year could not fail to give satisfaction to both sides of the House; so that even party hostility was silenced upon that subject, and the

men Mr. McLean had supplanted were only anxious to avoid any comparison of his work with theirs. On the rapid and prolonged increase of the debt, and the lavish expenditure of borrowed money, which the House was only called on to sanction after the Treasurer had bargained for its application, there was much room for a difference of opinion ; but the Treasurer had not only counted noses, he had gauged the effect of his proposals upon the value of the property held by the men who should have been, but were not, the masters and guardians of the public credit and the public purse, with the result that, although not personally either beloved or trusted, he could count, in the new House, on a good working majority in favour of even his boldest proposals. Mr. Hall was authorised to offer a seat in the Ministry to Mr. Stafford, which was, of course, refused.

Whilst waiting for more important business, the members of the House found some interesting party work in a very rough debate as to the circumstances under which their late Speaker had been elected for Motueka. The question was referred to a Committee, called the Motueka Election Committee, which, on September the 20th unseated Sir D. Monro, not so much for his own sins as for those of his Committee and the Returning Officer, and declared his opponent, Mr. Parker, to have been duly elected. Sir David was afterwards elected for Waikouaiti. On the 3rd of October Mr. Fox moved, and Mr. Stafford seconded, the adoption of an Address to the Governor, asking him to be pleased to confer upon Sir David Monro some mark of the Queen's approbation on the occasion of his retirement from the Speakership; but this was proposed and received with a bad grace, and nothing ever came of it.

Three days after the Governor's Speech had been delivered, Mr. Fox proposed a Bill, called the Election Petitions Bill, and Mr. Stafford and Sir David Monro accused the Government of hurrying on the Bill so that it might apply to Sir David Monro's election. Mr. Gisborne said that the Bill had been pre-

pared months ago, when there were five election petitions, four of which were against Government supporters. Both Mr. Stafford and Sir David Monro withdrew their charge against the Government, and Mr. Fox consented to the adjournment of the debate for three weeks.

Six days after his arrival, Mr. Vogel handed to the Premier a very long and a very able report of his proceedings in England and America. This report was laid on the table of the House on August 30, and occupies some ten pages in the Blue Books. It was published in full in most of the New Zealand papers, and contributed not a little to increase Mr. Vogel's unbounded popularity. Although he was not attractive as a public speaker, always leaning too much on his notes, Mr. Vogel had great power as a writer, being always vigorous and almost certain to gauge correctly the popular will for the time being. As a writer for the Victorian goldfields, he indulged in a style quite low and vulgar enough even for such readers. His own natural tastes were never elevated; and, like most other successful leaders of public opinion in New Zealand, he measured other people's corn with his own bushel. But, as the Editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, he very rapidly improved in his style which was still far more vigorous than refined. He made some sad mistakes in some very coarse personal attacks that he made upon the Chairman of Committees, upon Mr. Wakefield, and upon some other opponents in the House. But the House is a good school for the correction of such mistakes, and his very strong perceptive faculties made him an apt scholar, notwithstanding his unfortunate deafness; so that his style of writing was much more elevated before he left for his trip through Australia, America and England and almost intellectually lofty when he returned.

Before the month was out, Mr. Vogel gave the House distinctly to understand that, with a secure majority of the House at his back, he felt quite free to handle the public purse in any way that suited his own

convenience. On the 31st of August, Mr. Collins asked in the House whether over £50,000 was obtained from the Comptroller for the ostensible object of paying off certain debentures due within the year, and whether the money had been applied to other purposes. Mr. Vogel coolly replied that "the Government had found it inconvenient to pay off certain Treasury Bills, and had applied the money to other purposes." He added that "the Comptroller's time was chiefly occupied with disputes with the Government, which, though courteously conducted, were very unpleasant." Mr. Wood said that "it showed the inefficiency and absurdity of the system of control, and he hoped that such an example of the total inefficiency of the present costly system of audit would lead the House to save the expense of keeping up what was thus proved to be only a costly sham."

Mr. Gillies said that "the present system of control was sufficient with an honest Government, but not with an unscrupulous one."

On Wednesday, September 11, Mr. Vogel read his Financial Statement. The revenue for the financial year had been £116,000 less than he had estimated. It counted as one of its assets a sum of £10,000 which had been spent on ammunition which had not been consumed and was still in store. He clearly indicated the reversal of his views upon the great national value of Provincial institutions, and proposed to give £25,000 less to the Provinces, and more to the Road Boards. He wished his Budget to be known as the "Retrenchment Budget," but said it would be inconvenient to provide from the present year's revenues for more than £46,000 of the £136,000 deficiency of the past year. With the exception of an increase of the stamp duties, his increased taxation was to be protective, and duties would be placed on agricultural produce. Mr. Stafford characterised the pretended reductions of the Government as "a sham, a delusion, and a snare."

It was not until the beginning of October that an Opposition party was organised, and Mr. Stafford formally appointed as its leader.

After a great deal of time had been spent in discussing an Education Bill, which was ultimately withdrawn by the Government as being hopeless for that session, Mr. Fitzherbert, who had been elected to fill Dr. Featherston's place as Superintendent of Wellington, came forward on his own account with a Provincial Loan Bill for £100,000 which was supported by the Government.

As the session wore on, and the Government felt more and more secure of a majority, Mr. Vogel insisted, with a constantly increasing audacity, that all his demands should be granted, and all his contracts in England sanctioned, so far as the contractors wished them to be so, and for the future he demanded the passage of the Public Revenues Act which authorised him to spend £100,000 without a vote, or the prior sanction of Parliament, as it was "necessary that he should have a free hand to tide over existing deficiencies without increasing taxation."

Mr. Stafford said that "the obvious remedy for a deficiency in revenue was not to spend so much. The Government, however, had a majority which would give them half a million to spend as they please, just as readily as they would now give them £100,000, so that the Government were naturally surprised at their own moderation in asking so little."

Mr. Reid said that "it was by such a power as was now asked for,—by the power to spend what and where they pleased, that the Government had been able to secure its majority, and to borrow and spend whatever they pleased.

Mr. Macandrew spoke in high praise of what had been done, and expressed his belief that "the Government policy would prove an entire success."

The Bill was carried without a division.

In the sessions of the Canterbury Provincial Council of 1871-72, £500 and £300 were voted for the introduction of insectivorous birds. The various Acclimatisation Societies of the Colony had been very successfully and very usefully engaged in importing various

kinds of English fish, but there was a lamentable want of caution betrayed in the introduction of birds and weeds. Perhaps the most mischievous, because the most skilled and successful, effort to introduce field and garden pests was made with this £800. During the first month of the year 1872, the Charlotte Gladstone came into Lyttelton harbour with a very large quantity of birds, which arrived in wonderfully good condition, under the very skilful attention of Mr. Bills, and the assiduous attention and interest of Captain Fox. Sixty strong, healthy partridges were hailed with great delight, and were at once allotted, in lots of six each, to the care of ten gentlemen supposed to be most able and willing to protect them. But these short-winged birds, like the native New Zealand quail, were not destined to succeed without game laws and game-keepers. The rats, the dogs, the cats, the hawks, and the poisoned wheat used for the destruction of the granivorous and frugivorous birds, which had multiplied only too rapidly, proved fatal to the very existence of the partridges, so that those birds were destined to do neither good nor harm in New Zealand. But not so the blackbirds, the skylarks, the yellow hammers, and the finches, which at once began to multiply with a speed and a destruction that almost rivalled the imported rabbit, and soon called down the daily curses of the fruit growers, the gardeners, and the farmers. Cherries, which used to be sold at a half-penny per lb., were soon sold at over a shilling. The captain of the Charlotte Gladstone brought out one pair of rooks for which the Canterbury Acclimatisation Society gave him £8. The rooks are useful, and, from their habits, could always be kept in check; but the steward of the same vessel received from the Society £1 each for five skylarks, although skylarks had, long before that, been proved in Nelson to be a far greater curse than the rabbits to the farmers in populated districts.

In the session of 1869, the General Assembly passed an Act granting to the Southland Acclimatisation Society 2000 acres of land, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be devoted to the introduction of fish and

the maintenance of fish breeding establishments. The land was sold at £1 an acre, to be paid in four instalments of £500 each. In 1871, £500 was voted by the General Assembly for the introduction of salmon, provided an equal sum was voted by the various Acclimatisation Societies. This was done, and the salmon ova imported was directed to the care of the Southland Society, the reasons for which were given by the Colonial Secretary to be that the temperature of the Makarewa ponds was lower, and that they were free from wash-dirt from diggings, besides the favourable nature of the estuary, and the number of streams running into it. A few salmon were hatched, reared, and sent to sea; but it is still doubtful whether the experiment was successful or not.

During the harvest of 1872, the first two reapers and binders were imported into Canterbury from America, and tried in the field sufficiently to show that the binder would be generally used for the future and completely revolutionize the harvest labour, the price of wheat, and the corn markets of the world.

In March, Mr. Vogel's wholesale borrowing was not a little facilitated by the report of a fall in the value of money which had put up the price of all Colonial stocks, and Mr. Vogel and his friends were not at all alarmed by the report which said that whilst "New Zealand five per cents had reached the unprecedented price of £103, all other Colonial five per cents had reached the still higher price of £104 10s."

In June, 1872, the first message transmitted by submarine cable was said to have been sent from London, on the 22nd of June, to Messrs. McArthur, Sherard, and Copeland, in the words:—"We congratulate you, and shake hands with our partners in Sydney and Melbourne." There was still a small portion of the wire unconnected which was met by a horse express, but the line was soon completed and Australia brought into daily communication with the capital of the world.

Although Mr. Vogel was naturally capable with

figures, and, like most of his fraternity, learned in the language, as well as in the manners and customs of money-lenders and borrowers, he had experienced more than enough of quill-driving and of office drudgery; so that he preferred to spend the recess in travelling of the most costly and luxurious description, whilst his strong majority in the House enabled him to charge travelling expenses such as no other Treasurer, nor any Colonial Governor, Premier or Commissioner had ever dreamt of.

Poor Mr. Fitzherbert must have been angry with his own moderation when he scanned Mr. Vogel's travelling charges, and saw the eagerness with which the Australians and the Americans begged his acceptance of palace cars for the exclusive use of himself and his friends. In many points there was a strong likeness between the past and the present Treasurer of New Zealand. Although Mr. Fitzherbert's was a much smaller head than that of his successor, it was of exactly the same build. Both were absolutely deformed with their large perceptive and small reflective faculties, and still more with the almost total absence of what phrenologists call the benevolent moral sentiments. The result was most absurdly exemplified in the constant see-saw with which each of them became a strong Centralist when weilding Colonial power, and a rabid Provincialist when their own powers were confined to the more narrow sphere of Provincialism. So that, whilst Mr. Vogel had ceased to denounce Mr. Fitzherbert for his desertion of the Provinces and was himself planning their destruction, Mr. Fitzherbert, as the Superintendent of Wellington, had returned to his first love, and was now demanding that the borrowed money for immigration and public works should be expended under the supervision of each Provincial Government, and came to the House determined to overthrow his great rival who had now lost all his old love for the Provinces, and had of course become a firm believer in "the blessings of a strong Central Government." It was thus that, whilst the press and the public of Wel-

lington had been not very suddenly converted from Provincialism to Centralism by the removal of the seat of Government from Auckland to Wellington, the Superintendent of that Province was quite prepared to make a stand against the popular Government which had refused to hand over a large share of the borrowed money to the control of the ex-Colonial Treasurer.

On Tuesday, the 20th of August, Mr. Stafford opened a No-Confidence debate by proposing the first of the three resolutions of which he had given notice, condemning the conduct of the Government especially with regard to the manner in which it had wasted the money borrowed for public works. He evidently came to his task with great reluctance, and said he "would not have accepted such a thankless position had he not been pressed to undertake the unpleasant duty until he appeared to have no alternative but to lead the much-needed Opposition or to resign his seat. Mr. Vogel's liking for sensation, large figures, and millions, could not fail to alarm any thinking man who felt any responsibility for the future of New Zealand. He was a most able man, but required an amount of ballast which he had failed to find in his present colleagues. Mr. Fox had simply left him to run riot, and it was impossible for Mr. Ormond to offer any effectual control whilst he refused to reside at the seat of Government. Mr. Vogel had no steadiness of purpose and despised all careful attention to details. His reckless, off-hand contracts with Brogden and Co. were simply alarming and ruinous. If the members of the House intended to do their duty as representatives of the people they must demand a searching and sweeping reform such as it was hopeless to expect from the present Government."

Mr. Fox made no attempt to refute Mr. Stafford's statements of the reckless public works expenditure. He knew that the strong point of his own Government, and the weak point of the Stafford Government, was in the treatment of the Maoris. The strong point of Mr. Fox's speech was that the present Government had

established peace, had inspired confidence in the Native mind, had initiated a large policy of colonisation and the House would require greater justification than Mr. Stafford's speech to turn them out. Mr. Creighton honestly expressed the feeling of a majority of the House when he said that "members were placed in a dilemma between anarchy and civil war on the one side, and wasteful and reckless expenditure of public money on the other."

Mr. Ormond, as Minister of Public Works, admitted in his usual straightforward, honest manner, that, as the House had ordered that Brogden and Co should be compensated for the non-fulfilment of the contracts made with them by Mr. Vogel, by giving them contracts to the extent of a million without competition, contracts had already been given to them to the extent of £706,000 and that the Government felt bound to offer the same firm £300,000 more contracts in the same way before the Colony would be free to adopt the system of open tender.

As the expectant Minister of Public Works under Mr. Stafford, Mr. Reid said that Mr. Vogel's unauthorised presumption in pledging the Colony to Brogden and Co had been ruinously expensive to New Zealand. So long as the Colony was free to call for public tenders, the first four sections of the Clutha line had been let at least five per cent under their engineer's estimate; under the private arrangements with the agents of Brogden and Co the remaining sections of the same line had been let at twenty per cent. above the engineer's estimate. In other words, this twenty-five per cent on an expenditure of a million would cost the Colony £250,000 for this one of the many presumptuous promises made by Mr. Vogel to his great friends in England.

Mr. Curtis said that seventeen miles of the Picton and Blenheim line had been given to Brogden and Co at fifty per cent above the amount authorised by Parliament, whilst the character of the work to be done was twenty-five per cent worse than that which Parliament authorised.

Mr. Rolleston said that, with all Mr. Vogel's ability and energy, he "personified all that was reckless and mischievous in administration, and was one of the greatest evils that had ever befallen the Colony."

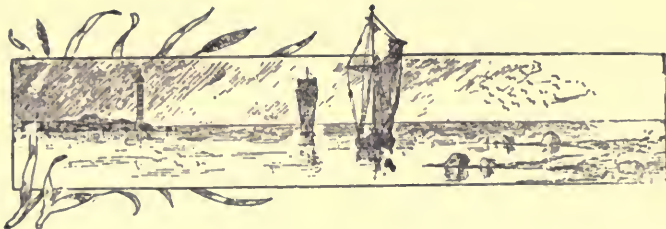
Sir David Monro said, "The Government has greatly abused its powers and patronage, and has inculcated the lesson that the avenue to advancement and profit lay through the door of political prostitution. I trust that the House in such an emergency will rise above the spirit of party contention to a sense of its duty to the country, and place the administration of the Government of New Zealand in the hands of men who will act under some sense of what is due to their own responsible position and to the honour and safety of the Colony."

At an early stage of the debate, Mr. McLean very distinctly told the House that nothing would induce him to work in any Ministry under Mr. Stafford, and this it was that made Mr. Stafford's position hopeless as a future Premier; as many of those who most desired some check to be put upon Mr. Vogel's reckless and costly audacity, were not prepared to risk any disturbance of the peace which had been so evidently procured by Mr. McLean's and Mr. Fox's good judgment. Neither friend nor foe could deny Mr. McLean's good work in this direction, nor could either attempt to justify the Native policy that had so remarkably clouded the last year of Mr. Stafford's last administration.

In this debate, Mr. Vogel spoke for five hours, and Mr. Fitzherbert—now Superintendent of Wellington—for three and a half, both taking the opposite side upon provincial and colonial powers to that which they always took when Mr. Vogel was a Provincial Secretary and Mr. Fitzherbert the Colonial Treasurer. Such long speakers are very rarely attractive, and the division was not altered by anything they said.

The division came off at 2 a.m. on Friday, November 6th, when Mr. Stafford's first resolution was carried by 40 to 37, his second by 39 to 38, and his third by 40 to 36. The important resolution of the three was the

first, which was, "That in the opinion of this House, the administration by the present Government of the public works and immigration policy has been unsatisfactory." The two following resolutions entered more into details; but all were carried, and, at 7.30 p.m., Mr. Fox announced the resignation of his Government.



CHAPTER LXII.

Stafford's Unhappy Victory.

A word that has been said may be unsaid:
It is but air. But when a deed is done,
It cannot be undone, nor can our thoughts
Reach out to all the mischief that may follow.—Longfellow

Mr. Stafford's victory, by such a narrow majority, on the 6th of November, was a most unfortunate victory for him. It was just what he should have avoided; it was just what Mr. Vogel could have desired to complete his absolutely autocratic power over the House and over the Colony. Mr. Stafford and his party should have seen that, however rash, however extravagant, however unscrupulous Mr. Vogel's policy may have been, he had plunged the country into depths of extravagance from which there was no possible retreat, and had left Mr. Stafford no colleagues who would bring any strength to a task in which the strongest Ministry would require to be supported by a very strong majority of the House before it could hope to resist the headlong forces of self-interest and popular applause that had been so effectually and so irresistibly set in motion. But Mr. Stafford had no able colleagues to propose. In Mr. Gillies, Mr. Reid, and Mr. Curtis, he proposed three in-

experienced Ministers. In Mr. Sewell and Mr. Fitzherbert, he proposed two very experienced talking machines who instantly excited the ridicule of the House by that insatiable desire for office which, as Mr. Fox facetiously said, had " led them to be the friends and colleagues, under such varying circumstances, of so many honourable members, in so many Ministries, of so many opinions."

After having complained of Mr. Fox's Ministry because it contained one Superintendent, the Ministry that Mr. Stafford now proposed contained three Superintendents and one Provincial Secretary, none of whom could pretend to possess the proved executive power, or the influence with the Maoris, known to be at the command of Mr. Ormond. Mr. Stafford had been able to get no Native and no Defence Minister. His new colleagues carried very little weight, and his old colleagues revived many unpleasant memories.

The Superintendent of Auckland, Mr. Gillies, was to be treasurer; Mr. Sewell, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Fitzherbert, Secretary for Crown Lands and Immigration; Mr. Reid, Minister for Public Works; and Mr. Curtis, Postmaster-General.

Mr. Stafford lost no time in going to work with the routine business of the House; but only ventured with measures upon which both sides of the House were agreed; which practically meant that he carried through Bills proposed by the Fox Government, and made no important change even in their public works policy. What could he expect to accomplish with a majority of three, even if his assistants had been ever so able, when that majority was sure to be reversed the moment he announced any reduction in the public works expenditure, and left some district without its promised railway? He could not restore the enormous sums that had already been borrowed. He could not cancel the ruinous Brogden contracts already let and promised. He would certainly only bring a hornet's nest about his own ears if he attempted to lessen either the number or the pay of the host of overpaid officials

that had been crowded into every Government office and were consuming the land fund which ought to have been paying for the railways. He could, in fact, only reluctantly, heartlessly, and therefore feebly, carry on the policy he had condemned but which he had neither the courage nor the power to reverse. And, whilst such was the position he was compelled to occupy with regard to public works and public extravagance, his own colleagues and his best friends had no faith in his Native policy, if he could be said to have any Native policy at all. No one had doubted that the removal of Mr. McLean from the position he had occupied with such immense advantage to the Colony was a great loss and a very great danger to New Zealand, and those who had consented to submit to that danger and that loss, in the hope of avoiding the greater danger and loss by Mr. Vogel's wild extravagance, were now amazed to see how irreparable the greater loss had already been made, and how deep was the vortex into which they had, in a few months, been already plunged beyond the power of recovery.

It was a humiliating position for Mr. Stafford to occupy; but it did not last long. On October 4, Mr. Vogel moved, in a speech which occupies twenty-two pages in "Hansard," that "This House has no confidence in the present Government," which was carried without debate by a majority of 2—37 members voting for it, and 35 against it.

Mr. Stafford asked for a dissolution which was very courteously refused by the Governor; so that the Stafford Ministry resigned.

As the Governor did not take Mr. Stafford's advice to grant or to promise a dissolution, Mr. Stafford made no recommendation as to who should be sent for. In fact, both Mr. Stafford and the Governor took the usual course under such circumstances, and with the usual result that the mover of the resolution upon which Ministers had resigned was sent for. On Wednesday, the 9th October, Mr. Vogel informed the House that he had been sent for, and obtained an adjournment until Friday.

In moving the vote of No-Confidence in the short-lived Stafford Ministry on the 14th of October, 1872, Mr. Vogel explained to the House that he did so because Mr. Fox had decided that he would not again occupy the position of Premier in case the motion was carried. After saying how much he and his party regretted the retirement of Mr. Fox, Mr. Vogel went on to say:—"It has been under the honourable member for Rangitikei that I have gained whatever position in politics I have achieved. During the long connection which has subsisted between us, I have met from the honourable member, not only unvarying kindness, but I have always met with that assistance and counsel which are so useful to a politician so young and inexperienced as I am, when compared with the honourable member. I wish to say, not only for myself but for my colleagues, that it would be impossible to serve with or under any one more genial, and, at the same time, more conscientious than the honourable member. Nothing would ever induce the honourable member for Rangitikei to give way one tittle where he considered a matter of conscience was involved." In his first Ministerial Statement to the House after the change of Ministry, Mr. Vogel said:—"After His Excellency had entrusted me with the task of forming a Ministry, I lost no time in placing myself in communication with the honourable member for Rangitikei, and I desire to express my acknowledgments for the cordial and unremitting assistance which he rendered me throughout the difficult negotiations which have taken place. I have already said that I regret the circumstance that that honourable member was not prepared to take office again, and my regret is shared with all the party which supports the Government."

All this was true enough; but it does not alter the fact that Mr. Fox's amiability towards his colleagues had again been carried to a very culpable extreme, and that he would have served his God and his country far better if he had not obtained quite so much of Mr. Vogel's applause. His own fine, sensitive, unselfish

conscience, which no opponent could drive, nor terrify, nor bribe from the path of duty, was too often laid at the feet of unscrupulous colleagues, who used it, as the pirates use the honest Union Jack to give a false colour to their own intentions. There was a fatal want of self-assertion in Mr. Fox's lovable, unselfish nature, which too often caused his own convictions, or his own conscience, to count for far less than they were worth, when opposed to his colleagues or friends. Up to 1861, associated with Featherston, with Hadfield, and with Selwyn, Mr. Fox was the fearless, outspoken friend of justice, of truth, and of humanity. As the colleague of Whitaker and Russell, he entirely failed to justify the hope and trust that the Maori race had learned to confide in him, and even gave, unintentionally, the sanction of his pure life, his exalted sentiments, and his clean hands, to deeds of cruelty, of injustice, of prodigal waste and corruption. When fresh from the influence of the wise and the grand men he had delighted in England, he told his constituents that he hoped the credit of New Zealand would keep so low that she might never be able to borrow another penny. By appearing so soon afterwards as the colleague and the figure-head, although not the real chief, of the most reckless of money borrowers, he lent his reputation to restore the credit which he had seen and acknowledged to be so much misused, and thus enabled the prince of borrowers to add in three years, under his premiership, £5,700,000 to the permanent debt of the Colony. It has often been asserted that this borrowed money was spent upon useful public works, and such assertions will, no doubt, continue to be made by superficial observers and by interested partisans. It is, of course, and always will be, quite possible for any Government to assert that their borrowed money has been spent usefully. As if borrowed money was a separate thing from the land or Custom's revenue, and could be spent for permanent and remunerative purposes, whilst the ordinary revenue was being spent on luxury and extravagance. Any such distinction between

borrowed money and ordinary revenue is mere fiction, and it would be just as true to say that all the borrowed money was spent in palace cars, increased salaries, and multiplied civil servants, whilst the ordinary revenue was spent upon useful public works. Reckless borrowers are almost invariably reckless spenders. During the early part of Mr. Vogel's reign, a large portion of the borrowed money really came to New Zealand, and enabled him to waste it in every description of luxury, and to create extravagant habits and costly establishments, which have been a burden and a curse to New Zealand ever since. Borrowing was the insidious means by which he was enabled to inflict such an enduring curse upon the country. About the time he left New Zealand, the interest on the borrowed money had increased to a sum that completely absorbed all the loans; so that, after that date, no borrowed money, except a portion of the five million loan of 1880, has ever come to New Zealand at all; but has simply remained in England to pay a portion of the interest that has otherwise to be extracted from the earnings of her own population, and sent to the antipodes as the perpetual penalty of a few years' lavish and applauded extravagance. If the Government establishments of New Zealand had only been continued on the same prudent, modest scale as that adhered to by Mr. C. W. Richmond, all the early public works could have been constructed by her own land revenue, with an ever increasing power of expenditure amongst her own settlers, which would have continuously commanded comforts and luxuries in the direction of public works and improvements such as she can never hope to enjoy whilst two millions a year must be annually extracted and transported from the earnings of less than two hundred thousand bread winners. As to immigration, it is as evident as it is natural that the appalling national debt now resting upon such a small population has done more to frighten prudent emigrants from choosing the healthy shores of New Zealand than all the borrowed money has ever done to compel them to share our self-imposed burdens.

For reasons best known to himsef, Mr. Vogel did not at first place himself in the position of Premier, but persuaded a rather new member of the Upper House to accept that position. The Ministry, which Mr. Vogel told the House he had formed with the advice and assistance of Mr. Fox, consisted of the Hon. George Marsden Waterhouse, Premier; the Hon. John Hall, Colonial Secretary; Sir Julius Vogel, Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster-General; Sir Donald McLean, Native Minister; Mr. Ormond, Minister of Public Works: Mr. O'Rorke, Minister of Lands and Immigration; Mr. Bathgate, Minister of Customs; and Mr. Edward Richardson without portfolio. Mr. Reeves refused to accept office again, and Mr. Ormond would only hold his until the close of the session when Mr. Richardson was to take his place.

Mr. Ormond had with difficulty been prevailed on to accept the position of Minister of Public Works, but without giving up his position as Superintendent of Napier, and without undertaking to reside in Wellington. Notwithstanding both of these important drawbacks he was useful, and perhaps not the less useful to what was really the Vogel Ministry and to New Zealand. He was a man of few words and very unpretentious, and was trusted most by those who knew him best. During the greatest Native dangers, he had worked with and resolutely stood by Mr. McLean. He had much influence with the Maoris, a large interest in the preservation of peace, and his great local influence had always been used in that direction. In the various provincial offices to which he had been elected in Napier, he had shown good administrative ability, and, until he voted for Mr. Vogel's resolutions, was supposed to be favourable to local self-government.

Mr. Vogel was now in the full and undisturbed possession of all the power he could desire. Mr. Stafford's complete and conspicuous failure to curtail or to regulate the expenditure was the one thing necessary to convince the country that Mr. Vogel was a

great genius, whose plans were far beyond improvement by any old-fashioned critics, who had not only nothing better, but who had nothing at all, to substitute for his "great public works policy." All his colleagues were capable men and good heads of departments, working under the one dominant mind, and as to the nominal Premier, he was no doubt to contribute to the ultimate glory of his creator by exhibiting, in contrast, his own solid, straightforward, prudent disposition. Any public work he had done had been done in South Australia. He had never been elected by any New Zealand constituency; he held no portfolio; he drew no salary; he was unknown to the House of Representatives. He was a highly honourable, respectable, sensitive, high-minded, fine old English gentleman, who would be sure to throw up his empty honours whenever the right time came to provoke him to do so. It was only five months before that time did come. He even threw up the Premiership, on the retirement of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Hall, and so unseated the whole Ministry, whilst Mr. Vogel was enjoying himself in New South Wales. But that contingency had been foreseen and provided for, so that Sir George Bowen at once sent for Mr. Fox, who, with his usual unselfishness, appointed all Mr. Vogel's colleagues as members of the Executive, and, at great personal sacrifice and inconvenience to himself, filled the gap as Premier until after the return of Mr. Vogel, when he resigned and so enabled the Acting-Governor, Sir George Arney, to appoint Mr. Vogel as the nominal as well as the real, head of the Government.

Some months before Parliament met on the 15th of July, 1873, the Hon. John Hall had been obliged to resign on the ground of ill-health, and Dr. Pollen had been called to the Upper House and appointed Colonial Secretary in his place. The Premier was not in his place when the House first met, as he was suffering from "temporary indisposition," which generally meant a more than usually severe attack of the gout. Mr. McLean, who was acting in his place, informed

the House how much the Government regretted the loss of the services of the Hon. John Hall, and added, "I am sure that every one acquainted with that gentleman's great business abilities will regret the circumstances which called him to Europe, and will hope that, by his visit, he will be so restored to health as to be enabled to resume that career in which he has hitherto been so highly appreciated."

During his stay in Australia, Mr. Vogel, who was accompanied by the Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Reynolds, had promised to recommend the Parliament of New Zealand to join New South Wales and Queensland in a guarantee of five per cent on a million for thirty-five years for a mail service. A Bill to give effect to this was carried through the House without a division and read a third time in the Council by a maorjity of 20 to 3.

The Financial Statement for 1873-74 occupied twenty-one pages in Hansard. It was the fifth Statemade by the same Treasurer, and was certainly a most comprehensive and masterly one. It had become no longer necessary to urge the Parliament of New Zealand to borrow money or to sanction lines of railway in all directions. The borrowing and spending fever had infected not only New Zealand but all Australasia, and even the arch-founder of the dangerous delusion saw that it was no longer necessary, or even safe, to urge on the infatuation which had surpassed all his expectations or desires, and had become dangerous even in his estimation. His most sanguine proposals had been accepted and were being carried out without any of the safeguards he had associated with his original outline. Every member of the House must have a railway through his own district, and every land holder must have the value of his land increased by at least a promised railway. The only parts of his public works policy that were now objected to were those few prudent conditions—which were at first admitted to be fair and necessary—which proposed to give the Government the advantage of its own expendi-

ture by first purchasing or reserving the land through which the railways were to pass, and calling on existing adjacent land owners to contribute special rates for the enhanced value to be given to their land. The men who had grasped the land to be improved the moment a railway was talked of had now become the interested and active opponents of all such precautions and soon began to drive the Treasurer away from any attempt to guard the interests of the Colonial tax-payers. What a few despised, prudent members had predicted had now taken place—the precautions which were not made secure at first could now not be taken at all. The snowball, at first so manageable, had become an avalanche which the Treasurer could no longer control, and the House, so equally divided upon his first proposals, would now only sanction the fastest pace and the wildest expenditure.

The Treasurer was in no personal danger, he had nothing to lose ; he had no intention of seeking a permanent home in New Zealand ; so that he could talk with composure and dignity of the dangerous pace which he saw increasing around him, and concluded the most able of his Financial Statements in these words of fatherly caution :—" In the midst of so much that is flourishing I have urged caution. I have asked that the Colony should confine its efforts to the charge of the great arterial means of communication. I have recommended precautions which will keep the Colonial credit intact, and suggested the necessity of reserving land for the settlement of the people. The Government confidently trust that a large majority of the members will join them in making a firm stand against an extravagant use of the credit of the Colony. We must not forget in the demand for new works the old ones to which we are pledged, nor must the land on which the people are to settle be allowed to pass into the hands of the speculator."

But, with all this apparent moderation in the peroration, the Statement proposed that, instead of the one million a year originally proposed to be bor-

rowed for the next ten years, there should "be two Loan Bills this session, one for £2,000,000 and another for £750,000."

During the recess, Mr. Vogel again sought scope for his energies and some very handsome travelling allowances by attending the International Conference in Australia, where we are told by his New Zealand newspapers that his far-seeing proposals were coolly received. The same newspapers indulge in very strong hostile comments on the audacity of Dr. Featherston in daring to send something less than a fifth part of the railway iron that had been ordered, although the same papers are obliged to admit that the price of railway iron was rapidly falling.

Mr. Reeves met his constituents at Leeston on Friday evening, March 7th, and had a very uncomfortable time with them. Personally he was treated with confidence and respect; but politically, he was wholly unable to justify his votes, his hopes, or his predictions. He was obliged to admit that the sixpence a bushel on imported grain had made no difference to a district which was naturally an exporter of grain; that none of Mr. Vogel's sanguine expectations had been fulfilled; that his rash and unauthorised negotiations for a San Francisco mail service were obviously not a success; and that the interest of past loans was being paid by money now borrowed. A vote of thanks and confidence, proposed by Mr. Frankish, was rejected, and a motion, proposed by Mr. Lambie, and seconded by Mr. Rennie, carried, which stated "That this meeting desires to thank Mr. Reeves for his address this evening, but we do not approve of the unqualified support he rendered to the unsatisfactory Fox-Vogel administration." Mr. Gammack added that he believed "that Mr. Fox and Mr. Reeves himself were the only honest men in the Government which Mr. Reeves had so continuously and invariably supported both in the House and in the "Lyttelton Times."

Towards the end of March, the steamer Luna, with the Acting-Governor and the Native Minister on

board, was driven by bad weather into the prohibited port of Kawhia. It was a fortunate accident, as the Kingites were evidently glad to meet with Mr. McLean, who had won the confidence of their race to an extent they were quite willing to admit. Some very friendly intercourse resulted, and another opportunity was given to prove that the Natives were glad to accept peaceful relations with those towards whom they had been driven to hostile actions.

In April, the New Zealand agents of Messrs Brogden & Co. telegraphed to that firm to send no more "navvies" to New Zealand, as the Government had not given them as many contracts as they had been led to expect when they engaged to import two thousand. As might have been expected, the men selected by these contractors were selected for their muscular power, with very little regard to their mental or moral qualifications, and had proved not altogether a desirable element in the colonisation of New Zealand.

Early in April, Mr. Bills arrived in Christchurch from Nelson, bringing with him 119 skylarks, which were at once liberated from the Acclimatisation Society's grounds, to the great disgust of the farmers and gardeners, who had already begun to realise how well-grounded were the complaints of the Nelson farmers as to the destruction committed by these dangerously prolific birds upon their sprouting seeds.

The salmon received from England had for the most part perished before landing; but 650 fish were hatched from the remainder in the months of May and June, in Canterbury and Southland.

With all the Conservative ideas in which he had been trained, and with all his friendly, social and political intercourse with the run-holders and land speculators of Canterbury, the Superintendent of that Province, Mr. Rolleston, came out this year honestly and strongly against the system of "spotting" or "grid-ironing" which he thus describes in a letter to the Canterbury Waste Lands Board, dated February 26, 1873:— "The purchaser desires to secure a large block of land

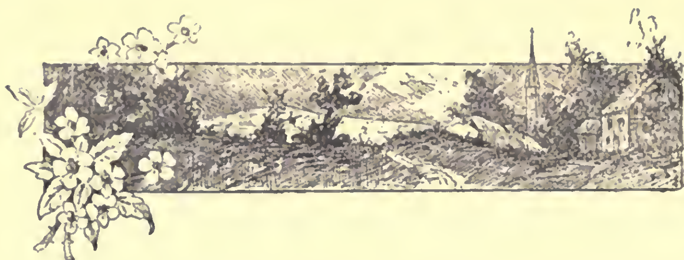
—say one thousand acres. He effects it by buying a series of sections amounting in all to, say, five hundred acres. He takes a number of twenty acre sections on a particular frontage, omitting between each section a sufficient length of frontage to leave unpurchased, say, eighteen acres. These eighteen acres can, under section 35, only be purchased at auction. It would only be a man of small means who would be likely to put this up to auction, and it is therefore pretty safe to remain in the hands of the capitalist. A large block of good land may thus be secured."

To this the Waste Lands Board replies;—"As respects the custom of "spotting" referred to, the Board are fully aware of the evils attending on this practice, but, as the regulations now stand, they do not see how they have any power to prevent it, or how any legislation will effectually stop it."

Mr. Rolleston very firmly and resolutely adhered to his conviction upon this subject, and soon became a prominent leader in well-considered efforts to prevent injurious land monopoly, and to place men with very small means in possession of small holdings of land. But, without being very successful in that direction, the most obvious effect of such a plain declaration of his liberal intentions was the disastrous rousing and exciting of the Canterbury land speculators to more earnest and systematic efforts to abolish Provincial Governments altogether, and especially to rid themselves of the popularly elected Superintendents who were more liable to aim at the greatest good of the greatest number, and could not be so easily deceived as to the value of sheep-runs, etc., as a Government in Wellington could be. Nor was it the land speculators of New Zealand alone who were disgusted with the effect of the popular vote, especially as exercised on the gold-fields. The facility with which Mr. Macandrew continued to defeat more prudent, more law-abiding and more honest men, could not fail to be deeply deplored by all the sincere friends of universal suffrage, and to be tauntingly used as an illustration of its danger by those op-

posed to all extension of the franchise, whilst it continued to be a standing evidence to the public men of New Zealand of how little the higher moral qualities were valued, even by the majority of the electors of the Province of Otago—by the electors of the very Province whose first settlers were distinguished for that uniform trust-worthiness which so much delighted their first leaders, and so strikingly cheered the last days of their first Superintendent.

It was in the month of June, 1873, that Mr. James Macandrew was re-elected to the highest trust in the gift of his fellow settlers, defeating Mr. Gillies by a very large majority, and thus retaining to the last the confidence which the whole electors of the Province were never again to have the power to bestow upon any public man.



CHAPTER LXIII.

The Provinces Doomed.

We are not at all sure that those who borrow and spend, are not wiser in their generation than those who accumulate and lend. The spring, the source of supply, is little known, and lies hid in the solitude of mountains, while the stream of expenditure flows in populous places, and crowds vociferously rush to bathe in its sacred waters.—*Lyttelton Times*, February, 1876.

On Saturday, June 14, 1873, the new Governor, Si James Fergusson, arrived in Wellington, and, on the same day, the settlers of New Zealand were informed that what was called the Harrison meat freezing process had been proved in New South Wales to be a complete success, and, by that means, the markets of the world had been opened for the surplus meat of New Zealand, a fact which was destined to contribute not a little to the steady, permanent agricultural and commercial prosperity of the Colony.

On Monday, December 29, the "Hindostan" arrived in Auckland, being the first of the New Zealand Shipping Company's own ships to arrive in the Colony.

In the same year that these two important events began to beneficially affect the commerce and welfare of New Zealand, the humanity of the world was aroused

and directed by the benevolent, brave, and much maligned efforts of the great philanthropist, Plimsoll, who called down upon himself the anathemas of the greedy seekers of wealth, who, in every country, and in every age, have been found regardless of the effect upon their fellow countrymen, of the methods adopted to feather their own nests. It was during the year 1873 that Mr. Plimsoll succeeded in getting a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the alleged unseaworthiness of British registered ships. Neither the truly business-like, moderate, and practical character of Mr. Plimsoll's proposals, nor the evidently honest and disinterested motives that prompted his insuppressible action, were sufficient to protect him from the wrath of the traffickers in human life and human misery, who—like the worshippers of the goddess Diana—have ever stood ready to denounce and to sneer at those who attempt to enlighten the world as to the true character of their selfish disregard of all consequences to their innocent victims. It may console the advocates of philanthropic movements—which are still called "fads and tomfooleries"—in New Zealand to remember that even a Royal Commission appointed by a Gladstonian British Government at first reported on the proposals of a member of Parliament, so remarkably well-informed as Mr. Plimsoll was on the malpractices of the lowest class of ship owners, in these words:—"Would it be practicable, and, if practicable, would it be prudent, to enact that the Government should superintend the building of all merchant ships, and should inspect them periodically? The supervision of the loading, and the regulation of stowage, would become equally the duty of the Government. It is difficult to assign a limit to such interference pressed upon the Government by benevolent men unacquainted with mercantile affairs, and forgetful of the infinite variety of causes which lead to disasters at sea."

On the 20th of May, the Rakaia bridge (the longest bridge in New Zealand) was opened to traffic as a road and railway bridge. All the designs for that

bridge prepared by engineers had been rejected as too expensive, ranging, as they did, as high as £140,000; but a less pretentious design for carts only, submitted by an English weaver named William White, was accepted, on the 30th June, 1869, at the cost of £21,500. But, to this sum, £8564 was afterwards added to alter the plan into a cart and railway bridge, £2400 for adding 480 feet to its length, £1428 for asphalting, and £458 for tarring—making the total cost of the bridge £34,350. The bridge was 4,480 feet long, and 17 feet 6 inches wide. There was nothing picturesque, or very durable, in this weaver's bridge; but it was very honestly constructed by the designer, who was also the contractor, and has answered its purpose well. It will probably continue to do so with less outlay for renewal and repair than would pay the interest on the outlay of a far more costly stone structure. Without being much more costly, it might have been made stronger and more durable by the use of more Australian timber. Even stone bridges are not very certainly durable in a country liable to earthquakes.

On the 16th December, the foundation stone of the Christchurch Normal School was laid by the Governor. Unlike Mr. White's bridge, the style of this building was more pretentious and expensive than useful. The contract had been let at £14,269. On the same day Mr. H. Belfield laid the foundation stone of a school building at Timaru, to be erected at a cost of £5000, and during the same year the Christchurch West and several other large and important district schools were also opened.

On the 1st of January, 1874, the *Wellington Independent*, which had been purchased for the sum of £5500, gave place to a new Wellington paper called the *New Zealand Times*, which was supposed to be the property of a company in which the most conspicuous name was that of Mr. Vogel. Under the altered name it was announced as no longer a provincial but a colonial paper; but no one doubted that it would really be a Government paper, and would uphold, not very impartially, the

great Public Works Policy. Even the *Wellington Independent*, although it had done some very good work, and been honoured by some very able contributors, had not always justified its name: and the climate of New Zealand has, so far, proved by no means fertile in the production of impartial or very public-spirited newspaper shareholders and directors.

Soon after the close of the session, the Premier commenced a tour through the provinces, and addressed the electors in the principal centres of population. Parliament had been formally prorogued until Tuesday, the 10th of February, with the usual intention of proroguing again from time to time; but, strangely enough, no attention had been paid to the matter, and the Premier was enjoying himself in Nelson, and the Governor on a yachting cruise through the ports and sounds of the S. W. coast, when the Wellington members met and put Mr. Fitzherbert in the chair, who, after waiting the usual time for a quorum, adjourned the House until the next day. On the following day the Premier returned from Nelson, and some arrangements were consented to by which the meeting was not called a session, and consequently the absent members were not deemed, as the law provided, to have forfeited their seats by "being absent a whole session."

On Monday, March 23rd, Mr. Rolleston was re-elected, without opposition, as the last Superintendent of the province of Canterbury. Mr. Rolleston was proposed by Mr. R. J. S. Harman, who contrasted the happy condition of the province, after six years of Mr. Rolleston's prudent government, with the miserably indebted condition in which Mr. Moorhouse had left it, when "we found our trade languishing, our land revenue dwindled down to so very small an amount that it became necessary—absolutely necessary—to practise the closest retrenchment in all departments of the Government . . . I would claim for Mr. Rolleston, as head of the Government, that the whole province benefitted by this course of economy. . . Under

his prudent administration, depression was followed by a period of prosperity which has gone on improving until we find ourselves in what I may call a state of great affluence. The regulations for immigration adopted by Mr. Rolleston were so good that after the failure of their own attempts the General Government has practically adopted them until we find the immigration regulations of the province of Canterbury adopted wholesale by the General Government of the Colony. This, Sir, I consider perhaps the greatest triumph which the province has achieved and I will claim a very large amount on this account for Mr. Rolleston." Mr. Rolleston's seconder, Mr. W. D. Wood, followed in the same strain and concluded his speech by saying;—"If we were to return Mr. Moorhouse we should be making a great mistake—if we return Mr. Rolleston we shall be putting the right man in the right place."

The elections for the Provincial Council which followed were generally in favour of Mr. Rolleston's policy. The chairman of his Executive Council, Mr. W. Montgomery, headed the poll for Heathcote, defeating even Mr. Stafford by no less than 320 votes.

On Easter Sunday and Monday, April 5th and 6th, a very disastrous flood occurred in Westland and North Canterbury. Sheep, cattle and horses were drowned, the roads and bridges injured, and two miles of the Northern Railway displaced. The Brunner railway was also greatly injured and the town of Greymouth submerged.

The census returns, which were completed in May, showed an increase of 43,601 in the population—which then amounted to 300,000. The sheep had increased by 217,651 and amounted to 2,595,950.

On the 22nd of October, a large and important sale of pedigree short-horns took place at the Waimea plains, Mataura, by which a number of very high class animals were distributed amongst the most enterprising breeders in both Islands. The cattle were the property of Mr. G. M. Bell, and had been chiefly bred from

stock imported from Victoria selected from the herds of Messrs Merton Bros. and Leach of Mount Derrimut and Mr. W. Robertson of Colac, Victoria. Mr. Kitching, of Moa Flat, was the highest bidder for the favourite lots. He bought King of the Butterflies for 255 guineas and Queen of the Butterflies for 325 guineas and one of her daughters for 290 guineas. Canterbury, Hawkes Bay and Wellington were all represented at the sale, at which 350 would-be buyers were said to be present. Messrs Hay Bros., of Pigeon Bay, Canterbury, purchased a large number of the lots, as did Mr. Adams, of Hawkes Bay.

The parliamentary session of 1874 was opened on Friday, July 3rd, by a speech delivered by His Excellency, Sir James Fergusson. Although an unusually short session—lasting less than two months—it took the first decisive step in what was one of the most eventful, not to say the most revolutionary, proceeding ever contemplated in New Zealand. It was also the first New Zealand Parliament that practically gave up its power as a Parliament to the individual will of a single leader. Or, as Mr. Reeves expressed it on August the 11th, when he said :—"This House has undoubtedly given that honourable gentleman an amount of confidence unparalleled in the history of New Zealand politics." Mr. Vogel was authorised to borrow four millions more money, when, where and how he pleased ; to suddenly reverse all his own views and very strong expressions upon the value, importance and usefulness of the Provincial Governments ; to provide for their abolition and to appoint as many assistants as he pleased ; so that he could spend the recess amongst his money dealing friends in London, armed, as he was, with such unexampled powers over the revenues and the credit of New Zealand. Mr. Stafford had been enlisted as his ally in the destruction of the provinces, and he held his tongue from the much needed condemnation of the utterly unconstitutional power which the House now flung from its own hands into the hands of one of the most unsafe men upon whom such power could be con-

ferred. So that even the nominal Opposition in the House approved rather than condemned the most dangerous features of his policy and most fully and tamely recognised the fact that borrowing, however wrong it might be, was too popular to be resisted, as Mr. Vogel had most evidently carried the electors with him in building up the altogether unparalleled debt upon the small population. The most outspoken and independent and the most unanswerable opposition to his dangerous career came from the Legislative Council and from his old friend and Premier, Mr. Waterhouse, who, when discussing the Four Million Loan, gave in a mild and friendly way, an array of facts and figures which were intended to show that reckless borrowing was not the cause of the existing and undisputed prosperity of the Colony. The temporary and short-lived depreciation in the value of gold; the specially high price of wool, as well as of grain and Colonial produce generally—now more cheaply produced by the reaper and binder—added to the large land sales caused by such prices and by the security which resulted from the establishment of peace; the increased customs revenue which necessarily resulted from the expenditure of the flood of borrowed money which chiefly came in the form of imports, as well as from the greatly increased customs duties under the *ad valorem* tariff—all tended to deceive the electors into the belief that Mr. Vogel's magic ability had permanently enriched New Zealand, and that his reckless borrowing and his plausible system of paying interest with borrowed money on the uncompleted lines of railway had really secured the permanent prosperity of the Colony. Just whilst the delusion was at its highest point, Mr. Waterhouse calmly called the attention of the Legislative Council to the fact that the existing prosperity of the Colony was not caused by Mr. Vogel, and that other wool and grain growing countries had been even more prosperous without the aid of any such wonderful statesmen. On the 21st of August, he said in the Legislative Council: "It is continually stated

that the prosperity of New Zealand is due to exceptional causes, and that those exceptional causes are entirely due to the initiation of the public works scheme. A more erroneous belief cannot exist, nor one that, if not checked, is more fraught with dangers; inasmuch as it is calculated to lead to an extension of the system of borrowing, which, if not checked, may involve the Colony, not in prosperity but in absolute ruin. I have stated that the prosperity of New Zealand—notwithstanding what people may say of the debt of gratitude we owe to one individual, and the policy which he has enunciated—is due, not to exceptional causes, but to causes which affect other countries as well as New Zealand. And I may be allowed, upon this point, to give the results of some investigations I have recently made into the statistics of various countries. Then honourable members will at once see that I shall be able to prove what I have stated—that our prosperity is not solely due to exceptional causes, arising from public works, but is mainly attributable to the same causes which have brought about the prosperity of other places; and I shall probably astonish honourable members, before I conclude, by showing that, strange as it may appear, our prosperity, instead of being greater relatively than that of the countries to which I am about to allude, has been absolutely less. . . . . I will make the comparision, first of all, with South Australia. In South Australia, in 1869, the Customs revenue was £223,452. In the year ending March, 1874, the revenue had increased to £381,000. So that in South Australia, in the same period of time, there appears to be, without any such public works policy as that to which our prosperity is attributed, an increase of revenue of 70 per cent. as against our increase of 40 per cent. Then take the Colony of New South Wales. In 1869, the revenue of that colony was £2,200,000; in 1872, the revenue had sprung up to £3,373,000, and in that year the colony had a surplus of £650,000—so large a surplus that not only did they pay off a portion of their debt to the extent of £350,000, but also con-

siderably reduced their taxation. In four years—from 1869 to 1872-73—they actually increased their revenue to the extent of 50 per cent., while during the same time we only increased our revenue by 8 per cent. Last year there was a considerable reduction in their Customs dues, while in our case there was an increase in our Customs dues. Last year, with this decrease in the Customs dues of New South Wales, the Customs revenue realized £1,127,000, as against £838,964. The revenue remained much the same; so that, even with a decreasing Customs tariff as against our increasing Customs tariff, New South Wales shows an increase of revenue at the rate of 50 per cent. for the five years, as against our increase of 40 per cent. In Queensland the same results came about. In 1869, the Customs revenue was £308,719 In 1873, it was £480,913—an increase of 60 per cent; while the general revenue sprung up from £772,000 to £1,124,000. Leaving Australia, let us take the Cape of Good Hope. In 1869, the revenue was £535,245. In the year 1872—I have no later statistics to refer to—the revenue had gone up to £1,039,886. It actually doubled in four years, while ours had only increased 8 per cent. Going to the Argentine Confederation—a country dependent upon the same products as our own—we find that, in 1869, the revenue was 2,592,000, while in 1872 the revenue was £3,721,000, or nearly 50 per cent. in four years, while in the same time our increase was 8 per cent. Now, these countries had no great financial policy to develope their prosperity. Their prosperity was due solely to the increased value given to the products of those countries. In that fact is to be found our prosperity, and in that fact is to be mainly found the prosperity which has characterised New Zealand within the last two or three years. I refer to this subject at some length, because it is important that we should get rid of the idea that the prosperity of New Zealand is due to any one man, or due to any one policy—that it is not due to the same causes which have brought about prosperity in other places—and I wish to show that it is

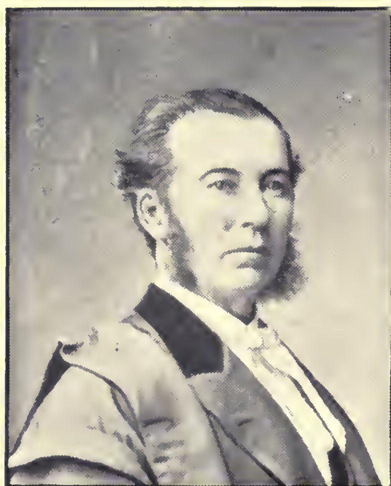
liable to the same reverses to which other colonies in similar circumstances are exposed."

In the course of his travels, both in and out of New Zealand, Mr. Vogel's attention was largely attracted to the importance of the question of forest conservation, and, with his usual promptness and self-reliance, he proposed, on the first Tuesday after the meeting of Parliament in 1874, a New Zealand Forest Bill, which proposed to provide for the preservation of existing forests and the planting of new ones. The speech in which he proposed the second reading of this Bill was a long, able, and very interesting one, showing that he had really paid a great deal of attention to the subject, and had collected a great deal of information about it. His speech and his Bill were so generally approved that the Bill was carried in both Houses without a division. It is not easy to say whether the original intention of the Premier was to make his Forest Bill a stepping stone to the abolition of the provinces, or whether the opposition of the Provincial Party to his Bill, and the decided expression of disapproval which that opposition provoked from a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, suggested to him that the way was clear to transfer the whole provincial power into his own hands. No hint of any such important change in the constitution had been given in the Governor's speech, and the Premier himself asserted that the abolition of the provinces had only been forced upon him by the opposition to his Forest Bill, which convinced him that no important reform could be hoped for so long as neither the Provincial nor the Colonial Governments had the power to deal in the most beneficial manner with the crown lands and the crown forests of the Colony. But it is not necessary to settle the exact time when the Premier first discovered that he could depend upon Parliament to abolish the power which he once so ably supported and valued so much, but which had now become the only barrier that seemed to stand between him and the acquisition of absolute and uncontrolled authority over the whole Colony of

New Zealand. The opportunity had evidently come, and Julius Vogel was not what Robert Burns has called the noblest work of God—he was not an Alfred the Great, nor a George Washington, nor a William Gladstone—he was only a common, ambitious, self-seeking man, who valued no popular rights, no national safeguards, no bulwarks to constitutional freedom. He was not even wise enough to see that he had already acquired far more power than any one man ever ought to possess in any well-governed country, and, in the hope of climbing still higher, he now took the step which brought about the ruin to the New Zealand constitution which William Gladstone and Sir George Grey had both predicted as the natural consequence of not giving the Provincial Councils a power similar to that which has saved the American constitution—the power to elect the members of the Legislative Council.

On the 13th of August, after stating that the action of the Government had been precipitated by the opposition given to his Forest Bill by the Provincialists, Mr. Vogel proposed the following artfully worded resolution :—"That this House is of opinion that, taking the circumstances of the Colony into consideration, the provincial form of government in the North Island should be abolished ; and that, in the measure giving effect to the same, there should also be included a provision declaring Wellington to be the seat of Government of the Colony, and for continuing the localisation of the land revenue in accordance with what is known as the compact of 1856. That during the recess the Government should consider how best to give effect to the above resolution."

This resolution was proposed in a speech that occupies ten pages in Hansard. This speech, like the resolution, was evidently designed to secure the votes of Wellington and the South Island to the Treasurer's design, and succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, although there were not wanting able and honest voices to point out that Wellington was quite sure of the seat of Government at any rate, and that,



Sir Maurice O'Rorke, K.C.M.G.

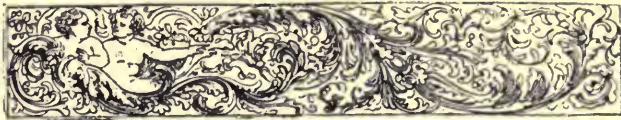
without Provincial Governments, the land fund of the South Island must necessarily become Colonial revenue, and no one could well be foolish enough to doubt that, when the North Island Provinces were abolished, those of the South Island would necessarily follow.

As soon as the Treasurer sat down, the first voice to denounce his betrayal of the Provincialists who had placed him in power was his own Minister of Justice—the usually mild and always courteous Maurice O'Rorke—who stood up at his side and said boldly and honestly:—"Were I to vote for such a scheme I should feel that I deserved to be branded as a base political traitor, and although great names may be quoted for political apostacy, I do not want to shelter myself under any of them. I obtained admission to this House on certain principles, and I do not feel that I am at liberty to fling them to the winds, either for the sake of office or to suit my own caprice. If such an occurrence as a change of principle should take place with me I should feel bound to return to my constituents who placed me in this House the trust which they confided to me and to abide by their decision. Sir, during the fourteen years I have been a member of this House, I have unswervingly adhered to the principles of the Constitution Act, the principles of which I think were eminently framed for the benefit of this Colony; that Act for which we are indebted to that distinguished Governor, Sir George Grey. To my mind every invasion, every alteration of that Act, has been prejudicial, especially to the Province of Auckland, and I think I may say to the whole of the North Island. That Act, Sir, did not give a monopoly of political life to any one portion of the Colony. It established, in the several portions of the Colony, nurseries of political thought, and it cannot be expected that in a moment, in a twinkling of an eye, I am going to belie the whole tenor of my previous political life. My position on this Bench was not of my own seeking, and I must say this—that I should never have occupied this seat had I known that the honourable gentleman at the head of the Govern-

ment had in his copious armoury this treacherous dagger to stab the Provinces which I thought he and I were sworn to maintain. . . . . I have no desire to be considered a martyr in this matter, but I do most positively shrink from having the brand of political treachery attached to my name, which would be the case if I voted for this resolution." Then, suiting his action to his words, Mr. O'Rorke walked away from the Government Benches, took his seat as a private member, and forwarded his resignation as a Minister to the Governor.

Mr. Reeves said—" It is a shameful thing that such a measure as this can be introduced in a fit of temper, and that great constitutional changes may be due simply to the passing humours of the honourable gentleman at the head of the Government."

But all amendments to the resolution of the Premier were rejected by a majority of about two to one, and the resolution itself finally passed on the 24th of August without a division. Seven days afterwards the Parliament was prorogued.



CHAPTER LXIV.

VOGEL'S ABSENCE AND DECLINE.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT DESTROYED.

Our hearts grow cold,
  We lightly hold
A right which brave men died to gain :
  The stake, the cord,
  The axe, the sword,
Grim nurses at its birth of pain.—WHITTIER.

Amongst the numerous supporters of Mr. Vogel's resolution, Mr. Stafford took, not only a constant, but an active and prominent part which misled Mr. Vogel into the belief, or at least the hope, that Mr. Stafford might be tempted to commit himself so far as to join his Government. With this object in view, he offered to resign the Premiership, as he was going to England, and to leave Mr. Stafford in charge as the head of the Government. But Mr. Stafford had had enough of nominal Premierships. He gave Mr. Vogel no uncertain reply, and strongly advised him not to leave the Colony at such a crisis, as he was bound in honour to reap the glory or to endure the hu-

miliation of the success or the failure of his revolutionary policy. But a visit to England in company with Mr. Thomas Russell, the moving spirit of the New Zealand Bank, had attractions for Mr. Vogel which more soberminded men could not understand ; and, in fifteen days after the session was over, these two great financiers were on their way to Australia, preparatory to an eventful sojourn in England.

On the night of his departure from Auckland, Mr. Vogel addressed his constituents at the Choral Hall in Auckland, where he was very roughly received, and ultimately retired from the meeting "amidst prolonged howling." After his departure, Mr. Rees, a barrister, addressed the meeting, and asked the electors if they could "fancy Mr. Gladstone being afraid to wait for an expression of his constituents' views at a meeting called by himself."

On February the 16th, 1875, Mr. John Williamson —the Superintendent of Auckland, and M.H.R. for Auckland City West—died after a short illness brought on by excessive heat whilst travelling in the Thames district. Mr. Williamson came to Auckland under engagement to the New Zealand Printing Company in 1841, and started the New Zealander newspaper in 1845. He was five times elected Superintendent of Auckland, and died in harness only a few months before that office was abolished. He was almost continuously a member of the House of Representatives, where he was a consistent opponent of the war Ministry and of the war policy. Few men have worn better in public estimation, or worked with a more consistent, unselfish aim to place settlers on the land, and to maintain such relations with the Maoris as would make it possible for them to stay there. He was a plain, ready, unpretentious speaker, a quiet, thoughtful man, with mild, considerate manners, combined with great steadiness of purpose ; so that he seldom alienated a friend or lost the respect of his opponents. He was accorded a public funeral, at which the procession was a mile long, and a Wesleyan, a Baptist, an Anglican and a Presbyterian clergyman officiated at the grave.

Sir George Grey consented to be elected in his place as Superintendent of Auckland on condition that he would take no steps to forward his own election.

By the March San Francisco mail steamer Mr. and Mrs. Fox left New Zealand for another visit to England. Mr. Fox did not resign his seat until the day the steamer sailed, when he gave the electors of Rangitikei an opportunity to send Mr. John Ballance in his place. Now that we know what an honest, able patriot succeeded him, it is interesting to record that the *Lyttelton Times* said about Mr. Fox's departure on this occasion :—" It will be difficult to fill the place in politics of one so chivalrous, high-minded and honest as Mr. Fox."

Besides the adoption of a new and original nomenclature, Mr. Vogel had borrowed money so entirely in his own way, in so many different forms, at so many different times, rates, and conditions, that each loan had a name and condition of its own, besides the long and short-dated bonds and debentures and every conceivable form under which revenue was constantly anticipated, at a great expense to the Colony, so that even he could no longer talk finance in the House, and had to bring down his Financial Statements in a written or printed form, that no unofficial member of the House could even pretend to comprehend or to criticise. This placed it out of the power of the House to correctly proclaim the alarming progress of the National Debt, or to see, without an amount of industry not common to New Zealand legislators, how large a portion of the increasing revenue was being absorbed in the payment of interest. At the same time it necessarily gave a power and importance to the only member of the House whose daily work in the Treasury necessarily kept him abreast of all the charges and changes which had to be met, and whose knowledge thus became indispensable and commonly indisputable not only to the members of the House, but also to his colleagues in the Ministry. With his great natural ability in finance, Mr. Vogel easily kept abreast of his own fertile devices and

changes, so long as he was content to spend some portion of his time in the Treasurer's office; but when in September, 1874, he decided, without notice to, or permission from Parliament, to spend, not only the period of the recess, but also that of the next sitting of Parliament, in England, he was, of course, compelled to put some one else in a position to talk, or at least to read, and to understand finance in the House.

After the resignation of Mr. O'Rorke, Mr. Vogel arranged for the offices of Minister of Justice and Commissioner of Stamp duties, which Mr. O'Rorke had held, to be taken by Mr. C. C. Bowen, who resigned his position of Resident Magistrate at Christchurch and was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, but soon after got elected for Kaiapoi in the place of Mr. John Studholme, who had resigned that seat.

Mr. Bowen was a man of very attractive manners and quick perception, with great tact and far-reaching ability, which soon caused him to be appreciated in commercial circles, and gave him an opportunity of retreat from the false step he had taken in accepting office under Mr. Vogel. But the promotion that had a more permanent effect upon the future history of New Zealand was the appointment by the Premier of his old opponent and his new friend, Major Atkinson, to perform his own duties as the acting Treasurer of the Colony during his long absence in England. Major Atkinson was by nature an excellent soldier, and had early obtained much popularity at Taranaki in that capacity—being brave, firm, aggressive, and self-reliant to a fault. He was the first New Zealand Premier who had not received a University education. He was not naturally a financier, nor at all fascinating as a politician; but he had dogged perseverance enough to master all the mechanical details of his office and to comprehend the subtleties of the original nomenclature that Mr. Vogel had used with so much effect to mystify his critics and to confound his assailants. The Major's manner was naturally unconciliating to his opponents and awkward to his friends; but his delight and self-

Hon. C. C. Bowen.

possession in hostile criticism, and his never failing confidence in his own powers, usually carried him successfully through an important debate, and eventually taught him the use of fairly good language, and made him a very formidable opponent. He was singularly deficient of original resource, and very slowly and imperfectly comprehended the first principles of political economy ; but he was very quick to see all the defects of other men, and soon learned exactly how to confuse them with the use of financial terms which he and his officers had learned from Mr. Vogel to adopt and to interpret in their own way. By this means he often managed to bring ridicule and discredit upon his unofficial assailants, and eventually so far discouraged criticism of his finance as to leave the impression upon the House that he was a much more able financier than he really was.

Under his more able brother-in-law, Mr. C. W. Richmond, he, for some time, worked like a very plain, honest protector of his district, and ridiculed all dangerous and speculative financial projects ; but he very early saw the connection between large loans and liberal aids to his district, and became an ardent borrower and a vehement advocate of Colonial *versus* Provincial Governments. If the Taranaki war had not marred all his prospects as a cultivating settler, he would probably have settled down industriously, contentedly, and successfully, on a small farm ; but, baulked in his original intention, he became an early seeker of office, and the passion grew on him until he looked upon office as a necessity of his life, and clung to it with a tenacity that left little room for the higher claims of consistency, principle, or patriotism. He was, by nature, great in small things, and small in great things. He guarded at the spigot whilst he wasted at the bung-hole. He never could or never would see the mischief of taxing improvements. He delighted in a primage duty upon everything. He lauded freetrade, but took care to obtain the votes of the protectionists. He claimed to be the holder of democratic opinions,

but he always succeeded in obtaining the support of the oligarchy most opposed to any advance in that direction. He often strained at a gnat, but early showed his ability to swallow a camel, in his defence of the most selfish and most unjustifiable actions of the man who first gave him the opportunity to learn the business that appeared to make him necessary to his colleagues and to the House, and retained him so long in power, and still longer in place and in pay.

The proposal of Mr. Vogel to abolish the provinces aroused Sir George Grey from his private retreat on the Island of Kawau, and soon led to his election as a member of the House of Representatives for Auckland City West. On the death of Mr. Williamson, he had succeeded him as the Superintendent of the Province of Auckland. It was now, for the first time, that he displayed in its full force the very remarkable power with which he could command the enthusiastic applause of any public assembly. The injustice that he had so long suffered from the Colonial Office had not failed to embitter his views on the subject of Imperial control, nor had it failed to cause his neighbours, and the people of New Zealand generally, to regard him as a martyr suffering in the cause of justice and protection to New Zealand. The courage with which he had endured every act of injustice, his perfect freedom from all mercenary aims, and his contempt for all the pains and penalties that might result from his outspoken denunciations of public parasites gave a charm to all his utterances, which carried him scathless through many mistakes, but too soon gave him a habit of venturing upon somewhat careless assertion—a habit that did not fail to gradually lessen his influence in the House of Representatives, and to give him a lower position there than the able and successful work of his past life would otherwise have commanded.

As it was at least doubtful whether the Ministry could legally get through a whole session without even the presence of its legally appointed Premier, his col-

leagues decided that, before meeting the General Assembly for the session of 1875, they would hand to the Governor the resignation of Mr. Vogel which had been left in their hands. This was done on Saturday, the 3rd of July. The resignation was accepted, and his Excellency, as a matter of form, entrusted to Dr. Pollen the task of forming a Government which was of course not a new one. With doubtful and disputed legality, the newly formed knight, now Sir Julius Vogel, was, in his absence, to be called Postmaster-General, although he was not a resident in the Colony, and could not be sworn in: whilst Major Atkinson became the nominal, as well as the acting Treasurer. As Dr. Pollen, the Premier, was not in the House of Representatives, the new Treasurer practically became the leader of the House, and was thus put in a very fair way of training for the Premiership of what was long to be called the continuous Ministry.

On the 28th of July, Mr. McLean moved for leave of absence for Sir Julius Vogel for the whole session. This led to some debate, but there was no opposition, Mr. Rolleston saying that "the country would derive more benefit if his absence should be still further prolonged." We have seen that Mr. Fox was in England, and that Mr. John Ballance had taken his seat for Rangitikei. Mr. Ballance soon proved that he was not an unworthy successor of the able philanthropist whose place he had taken. He was the proprietor and editor of the "Wanganui Herald," and, although wanting in self-confidence and combativeness, he was so well posted in the politics of the day, and spoke with so much caution and accuracy, that he was soon seen to be an able and reliable critic even on colonial finance, and the member of the House whom any Treasurer would have to encounter with a good deal of respect.

On the 6th of August, 1875, the new Treasurer had the pleasure of moving the second reading of a Bill to abolish, not merely the Province of Auckland, but all the Provinces of the Colony; as he had ascertained that such a Bill could be carried by a ma-

jority of more than two to one. After three weeks' debate the second reading was carried by a majority of 55 to 20. In all its after stages the Bill was fought, under the leadership of Sir George Grey, inch by inch, and amendments carried that only counteracted each other, so that the Provincial Councils of the Colony never met again. In the Legislative Council the second reading was carried by 23 votes against 4. Although some ninety other Bills were carried, the deep interest in this Bill overshadowed all the others.

On December the 6th, the Governor dissolved the House, and the general elections proceeded with less excitement than had been predicted in the speeches of the Opposition; but nevertheless with the result that no less than 42 of the 86 seats were filled by members who had not been in the previous Parliament. Sir George Grey was returned both for Auckland City West and for the Thames, and did not decide which seat he would accept until four weeks after the House was in session, when he elected to stand for the Thames.

Sir George Grey and Mr. Fitzherbert had accompanied Mr. Macandrew on his return home from the House of Representatives, and assisted not a little to increase the enthusiasm with which the Superintendent was received by his numerous supporters at a banquet given to him in Dunedin on the 27th October. The chair on that occasion was occupied by Mr. Geo. Turnbull. The chief speakers were Sir George Grey, Mr. Macandrew, Sir John Richardson, Mr. Stout, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. J. H. Harris. Sir George Grey said the most pleasant and popular things, and was, as usual, received with the greatest enthusiasm; but the most telling and business-like speech was made by Mr. R. Stout, who, by this speech, ensured his election for Dunedin.

Sir Julius Vogel, beaten in his absence at the Thames and at Clutha, obtained second place for Wanganui—Major Atkinson having assured the electors there that it would be very much to "their inter-

ests to elect Mr. Bryce and Mr. Vogel unopposed?" whilst another and more explicit friend assured them that he had "no hesitation in saying that a vote of at least £100,000 might be obtained next session for harbour works for Wanganui by the election of Sir Julius Vogel."

Mr. Reeves was beaten by a small majority of 14 for the Selwyn by a young, untried man. His old free trade opponent, Mr. Stevens, was returned at the head of the poll as one of the three representatives of the city of Christchurch—Mr. Richardson and Mr. Moorhouse being the other two.

The electors of Christchurch did not distinguish themselves a second time by returning Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield; but the Wakefield family was cleverly represented by Mr. Edward Wakefield, a son of Felix and a nephew of Gibbon Wakefield, who was returned for Geraldine by the casting vote of the Returning Officer, and began his career by some very unpleasant comments upon the remarkable liberality with which Sir Julius Vogel had filled and refilled his own bottomless purse, and his desire, at any cost to the Colony, to reside amongst his great financial friends in London. After ridiculing the idea that the prosperity, which resulted from the restoration of peace and from the high price of wool and other produce, was in any way due to Sir Julius Vogel, Mr. Wakefield continued:—"I say distinctly, and am prepared to prove, that the Ministry which has virtually been the Ministry of the present Premier since 1869 has been the most corrupt Ministry that has ever held office in this country." Mr. E. Wakefield had, for some years, been private secretary to Mr. Stafford, and was now ably editing the *Timaru Herald*; so that he was in a position to give chapter and verse in support of his strong assertions. He was not a ready off hand debater; but he was a good writer, and occasionally made a well prepared and well delivered speech which usually bore a strong resemblance to the articles or reports in the *Timaru Herald*. He would have succeeded better as

a public man if he had maintained a more steady and consistent course, and aimed less conspicuously at the ministerial benches. Mr. Robert Stout exchanged Caversham for Dunedin City where he had Mr. Macandrew and Mr. Larnach as his colleagues. Mr. Rolleston came back for the Avon ; but Mr. Hall, who had but recently returned from England, chose to accept a seat in the Legislative Council.

The four large cities neutralized each other on the question of Abolition—Auckland and Dunedin returning Provincialists, whilst Wellington and Christchurch returned Abolitionists. It was from the runholders and large land proprietors and speculators that the Atkinson Government obtained its large majority in favour of abolishing the provinces. Mr. Macandrew distributed a circular giving his views on the subject, and Sir George Grey addressed meetings in the large centres of population denouncing the land monopolists. In addressing a crowded meeting at the Choral Hall in Auckland, he said that "Auckland was impecunious only because she was called upon to meet the enormous expenses of that ravenous monster in Wellington, whilst her land revenue was destroyed by such jobs as the Piako swamp. Mr. Wood would tell them that there would be no difficulty in reducing the expenditure at Wellington by £150,000."

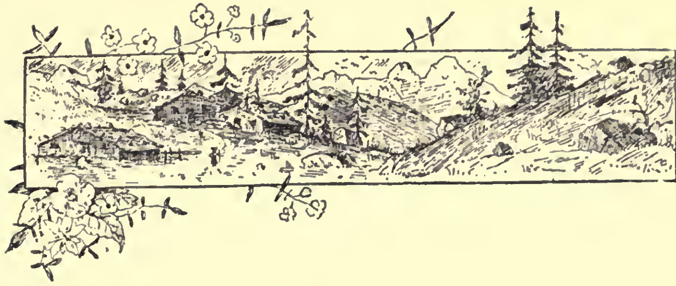
After retaining the same portfolio and the same constituency for more than six years, no one was so confidently supported by all classes and both races as Sir Donald McLean. He spoke to the electors far less as a party Minister than as the friend of the Maoris ; and although never destined to work again as he had done in the past, either in the House or the country, his election was quite a pleasant ovation, the strongest expressions of confidence were carried unanimously, and, without any effort of his own, he was placed at the head of the poll. He told the electors that, during his first year of office under Mr. Fox, he was able to reduce the Native expenditure from £350,000 to £200,000 per annum. Each following year had lessened that expen-

diture and had made peace more secure, whilst 1800 Maori children were being educated in the Native Schools.

Nearly all the newspapers in New Zealand were, in one way or the other, under the control of wealthy men, who generally desired to be large and secure holders of land. Such men almost invariably abhorred Provincial Governments and especially elected Superintendents; so that their efforts were directed, not to their much needed reform, but to their absolute destruction, utterly regardless of what was to take their place, or of what would be the effect upon the only Government left to scatter the borrowed money amongst its supporters and to fill the provinces with their nominees who were little likely to render any good service to the people who would no longer have any voice in their appointment or their pay. Under the daily influence of newspapers that found it easy to magnify the extravagance, and to exaggerate the untrustworthiness of elected provincials, and to parade the apparent passing advantages of spending borrowed money in all directions, the popular voice was soon heard in favour of abolishing the provinces, without a question of what was to take their place. As might be expected under such popular influence most of the candidates who had been strong supporters of the provinces now became wonderfully mild in support of their past views. All of them admitted that the Provincial Governments might be greatly improved, and not a few of them would have no objection to try the experiment of a change. Such trimmers were generally defeated and their place taken by more resolute opponents of the doomed provinces.

None of the many previously untried members who were elected at this General Election ever obtained much distinction in the House, although Mr. Rees, from Auckland City East, was a persevering and even a powerful rather than a polished speaker, and a forensic rather than a parliamentary debater. Mr. Delautour, from Mount Ida, gave much promise as a

young, fluent speaker. Both were rather over zealous supporters of Sir George Grey, and both suffered from an excess of combativeness: whilst Sir George Grey himself never needed any addition in that direction.



CHAPTER LXV.

The Retreat of an Autocrat: The Death of a Patriot.

The false must fail, though from our shores of time
The old lament be heard—"Great Pan is dead!"
That wail is Error's from her high place hurled;
This sharp recoil is evil undertrod;
Our time's unrest an angel sent of God,
Troubling with life the waters of the world.
Sands shift and waste: the rock alone remains.—Whittier.

On November the 17th, 1875, the Picton and Blenheim railway was opened, and on February the 4th, 1876, the main South Trunk Line from Christchurch was opened as far as Timaru. A banquet was held in the Oddfellows' Hall at Timaru where speeches were made by Mr. Stafford and Mr. Rolleston. But the boldest and most stirring speech was made in reply to Mr. Stafford by a resident settler in the district, Mr. Hayhurst. In returning thanks for the toast of the General Assembly, Mr. Stafford had the bad taste and the bad judgment to assert, as if in irony of the robberies that he was assisting the General Assembly to perpetrate on the Canterbury reserves and land fund, "It is to the action of the General Assembly that you owe

this day the opening of this line. When you consider the distance and the dangerous rivers to be traversed, we all know that, had it not been for the action of the General Assembly, many, many years must have passed away before this line would have been in operation. . . . . The people of Auckland, the people of Wellington, the people of Dunedin, have assisted you in the opening and construction of this line by means of which we have come from Christchurch to-day."

Mr. Hayhurst followed Mr. Stafford with the toast of the Superintendent, with no uncertain sound as to his opinion of the interference of the General Assembly. He said, "So far from the opening of this railway to-day being due to the action of the General Assembly, he believed that if the construction of railways had been left entirely to the Provincial authorities with their own land revenue, this line, or rather, a very much better one, would have been constructed long ago. Therefore, instead of rejoicing at the destruction of their provinces and their land fund, he thought it would be more appropriate for the people of Timaru to put crape on their hats and go sorrowfully home."

In returning thanks Mr. Rolleston said, "I cannot agree with Mr. Stafford in all that he has said about the General Assembly. The bridge over the Rakaia was projected in 1869 by the Provincial Government which I had the honour to preside over, and at the same time, my friend, Mr. Luxmore, the head of our Provincial Board of Works, was hard at work planning a bridge over the Rangitata. It is to the people of the province —to the people of the two districts now connected by those two great bridges, and by this railway—that we owe the progress we are met to celebrate this day."

Five days later, the Northern Railway was opened to Amberley, which was destined to be the North terminus for some years. A public luncheon was held in the Goods shed, at which about 225 guests were present. Here, again, his Honour the Superintendent was the principal speaker; but no sparring ensued between the representatives of Colonial and Provincial Govern-

ments, and nothing but compliments passed in all directions.

On the 24th of February, a congratulatory message was received from the Queen on the completion of the submarine cable between Australia and New Zealand, and several cablegrams were exchanged between Sir Julius and the various Australian Colonies. But the cable was not yet entirely open to the public; as the contractors held possession for thirty days for testing purposes.

It was on the evening of Thursday, the 10th of February, 1876, that Sir Julius Vogel landed at Wellington after sixteen months' absence from New Zealand. His colleagues had made the most elaborate arrangements for his reception, and the host of civil servants which he had placed in that city were not slow or unwilling to render all the homage expected from them. A crowd, estimated at 7,000, met him on the wharf, and if he had served his country like Washington, without fee or reward, instead of drawing £500 for each of the sixteen months that he had been absent, or if he had redeemed the seven millions of debt which Mr. Fox had described in 1868 as "hanging like a millstone round the neck of New Zealand," instead of adding twelve millions to it, he could not have been received with more extravagant demonstrations of shouting, fireworks and torchlight processions. The address read to him, like the address shouted to Herod, would have been more appropriate to a god than to a man, declaring as it did, and with some truth, so far as the civil servants were affected, that, "Your policy is the bond which unites us, and the lever which raises us to our proper level in the grand scale of industrial civilisation. For an increase of participation in the profits of industry, for happy homes and contented lives we have to thank you." Seven days later Sir Julius appeared at a sumptuous banquet surrounded by his admiring Ministers and their upper servants, and, clothed in the collar, star and robes of the order of St. Michael and St. George, where, as a matter of course,

adoration was even more unmeasured and unreserved in its language.

It was the most unmitigated chorus of flattery that Sir Julius Vogel's ears were ever permitted to hear. Five weeks before that great effort to cover up all his follies and to drown criticism in a flood of popular admiration, his early, but now repentant, friend, the Editor of the *Lyttelton Times*, had written,—"Sir Julius Vogel will have to explain a good deal before he can be the man he once was in public estimation." Six months later, Sir Julius had to mourn aloud that the last twelve weeks had hurled more personal accusations against him than he had heard for the previous twelve years. But, dangerous as he had proved, he could be put under no restraint. There was no place in the Government team for him except that of leader. He must be fore horse or no horse at all. Pollen could no longer be called Premier. Atkinson could no longer be called Treasurer. All the Cabinet must hail their great leader, as Napoleon's Generals hailed him on his escape from Elba, although a Waterloo was not improbably before him.

Sir Julius Vogel was again appointed Premier—Dr. Pollen having retired in his favour. Sir Julius professed to combine with it the duties of Treasurer, of Postmaster General and Commissioner of Telegraphs. The two latter departments had been put in complete order when under the direction of Mr. Hall, and were still under the care of such very able and assiduous permanent heads as Mr. William Grey and Mr. Lemon; so that they offered a most convenient post for a merely nominal, an absent, or an incapable political head. Mr. Reynolds declined to continue to hold the position of Commissioner of Customs which was ably taken in hand by Mr. George McLean, the member for Waikouaiti. Sir Donald McLean's portfolio was never changed, but his health and powers were failing fast. Although Major Atkinson was now to be called Secretary for Crown Lands and Minister for Immigration, he was too much alive to his own interest to really

give up his hold of what he had found to be by far the most influential position and one which he had good reason to believe that he could and would soon revert to, and Sir Julius Vogel was quite willing to have the work done for him so long as he had the pay. Mr. Bowen industriously prepared to combine with the position of Minister of Justice what was soon to become the important position of Minister of Education.

With great tact and judgment in dealing with his most dangerous opponents, Sir Julius Vogel proposed, in very handsome terms, that Mr. Fitzherbert should be elected to the Speaker's Chair, and, afterwards, that Mr. O'Rorke should be Chairman of Committees. In both cases he was seconded by Sir George Grey, and both candidates were known to be certain of election without opposition.

But, on the second day of the session, as soon as the Governor's assent to the Speaker's election had been formally announced, Sir George Grey struck a very severe blow at the Premier by asking the new House to arrest the issue of the Crown grant for the Piako land to Whitaker and Russell. A number of the young members who had been elected to support Sir Julius were staggered by the facts and conditions of this proposed sale as related by Sir George Grey, and gave their first vote against the Government, which was defeated in the first division of the session, by a majority of nine. But the application of the Government whip, and the announcement that the Government would resign if the House attempted to arrest the sale, brought the young voters back in sufficient number to equalise the votes on the second division and to save the Government by the casting vote of the Speaker, given on strictly official grounds. Yet, after a caucus meeting, in which Sir Julius took far more humble ground, and begged toleration where he could not obtain approval, he was allowed to complete his promises to Messrs. Whittaker and Russell. By a majority of 51 to 19, a resolution was passed, proposed by the Premier in these words,—"That this House

will not interfere to prevent the issue in the ordinary course of the Crown grant for the Piako swamp." After which the reply to the Governor's Speech was also carried, without opposition.

But the terms of the swamp sale, and the £6600 travelling expenses, and the heavy loss by the rash and very suspicious sale of the Four Million Loan to the Rothschilds, were all hard things for the young Vogelites to digest, and the Premier was soon compelled to see that he had ventured too far, and relied too much upon the enormous credulity and criminal indulgence or indifference of the late House. Like the selfish and too long trusted Napoleon when defeated at Waterloo, Sir Julius now concluded that it was time "to save himself." The haughty confidence, the boasted air of incorruptibility, which could brook no suspicion, the contempt and pity for his unhappy critics, and for all constitutional safeguards which had been the growth of six years' luxurious indulgence in uncontrolled power, pride, and pelf, was changed in a few hours before the firmer attitude of the new House, from which he had begged indulgence, but could obtain no approval. The halcyon days of successful and remunerative dictation were over, the atmosphere of the House was no longer safe, and ominous storms of some kind arose every day from the eloquent Grey, the dangerous Stout, the dauntless Rees, the racy Wakefield, or the witty Wood. So that, in bitterness of heart, Sir Julius had to exclaim, "There has been more foul-mouthed abuse and imputation of personal motives during this short session than during the twelve years which preceded it." These words were used late in the session. Sir Julius had retired altogether before the Public Accounts Committee reported that, besides his salary of £1750 a year, "he had taken on account of his first mission to England more than £3000, and on account of his second mission £6600 without any authority for doing so."

There are few chapters in the history of any country more remarkable than that which might and

which should record the true story of the rise and fall of Sir Julius Vogel in New Zealand. We can hardly say that such a chapter would carry a good moral with it; because it would contain a tempting history of some years' of unrestricted wealth; of six years' steady, well-sustained, although not permanent, success; obtained without desert, without self-control or self-sacrifice; without any high, unselfish aims; without the exercise of common prudence, of common honesty, or even of any well-balanced, transcendent ability. Still more humiliating and demoralising would be a searching history of the men, the motives, and the measures, that so long and so unwisely continued to lift him into the power which he lost at last only by his setting at nought the common, reasonable restraints that in all ages have been necessary to secure the happiness, the safety, the respect, or the permanent prosperity and reputation either of rulers or of their subjects.

Sir Julius Vogel was in the zenith of his power in the year 1875—the year in which he obtained what should be the honour of knighthood—the year in which he persuaded the New Zealand Parliament to let him borrow four millions of money in any way he pleased—the year in which he sold the whole of the Four Million Loan to the Rothschilds in determined opposition to the earnest advice of the London loan agents, Sir P. G. Julian and Mr. Sargeaunt, and to that of the ever honest and incorruptible Agent-General, Dr. Featherston, at a price that realised a trifle less than 91 per cent., or £360,000 less than the face value of the bonds given. It was in that year that the Crown Agents in London requested that their "names might not again be associated with that of Sir Julius Vogel in the negotiation of any loan." It was in this year that he brought those charges and insults against the faithful Dr. Featherston which Mr. Reader Wood afterward described in the House as "evidently brought against a man whose conduct had ever been above suspicion, with the object of driving him to resign his office of Agent-General in order that his accuser might obtain that coveted posi-

tion into which he has schemed himself at last." Mr. E. Wakefield denounced Sir Julius Vogel's action as "the most infamous job that ever disgraced the annals of the colony." It was in that year that Sir Julius obtained a certificate of illness to excuse a whole year's absence from the House whilst he was enjoying himself, as far as constant gout would permit, in European travel and European gambling. It was in that year that he drew, without authority, the sum of £6600 for travelling expenses, in addition to a salary of £1750 per annum. It was in the following year that the National Debt of New Zealand had, under his manipulation, reached to £20,000,000, and the charges upon it exceeded a million a year, whilst gold had increased in value and wool had decreased by something like 25 per cent.

Whilst the Colonial Treasurer had to make that announcement to the House, and thereby to show that all the borrowing the House could hope to effect for the future would certainly not do more than pay the Colonial interest in London, the Agent-General, Dr. Featherston, was lying in his grave. His death, which had occurred on the morning of June 10th, was announced to the House on the 13th of July.

The death of Dr. Featherston can hardly be said to have been unexpected. Feeble health was the real cause which had led him to accept the appointment of Agent-General under his kind, genial, and constant friend, Sir William Fox. That health had not improved in London, and had fast declined under the systematic insults inflicted upon him by Sir Julius Vogel and his newspapers. His death called forth, in both Houses, strong expressions of reverence and admiration from his old friends who remembered the grand work of his more able days; and not a few striking comparisons were made between the noble, unselfish patriot and his self-seeking successor in office. Both Houses adjourned as a mark of their respect for his high character. Sir George Grey said that "Dr. Featherston always afforded an example of high-mindedness and unswerving justice,

and was never known to seek an advantage for himself at the expense of his country. I have known him for thirty years, and never in my life have I known a man who more unselfishly devoted himself to the public service." Mr. Reader Wood said that "there was not a stain, either of selfishness or of folly, upon his long and brilliant life, and the shafts of envy and selfishness which had so lately been directed against him had signally recoiled on the hand that directed them." Mr. Fitzherbert said—"I have lost a friend and the Colony has lost a great man—a man who will be gratefully remembered by both races in this Colony when those who have dared to insult him will not be forgotten but will be estimated at their true worth. His glory is that he died poor. He had abundant opportunities to enrich himself, but preferred to die with clean hands."

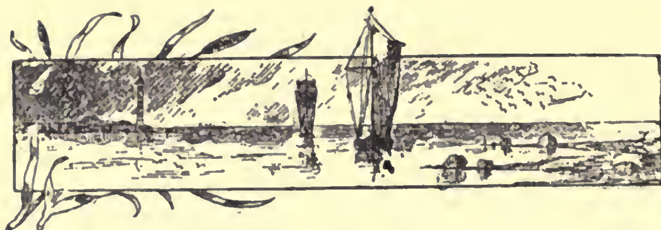
Mr. Stafford said—"I know well that if temptation could have influenced him there were not wanting frequent instances where he might have given way. But he never failed to put such temptations unswervingly aside, and to do what he considered best for the public service. I do not think that the country has come to that, that it should be a special subject of praise that its leading men resisted temptation; but the fact is well known to us that there are men who have filled similar positions, and have had equal temptation offered to them who have not manifested the same integrity which was so characteristic of Dr. Featherston."

Sir Julius Vogel joined gracefully and unsparingly in the unanimous praise of the Doctor, and brought down a Bill—which was carried without a dissentient voice—giving £3000 to his unmarried children. Sir Julius said—"He was one of our greatest public men—a man of great knowledge, and as a statesman entirely unselfish." He referred to his fault-finding letters as having been "placed in possession of the House owing to the necessities of democratic institutions." With all his faults, it must be admitted that few men suffering under perpetual chronic gout, could have set such a good example as Sir Julius Vogel generally did in completely resisting

the temptation to allow political hostility, or even political injury, to drive him into acts or words of personal antipathy or injustice. He sometimes said hard and bold things in the House or on the platform ; but his private letters, and his private intercourse with his political opponents were usually as pleasant as if they had been his own friends. He often watched an opportunity to do them some service, and not unfrequently silenced an opponent, or made him a friend by such actions.

But the best feature in Sir Julius Vogel's proceeding as a Premier was that he was never afraid to seek the services of the best men he could obtain as his colleagues. Confident in his own power, he never adopted the dastardly and terribly injurious policy of trying to secure his own pre-eminence by surrounding himself with a set of pliant but incapable tools. His never failing conviction that great things were within his reach prevented him from ever stooping so low as that. In his first attempt to become a Minister by defeating Mr. Weld, he had planned to serve under Mr. Stafford ; and, in his second, he nominally served under Mr. Fox, associated with the ablest Native Minister New Zealand has ever seen, and loyally clung to them both as long as he possibly could, whilst he sought and obtained the services of the thorough-going Postmaster General, Sir John Hall, and left the Treasury, during his long absence in England, in the hands of the most resolute and fearless holder of the purse he could find in the House. No one can deny that his Government was emphatically a One Man Government ; but he made it so, not by rejecting, but by cleverly utilising the best and the ablest associates he could select from the materials within his reach. Mere nominal power was never his object. Any one might appropriate the shadow, so long as they left him the substance. He valued fame only so far as it was convertable into pounds, shillings and pence ; and even gold had no abiding place in his affections except so far as it was supposed to be the medium by which he could grasp the unmeasured wealth which was con-

stantly dangling before his restless imagination—but, for that purpose, gold was grasped at with all the fatal infatuation of more common gamblers. One of his earliest and ablest admirers, the Editor of the *Lyttelton Times*, parts with him, on the 19th of September, 1876, in these words :—" Sir Julius Vogel is always intending to build a tower, but he never sits down first and counts the cost. His schemes generally begin and end in speculation, but if the work is really undertaken, his want of administrative ability at once becomes manifest and the cost precludes completion. He is almost an able financier. He has an astounding aptitude for figures. Intricate calculations are to him a labour of love. He looks far ahead and his financial grasp is comprehensive. But here again the fatal gift of speculation intervenes. The Treasury is to him the Tattersal of finance. He must give and take the odds. Official ledgers are betting books on a large scale, and balances represent what the state stands to win or lose. His idea of a nation in prosperity is a nation in debt, with so much on each race. In that view, overdrafts, Treasury bills and large loans are blessings in disguise, the shadows of coming events, of triumphs and success on the political turf. Bad administration consummated the disastrous influence of this speculative mania. Waste and extravagance characterise the daily conduct of business, and the perspective pot of money to be landed off the favourite is as nebulous as the traditional pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow."



CHAPTER LXVI.

No Economists Need Apply.

Joseph Hume was at first despised and ridiculed, afterwards dreaded as the *justum et tenacem propositi virum,* he ended by gaining the respect of friends and foes, and the confidence of the whole nation. Prodigals and spendthrifts were long, and perhaps still continue to be, the favourites of the public.—J. R. M , in *Encyclopœdia Brittanica.*

It was on Thursday, the last day of August, that Major Atkinson informed the House that he had accepted the offices of Premier and Treasurer, and that Sir Donald McLean, Dr Pollen, and Messrs Whitaker, Richardson, Bowen, G. McLean, Ormond and Hall had consented to become members of his Ministry. As soon as Mr. Whitaker's name was formally mentioned in the House as Attorney General, Sir George Grey objected to the appointment as being contrary to the Attorney General Act, and also contrary to the rule limiting the number of Ministers to seven. As the Premier chose to disregard his objection, Sir George at once proceeded to enforce the law, with the result that the Government had to pay his expenses, and Mr. Whitaker had to accept the office of Postmaster General, or at least to be called by that name, whilst Messrs Ormond and Hall retired to reduce the Ministerial number to seven. The Premier

was to lead in the House of Representatives, and Dr. Pollen, as Colonial Secretary, in the Legislative Council. Although the personnel of the Ministry had been so little changed, both leaders were very careful to inform their hearers that the Ministry must be regarded as an entirely new one, and would not be at all bound by the policy of the past. This stipulation was naturally disputed in both Houses, where it was claimed that a new policy should be carried out by new men. But there was little need for the dispute ; as it was too soon made evident that there was to be no change in the main feature of the Vogel policy, which was, to borrow as long as a lender could be found, and to enjoy abundance for the present at the expense of the future. So that a Loan of Two Millions was one of the first things that the House was called upon to consider. But long before Sir Julius Vogel nominally retired from the Premiership, he had ceased to take his former interest in the work of the session, and had shown very distinctly that his heart was over the sea, and his head as usual occupied much more with enchanting dreams of the future than with the dull monotony of the passing hour. During the whole session of 1876, he had taken but little interest in anything not immediately connected with his new position, and his relations with the Directors of the Bank of New Zealand, and other monetary magnates with whom he hoped to compete or to coalesce ; so that the responsibility of finding the "substantial endowments," the "increased local revenue and the diminished local expenditure," which had been promised with so much parade, practically devolved upon Major Atkinson, who was singularly deficient of the originating or constructive ability necessary even to prolong such delusions.

The majority of the new Parliament was strongly in favour of confirming all that had been done in 1875 to secure the abolition of the provinces ; so that something had to be done, or at least attempted, to take the place of the abolished Superintendents and Provincial Councils ; but Major Atkinson could think of

nothing except a mere duplicate of the existing Road Boards upon a somewhat larger scale, to be called County Councils, and so arranged that they would take some power and revenue away from the existing Road Boards, but none from the centralising Government. With most of Atkinson's friends and advisers, hatred to Sir George Grey and all his words and works had become the chief motive power, and they were delighted to see in the County Council Bill the five votes given to all the large land holders, and their own friends or minions nominated to such important local work as had hitherto been performed by men elected by constituencies in which the largest holders had no more votes than the small ones. This was the grand moving power which had abolished the provinces and for which these centralisers were so soon to be repaid in their own coin by placing the merciless, and often mischievous, unchecked central power in the hands of universal suffrage, uncontrolled by working under the ever present eye of the electors, as the Superintendents and Provincial Councils had always done. As to the "substantial endowments" that the local bodies were to receive, it was easy to make a pretence of supplying them by seizing the land revenue that had been so vehemently declared sacred to each locality in which it was raised, and failing that, nothing could be more congenial to Major Atkinson's notions of government than to borrow money on the security of the whole Colony and to dole it out most liberally to those districts the support of whose representatives was most essential to the existence of his Government or who were most obedient to his party Whips—always keeping a very good share for Taranaki. Then each large land holder—and there were many in both Houses—was sure to want a road or a bridge to give value to his property, and it would be got if he unflinchingly supported the loan from which all such blessings were to flow and would be lost if he dared to suggest that too much had already been borrowed.

The careful handling by local bodies of what was something like their own money under the close supervision of those who had an interest in the result, had thus given place to the general scramble on the floor of the House where each representative was quite willing to borrow millions so long as he could show his constituents that he had got a few thousands or a good share of the plunder to be expended by the General Government in his district. Prudent, conscientious representatives, who foresaw and dreaded the national consequences of such reckless borrowing and wasting, were not in request: there were plenty of men and plenty of Ministers of the other sort, and, although it would still be deemed very wrong to waste their local revenues, it was of very little consequence to each of these scramblers how much was extracted from that incomprehensible—if not inexhaustible—fountain called the Colonial Treasury. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and, like the insane George III and his profligate successor, like the ignorant Egyptians and the sensual Turks, our Dometts, our Vogels, and our Atkinsons would borrow on any terms so long as there was any one to lend, and they had been allowed to borrow and waste until the electors had got to believe that nothing else was either possible or right. No Peel or Gladstone has ever come to our aid to declare that they will no longer degrade their office or their country by the despicable, costly and pernicious practice of "anticipating revenue;" so that, whilst England has been steadily and firmly marching on the road to freedom, independence and permanent prosperity, New Zealand has every year been plunging deeper into the mire of hopeless, needless, wasted debt, and crushing 200,000 toilers with a Civil Service and system of wholesale patronage, a Government and a Usury Bill, on a scale that would be extravagant and excessive if her population were twenty times as large.

The destruction, sooner or later, of the Provincial Governments by the superior power of the Central Government, was made certain when the British Par-

liament, disregarding the advice of Mr. Gladstone, was persuaded to alter Sir George Grey's Constitution Act by allowing the Legislative Council to be nominated by the Central Executive Council, instead of being elected as he proposed by the Provincial Councils. But their destruction was made more certain to come early by the absence from the Constitution Act of well defined boundaries distinctly fixing and limiting the powers both of the Central and the Local Legislatures. The legislative power given to the local bodies was far too extensive and too general. It should never have extended to legislation upon subjects that could properly be dealt with by the Central Legislature. It was manifestly a waste of power and a certain foundation for conflict to put nine provinces making laws upon education, taxation, licenses, harbours and railroads, when it could more effectually and conveniently be done by one power for the whole Colony. Besides the conflicts and waste of energy that must result from giving such independent legislative power to a number of small provinces, there was always the great danger that such power would carry with it a tendency to imitate more wealthy Legislatures, and thus to adopt extravagant and pretentious proceedings altogether inconsistent with the strict economy that could alone be wisely admitted in bodies representing such small and sparsely populated territories. It was all very well for the Provincial Councils to take the bye-laws of the English House of Commons for their guidance, and even to take British precedents in maintaining order and solving difficulties; but, when they came to adopt an Imperial expenditure and to add Responsible Government and rival Executive Councils to control the Superintendents elected by a more popular vote, the whole thing became too expensive and pretentious, besides practically destroying the simple, inexpensive check that the elected Superintendent was intended to be upon the less popularly elected Council whose control of the purse, if honestly exerted, gave them quite power enough to check him. It was unfortunately early

proved that the single votes for the Superintendent were not always given to honest, prudent and trustworthy men. Dometts and Vogels, Macandrews and Moorhouses, could be found even in the provinces and were there just as overwhelmingly popular in their day as they were in the House of Representatives. But it would have been far better to leave the provincial electors to see and feel the costly blunders they had made, and to have a strong motive to avoid such a needless and disastrous mistake in the future, than to pretend that vigilance was made less necessary, or that everything was made safe by putting the Superintendents in the custody of the equally fallible Provincial Councils. No Superintendent who illegally consented to be put in such chains was ever able to do the same efficient good work for his province as was done by the first three Superintendents of Nelson, who were never asked to accept such bondage and who never allowed the expenses of the Provincial Government to grow under their hands.

If he had originally been left to his own devices, Atkinson would not have been a dangerous financier. He was naturally a plain, common sense, strong-willed man, led far less by his imagination, his friendships, or his adoration, than by his keen observation. But his public character had been formed in a very bad school. He had seen the indolent, dreamy, well-pensioned Domett preferred to Stafford because he was the first to talk of borrowing money by millions, over the expenditure of which he had made his incapacity so conspicuous. He had seen Stafford ridiculed and degraded, and ultimately demoralised in consequence of the expression of his honest desire to keep down wasteful expenditure. He had seen Vogel despised, and shunned, and snubbed as long as he exposed and opposed the extravagance and audacity of Fitzherbert's finance, but suddenly glorified, trusted, and clothed with unquestioned authority and power as soon as he proceeded to borrow millions, to pocket tens of thousands, and to throw away hundreds of thousands in unauthorised

contracts. Why should he attempt to imitate the conduct that had brought to Stafford so much ridicule, so much hard work, and so much humiliation, when he might rise to glory, honour, and immortality by following in the steps of his last and most successful leader?

The names of the proposed Ministry, as indicated by Major Atkinson, on Thursday, August 31st, were officially announced on Tuesday, September 4th, as having received the Governor's approval. On the same day, Major Atkinson informed the House that it was the intention of his Government to appoint Sir Julius Vogel, who was still a member of the House, as Agent General. This led to a notice of motion by Mr. Andrew, disapproving of the appointment, which was discussed very warmly on the following day and defeated by the previous question proposed by Sir Robert Stout —35 voting or pairing that the question should be put, and 51 that it should not. It was at once made a Government question, and the vote was, consequently, generally a party one; but there were some exceptions. Mr. Reid contended that "it is impossible to say how much we have lost by retaining Sir Julius Vogel as Premier; but I am prepared to say that we might have had our present works constructed for at least 25 per cent less than they have cost if they had been undertaken in a more prudent manner. I believe he will be a very able Agent General, and it will be a great benefit to the safe working of Responsible Government if this Parliament be relieved of his presence." After this division, Sir Julius Vogel resigned his seat in Parliament, and Mr. Fox, still absent from the Colony, was elected in his place to represent Wanganui. His numerous friends at Wellington presented Sir Julius with a large purse of sovereigns prior to his departure from that city in the Australia, on October 30th, on his way to England. But when the steamer reached Auckland, he was met neither with coin nor with compliments. His old friends there were so exasperated against him for having destroyed the Provinces they had elected him to defend, that it was deemed unsafe for him to land in

that city; and, even on the steamer, his ears were annoyed with coarse execrations far more violent and offensive than those which had driven him, two years earlier, from his last public meeting in the Choral Hall.

Prior to Sir Julius Vogel's resignation as Premier, three civil servants — Messrs. Gisborne, Seed and Knowles—had been appointed to visit the various Provincial offices and to make recommendations as to what Provincial officers should be taken into the employ of the General Government, and otherwise to obtain such information as the General Government might require to guide their movements when the Provincial Governments ceased to exist. As the abolition of the Provinces might still be prevented by the new House of Representatives, those Superintendents who had not been propitiated by considerations of employment or other personal advantage, naturally resented such a proceeding, both as presuming that abolition was certain and as ostentatiously ignoring the Superintendents as the best informed local advisers in the adjustment of future offices and officers. In this resentment Sir George Grey and Mr. Macandrew worked together; and both had an able legal adviser in Mr. Robert Stout; so that they often proved too much even for the wily Whitaker, whom they had compelled to retire from the position of Attorney General.

Without contradicting his own statements and exposing the gross misrepresentations of Sir Julius Vogel when asking for the Four Million Loan of 1875, Major Atkinson could not insist upon his Two Million Loan as being absolutely indispensable to meet existing engagements. The amount was consequently cut down by the House, and he was left to make the most expensive and degrading arrangements to procure loans from the Banks to avoid still more fatal disgrace to the Colony. So that one of the first things that Sir Julius Vogel was employed to do as the New Zealand Agent in London was to assure her London creditors that New Zealand would not negotiate any further loans in London during the present year: whilst the New Zea-

land Government immediately proceeded to borrow half a million in Sydney from the Bank of New South Wales and a million in New Zealand from the Bank of New Zealand.

The parliamentary proceedings for the remainder of the session were of no great Colonial importance. Harbour and other local Bills abounded, the cost of the increased number of members in the House, the payment of members, and the general corruption of the past ten years, were somewhat fully discussed, in which Mr. Swanson often chimed in with some very laughable burlesque. On one occasion, when Mr. Woolcock asked for a return of all the members of the House who had been appointed to paid offices during the last ten years, and Mr. Montgomery proposed to add the names of those who had been appointed as soon as they ceased to be members, Mr. Swanson said that the return would be much more complete and interesting if it contained the names of all the members of the House who had asked to be appointed to some well-paid berth during the last three years.

After sitting eighty-five days, averaging ten and a half hours each, passing ninety Bills and rejecting seventy-eight, this first session of the sixth New Zealand Parliament was prorogued by commission on Tuesday, October 31st.

Soon after the close of the session, Mr. Richardson resigned the office of Minister of Public Works, and was succeeded by Mr. Ormond. On December 14th, Sir Donald McLean resigned the portfolio of Native Minister on the ground of continued ill-health, and the duties of that office were undertaken by Dr. Pollen in addition to his work as Colonial Secretary.

On the 5th of January, 1877, only seven months after the death of Dr. Featherston, Sir Donald McLean died. His body was interred at Napier with every evidence of affection and respect from both races. He was buried on Sunday, January 7th, about three thousand persons being present. Six months after his death, the Governor's Speech on opening Parliament,

contained the following testimony to his undoubted worth:—"You will, I feel assured, recognise with me the loss which my Government and the Colony have sustained in the lamented death of Sir Donald McLean, who for more than seven years filled the office of Native Minister. His devotion to the duties of his office, his knowledge of the Native language and character, his generosity and large-heartedness, and his tact in dealing with individuals as well as with the masses, secured to him an influence over the Maori people which he exercised unceasingly to promote their welfare and advancement, to maintain peace, and to bring about that reconciliation between the races which he so earnestly desired to accomplish."

In the year 1877, an unusual number of pre-sessional speeches were delivered by the leading members of the House which were very fully reported. Mr. Stafford's speech to his constituents at Timaru was enthusiastically received by his hearers, and favourably noticed in the press; but it was not a speech worthy of his talents, his experience and his opportunities. It was not the speech of a statesman, a patriot or a philanthropist; and was not even worthy of a distinguished politician. Ever since Mr. Stafford had told his Timaru constituents in 1871 that "nothing was so unpopular as prudent economy," he practically retired from any effort in that direction, and consequently from the work for which he was most fitted and for which his talents were most urgently demanded. The Timaru breakwater had now become the chief object of his care, as it was the most prominent part of his speech, whilst he most frankly confessed,—"I do not profess to understand the position of the Colonial finance. I have only seen the public accounts, and they are accounts which only a few experts in New Zealand can understand." And yet, whilst he knew that the expense of Government was being daily increased, and told his hearers that railways over the Canterbury plains which had been estimated to cost £3,500 had actually cost £7000 per mile, he admitted

that he "should despair of the finance of the country if I did not think that considerable reductions could be made from time to time without in any way impairing the efficiency of the public service."

Little was expected from the Premier's speech to his constituents, which was on the usual level of mutual admiration, and, although much was promised, the promises were so general and indefinite that no one was much the wiser or much deceived by them.

Sir George Grey's popular addresses proved, as usual, his great power over a public assembly, but were disappointing as to any evidence of his devotion to useful public work, or as to the care with which he was likely to choose his constitutional or unconstitutional advisers or colleagues.

Mr. Rolleston's speech at Papanui, on April 18th, was much occupied with land revenue and land settlement, but he condemned the system of constantly anticipating revenue, and said, "We cannot go on with the present system of paying by Treasury Bills, current expenditure." On the education question, he showed some slow advance in his own education by promising to support a system "free, unsectarian and compulsory." With all his learning, he had evidently not yet learned that there was no such thing as "unsectarian religion." He was very heartily cheered, and a resolution passed unanimously which was most evidently intended to be superlative, although it only said what was capable of a very different construction, "We have still as much confidence in him as we always had."

Mr. Fox returned to New Zealand soon enough to address his new constituents at Wanganui early in April. He spoke as if he had never been liable for Sir Julius Vogel's extravagance, whilst his promises for future economy were all that could be desired. He said that "there was one thing that he would narrowly watch with a view to retrenchment, and that was departmental extravagance. Extravagance with an individual would bring its own punishment, and also with a Colony. Public works must be pushed on, and,

if the Government were prudent and careful, there should be no necessity for further borrowing for a considerable time to come. In this respect, previous Governments had been far too lax and indifferent. He would insist upon exercising economy in every official department. Of one thing he was quite convinced, that the time had come not to borrow any more."

On July the 20th, Mr. Macandrew met five hundred of his friends in the Princess Theatre in Dunedin, where he was presented with a purse containing 1,500 sovereigns. In presenting the purse and the address, the Mayor said that "presentations had been made to the Superintendents of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch; but this was the most valuable of all. Mr. Macandrew had been identified with the history of the Colony for twenty-five years, and he always assisted its progress. The public works and immigration schemes originated in his fertile brain, and most public institutions in Otago were mooted by him. He had always been actuated by the highest motives, and his name would be handed down to posterity as a household word in the history of Otago."

In reply, Mr. Macandrew said, "Nothing was more gratifying to a public-spirited man than the consciousness that he had endeavoured to do his duty, left some footprints on the sands of time, and acquired the good opinion of his fellow citizens. He hoped all would realise what was due to their adopted country, themselves and children. and let the watchword of Otago be, as it had been in the past, 'The greatest happiness of the greatest number.'"

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE EDUCATION ACT.

OH, for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey.—WORDSWORTH.

The sixth New Zealand Parliament met for the second time on Thursday, July 19, 1877. The Governor's Speech was read by the Marquis of Normanby, and, with the exception of a handsome reference to the death of Sir Donald McLean, it contrived to say even less than Governor's Speeches generally do say, The occupants of six seats in the House had been changed during the recess, with the result that three ex-Ministers—Fox, Travers, and Gisborne—were now again prepared to serve their country, and that without being very definitely pledged on either side. Mr. Fox, especially, could find no strong attraction, either in the now prominent surviving hero of the Taranaki war, or in the author of those voluminous blue books that con-

demned his treatment of the Maori prisoners; so that neither Atkinson nor Grey felt at all thankful for his return.

On Friday, the second day of the House sitting, the Address-in-Reply was agreed to with very little debate, and without a division. The same course was adopted by the Legislative Council on the third day of sitting.

Major Atkinson's Financial Statement will long be remembered as the "rest and be thankful policy." After destroying the Provinces, seizing the land revenue, and placing himself at the head of the Central Government, and being apparently left uncontrolled to divide the spoils of victory, he forgot all about his early radical and socialistic theories that would be so repugnant to those who had used him for their own objects; so that he now assured the House that the real "need of the country is political rest, and the present is a time when the country should not be troubled with questions as to the incidence or the specific character of our taxation." "Give peace in my time," has always been the prayer of each successive borrower under party Government. Practically they have all said: "Let me borrow the money to pay the interest of the millions we have wasted, and let some one else call for the taxation that will be sure to stir up an awkward spirit of enquiry, and to engender disputes as to what class should pay it."

On Tuesday, the 24th of July, Mr. Bowen proposed the first reading of the Education Bill, and took the unusual, but in this case not undesirable, course of making an important and very useful speech on the first reading. It was by far the most important work of the session, and the work that has left the most indelible mark on the history of New Zealand. For several successive years efforts had been made to accomplish this, but the conflicting opinions of the House had always proved too strong in the end to allow any Bill to pass its final stages, and national education had never been a subject of much interest or importance in the estima-

tion of Mr. Vogel. Nor was it a very absorbing subject with Major Atkinson ; so that he took no leading part in the work, but left it to his more able Minister of Justice, Mr. Charles Christopher Bowen, who had some very valuable qualifications for such an important and difficult undertaking. His religious education had been by no means a liberal one. All his surroundings from childhood had been Episcopal. He was a Canterbury pilgrim and an Irish Episcopalian even more than an Irish Protestant ; but he was a remarkably well-read man in more senses, and in more languages than one ; and his observations in Ireland, his experience as a Resident Magistrate in Canterbury, and even his intimate connections with the first Superintendent of that Province, who thought he had done justice to everyone when he divided the Provincial Education vote amongst three denominations, all contributed to open his eyes as to the real magnitude of the many stumbling blocks he would have to contend with. Although fond of strong language, and intensely alive to the ridiculous and absurd, he was conciliatory and politic in all his movements, and was more amused than irritated by listening to the most frivolous objections.

Although Mr. Curtis, the last Superintendent of Nelson, had for nearly ten years secured the Catholic vote by an alteration of the Nelson Education Act which enabled public money to be devoted to denominational schools, the Nelson Act, with that alteration expunged, was still the best existing Provincial Act, and as such, was largely copied by Mr. Bowen in the preparation of his Bill, and was, in fact, the Act that had been copied, more or less, by all the other Provinces. The greatest blemishes in the Bill brought down by Mr. Bowen were the retention of the foolish capitation fees which had been a stumbling block in all the Provincial Acts and the attempt to give the appearance of religious teaching in a system of education which he intended to be national and universal in its application. But, after a very useful and generally intelligent debate, both of these mistakes were elimi-

nated, and an Act passed that has stood the test of time remarkably well. Whilst vigorously, and with evident honesty, denouncing denominational schools as having been tried and lamentably failed, Mr. Bowen, with all his extensive education and experience, and his strong desire to conciliate, had still enough of the Canterbury pilgrim left in him to believe that there could be nothing denominational in the Protestant Bible and the Lord's Prayer; and therefore proposed that the reading of both should be not only permissive but compulsory in the State schools. His Bill, as brought down, contained the words—"The school shall be opened every morning with the reading of the Lord's Prayer and a portion of the Holy Scriptures." But the Romanists were in that Parliament more numerous than usual, and had brought with them not a few Protestants who had obtained the Catholic block vote by promising to watch over the Roman interests in the House. Without any very correct liberal ideas or intentions, these Catholic voters helped materially to liberalise both Mr. Bowen and his Bill. They voted against his Bill, because they called it a wicked, godless, secular proposal, and they voted against his religious proposals because they called them both sectarian and unorthodox. After listening to such condemnations, Mr. Bowen no doubt despaired of being able to find any religious teaching that was not sectarian, and saw his religious clauses struck out by a majority of 41 to 25 without shedding a tear over them.

Mr. Curtis made a vigorous attempt to perpetuate his denominational system, but was met by a still more vigorous opposition, in which the failure of all attempts at denominational teaching by the State was very generally demonstrated and admitted. Mr. Fox, who was a member of the Church of England, an ardent admirer of the English Bible, a liberal subscriber to the Bible Society, the most earnest Christian, and the most whole-hearted philanthropist in the House, spoke with wonderful effect against a denominational, and in favour of a purely secular system. No other man in the House would have carried so much weight in this direction as

he did when he said—"I never saw a more barefaced attempt to introduce, not only the thin, but the thick end of the wedge of denominationalism than the amendment of the honourable member for Nelson City—Mr. Curtis. The consequence of passing such clauses would be the complete introduction of that system of denominationalism which had done so much injury in the past. Although I am prepared to offer no objection to the reading of the Bible in State schools, I have no misgivings as to the effect of a purely secular system. I have travelled over a great part of the United States, and I know what has been the result there. The Bible is practically excluded, if not altogether excluded, from most of the schools in the States, and I did not notice that a loose tone of morality or religion prevailed there. On the contrary, I believe that there is no people in the world who have a deeper religious and moral sense than the people of the States taken as a whole. The consequence of the exclusion of the Bible and religious teaching from the State schools has been that efforts to promote religion have been redoubled of late by those whose special duty it is to see to such matters. In no other country has the Sunday school organisation reached such a state of perfection, especially in the New England States. The churches are comfortable, and in them ample provision is made for the accommodation of the Sunday school. Spacious apartments, well-lighted, well ventilated, and comfortably appointed, are set apart and made as comfortable as possible. I have seen nothing of the kind in England, where we naturally go into the dirty back streets, and there find the dear little children sitting in wet clothes and damp boots, and shivering with cold as they listen to religious instruction. In America it is very different from this, and I have no doubt that, if we had a system of purely secular State education, we should soon see large strides in New Zealand in the way of Sunday school work."

In his reply, Mr. Bowen spoke with great moderation of all the objections that had been made to his

Bill, and gave historical facts to show that the Catholics were equally ready to object to the Bible, or to no Bible being read in a State school, and would accept nothing but denominational schools, presided over by their own religious teachers. Of Mr. Curtis' proposals he said :—" They are simply denominational clauses. We have already tried denominationalism in various parts of the country, and I think it must be admitted on all hands that it has failed to do its work. Why should we begin this system again when we have found in the past that it has failed ? We know perfectly well that the object of Roman Catholics would be to give religious instruction ; that it is their principle to advocate in favour of a complete denominational system ; that other denominations would justly claim the same privilege, and that the State would really have to pay these different bodies to instruct the children of their adherents in the principles of their own particular faith. Thus the whole State efforts would be frittered away in founding small denominational schools, and we should have to retrace the steps already taken, and begin again."

Mr. R. Stout said :—" By the last census we find that there are already in the Province of Otago alone about ninety religious sects. These all claim to have consciences, although you may call them prejudices, and are their consciences not violated when they see their taxes going to teach what they believe to be religious errors ? The State is bound only to look after secular education, and should be strictly confined to its own sphere."

At the passing of the Bill, Mr. Swanson, who had been chairman of a Committee of Enquiry into the condition of the Auckland denominational schools, came on with his usual rough and ready style in calling a spade a spade, of which we can only give a few isolated sentences. He said—" I repeat again that the denominational system in Auckland broke down utterly. . We went fully into the subject, and it will be seen by the records now in the House that the whole system is

bad, worse, worst. The children at one of these schools were in such a state that they had to be taken to a lake, washed, and ointment applied with a brush, in order to make them clean. That is a specimen of what the denominational system did for Auckland. That is the way in which they looked after the children entrusted to their charge. In other cases, these denominational schoolmasters pretended that they had a number of scholars in these schools which they had not. I hope we shall have no more of such a system."

The Bill in its amended form, *i.e.*, without the capitation tax, and without the Bible and Lord's Prayer reading, passed the House on September 25th, 1877. In the Legislative Council, the Bill was retained an unusually long time, and had several very narrow escapes, whilst Mr. Curtis' amendment was very nearly passed. After passing the Bill, two protests were entered against its godless character, signed by the Hons. John Hall, H. J. Millar, J. H. Menzies, M. Richmond, W. H. Kenny, and W. S. Peter. But the greatest harm actually inflicted upon it was the insertion of a very clumsy method of cumulative voting for school committees, which was not only allowed for many years to injuriously affect those elections, but its injurious operation has ever since given a handle to those who are selfishly resisting the adoption of a fair and proper system of proportional representation.

Whilst the Education Bill was still in committee, Mr. A. J. Burns, M.H.R. for Roslyn, brought on an interesting debate on protection of home industries by a motion requesting the Government to call for tenders within the Colony for rolling stock, bridges and other public works, under conditions that would offer facilities for their construction in New Zealand. His resolution was vague, and did nothing more than give expression to the opinion of the House; but his speech was useful and interesting and gave a good deal of information as to what could and had been done in the Colony. The extreme protectionists condemned the mildness of his resolution and called his motives in question. Mr.

Sheehan proposed to insist on the use of Colonial coal on the railways, and Mr. Macandrew, as usual, would employ his friends at any cost to the Colony. He said,—" I think the Government should take the bull by the horns and give explicit directions at once that everything that can be manufactured in the Colony shall be manufactured in the Colony. I shall propose an amendment to the effect that orders from the public works department, now on their way to England for manufactured articles which may be supplied in the Colony, shall be countermanded, and that tenders be called for the manufacture in the Colony of the articles so ordered." But none of the extreme amendments were carried, and Mr. Burn's mild motion was left unamended when the Speaker left the chair at 5.30 p.m. and was not again brought up.

On September 26th, Mr. Larnach moved,—" That this House disapproves of the action of the Government in continuing to publish the Waka Maori newspaper at the public expense in defiance of the vote of this House, and in allowing its columns to be used for the publication of libellous matter." This was of course, treated as a no confidence motion, and the debate came on on Thursday, September the 27th. Mr. Larnach was never addicted to long speeches, but was more at home on financial subjects than Sir George Grey, and far less reckless and therefore more reliable than either Mr. Macandrew or Mr. Sheehan; so that it was deemed advisable to assign to him the post of honour on this occasion. His task was not a difficult one; as the action of the Government was as unwarranted as if they had used the Government *Gazette* to abuse their opponents and to laud their own proceedings. The debate was continued until Monday, October the 1st, when Mr. Larnach's motion was lost by a majority of 9, and the life of the Government prolonged for another week.

The most remarkable feature in the debate was the open confession by Mr. Stafford of the manner in which he had brought about the abolition of the

provinces. In reply to Mr. Montgomery, he said,—"Up to the time that Sir Julius Vogel brought down resolutions for the abolition of the provinces, he had no more uncompromising opponent than myself. I may say that he was instigated to bring these resolutions down by me, not directly but indirectly; the medium I used being Mr. Studholme. I was not on such terms with Sir Julius Vogel that I could go to him and make proposals on a fundamental point of policy; and had I done so he would have had a perfect right to say, 'You are asking me to build up a stone wall to dash my brains against.' But I communicated with Mr. Studholme, who stood high in the estimation of the Government party, and who undertook to do all he could to sound the opinion of members on that side of the House, while I undertook to do the same in regard to members on the other side of the House. I therefore got Mr. Ingles, who was known to be thoroughly in my confidence, to go round. The result was as we all know; but so little did I actually personally attempt to dictate to the Government in the matter that, having made that arrangement, I went down to Canterbury for some time; and, before I got back, Sir Julius Vogel had so hardened his heart and set his face to the defence on the strength of the assurances that had been given him that he put those abolition resolutions on the order paper. It is true that they only related to the North Island; but I knew from the joint reports of Mr. Studholme and Mr. Ingles that the rest must inevitably follow, and I decided to support the resolutions."

On Monday, October the 8th, Mr. Larnach proposed, in a very short speech,—"That the Government does not possess the confidence of the House," which after a short and unimportant debate, was carried by a majority of 45 to 41, including pairs.

On the following morning, the Atkinson Ministry tendered their resignation to his Excellency and advised him to send for Mr. Larnach. On the evening of the same day, Mr. Larnach asked for and obtained

an adjournment for three days to enable him to form a Ministry. On Friday, a further adjournment was asked for until Monday evening, when Sir George Grey appeared as the new Premier, associated with Messrs Larnach, Macandrew, Sheehan and James Temple Fisher as his colleagues, to which the name of the Hon. George Stoddart Whitmore was added three days later. Nothing could be more promising and charming than the speech which the new Premier then delivered, nothing could be more unpromising or alarming than the five names which he announced as the colleagues who were to assist him in the drastic economies and the virtuous self-control and self-denial which he declared to be necessary to raise the ruined finances of the Colony to respectability and security. No public man ever committed a more evident and unmistakable act of political suicide than Sir George Grey committed, when he declared his willingness to be held responsible, as Premier, for the actions of five colleagues, who had never willingly committed an act of self-denial in their whole lives, and who had, each in his own way, proved himself to be so remarkably untrustworthy.

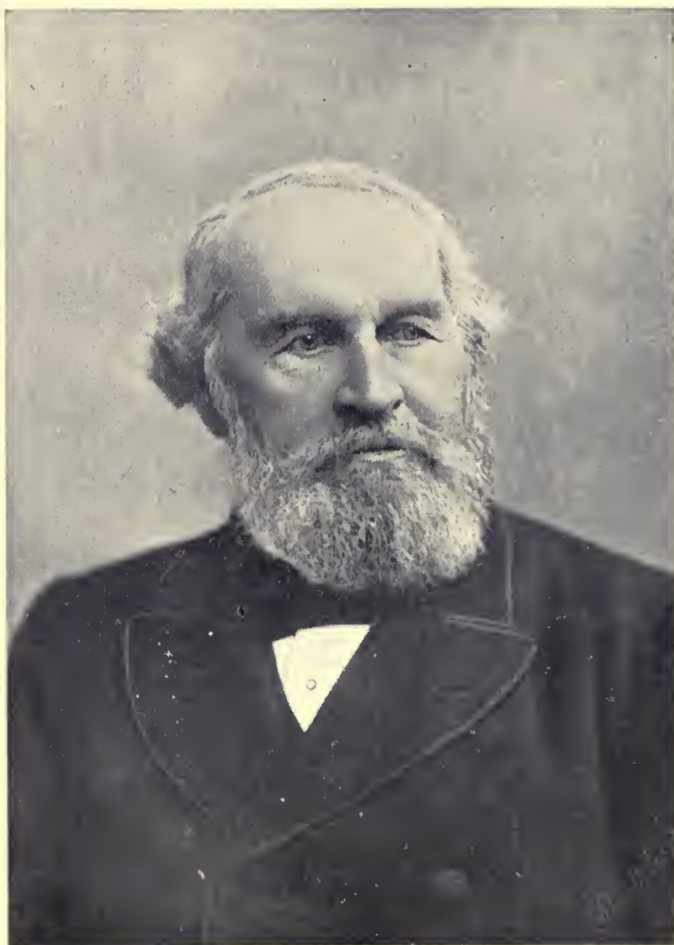
Without being the most eloquent or the most unconditional supporter of Sir George Grey, Mr. Montgomery was the most consistent, the most unselfish, the most clear-headed and clean-handed of the party now supporting the Grey Government. As such, he was the first to be offered the position of Colonial Treasurer by Sir George Grey; but as he could get nothing definite from Sir George as to what was to be done with the land fund and the compact of 1856, he, with characteristic honesty, declined to accept any office that would not leave him free to carry out the promise given to his constituents that he would be no party to any violation of that compact.

No one ever suspected Mr. Larnach of being an orator, an advocate of universal suffrage, an anti-land monopolist, or a believer in Sir George Grey's political views; but he was an accountant, and Sir George was

bound to have an accountant before he could meet the House as Premier ; and Mr. Larnach was glad to find a Government on either side of the House that would pay him well for taking a trip to England with his family.

Only eleven days after Sir George Grey had announced his acceptance of office, Major Atkinson—with more impatience than wisdom—moved a motion of No-Confidence in the Grey Government, and Mr. Reynolds moved as an amendment—"That as the Government have not yet declared their policy, this House declines in the meantime to entertain the question of confidence or no confidence in the Ministry." After discussing the motion and amendment for something more than a fortnight, no further facilities for the debate were offered by the Government, in consequence of which the motion was practically set aside by the rules of the House.

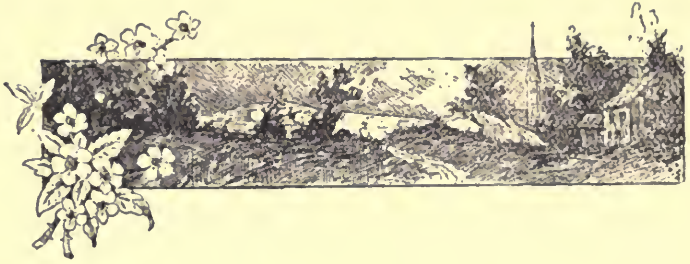
On the 19th of November, Mr. Larnach came down with his Financial Statement, under circumstances in which the Financial Statement is sure to be instructive and useful ; as Mr. Larnach's interest was to expose, not to conceal, the incapacity, the reckless extravagance and the daring temerity of the displaced Treasurer and the shameful financial condition of the Colony. He estimated the total debt of the Colony to be no less than £24,200,000, two millions of which had been borrowed in violation of the promise not to borrow which had been given when the last loan was raised in London. Half-a-million had been borrowed from the Bank of New Zealand, and another half-million from the Bank of New South Wales, £800,000 on guaranteed debentures and £300,000 from the Public Works account. Mr. Larnach truly observed that "having faithfully trusted us in the initiation of our public works policy, the English money lender has no right to find out indirectly or by a side wind that the Colony has been borrowing half a million here and half a million there or round the corner in some back street, whilst the daily excess of the ordinary expenditure of the Colony over its revenue is no less than £1926."



Hon. William Montgomery.

Sir George Grey at once announced his intention of giving up £750 from his own salary and £200 from each of his Ministers', as a proper step to be taken before proceeding to the all round deductions which the state of the Colony demanded. But his Government never got beyond their own salaries, and, as might have been expected, the excess of expenditure grew daily worse under the direction of such Ministers as Mr. Macandrew and Mr. Sheehan — the latter Minister drawing £700 for cab hire alone, and failing to account for another £10,000 in his Native expenditure. A Loan Bill for £4,000,000, proposed by Sir George Grey on December 5th, was reduced, on the motion of Mr. W. Wood, to £2,500,000. On the 10th of December Parliament was prorogued by Commission.

It was asserted by the New Zealand Press that the reason the Parliament was prorogued by Commission, and without the usual closing speech by the Governor, was that the Marquis of Normanby refused to read the speech which his Ministers put into his hands, and this was probably the fact; as the Marquis was both personally and politically on anything but friendly terms with the new Ministers, and often appeared to seek opportunities of letting his aversion to them be at least strongly suspected.



CHAPTER LXVIII.

Stafford Sees no Hope for New Zealand.

The question is, Shall we have a Government on the lines of the Constitution, under which gentlemen shall occupy these benches, not because they are ready to declare themselves supporters of this or that particular man; but because, by their character by their services, and by their antecedents the country believes them to be the most capable, the most efficient and the most desirable men for the position.—Sir John Hall.

In view of the important political changes which he contemplated, and of the numerical equality of his admiring supporters and of his bitterly disappointed and hostile opponents, Sir George Grey was no doubt justified in asking the Governor for a dissolution; but the request was refused by the Marquis of Normanby with more decision than politeness. With his usual promptness, Sir George at once decided to invite the two ablest men in the House to join his Executive Council, and to try the effect of his own remarkable oratorical power in all the main centres of population. The result was a great success, so far as anything could be a success in a Government clogged with the wild extravagance of such a political and financial outlaw as the Hon. James Macandrew, such a witty, profligate, self-indulgent spendthrift as the Hon. John Sheehan,

combined with such a mute addition to the expense of the Post Office as the Hon. James Temple Fisher. Very soon after the close of the session, Mr. Ballance was appealed to for his valuable assistance, and requested to take the position of Treasurer in the place of Mr. Larnach, who was to go to England as one of the Commissioners who were to negotiate the Two and a-Half Million Loan. This Mr. Ballance consented to do; but suggested that his very able friend, Mr. Robert Stout, should also be urged to join the Ministry as Attorney-General, which Mr. Stout, some ten weeks later, consented to do, at great personal loss to himself —financially, socially, and politically.

Sir George Grey's visits to the various centres of population proved a series of uninterrupted triumphs. In Auckland, where his best, his ablest, and his most useful public work had been done, and his personal fascination had been most often felt, he was met on landing by twelve thousand devoted friends. In Wellington, although not a general favourite with the civil servants, his stirring address was responded to with enthusiasm. But, in Dunedin, his reception was such as had never before been witnessed in that once sober-minded city; and his address in the Prince's Theatre was one of the most effective that he ever delivered. At a banquet given to him, on the following day, the large audience was informed that Mr. Stout had agreed to accept the Attorney-Generalship, and that the "well-handled minority" that had weathered the late stormy parliamentary session had now been converted into a good working majority. At Christchurch he was called upon for the exercise of all his power over a really rough and very mixed audience. The Canterbury runholders were exasperated against him for having advised the Governor to veto a Land Act passed by both Houses, extending their leases on some four million acres for ten years. They had secured a large number of seats on the platform, and some rough characters were stationed in different parts of the hall to make a noise. This was at first so

apparent that many of the Premier's timid friends advised a general exodus to another hall; but, when the old veteran was asked to agree to this step he replied,—"Not I; I never ran away from an audience yet, and I am not going to show the white feather to-night." This produced a burst of applause, which proved that his so far quiet friends far outnumbered his noisy opponents, and that his complete success, even at that meeting, was ensured. All further attempts to interrupt the orator were promptly hooted down, and all opposing speakers had very little patience extended to them. Even Mr. Rolleston found himself, for the first time, refused anything like a patient hearing by a Christchurch audience, although called for by the endearing name of "our William." Mr. Stevens, with great caution and forbearance, tried a motion of thanks only; but he was met with cries of "a land jobber." Mr. Montgomery was heard with acclamation as he proposed a motion of unbounded confidence.

Whilst Sir George Grey was talking economy, and alarming both the civil servants and wealthy land speculators and runholders with indications of the great reductions he would effect in the expenditure of public money upon the various privileged classes, Mr. Ballance was diving into the many abuses that existed in the public expenditure, and preparing his able and comprehensive Financial Statement; Mr. Sheehan was greatly enjoying his dangerous liberty, although certainly not reforming under the free-handed expenditure he was allowed to indulge in as Native Minister; and Mr. Macandrew was progressing rapidly in what Mr. Reader Wood afterwards described as "muddling away a million of money without knowing it," and was making a large number of his old friends in Otago happy by the most extraordinary salaries and the most extraordinary privileges that were ever granted to public officers at the expense of the taxpayers. At the head of his favourites was Mr. Conyers, who, in February, was appointed Commissioner of Railways

for the South Island, with a very large salary, and with a very free hand to manipulate the railway expenditure to his own satisfaction.

In March, 1878, Mr. Stafford resigned his seat for Timaru, and entered upon his arrangements for a final retirement from public life in New Zealand. The defeat of the Atkinson Government, in which he had to the last retained a potential voice, containing, as that Ministry did, so many of his friends and disciples who were generally willing to be guided by his advice, left him without the power he had so long exercised—either seen or unseen—in New Zealand. He was fond of power, for its own sake, and liked it but little the less when he moved the hands of the apparent government without being generally seen. Nor did he ever cease to feel an honest, although not an entirely unselfish, interest in the welfare of the Colony he had so long tried to serve and to preserve, and which he would so gladly have saved from the wounds inflicted upon it by a Cameron, a Russell, or a Vogel. But when he saw that, with all Sir George Grey's promises of economy, he was only handing over the public works expenditure to the lawless Macandrew, and the unchecked Native expenditure to the profligate Sheehan, he despaired of any cessation of an ever growing extravagance such as no country could prosper under, and arranged to depart, and gradually to lessen his interest in a country so long and so helplessly misgoverned. His departure was characteristic of his public life. No great ovations were planned in his honour; he was even spoken of—most inappropriately—by the newspapers of his own party as the "barren fig-tree of the colonial orchard." It was thus left to his late opponents to acknowledge that he had been remarkable for "honourable ambition, industry, coupled with great power of work, extended information, the faculty of expression in debate, inflexible honesty of purpose, and practical training of a high order." He was not a perfect man, nor even a perfect politician, and he was very far from being a fortunate one. As a rule, he

earned his own successes, and owed his failures to his friends. He held no public position that he did not owe to his own good judgment, his great natural ability, his careful study of political economy, and his honest desire to promote the welfare of his adopted country. He was unfortunate in being politically and socially associated with Richmond, Whitaker and Weld in the Waitara war, and with Russell and Whitaker in the sacrifice that he permitted to be made to holders of provincial bonds. The same unwise association caused him so unfortunately to alienate Sir Donald McLean just as Sir Donald entered upon his most successful efforts for the restoration of peace. Nor was it altogether his own fault that he was so completely overpowered by the opposition of his old friends in their hasty and selfish determination to support Vogel in borrowing money at any price to build the railways that ought to have been built, at half the cost of the Brogden contracts, by the land fund and other revenue so extravagantly scattered amongst the speculators and office holders of New Zealand, in defiance of the many protests he had made against living so far beyond the means of the Colony. Even in his retirement in London he has never ceased to watch the public proceedings of New Zealand actors with something like a parental eye, and has often tendered to her public men able and valuable suggestions. From that unassailable watch-tower, like a balloonist hovering over a great battle, he has seen our industrious settlers, and our gambling rulers, our courage and our mistakes, unobscured by the smoke of party strife, and no man has more clearly seen how great New Zealand might now have been if she had been governed by prudent financiers and by far-seeing patriots, not by mere party combatants—by the holders of office at any price—by gamblers in the toils of the New Zealand Bank, who, for the most part, have handled the finances of the country as recklessly and as disastrously as they have handled their own.

The trial of George Jones for an article written by

him in the *Oamaru Mail*, charging Mr. Whitaker with using his public position to promote the private interests of himself and his partners, Mr. Thomas Russell, Captain Steele, Messrs. Taylor and Murdock, in the purchase of the Piako swamp, was concluded in Dunedin on March 14, 1878. Mr. Jones at first pleaded justification, but was afterwards persuaded to adopt the general plea of Not Guilty. After retiring twenty minutes the jury found Mr. Jones Not Guilty. The case had excited much interest, both in and out of Parliament, for many months, and had been made a party question by the Atkinson Government. The acquittal was the more damaging to Mr. Whitaker, as he had himself stated in Parliament that the "charges made by Mr. Jones against him were such that their judicial investigation must send either himself or Mr. Jones to gaol." Altogether Mr. George Jones had much reason to be thankful to the Atkinson Government for the persistent manner in which they had kept both him and his newspaper before the whole New Zealand public for so many months by summoning him to the Bar of the House, committing him to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and employing their Crown Prosecutor and two Judges, only to get him acquitted by a Supreme Court jury. Besides the employment of so many officials and the waste of the parliamentary time, the Government had to pay in direct expenses £2317.

Invited to a great Native meeting at Waitara, Sir George Grey was, by common consent, associated with the great chief Rewi, to settle all claims and differences about the long disputed Waitara Block. The result was a ready consent on the part of the Maoris that no lawless acts should be committed. Rewi, once so eager for war, had long been the active, capable adviser of his countrymen in all Native disputes; so that his proposals were readily agreed to, and the Maoris, as well as their nominal king, were as willing to drop their armed resistance as the Europeans were to get as quietly and honourably as they could out of the long, disgraceful, and costly contention.

On May 14, the long hunted and outlawed Te Kooti sent a telegram to Sir George Grey and his Native Minister, which concluded in these words :—"You are the light (or the lamp) now, and you utter words of light, of goodness, and of love to man. You all teach that troubles may not arise during your days My word is your management is very good, is exceedingly good. No man has taught in that manner before. No trouble will now befall us. Salutations to you both, and to your Council. Sufficient from your sinful slave, Te Kooti." The narrow escapes of this long-outlawed chief, in defiance of all the efforts of successive Governments, of his own most able countrymen, of a reward of £5000 on his head, and the expenditure of countless thousands in his pursuit, would form one of the most remarkable and almost incredible narratives yet written. His sins were great and not a few ; but so were his provocations, and the latter were more wanton than his crimes. His courage, his ability, and his patriotism, were something very remarkable; and, although he cruelly punished the innocent for the sins of the guilty, he only did what most other warriors have done, even in that direction.

On Friday, July 28, 1878, the third session of the sixth New Zealand Parliament was opened by a speech from the Governor, the Marquis of Normanby. The speech was not as meaningless or colourless as Governor's speeches usually are ; but it promised more than was performed, and claimed credit for what had been done by previous Governments. It was not a cautious, a well-considered, or even an honest speech. It was especially reprehensible for claiming the successful settlement of the most serious Native difficulties which had been settled by the Fox Government some five years before ; so that Mr. Fox was justified in his satire when he said that it read to him "very much as if some one had got up and expressed great satisfaction that the flood was at an end, and that Noah and his family had got safely out of the ark." But it was known that Sir George Grey had been gaining strength

at the bye-elections, and at his public meetings; so that the Address-in-Reply was simply ridiculed and allowed to pass, as numerous resignations and bye-elections now appeared to have given the Grey Government a majority of something like twenty.

The Address was proposed by Mr. Seymour George, a protégé of Sir George Grey, who had obtained a seat for Hokitika, and was seconded by Mr. Hobbs (the son of Missionary Hobbs) who had been elected for Franklin, but did not long remain a supporter of the Premier. Another friend, Dr. Wallis, elected for Auckland City West as a supporter of Sir George Grey, told some very damaging truths about the composition of the Grey Ministry, in a strain which he attempted to pass off as jocular, but which was not the less damaging on that account. He said—" When in Opposition, the honourable member for the Thames promised us many reforms—financial reform, administrative reform, electoral reform, and so forth. But in order to carry out those reforms which he promised us, he has surrounded himself with a set of gentlemen, not one of whom, with, probably, the exception of the Attorney-General, ever dreamt of reforming anything in their lives—possibly not even themselves." In the same speech, Dr. Wallis brought the Hare system of election before the New Zealand Parliament for the first time, and in a manner which showed that he had studied it, and understood it, as very few members at that time had done. On July 30th, 1878, Dr. Wallis said—" A statesman of Sir George Grey's influence and great ability, cannot but be aware that our present system of representation is altogether wrong. We have now found out a scientific method of representation. I refer to Hare's method, or what is called the scientific proportional method, or the direct equal and personal system of representation. We are all sorry to see the Premier, like the rest of us, getting older than he once was; but there is one noble thing he could do for that New Zealand for which he has already done so much—let him introduce a Bill embodying the scienti-

fic proportional system of representation, and he will attain a name second to none in the Southern Hemisphere." The Address-in-Reply was carried in both Houses without amendment and without division—in the House on July 30th, and in the Council on July 31st.

On the 9th of August, Mr. Stout proposed the second reading of the Government Electoral Bill, and, on the 14th, Mr. Whitaker proposed the second reading of his Parliamentary Representation Bill. The Opposition had decided that they would not attempt the evidently vain task of opposing the Triennial Parliaments Bill, or the Manhood Suffrage, or any of the so-called Liberal Election Laws of the Grey Government; but Mr. Whitaker hoped to make a diversion by bringing down a Bill of his own, in which he proposed several alterations upon Mr. Stout's Bill, including what he called a modification of the Hare system. But his modifications were by no means improvements, and his Bill made little or no sensation in the Grey camp. It, however, led to a good deal of discussion upon the Hare system, with but little result, except to show how very little the denouncers of that system knew about it, and how easy they found it to mystify the House upon the subject. Mr. Whitaker made his case more hopeless by attempting to connect with the Hare system a clumsy proposal for an educational qualification and a complete violation of the secrecy of the ballot. It is difficult to decide whether Mr. Stout was entirely ignorant of what the Hare system was, or whether he chose to debate the question as Counsel for the Government without regard to facts; but he certainly contrived to make the majority of the House believe that the Hare system was something very different indeed to what it is. Instead of the simple process of calling upon the elector to put one or more figures against the name or names he likes best, on a printed alphabetical list handed to him as his voting paper, Mr. Whitaker proposed that the elector should "write down the names from one to ten in the order in which he prefers the

candidates." He afterwards admitted that it would probably be better to write not more than four or six. But Mr. Stout alarmed the House still more completely by supposing that there are eighty candidates to be elected "and that every elector will have voted for the full number of candidates to be returned," i.e., must have selected and written down in the booth the names of eighty candidates. Then he very naturally asks—"What is to become of all these votes after the first? They are ignored. There is no reference to them in the Bill." Mr. Ballance, without professing to understand the Hare system, said that he was very suspicious of it because a leading organ of the Legislative Council in Victoria had advocated it. Seven days after he had proposed the second reading of his Bill, Mr. Whitaker obtained leave to withdraw his motion. And, on the 23rd of August, the Government Bill was read a second time without a division—as was also the Bribery Bill which immediately followed it.

On the 6th day of August, which was only the sixth day that the House had met, Mr. Ballance delivered his Financial Statement. It was a cheerful Statement, able and honest, although not divested of all the misleading nomenclature introduced by Sir Julius Vogel. The construction of so many railways before securing the adjacent lands allowed, or indeed almost compelled, speculators to buy them up; so that, besides the fast-growing public debt, private individuals had been borrowing money to speculate in land, and no less than £650,172 had been received for Crown lands during the half year ending 30th June, 1878. Although this was wastefully parting with the public estate, which should have been enhanced in value by the expenditure of the borrowed money, it gave, for the time being, a cheerful air to Mr. Ballance's Financial Statement. It was, in fact, lighting the candle at both ends, and hurrying on the financial depression which was to be so severely felt in the following year. Besides being an able and cheerful Financial Statement, the Treasurer's speech was a clear, bold, and well reasoned announce-

ment of the Government policy, which consisted of electoral, fiscal, and Parliamentary reforms, including Triennial Parliaments, manhood suffrage, a land tax, and a beer tax.

Four agents were employed to borrow money in England, although either one of them might have done the business much better than it was done. They were Sir Julius Vogel, the Hon. Mr. Larnach, Sir P. Julyan, and Captain Ommaney. The Bank of England was also employed at a commission of half per cent or £17,500. Between them all, they borrowed £3,500,000 at 5 per cent. No less than £8,750,000 was offered at that high interest.

After abolishing the Customs duty on forty-three articles which produced altogether less than £20,000 a year, reducing the duty on tea from sixpence to fourpence, on sugar from one penny to a halfpenny, and on Australian wine from four shillings to two shillings a gallon, Mr. Ballance proposed a Land Tax of a halfpenny in the £ upon the value of all land exceeding £500 held by any one person; threepence in the £ on the income of Joint Stock Companies; and a tax of threehalfpence a gallon on beer. Upon the two latter taxes the House was very equally divided, and the brewers brought so much influence to bear against the beer duty, whilst Mr. Fox opposed it with almost equal energy, so that both were withdrawn by the Government. After Sir George Grey's tour of the colony, the large land holders and speculators in Parliament had quite made up their minds that Manhood Suffrage could no longer be resisted, and that it would be to their interest to accept it with a good grace; but they still hoped to be able to secure the taxation of all property, and of all improvements on the land, with a view to lighten the tax on the land held for mere speculative purposes, or without improvement, and were still more anxious that small holdings should not be exempted, and the small holders thereby empowered to tax the large land holders without, at the same time, taxing themselves. But the Land Tax was carried with some

objectionable features, which shortened its life, and soon gave the advocates of the Property, as opposed to the Land Tax, an opportunity to get their own way for another twelve years.

Three weeks after Mr. Ballance had read his able Financial Statement, Mr. Macandrew produced his very interesting, bold, and remarkable Public Works Statement. The boldest and most sanguine spirits in the public service had been early singled out by Mr. Macandrew as his special friends and advisers, and his Public Works Statement embodied all their boldest projects, and all their most sanguine expectations. His elastic imagination, no longer confined to Otago, now pictured railways from Wellington to forty miles north of Auckland, with a double line to Napier, from Nelson, or Picton to the Bluff, with a line from Amberley to Brunnerton, and the Otago Central also carried on to Brunnerton and opening up "the most valuable estate in the Colony and paying for itself by the value it would give to an area of 2,250,000 acres all in the hands of the Crown." Again the House is assured that there are "in the Middle Island nearly 4,000,000 acres of land, much of which, if accessible by rail and in the market now, would realize upwards of five pounds an acre, and thus pay the whole estimated cost of the railway." Then, having lost some hundreds of thousands of pounds by allowing himself to be gulled into the purchase of steel rails, long before they were wanted, and their enormous fall in price, in consequence of the cheaper process by which steel was being made and the steady appreciation of gold, he now informed the House that "the present reduction in the price of rails is so great, that, could we afford to purchase at once all that we shall need for our contemplated lines, we should save probably £600,000. Advantage has been to a limited extent taken of the low state of the market by ordering 10,000 tons of steel rails at £5 14s., delivered at Cardiff." Then the population of the Colony was to be doubled in a very short time; so that, besides the enormous land revenue

which £5 an acre would produce, £3,500,000 could easily be spared from the ordinary revenue, and £8,345,000 might be spent in five years and only two and a half millions borrowed. In fact the whole speech was about as sanguine, and about as soon to be exploded, as Mr. Wood's speech in 1863, on the wonders to be performed with the millions to be obtained from the confiscated Maori land. But, with all its absurdly sanguine tone, there were some really good proposals in the speech, especially with regard to making lunatic asylums self-supporting, legalising inebriate homes, and separating criminal boys from those children who had only been unfortunate or destitute.

As soon as Mr. Macandrew sat down, Mr. Stout, as Minister of Lands, rose, and informed the House that the Governor had been advised to withdraw from sale lands near projected lines of railway.

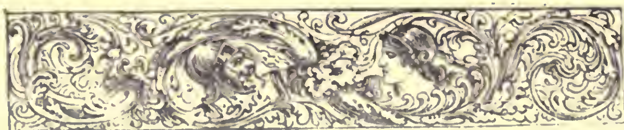
On the following day, Mr. Curtis brought forward his Permissive Denominational Education Bill, which, after a good debate and some very narrow divisions in some of its stages, was finally defeated on division by 42 to 36.

Thus on August 11, 1878, this last session of the sixth New Zealand Parliament was brought to a close, after passing one hundred and twelve Bills of more or less importance. The Premier advised the Governor to disallow the Electoral Bill ; because the Council had struck out the provision giving votes to Maoris who were ratepayers or owned land to the value of £25, in addition to their vote for their special representatives.

As the session advanced, the Grey Government grew weaker ; as its supporters were necessarily disappointed with the entire failure of Sir George to carry out his promised reforms or his promised reduction of expenditure, and members, as well as their constituents, were disgusted with the bitter personal altercations so constantly taking place between the Premier and the leader of the Opposition. But, worst of all, Sir George's best friends could not deny that, after his oft repeated assertion that he could go into the Minister's

room and strike off £100,000 from the annual expenditure in half an hour without injury to the service, he finished up the session by demanding £39,000 more than his predecessors had asked for, and afterwards allowed his colleagues to incur a reckless expenditure which was covered by no parliamentary vote, sanctioned by no parliamentary precedent and entirely unprovided for by any authorised financial arrangement.

On Friday, December 6, 1878, the first train went through from Christchurch to Dunedin, leaving Christchurch at 6.7 a.m. and reaching Dunedin at 6.37 p.m. The train consisted of ten carriages and two break vans drawn by the American engine named Washington. The Governor, with a number of ladies, members of Parliament, and City Councillors, were among the passengers, and the day was as fair as could be desired. A dense crowd met the train at Dunedin, where many business houses were decorated with electric and other lights, and Sir Julius Vogel's portrait, brightly illuminated, hung from the Prince of Wales Hotel.



CHAPTER LXIX.

THE LAST OF SIR GEORGE GREY AS PREMIER.

FROM kings to cobblers 'tis the same,
Bad servants wound their masters' fame.—GAY.

IN April, 1879, about two thousand Maoris assembled at Kopua at the request of the Maori King, Tawhiao and Manwhiri. Although not formally invited by those Chiefs, the Premier and the Native Minister were pressed to attend by many other Chiefs, and rightly concluded that it would be wise for them to be there. The Premier had previously, not very wisely, offered to recognise Tawhiao's authority in certain districts; but, at the Kopua meeting, Tawhiao demanded that his right of authority over all other Maori Chiefs should be recognised by the European Government. Such a claim was repudiated by all the principal Chiefs present, whereupon the Premier gave the King a short and definite time within which to accept or decline his previous offer. Tawhiao allowed that time to pass, and in so doing practically severed himself from the support of Rewi and other strong armed allies. After this meeting, Tawhiao's power and importance declined so constantly that he soon ceased to be a factor

of much importance in New Zealand history. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that after the death of his truly great and able friend and adviser, Te Waharoa — the King Maker — Tawhiao never did exercise much influence over, or command much obedience from, his own countrymen. He had inherited his father's position without his father's mental or physical power and energy; and the conditions by which he was surrounded supplied none of those safe-guards to monarchy that protect imbeciles in older and more organised Governments. Whilst his very moderate ability, discounted as it was by indolence and self-indulgence, commanded little respect, there was nothing of the warrior or of the tyrant about him to overawe his energetic rivals or his disparaging critics.

Thus, without any struggle or commotion, the rule of the disaffected Maoris passed from the King to the Prophet, and the difficulties of the Government henceforth originated, not from Tawhiao, but from Te Whiti. Te Whiti was essentially not a warrior but an orator; not a man of war but a man of words and fervent imagination. He was a handsome man, at this time about fifty years of age, with great courage, a magnificent voice, imperturbable self-possession, a passion for martyrdom and a contempt for wealth. He was, in fact, a real patriot, as incorruptible as he was temperate, virtuous and fearless. He knew a good deal both of English and of New Zealand history; he could repeat much of the Bible by heart, and revelled in the Kings and Prophets of Scripture. He despised the incapacity of the Maori King and spoke with withering contempt of a Native Minister pretending to "govern the Maoris who was himself governed by the basest of Maori women and stupefied by swallowing the strongest of fire-water." In one of his speeches as interpreted, he is represented as saying:—"When I speak of the land, the ploughing, the survey, and such small matters, the reporters' pencils fly like the wind; but, when I speak of the words of the Spirit, they say, 'This is the dream of a madman.' They are so greedy for

wealth that nothing seems of any importance to them unless it is connected in some way with making them rich. The men who steal the land of the Maori and acquire flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; the men who would snatch the bread out of the mouths of the widows and the fatherless, and become rich in so doing, are all called by them 'respectable persons,' whilst the humble seekers after truth are all passed by as unknown and unheeded." Whilst admitting that the Maoris had been promised the unmolested possession of not less than one fourth of what was called the confiscated land in dispute on the Waimate plain, and that none of the land they had cultivated and fenced should be interfered with, the chief surveyor, Major Brown, insisted upon surveying the whole of the land, and took his survey lines right through the Maoris' growing crops. As sixteen thousand acres of this surveyed land was actually advertised for sale; and as all promises thus appeared to be disregarded, Te Whiti ordered the most determined passive resistance, which at first took the form of pulling up the survey pegs, and ultimately of ploughing up the European settlers' grass land.

Te Whiti's instructions to these ploughmen throw much light on his character and his policy. As he sent them to their work, he said, "Go, put your hands to the plough and look not back. If any come with guns and swords, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return. If they rend you, be not discouraged; another will take up the good work. If evil thoughts fill the minds of the settlers, and they flee from their farms to the town as in the war of old; enter not you into their houses; touch not their goods nor their cattle. My eye is over all. I will detect the thief, and the punishment shall be like that which fell upon Ananias. If any man molest me, I will talk with my weapon—the tongue. I will not resist the soldiers if they come. I would gladly let them crucify me." These orders were obeyed to the letter. On the 25th of June, the police were ordered to arrest the ploughmen, who submitted

to be shipped off to prison, whilst their work was immediately and cheerfully taken up by others, who shared the same fate, until all the Southern jails were full and the Government became alarmed at the expense.

Just as Te Whiti's resistance had reached this stage, Sir George Grey practically sealed the fate of his Ministry by a personal quarrel with his able Treasurer, Mr. Ballance, which was immediately reported to the public with all the strong colouring that party newspapers usually give to such events. It would be difficult to find two more courteous or obliging gentlemen in their daily intercourse with their colleagues than Sir George Grey and Mr. Ballance, and what now occurred would have led to nothing serious if it had been left to the good sense of the principals concerned. But, as it gave a grand handle for party misrepresentation, it was soon put beyond the reach of mutual explanations and regrets, and, by depriving New Zealand for some years of the valuable leading power of Mr. Ballance, it really became an important factor in the history of New Zealand. The quarrel itself, as explained by either Sir George Grey or Mr. Ballance, was hasty, careless, and undignified; but the after-conduct of both was dignified, manly and generous; and, for thirteen years afterwards, both worked in the same political direction, without allowing any personal dislike to find public expression, or to interfere with the political welfare of the Colony. Sir George Grey immediately joined, or rather led, the rest of the Cabinet in requesting Mr. Ballance to withdraw his resignation, and even expressed his willingness to apologise to him. Mr. Ballance, in telegraphing his refusal to withdraw his resignation, assigned the welfare of the Government and the dignity of the Premier as his reasons for not returning to office. In justice to him we must give the exact words of the reply, which he telegraphed from Wanganui to

"Colonial Secretary, at Wellington.

"Have just found your telegram upon return from

country. Accept my warm thanks for your kindness and that of late colleagues. I feel that my return to Ministry after what has occurred, would be no accession of strength to it, but reverse, while it would occur only upon humiliation of Premier, a situation I should shrink from contributing to. My opinion is that such an event would directly tend to ruin of Ministry. I therefore request acceptance of resignation. My allegiance to party not been affected in slightest degree, while I shall ever remember great kindness of yourself and colleagues.

"J. BALLANCE."

Thirteen years afterwards, Sir George Grey was provoked, by gross misrepresentation, to break his long silence upon the subject in a public letter, in which, after giving his own recollection of what he said to Mr. Ballance, he generously says :—"The moment I said this I felt sorry for what I had done. . . I got up, therefore, and walked out of the room without saying anything further."

We have seen that Mr. Robert Stout was induced to join the Grey Ministry, at great personal sacrifice, after his able friend Mr. Ballance had done so. But both had now come to painfully feel that neither their own interest, nor that of the Colony, would be served by their continuing longer to share the responsibility of Sir George Grey's departmental inexperience, Mr. Macandrew's visionary finance and impossible Public Works, or Mr. Sheehan's contempt for all Parliamentary, or any other, control of his wild and wanton expenditure. In consequence of the failing health of his partner, Mr. Stout's lucrative private business was suffering even more than he had expected it to do by his continuance in office; and that was the most convenient reason to give the public for his resignation; but no one could suppose that it was the only one. Sir George Grey was thus left amid his many growing difficulties, without a Treasurer, and without an Attorney-General. The members for Totara and Clutha, Messrs Gisborne and Thompson, accepted seats in the

Government, and were called the Minister of Mines and the Minister of Lands. Mr. Gisborne was an experienced official, and both were men of fair judgment and respectable habits; but they brought neither the ability nor the independence necessary to control or to restrain their eccentric colleagues; and consequently did little to prolong the existence of the self-destroying Grey Government.

It was thus with weakened forces, with unfulfilled promises, with many unexplained extravagances and unauthorised expenditures, with a Maori rebellion only restrained by the peace principles of its leader, with an empty Treasury, and without either a Treasurer or an Attorney-General, that Sir George Grey met his disappointed friends and his well-primed enemies in the fourth session of the sixth Parliament, on Friday, July 11th, 1879.

On the 13th of June, Sir William Fitzherbert had resigned his seat as member for the Hutt, and had thereby vacated the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives. He had thereupon been called to the Legislative Council by the Governor, and was now introduced to the Council and ordered the Clerk to read the Proclamation of his Excellency the Governor appointing him Speaker of the Legislative Council.

In the House of Representatives, on Friday, July 11th, Mr. George Maurice O'Rorke, who had three times been elected Chairman of Committees, was unanimously elected to be Speaker of the House of Representatives. In proposing him, Sir George Grey said he was "a gentleman deeply learned in Parliamentary law; who is entirely conversant with the precedents and rules which must govern this House in its proceedings, and who has shown, in his capacity of Chairman of Committees, or when performing the duties of Acting-Speaker, great firmness, and an impartiality which is absolutely beyond question." In seconding the nomination, Major Atkinson said, "I speak with an experience of nearly twenty years of Mr. O'Rorke's parliamentary life, when I say what I believe to be the

general conviction of this House, namely, that there is no honourable gentleman in it possessed of a wider or more general knowledge of Parliamentary laws and customs, or one whose decision, whether it be for or against him, every honourable member of this House will more readily accept without hesitation, believing it to be founded on strict impartiality, and upon the laws and usages of Parliament as applied in this Colony."

In congratulating the elected Speaker, Mr. Whitaker said, "In politics we have invariably been opposed to each other. I have had opportunities of judging of the conduct of many Speakers and Chairmen of Committees, and I may say that no one has impressed my mind with a sense of his impartiality more than you have during the time you have occupied the position of Chairman of Committees.

On Wednesday, July 16th, Mr. Seymour was elected to be Chairman of Committees, being proposed by Mr. Fox, and seconded by Sir George Grey.

On Tuesday, July 15th, the Governor's Speech was read by the newly arrived Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson. It contained the usual expressions of satisfaction with the fertility of the soil, and the loyalty of its occupants, with a very misleading exaggeration of the returns from the railways, and a proposal to borrow five millions by the General Government and to authorise the County Councils to borrow for themselves. It also proposed that Native reserve lands should, in future, be dealt with only by public auction or public tender.

The Address-in-Reply was a poor, monotonous echo of the Speech, and was weakly proposed, and more weakly seconded, by two of the new members. These fledglings were immediately followed by Mr. Fox, who, in proposing an amendment of No Confidence, made perhaps the most merciless speech that was ever heard in the House of Representatives, in which he pictured "the personal conduct of the Native Minister as having lowered the dignity of the Queen's Government and of the Pakeha in the eyes of the

Maoris to an extent which makes one almost weep to think of."

After two weeks' debate, Mr. Fox's amendment was carried by a majority of 48 to 34. The amendment, carried by such a substantial majority in a House that had once given such a very decided support to Sir George Grey's Government, concluded in the following unusually strong words: — "In the opinion of this House, your present advisers have so neglected and mismanaged the administrative business of the Government of the Colony that they do not possess the confidence of this House."

Sir George Grey demanded a dissolution, which was granted by Sir Hercules Robinson under very definite restrictions which he required the Premier to state to Parliament in the Governor's own words. Those words required "that Parliament shall be dissolved with the least possible delay, and that meanwhile no measure shall be proposed that may not be imperatively required, nor any contested motion whatever brought forward, and that the new Parliament shall be called together at the earliest moment at which the writs are returnable."

The consequence was that in ten days a Five Million Loan Bill was passed, some very strange but perhaps necessary liberties were taken with the English Constitution authorising the detention of the imprisoned ploughmen without bringing them to trial. A Bill, called a Peace Preservation Bill, was also passed, authorising the Government to arrest any Maoris illegally occupying land, and to retain them in custody without bringing them to trial until the close of the session of the General Assembly immediately succeeding the Parliament which passed the Bill. On August 11, Parliament was prorogued, and dissolved by proclamation on the 15th. Writs for the election were issued on the same day, and were made returnable on September 17.

The hurried general election thus brought on in 1879 resulted in the change of no less than thirty-five mem-

bers, and greatly lessened the majority that had voted against the Grey Government, without giving either the Government or the Opposition even a passable working majority. Sir William Fox, the late leader of the Opposition, had, in consequence of the powerful influence strenuously exerted against him by the liquor interest, been defeated at the poll by a majority of one. Mr. Whitaker also lost his seat for Waikato. No member of the Grey Government was defeated, but Sir George Grey's most aggressive fighting chief, Mr. Rees, was not sent back to the House from Auckland City East, from a well-founded belief in Auckland that his coarse retaliation had done Sir George Grey far more harm than good.

Mr. Hall, with a view to the general election, had tendered his resignation as a member of the Legislative Council to the Governor. This resignation Sir George Grey at first advised the Governor not to accept; but when Sir Hercules Robinson informed the Premier that, if such advice were tendered to him, he would not act upon it, and that it would therefore become the duty of Sir George himself to resign, the advice was withdrawn, and Mr. Hall was freed to stand as a candidate for the Selwyn, and, by so doing, succeeded in returning to the Lower House in time to take up the position intended for Sir William Fox. Whilst Mr. Whitaker had to be appointed to the Legislative Council by the Hall Government before he could join that Government as Attorney-General.

Again a division was taken on an amendment to the Address-in-Reply, now moved by Mr. Hall, and again the Grey Government was defeated; but the former majority of fourteen had now become a majority of only two, which, in a few days, was known to be reversed by the defection of Mr. Downie Stewart and Mr. Henare Tomoana, the Eastern Maori member.

In framing his amendment, Mr. Hall had used the words—"That the Government, *as at present constituted*, does not possess the confidence of this House." In parliamentary practice, such a wording is usually sup-

posed to indicate a reconstruction rather than a total change of the existing Ministry, and this was the sense in which Sir George Grey proposed to act upon it. He at once proclaimed his intention to retire from the Ministry, and expressed a wish to see Mr. R. Wood take his place as Colonial Treasurer. As Premier, Sir George had exhibited a most unexpected weakness in the selection of his colleagues, and in his quarrel with Mr. Ballance. As Treasurer he had belied all his promises of economy, all his old reputation as a prudent financier, and had absolutely failed to produce anything like a respectable Financial Statement. His staunchest friends were so conscious of all these defects, and of the disastrous effect which they had exercised on the strength of the party, that many of them were prepared to fall in with any arrangement which would give the Party the advantage of the able financial services of Mr. Ballance; and, after what had taken place, Mr. Ballance could not be asked to serve under Sir George Grey.

But the new Governor asked no advice from the defeated Ministers as to whom he should send for; but sent at once for Mr. Hall, as the leader of the Opposition, and the proposer of the amendment that had compelled the Ministry to retire or to reconstruct. So that, on Wednesday, October 8, whilst the defeated Ministers were still sitting on the Government benches, Mr. Hall informed the House that he had been sent for by the Governor, and had accepted the task of forming a new Ministry, in which he was himself to be Premier and Colonial Secretary; Mr. Whittaker, Attorney-General; Major Atkinson, Colonial Treasurer; Mr. Oliver, Minister of Public Works; Mr. Rolleston, Minister of Lands, Immigration, and Education; and Mr. Tomoana, member of the Executive Council without a portfolio.

After this announcement, it was not difficult to persuade Mr. Downie Stuart that, although now for the first time elected to the House, he had been insulted by Mr. Hall in not being accepted by him as

his Attorney General instead of a lawyer who was not a member of either House. Mr. Tomoana was equally disgusted to find that his position in the Ministry did not carry a ministerial salary.

The change of these two votes at once put the majority of two on the other side; so that, before the new Ministry had even taken their seats, Mr. Macandrew, whilst still sitting as Minister of Public Works, informed the House that, on the next sitting day, he would give notice of a No Confidence motion. Accordingly, on Friday, October 10th, he gave notice to move on the next sitting day: "That this House has no confidence in the present Government." There was a broad smile on his broad face as he quoted Burns' oft quoted lines,

> The best-laid schemes o' men an' mice
> Gang aft aglee,

little thinking how soon the same lines would be quoted, with a still broader smile, by his opponents.

The precipitous and unparalleled haste with which Mr. Macandrew had announced his No Confidence motion, before the new Government had proclaimed any policy, or had even taken their seats, gave the Hall Government a good excuse for not treating his motion with the usual respect by setting aside all other business until it was disposed of. The treatment of Major Atkinson's hasty motion of No Confidence in the Grey Government, which had been adopted with success by Sir George Grey himself in October, 1878, was quoted as a precedent that justified the Government in now paying him in the same coin, and so arranging the Order Paper that Mr. Macandrew's motion could not come on until it might suit the Government that it should do so.

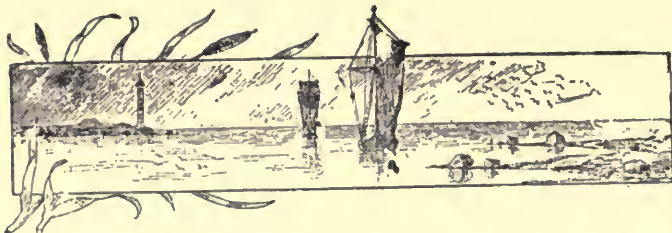
Thus the dissolution and the costly election, instead of giving either of the contending parties a working majority, had destroyed the existing majority of eleven that had appeared in the last division of the late Parliament, and had substituted an unworkable majority of two oscillating to either side. The spectacle was the more humiliating and deplorable, because the electors

had returned an overwhelming majority of not less than ten to one in favour of shortened Parliaments, Manhood Suffrage, and the restriction of property votes which either side of the House was equally bound to carry; so that the obstruction to all liberal legislation was simply the result of party strife and a few strong personal antipathies.

The deadlock was the more unmanageable, because, although every member had been returned to support the great liberal political measures, nearly every member had also been pledged either to support or to oppose Sir George Grey, and there was known to be very little difference between the Government and the Opposition as to the course they would take in passing the liberal measures, although Sir George Grey had much weakened his position by having advised the Governor to disallow the Electoral Bill of the last Session after it had passed both Houses.

All the Auckland members had been pledged to support Sir George Grey. But many of them were ardent Liberals, determined to get liberal measures placed on the Statute Book by either party, and such men had naturally chafed under the party and personal obstacles to political reform that had lost Manhood Suffrage for one election, and now threatened to lose it for another.

The action of Sir George Grey in advising the disallowance of the Electoral Bill which he had so long held up to the House and to the electors as giving the rights of "freedom to down-trodden thousands"; the failure of all his promised economies; the reckless, lawless extravagance, the self-indulgence or the incapacity of his chosen colleagues; had given his opponents such constant, unanswerable opportunities to condemn his administration that the whole party was much dissatisfied with its leader, and not a few members of it were, more or less secretly, seeking to take his place as leader of the party. Thus the whole House was demoralised, and for two weeks it appeared as if the work of the session could not be carried on by either party.



CHAPTER LXX.

THE INJUSTICE OF PARTY GOVERNMENT EXEMPLIFIED.

PARTY politics are the curse of the country.—R. J. SEDDON, June, 1880.

WHEN Sir George Grey ceased to be Premier, he displayed little anxiety to retain either the labour or the title of leader of the Opposition, and freely expressed his entire readiness to make way for any one who would be more likely to command a majority that would turn out the Hall Government. Both personally and politically he hated Mr. Hall—and there was no love lost between them—but just at this time he perhaps personally disliked Mr. Ballance quite as much; so that he did not hesitate to express a very distinct wish that Mr. Reader Wood should take the Treasury, if not the Premiership, in any new Government. But, whether he knew it or not, he himself was the only man who could hold together any considerable number of his late followers, and Captain Colbeck described the exact position of the party when he explained in the House why he left them. "They had," said he, "deserted the only possible leader of the party. We

knew well that there was no other man strong enough in that so-called Opposition even to form a Government. Of my own knowledge I know that there were four Premiers proposed and a large number of members opposed to every one of them. The members, and especially the members from Auckland, who have been talking about political immorality, do not tell the House that they had themselves deserted the only man they were sent here to support. They have themselves violated every pledge given, and have deserted the only man who could, or ever will lead them."

The four suggested Premiers, referred to by Captain Colbeck, were probably Messrs Reader Wood, John Ballance, Wm. Montgomery and James Macandrew, who were all fairly able men, each of whom could have led a section of the party.

At the first caucus held after the No Confidence vote, Mr. Wood did his best to persuade the party to adhere unanimously to Sir George Grey as their leader. His words, as quoted by himself afterwards in the House, were,—"Our policy now is a waiting policy; let us see what it is these honourable gentlemen are going to do. . . Let us adhere to Sir George Grey and force him back again upon a reluctant House. . . But Sir George Grey retired in opposition to my advice, given both privately and publicly."

There has, perhaps, been no political event in New Zealand during the present century that has been so savagely debated, both in and out of Parliament, as the action of four Auckland members who, at this crisis, finding nothing could be done by their own divided and disabled party, agreed together to go over to the Hall Government, and so to give that Government a working majority, provided that Mr. Hall would agree to use the majority so given him in at once passing the liberal measures which the four members had been elected to get passed, to leave the existing Education Act alone, to give an Auckland member a seat in the Ministry, and to give Auckland its pro-

portionate share of public expenditure. The writer of the conditions expressly stipulated that he should not be the Auckland member to be added to the Ministry, and Mr. Hall expressly stipulated that nothing should be done by his Government to alter the Education Act, but that, in the event of any Act being introduced by a private member to provide for religious teaching in the State schools, he should individually be allowed to vote for it in accordance with his election pledges. The idea of giving these four votes to the Hall Government on these conditions originated with Mr. Reader Wood. He first consulted Mr. William Swanson, and they jointly consulted Mr. William John Hurst and Captain Colbeck. All four men were Auckland members; all pledged and willing supporters of Sir George Grey; earnest, intelligent Liberals; determined to get Manhood Suffrage as soon as possible; to oppose denominational education in the State schools; and to get the borrowed public money which they believed to be due to their own province. The terms agreed upon were put in writing by Mr. Swanson, in a very brief, informal manner, on the back of a not very large envelope which he carried to Mr. Hall when he went to talk the matter over with him. Mr. Hall stipulated that he should be allowed to vote for religious education, and Mr. Swanson that he should not be appointed a Minister. With both these conditions put in, the envelope was signed by Mr. Hall on the margin "J. H." After "Confidential" had been written across it, it was consigned to Mr. Swanson's pocket-book, where it has worn remarkably well ever since, and, at Mr. Swanson's death, ought to find its way to the National Museum. Both Mr. Hall and Mr. Swanson no doubt thought that they had done a good stroke of business on the morning of Friday, the 24th of October, 1879; but, on the evening of the same day, they both heard their actions denounced as something far worse than those of Judas Iscariot, whilst the historical envelope was considered hardly safe, even in the breast pocket of the valiant, hard-fisted Mr. Swanson. "Traitors,"

"Renegades," "Rats," and "Turncoats," were names freely and fiercely applied to all concerned in the treaty, and so persistently followed up from day to day and from year to year, that the term "Auckland Rats" is still often heard as designating four of the truest Liberals, the wisest and the most trustworthy men, that Auckland has ever sent to the House of Representatives; and men who have never sought nor accepted—but have positively refused—any appointment, place or emolument from the Government with whom they stipulated for public benefits only.

To show the real character of these long maligned members, we need only look at what the more honest and able portion of their detractors were bound to say of their general character, even when smarting under the effect of their desertion. Of Mr. Reader Wood, Sir George Grey said, whilst attacking him for his desertion:—"My duty was to consider what was best for New Zealand—what was best to secure the carrying out of the views I entertained—what was best to secure the fulfilment of the views of the gentlemen with whom I was associated; and I undoubtedly did say, that if a new Government was formed Mr. Wood ought to take the position of Colonial Treasurer, because I believed he was by natural capacity and natural thoughtfulness more fitted to do good in the present financial embarrassment of New Zealand than any other gentleman that I know. So that I asked him to promise that he would take that office if a new Government was formed."

In the same debate, Sir George Grey thus speaks of Captain Colbeck:—"The honourable member for Marsden did come to me, and spoke in a manner I shall remember with feelings of pleasure, and told me that, in consequence of my retirement from the leadership of the party, he considered he was free. I at once replied in the same spirit, saying that, so far as I was concerned, he was free, and that I had nothing else to expect from him.

There was no speaker in the excited debate who

dared to call in question the unselfish, disinterested integrity of Mr. Swanson. He was a man who had honestly and resolutely forged his own way from a half starved orphan in Scotland to an influential capitalist in New Zealand, who began to learn his letters at fifteen, and was now one of the best read men in the House; a man who could speak, not always grammatically, but most forcibly, and was remarkable for always hitting the right nail on the head. Of him, his neighbour, Mr. Moss, said, even in this angry party debate:—"I am sure that, whatever the honourable member has done, he has done sincerely, believing that he was acting for the good of the province, but I and others believe that he has been misled. He has not many soft spots, but one of them has been found out. We are losing a representative man from Auckland, and I am sure that every one of us will feel more regret at finding his name mixed up with such a transaction than we should feel on account of twenty others."

Although Mr. Swanson was a singularly bold, clear-sighted, and courageous man when duty called upon him to play any difficult part, he was always painfully conscious of his own educational deficiencies, and nothing would induce him to attempt what he considered he was unfit for. We may give an interesting and instructive instance of his courage on the one hand, and of his modesty on the other.

Whilst Mr. Bell was Speaker, Mr. Fitzherbert was called on to make one of his long speeches, twenty minutes before the 5.30 p.m. adjournment, and asked the House to adjourn before he commenced, so that his speech might not be interrupted. This was at once agreed to by the Speaker and by the House. A few days after this, Mr. J. C. Brown rose to speak about the same time, but found that his neighbours, in his absence from the House, had been playing tricks with his notes, and had put his papers out of their proper order. Mr. Brown was a party whip, and was not by any means an over modest man. He asked the Speaker to adjourn the House before the

usual time, so as to allow him to put his notes in order. The Speaker objected to do this, whereupon Mr. Brown reminded him that it had been done a few days ago for Mr. Fitzherbert. "Oh yes," said Mr. Bell, "but it can't be done for every member, and the honourable member must know that in this House there are members and members." Mr. Brown again reluctantly rose and began to fumble with his notes, but Mr. Swanson at once came to his rescue, and, rising with something more than his usual energy, said to the Speaker, "This is something quite new; I should like to know, Sir, who these members and members are, because I have always been under the delusion that, in this House, we all had the same rights and privileges, and that, whatever the House itself might do, we all expected to be treated alike by you when you are in that chair." This gave Mr. Brown all the time he required. The Speaker never had a more uncomfortable twenty minutes in his life; but he learned a lesson that he never forgot, and the House learned that "Willie Swanson" had read constitutional history to some purpose.

But Mr. Swanson never overrated his own powers. When he was urged by the Government to accept a seat on the Ministerial benches, he replied, "No, when a monkey goes up a tree, you can see his tail directly;" and when told that his speeches were useful, forcible, and always to the point, he replied, "Oh yes, but these reporters learned the English grammar younger than I did, and they always make better speeches for me than I can make for myself." This was hardly true, as the best points in Mr. Swanson's speeches were beyond the reporters' art, as his words were literally driven home by his very expressive action.

Throughout the heated onslaught and the insignificantly fierce anger of so many disappointed office seekers, the most cruel, reckless, bitter things were said about the new member for Auckland City West, Mr. William John Hurst. Although new to the House, he

was well known to the Auckland members as an able member of their Provincial Council. He had just seconded the Address in Reply in a speech which the then leader of the Opposition, Mr. Hall, described as "one of the best maiden speeches ever heard in the House, being moderate in tone and patriotic in spirit." He was an able, sensible business man, but was so sensitive to praise or censure that he attracted the poisoned darts that would have been less successfully directed towards his more case-hardened associates. But, taken altogether, the four additions now made to the supporters of the Hall Government were treated to an amount of unreasonable and unjustifiable abuse well adapted to confirm them as the steadfast friends of the party, so many of whom were, like themselves, supporting a Conservative Government, now compelled to be Liberal, as the most expeditious means of securing the liberal measures they were determined to place as soon as possible on the Statute book.

Thus strengthened, both in voting and debating power, the Hall Government was, for the first time, on Tuesday, October 28th, placed in a position to proceed with the business of the session, and, as Mr. Wood described it, to "get Sir George Grey's Acts as soon as possible out of the way."

Mr. Macandrew naturally allowed his No-Confidence motion to drop when there was no further hope of carrying it. His request that it might be "brought up and discharged," was made in a short and very harmless speech; but Sir George Grey took several opportunities to severely lash the Conservatives now on the Government benches for their inconsistency, and for their sudden adoption of his measures. In his most theatrical style, he proclaimed:—"I now retire, but my work is done. My measures must now be passed, and they shall be passed. What these Conservatives would not have done for fifty years must now be done in a few days. I will drag them at my chariot wheels, and they shall pass the very measures which they have hated, and still do hate so much. What

they would never have done to secure the welfare of their country, or the liberties of their countrymen, they will now do to secure their miserable, powerless seats on what will still be called the Government benches—but the benches from which they will pass my measures and give to the manhood of New Zealand what I have promised them."

But while Sir George Grey was thus riding the high horse, and considerably exaggerating his political consistency, his opponents had obtained the power to investigate and to expose the truly appalling financial condition to which the Colony had been reduced by the proceedings of the reckless men Sir George had so carelessly appointed, and so reprehensibly trusted. It was only two weeks after the Hall Government were in full power that the new Treasurer, Major Atkinson, was able to come down with a Financial Statement proving the most reckless carelessness as to meeting the engagements of the Colony in London, a deficiency, or excess of expenditure over revenue, in one year, of £951,000, and a total increase of the national debt in the current year from £23,222,311, to £28,822,311, carrying an annual charge of £1,516,176 for interest and sinking fund. It must be admitted that there was more of the partisan than of the patriot in the flash of Major Atkinson's eye as he announced these figures as the outcome of Mr. Macandrew's sanguine predictions, Mr. Sheehan's wanton and uncontrolled extravagance, and of Sir George Grey's utter failure to exercise anything but the most nominal and delusive control over the dangerous men he had placed in power. The Major specially directed his attention to Mr. Macandrew who sat nearly opposite to him, as he said:—"Such a financial position, Sir, is, I venture to say, unparalleled in the history of the Colony, for, with abundant natural resources, with excellent credit, and with an increasing ordinary revenue, notwithstanding great commercial depression, we find ourselves reduced to such a position as to cause the gravest anxiety to all true friends of the Colony, and to necessitate important measures of finan-

cial reform, involving large additional taxation." The additional taxation proposed and carried, included Property Tax, Customs and Stamps, estimated altogether at £618,700.

It is no uncommon thing for spendthrifts in power to be ardent economists in opposition; but few men have ever equalled Mr. Macandrew in this respect. With the consequence of his dreamy muddles and pampered favourites fully exposed beyond the possibility of denial, even by himself, he was nothing daunted. It was now only fourteen months since he had informed the House that under the financial arrangement then suggested by him, "£3,500,000 could easily be spared from the ordinary revenue, and that £8,345,000 might be spent on railways in five years, and only £2,500,000 borrowed." But now, alas, as the result of his delusive proposals, five millions had hurriedly to be borrowed, nearly one million of which was instantly required to make up the deficiency in the ordinary revenue, and enable the annual interest to be paid in London. Yet Mr. Macandrew had no apology to make, but coolly said—"I, for one, am not prepared at all for this enormous additional taxation. I am utterly taken aghast at the idea of proposing additional taxation of from thirty-five to forty shillings per head on every man, woman, and child in the Colony. That is not the way to get out of our difficulties. We are taxed enough now in all conscience. I should have preferred to see the Treasurer come down and say the time has come when we must cut our coat according to our cloth." Well might Mr. Reader Wood reply:—"I have spoken lately of the recklessness of Sir Julius Vogel, but the recklessness of Sir Julius Vogel is simply as nothing compared with the recklessness of those who have recently had the management of public affairs in this Colony."

During the last general election, Sir George Grey was again elected for two constituencies — for the Thames on the 2nd and for Christchurch on the 10th of September. His election for Christchurch was successfully disputed by his opponent, Mr. Richardson, on the

ground that, having been already elected for the Thames, he was already a member of the House at the date of the Christchurch election, and therefore not eligible as a candidate for any other constituency. The legality of Sir George Grey's election for Christchurch was referred to an Election Committee composed of seven members of the House, selected, or, to speak more accurately, not rejected, in the usual way. For this purpose a list of the members of the House of Representatives was placed before both of the parties interested, and each party was called on alternately to strike out the name most objected to until only seven were left. This was, of course, the way to ensure that there would be no strong partisans, and probably no strong men left on the list. In a House so equally divided it was natural that the remnant left would also be equally divided, after an equal number had been taken from each side, and thus three of the Committee voted for Grey, and three for Richardson, leaving Mr. Allwright an hour to consider his position before he voted against Sir George Grey's claim, and thus sent Mr. Richardson back to the House.

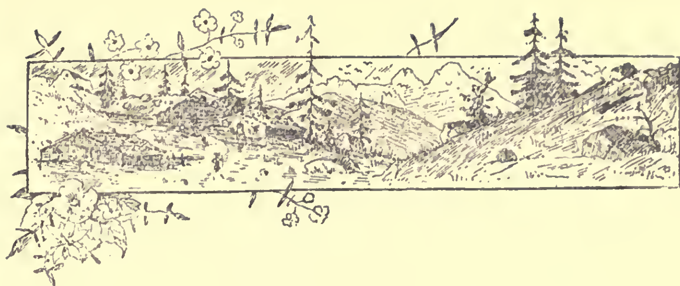
Early in November, the Woman's Franchise was discussed at considerable length, but only with the result that the municipal franchise was given to women who were ratepayers.

Before the session closed, the ablest and most consistent newspaper upholding the Grey Ministry, the *Lyttelton Times*, gave up its cherished hopes in the leaders who were to have succeeded Sir George Grey, and especially admitted and deplored the financial incapacity of Mr. Macandrew. The Editor of that paper said of the financial debate :—" The Liberal party relied apparently a great deal on Mr. Ballance, who was to have made a great financial display ; but Mr. Ballance was indisposed, and no one else seems to be able to take his place. If that is really the case, and the fact that no one did take Mr. Ballance's place is evidence that it is so, the sooner the party led by Mr. Macandrew goes out of existence the better. . . Mr.

Macandrew must bear in mind that the Government of which he was a member did not make any appreciable reductions, though they came into office with a promise to effect large savings."

Early in December the Government was relieved from much apprehension by learning that the Bank of England had issued their Five Million Loan at £97 10s. and at 5 per cent.; the Parliament having authorised no less than 6 per cent., whilst their railways were only paying 2, and their water-races on the gold-fields only 1 per cent.

It was only five days before Christmas when Parliament was prorogued by three Commissioners appointed by the Governor, although a large proportion of the members had left Wellington some time before that date; so that only thirty-seven members of the House, and seventeen in the Council were present at the last divisions. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the festivities of the season injuriously interrupted the angry talk of this summer session. The mysterious, but distinctly influential Maori prophet on the one hand, and the financial muddle and empty chest on the other, loudly demanded that party strife should be allowed to give way to calm consideration and well-directed action, and no one who knew Mr. Hall would deny, that, whatever his political aims might be, he was the right man in the right place when really hard work was to be done; when reckless waste was to be arrested and the confusion of uncontrolled experiments and capricious aspirations had to give way to something like order, prudence and common sense.



CHAPTER LXXI.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1880.

IF this House and the Government were left without the information which Commissions can obtain with regard to passing matters, the work would never be done. See the result of the enquiries of the Royal Commission into the Civil Service. Look at the pile of papers containing the evidence taken by that Commission which the Premier laid on the table to-day.—SIR WILLIAM FOX, Hansard No 35, page 540.

MR. JOHN HALL, like most prudent, cautious and successful leaders, was called to the front by his party in a time of need, in a time of difficulty and danger. He was, in fact, like Xenophon, called upon to conduct a retreat, to make concessions which both he and his party would rather have avoided, in the confident hope that he would concede nothing more than he found to be unavoidable, and would concede that without ostentation or parade. He was not an idealist, nor a speculator, nor an enthusiast. He never expected to astonish the world nor even to electrify New Zealand; but he had been tried in a great variety of public offices, both provincial and general, and had filled them all with assiduity, respectability, and success;

and had, at the same time, conducted his own affairs with never failing prudence, so that, without hasting to be rich, he had risen step by step to a safe and solid condition of prosperity so often missed by the more adventurous pursuers of wealth. Although at one time a colleague of Sir Julius Vogel, and always deeply interested in the rapid increase of value in the landed property of the Colony, he was naturally not a gambler, and no doubt brought more ballast than sail to the projects of his adventurous chief.

After the death of Wiremu Tomihana, the great king maker, who might also be called the great peacemaker, followed, as it so soon was, by those of Dr. Featherston and Sir Donald McLean, our political relations to the Maoris became annually less satisfactory and more complicated ; and, to a thoughtful, well informed and long experienced statesman, who had watched, without being actively implicated in, the chief mistakes of the last twenty years, the restoration of more satisfactory and secure relations between the two races naturally appeared to be the most important question demanding the immediate attention of his Government. Next to the great question of peace or war, and very intimately connected with it, came the question of finance and the steadily increasing waste and expenditure of the Colony, fostered and made possible by a constant succession of loans. Then the question of finance, and the enormous taxation which the succession of loans had rendered imperative, necessarily brought with it the question of protection or free-trade, as well as the necessity of placing some limit on the number and extent of the political and profitless railways which had been so profusely projected by the various Governments, each bent upon obtaining the support of the representatives of each provincial district. All of these were important and difficult questions, and questions upon which there was no unity of opinion either in the Cabinet or in the Parliament, so that there can be no doubt that Mr. Hall acted wisely in referring each of these questions

to a Royal Commission consisting of men prepared to give, for the time being, their exclusive attention to the questions laid before them.

The simultaneous appointment of so many Royal Commissions was, of course, condemned by the Opposition as an attempt on the part of the Government to throw all responsibility off its own shoulders; and nothing could exceed the bitterness with which each Commission and each individual Commissioner was attacked by the Opposition Press; but the total result was unquestionably useful, and had to be acknowledged as such, even by the party which had so vehemently condemned their appointment.

The first appointed, and the most immediately and permanently beneficial of these Commissions was the Commission that sat to investigate the Maori land titles. It was called the West Coast Commission, and was appointed January 20th, 1880. The men then appointed were Sir William Fox, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, and Hone Mohi Tawhai. Tawhai refused to act, under the impression that the Commission would have no real power apart from the Government. Sir Francis Dillon Bell went to England as Agent General long before the work of the Commission was ended, and Sir William Fox was thus left to work alone. The first three reports, signed by Sir W. Fox and Sir F. D. Bell, occupy fifty pages of printed foolscap, accompanied by one hundred and eighty pages of proceedings and evidence. In these, the Commissioners proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, what they assert at the commencement of their second and longest report, "that the disaffection of the Natives on the West Coast was but the natural outcome of a feeble and vacillating policy towards them during more than fifteen years; and the trouble which during that period beset every successive Government might have been mastered, at any time, if only scrupulous good faith had waited on steadfast counsels and a consistent purpose." It is a grand thing to get such an unqualified admission of wrong-doing by the early New

Zealand Governments from two such prominent actors and leaders in those governments as Sir William Fox and Sir Dillon Bell ; but it is to be regretted that Sir Francis should have been allowed to write fifteen, instead of twenty years ; and so to exclude the five years in which the greatest wrongs were perpetrated, and the years in which Mr. Bell wrote Governor Browne's most mischievous despatches and was Native Minister in the misguided Domett Ministry. They were, too, the five years in which Mr. Fox did his best work in the cause of justice to Wiremu Kingi ; but, so far as Kingi is concerned, the omission is made of little consequence by a passage in the second page of the same report, which does justice to the persecuted patriot when it says :—" It is worthy of remark that the settlement of Wellington was probably saved from destruction in 1845 by the act of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, who refused to join the rebel tribes in their raid upon the settled districts. We believe that if his loyalty had been requited as it ought to have been, we might never have known him otherwise than as a friend."

After the deaths of Dr. Featherston and Sir Donald McLean, it would have been impossible for Mr. Hall's Government to have found two Commissioners so well up in New Zealand history, so familiar with the Maori character and the Maori institutions, so remarkable for patient, indefatigable industry, and altogether so willing and able to do full justice to every well-founded Native claim, as were now found in the persons of Sir William Fox and Sir F. D. Bell, whilst Sir William Fox's education and experience as a lawyer added much to his many high natural qualifications for such a judicial position. The terrible mistakes which both Fox and Bell had been led into, when yielding to the guidance of Whitaker, Russell, and the Bank of New Zealand, in 1863 and 1865, were now painfully felt, regretted, and acknowledged by both. Such an unhappy experience was now, no doubt, only calculated to put them on their guard against any similar misguidance in

the future; but the penalty of past mistakes had now to be paid in the form of a deep distrust on the part of the well-informed Maori chiefs, who knew only too well the share they had been induced to take in the wrongs of the past. It was thus that when the Commission was first appointed, the Parihaka Maoris, acting under the advice of the clever, well-informed, although fanatical leader, Te Whiti, treated their Court with suspicion and contempt, and evidently expected no justice from their awards. Under such circumstances, mere words or promises were of no avail; but the deeds, the awards and the reports of the Commissioners were eagerly watched, and slowly, but steadily restored the long lost confidence of those who had previously had so much reason to be dissatisfied.

At the very outset of their enquiries, the Commissioners found that the suspicion and distrust of Te Whiti and his followers were amply justified by the proceedings of Mr. Sheehan, the Native Minister in the Grey Government, who caused the land to be surveyed and advertised for sale without defining or exempting any portion of it as being reserved for the Maoris. The surveys were even carried through the grass and crop land occupied by the Maoris, without any assurance being given to them that their very homesteads would not be sold. This fact had been denied by Mr. Sheehan in the House of Representatives on July 23rd, 1879, when he said: "I can show a plan prepared, by which it will be seen that nearly 4000 acres, out of 16,000, were to be reserved for the Natives. . . . Out of the block containing about 95,000 acres it was understood that Major Brown should be in a position to make reserves to the extent of 25,000 acres." In a literal sense this statement was partially true. In a moral sense it was a shameless attempt to mislead the House and to do a gross injustice to the Maoris. It may have been true that on July 23rd, 1879, Mr. Sheehan could have produced such a plan as he described; but that was six months after the survey had been stopped, and all the trouble had been brought about for want of any such

plan or any such intention having been made known to the Maoris interested, The evidence of Major Brown, the Chief Surveyor, given before the Commissioners, is most distinct in this respect. He most unreservedly says that if he had been permitted to make, or even to promise such reserves, the survey would not have been interrupted, and that, up to the time when the surveyors were turned off, no reserves were marked off on the ground, nor had been delineated on any plan. Long after the land had been advertised for sale, and six weeks after the surveyors had been turned off, Major Brown says he came to Wellington, and, on April 2nd, he went to the Survey Office, and there marked off such reserves as he thought proper, and coloured them on the plan of the sectional survey of the Waimate Plains. These reserves amounted to about 3,000 acres; but even then the Maoris knew nothing about what had been done, nor did any one else outside of the Survey Office and the Government. All this is made abundantly clear in the Commissioners' Reports, with the superabundance of detail which Mr. Bell was always so prone to adopt. The promises of the various Governments as to the reserves to be made for the Maoris from the confiscated lands, and as rewards for military assistance, were most industriously hunted up, and most authoritatively proved by the Commissioners; and, before Mr. Fox had completed his long and laborious task, the most suspicious Maoris were convinced that he was indeed a Daniel sitting on the Seat of Justice.

The Civil Service Commission was appointed March 10th, 1880, "for the purpose of inquiring into the constitution and organisation of the Civil Service of our said Colony, as such service is at present constituted and organised, and to consider by what means the cost of such Service to our said Colony may be reduced without impairing or lessening the efficiency thereof, and whether the said service ought in any manner to be reorganised or reconstituted, having due regard to such efficiency as aforesaid."

The names of the Commissioners were Sir Robert

Douglas, Thomas Kelly, Charles Pharazyn, and Alfred Saunders, the last-named of whom was appointed chairman. It was not the first Civil Service Commission that had been appointed in New Zealand ; but it was the first that consisted exclusively of men who were not themselves civil servants, and, indeed, it was the first that did not consist of civil servants exclusively. Mr. Gisborne had presided over the latest Civil Service Commission, and had drawn up a very straightforward report in the interests of the tax receivers, but with very little regard to the welfare of the taxpayers. The two great points in his report were that promotion was to depend, not upon merit, but upon length of service, and that pensions, like the sun, were to shine upon the just and upon the unjust. But now outsiders had not only been appointed, but they were appointed with special instructions to consider primarily how the cost of the service could be reduced without impairing its efficiency. The earthquake of 1848 was not more unwelcome to the residents of Wellington than the appointment of such a Commission, with such instructions. But, after all, the result of their investigations fell with less weight, and was less deprecated and less resented in Wellington than it was in Dunedin, where Mr. Macandrew had, for many years, been getting more or less of his own way, either as Minister of Public Works, or as the local adviser of the Colonial Government, and where he was still manipulating public money, making appointments, obliging his friends, and avoiding and despising all constitutional control with the same audacity, and with more impunity, than that which had marked his earlier manipulation of Provincial revenues in Otago. The anxious, overworked Premier must have groaned in spirit as he perused the Report of this Commission, with all its appalling revelations and drastic recommendations ; as he, and he alone, would have to take the nauseous task in hand of arresting the wasteful expenditure and removing the culprits, whose frauds could no longer be concealed, from the public service. This he would have to do, not only without

the help, but with the certain opposition, of the majority of his colleagues and his subordinates. After three months' hard and very unpleasant work, the Commissioners had discovered an incredible amount of careless neglect, of wanton waste, of useless expenditure, of wilfully blind inspection, of criminal appointments, of systematic fraud, and of successful, long-continued robbery which could only have been perpetrated under the connivance of men who were being highly paid to protect the public interest. Such robberies could only have been possible under the absolute protection of the high authorities who still had the audacity to stand up, even in the House of Representatives, and to deny, not only the facts and frauds, but the very existence of twenty-six railway waggons still waiting at Addington to be rebuilt, which could have been put together in Dunedin for no other purpose than to extract from the public purse the price of useful, *boná-fide* waggons.

The facts brought to light by the fearless and searching investigations of this Civil Service Commission were so startling, and so difficult to believe, that even the Government was unwilling to believe them, and Mr. Olliver, the Minister for Public Works, who was himself a resident and a representative of Dunedin, actually went so far as to deny, from his seat in the House, and upon the authority of his great friend and most trusted adviser, the chief engineer for the South Island, the truth of one of their most astounding revelations. No report ever presented to the New Zealand Parliament has ever aroused such a storm of indignant denial and interested opposition as that exhibited by the Dunedin authorities and their numerous and powerful friends in their frantic efforts to resist the testimony of the facts which this report had brought to light. But the facts would take no denial; not a single statement in the report could be shakened or weakened; so that the effect of the report was greatly increased by the opposition it received and by the public interest excited by the rashness and violence of the authorities implicated.

We have seen that one of Mr. Macandrew's early acts after he became Minister of Public Works was to appoint a Mr. Conyers as Commissioner in charge of all the South Island railways. To this gentleman Mr. Macandrew had persuaded the House to vote a salary of £1200 a year, and had, besides, given him a bonus of £500 a year, taken, without the knowledge or consent of the House, from a vote of £60,000 for South Island railways. Of this gentleman, the Civil Service Report said:—"We find that the South Island Commissioner has capital invested in a firm contracting with the department of which he is the head, and that his receipts from this capital depend on the success of that firm. Such a fact can hardly fail to influence the action of officers serving under the Commissioner, and entirely to destroy the confidence of other firms tendering for railway supplies. It is impossible to estimate the amount of loss which the Colony may have suffered from this obviously false position held by the working head of its principal railways—a position that should not be permitted under any circumstances."

To show the effect of such relations between the Commissioner and any contracting firm, the Chairman of the Commission stated in the House that practically all other contractors were shut out from competition; as tenders were called for in such a way, and on such conditions, that any contractor could be ruined or made rich at the will of the Commissioner. Many articles were included in the tenders which were never wanted, so that a well-informed and well-protected tenderer could easily make his tender the lowest by putting articles that would never be called for at a ruinously low price, and getting more than double their value for those articles which he knew would be called for. In this way, the Report goes on to say, "tenders have been accepted for largely consumed articles at prices that should never have been entertained, and the cost to the Colony most unnecessarily increased; several articles costing more than twice as much by

contract in Dunedin as articles of the same kind were obtained for by contract in Christchurch. Points and crossings which could be imported for £12 a set, including all charges and expenses, were being manufactured at Invercargill at a cost of £17.

But the most glaring public robbery that the Commission exposed was a systematic construction of worthless things called railway waggons which were made in Dunedin and sent empty on to Christchurch, professedly to meet the large demands of the grain traffic, but really to be rebuilt. The Christchurch Locomotive Superintendent, Mr. Allison D. Smith, in his evidence before the Commissioners, was brave and honest enough to describe these waggons as "disgraceful, bad workmanship and bad timber. Unseasoned stringy bark had been used instead of seasoned iron bark. The joints, which had never been properly made, immediately shrank away, so that some of them had the bottom frame held up only by the nails in the flooring boards. Some of them we have had to almost rebuild within six weeks." When these waggons were rebuilt in Christchurch, they were also re-numbered; so that the first builder, and the officers who passed them, could not be certainly or easily traced after their reconstruction, and the whole staff of Dunedin officials appeared prepared not only to deny their condition, but even to deny the existence of any such waggons. In reply to a question from an Otago member, the Minister of Public Works read, in the House of Representatives, a letter from Mr. W. N. Blair, Engineer in Charge of Middle Island Railways, in which he stated,—"No waggons built by contract under this department at Dunedin were delivered in Christchurch at the end of last year, and I believe the same remark applies to the Railway Department. The last contract for waggons in Dunedin was finished in August, 1877, consequently they had been running for thirteen months before the line to Christchurch was opened, and nearly two and a half years before the date referred to. I may add that, so far as waggons built under

the supervision of this department in Dunedin at any time are concerned, there is not the slightest ground for thinking them defective: they have in every instance been well made, with proper materials." But Mr. Allison Smith was neither a coward nor a simpleton, and, with all the great authorities of Dunedin against him, and in defiance of his superior officers, he did not choose to be set down as a perjurer; and his facts enabled him most effectually to turn the tables upon Mr. Blair.

The change of numbers on the waggons had not quite destroyed his power to prove the date of their construction, and he was able to prove when, where, and by whom, the stringy bark had been purchased. In many cases Mr. Smith could give the original, as well as the existing number of the defective waggons; but in all cases he was able to point to the date of the English brand on the iron used in their construction, and that was a piece of evidence that any number of denials could not outweigh. With the English brand of 1878 on the ironwork, it was quite certain that the waggons could not have been built in New Zealand in 1877.

On the day after Mr. Blair's letter had been read in the House, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission received a telegram from Mr. Smith, in which he wrote,—" I earnestly trust that you will have this question thoroughly investigated, as, from the reports of the Hon. Minister of Public Works, and by Mr. Blair's letter, the lie direct has been given to my evidence. I have abundant proofs, and waggons on sidings which are available for inspection. The Hon. Mr. Oliver saw two of these waggons when going through the workshops. Here are no less than twenty-six waggons now standing on workshop siding requiring to be rebuilt, all bad workmanship, and all built in Dunedin. Will send you specimens of timber and workmanship by the mail steamer. Will it be necessary for me to send further information *re* bad work in waggons or more specimens? I have a great number collected. I could also produce many expert witnesses to verify evidence."

A few days later, Mr. Smith telegraphed to the Minister of Public Works—"During the four months, October 1878 to January 1879, Mr. Armstrong purchased from Guthrie and Larnach, cut to the sizes used in waggon construction, £240 worth of timber charged for as 'hard wood,' at the rate of sixteen shillings per 100 feet. There can now be no doubt that the contractors supplied stringy bark, and charged it at blue-gum prices; but not liking to call it by its proper name, or by a false name on the vouchers, they charged for 'hard wood.' Moreover, the ironwork in all the waggons complained of bears the English manufacturer's brand of 1878, so that these waggons must have been built in New Zealand late in that year or early in 1879."

The purchaser of this stringy bark for the construction of railway waggons was one of the few persons mentioned in the Commissioners' report as mere samples of the many useless, highly paid appointments with which the service was clogged, of men receiving a high salary and having nothing useful to do.

With such facts before them, the Commissioners necessarily came to the conclusion that a far more trustworthy head should control the railways, and that many of his useless and mischievous appointments should be cancelled.

Whole cases of these false stringy bark joints which had been cut from these fraudulent waggons were not only sent to the Parliamentary Buildings, but some fair samples of them were actually laid on the table of the House of Representatives, and furnished a sight such as had probably never been seen on any Parliamentary table before. The waggons, as Sir William Fox said, would take no denial. "There they were, and all the officials in New Zealand could no longer deny their existence." How glad the Minister of Public Works would have been if he could have withdrawn Mr. Blair's letter, denying the existence of such waggons; but there was the letter, and the waggons were themselves lying on the same table. Mr. Macandrew had

been nine months out of office; but nearly all the culprits thus convicted had been appointed and overpaid by him, and these fictitious waggons had been built whilst he was Minister of Public Works; but he now declared, as boldly as he had declared of the report of the Otago Provincial Council in 1861, that neither he nor his favourites had done anything wrong, and that the report was written for party objects, and from personal spite to himself and his appointees.

In reply to this tirade, Sir William Fox said:—"We have the evidence of our own eyes in regard to this wonderful story of the waggons. There is that waggon, let us run that waggon down. One waggon! I think there are twenty-six of them. We have seen a sample of them."

Mr. Macandrew—"We shall hear more about them by and by."

Sir W. Fox—"I hope we shall. But we see them now. Seeing is better than hearing. We see them with our own eyes, and can handle them with our own hands. The story as regards these waggons is this:—It was asserted by the Commission that a large number of rotten, worthless, useless, and ill-constructed waggons—specifying the numbers, and so forth—had been sent up from Dunedin to Christchurch in a condition that rendered them utterly unfit for the public service, and worth no more than the old iron and wood they were constructed of."

Mr. Macandrew—"We have no proof of that."

Sir W. Fox—"There they are. But let us go on. The chief officer in the department out of which those waggons came, writes a letter absolutely denying the whole of the facts; he absolutely denies the existence of such waggons; he denies the removal of the waggons from Dunedin to Christchurch; he says no such waggons were made for the railway. Yet, Sir, we have had placed upon the table the whole jingling machinery—the pieces of wood hanging together, mortises without tenons, tenons without mortises, every conceivable description of bad work, stringy-bark used for iron-bark,

the different parts rattling together like a child's rattle. And for all that the country has paid. Why, Sir, what more do we want? Will all the assertions of the officials in New Zealand contradict those waggons? And can they deny the existence of twenty-six such waggons? But if there had been—and there was not—any exaggeration about these waggons, was it wrong in the Commission, having all the evidence they had on the subject, to place it in their Report, and hand it to the Government, leaving it to the Minister for Public Works to hunt up further evidence as to the accuracy of their statements? They made no charge against anybody, but only a general statement as to the condition of the waggons; and the party whom the cap fitted thought proper to take the matter up. In doing so he made a great mistake, for, as the report stood, the responsibility was dispersed amongst them all, and no one could tell who was the guilty man. But Mr. Blair puts on the cap and says, 'Look at me!' at the same time denying that he is the man; when in steps Mr. Alison Smith, who says, 'There is the waggon.' We have not had to 'Wait for the Waggon' in this case; the waggon has come to us. The man who can swallow the evidence of that waggon—who can swallow, in fact, the twenty-six waggons—must have a gorge bigger than mine. I trust we shall not allow a red herring to be drawn across the scent. Let us make the use of this Report which was intended. Let it be a guide to the Government in entering upon reforms in the Civil Service in the direction it indicates, and it will do right good service to this country, and save thousands and tens of thousands, and, perhaps, ultimately, millions of money."

It was thus that the Civil Service Commission found that enormous economies could be effected in the Civil Service in many different directions, and they did not hesitate to advise that both the Railway Commissioners should be dismissed; that some fifty engineers were doing more harm than good; that many of the most highly paid officials had no useful

occupation, and should at once be removed; that the destruction of engines, carriages, and tarpaulins, for want of systematic care and ordinary protection, amounted to many thousands a year; that the use of no less than sixteen different kinds of locomotives added immensely to the cost of maintenance and repairs; that fraudulent tenders and fraudulent contracts often doubled the cost of railway supplies, railway sleepers, and railway waggons; that the fifteen per cent increase in the salaries of all Civil Servants, which was adopted on the advice of Sir Julius Vogel in a time of abnormal, artificial, and short-lived prosperity, should now be followed by a general reduction of not less than twelve and a half per cent, which would still leave the Civil Servants in the enjoyment of far more of the luxuries of life, and with far shorter hours of labour, than can be enjoyed by those whose labour must pay their salaries.

In their conclusion, the Commissioners say, "It is only by very uncommon exertion and heroic sacrifices that the small number of taxpayers in New Zealand can hope to honestly meet their engagements, and bear the excessive burdens which the last ten years of borrowing and reckless spending have brought upon them."

What was called the Railway Commission was appointed about the same time as the Civil Service Commission. Its members were Mr. Oswald Curtis, of Nelson, Chairman; Mr. E. G. Wright, M.H.R. for Coleridge; Mr. Cosh Clark, of Auckland; Mr. Edward Pearce, of Wellington, and Mr. John Reid, of Otago. The object of their appointment was to decide upon what railways should be completed and what were never likely to pay if completed. Their work of course demanded a great deal of travelling, and this they performed so rapidly as to earn the title of "The Flying Squadron." They were all anxious to get back as soon as possible to their private business, so that they spent very little time in taking evidence. Mr. E. G. Wright was an experienced railway contractor, and, as he was the only M.H.R. on the Commission, he ne-

cessarily had to do the most important part of the Chairman's work when the report came to be attacked in the House. Here, again, the Otago members were the most active assailants, as the Commissioners advised that no more money should be spent on the Otago Central, as it was never likely to be completed and would certainly never pay. It could hardly be expected that the report of such a "flying squadron" would be accepted as a sufficient reason for giving up a line in which so many members of the House were interested, and whether the Commissioners were right or wrong is still a question to be hotly disputed; but certain it is that that line has never yet earned working expenses, and yet no Government in New Zealand has ever dared to withhold a vote from the line in which such a large proportion of the members of the House are either personally or politically interested. As only one member of the Commission was in the House to defend the Report, and, as the Report was very ably condemned by members of the House who knew far more of the country in question than Mr. Wright or any other member of the Commission, the work of the Commission produced but little practical result.

On March 12th, yet another Royal Commission was appointed "for the purpose of enquiring whether any industries or manufactures that are or hereafter may be prosecuted or carried on in our said Colony should be in any manner promoted or aided by the Government." This Commission consisted of Messrs Edward Wakefield, Chairman; T. F. S. Tinne; J. W. Bain; A. J. Burns, and W. A. Murray. The name of Mr. E. C. J. Stevens was afterwards added. The advocates of protection complained that the Government had appointed a majority of freetraders; but the Report brought up by Mr. Wakefield gave no evidence of having erred in that direction, as it advised a bonus to be paid for the production or refinement of sugar, for all linseed products, sulphuric acid and starch, with fifty per cent. on the production of silk, whilst the Government was to be compelled to purchase and to

use only New Zealand coal, wood and cement. Yet after this Report had been published, Mr. Chamberlain asked the Attorney General in the Legislative Council if the Government intended to appoint another Royal Commission to consider that subject with "less free-trade tendencies." Thus the Report, whilst it disgusted the free-traders, did not satisfy the protectionists in the New Zealand Parliament, so that it was received very quietly, and produced very little effect upon the legislation or history of New Zealand.

CHAPTER LXXII.

The First Real Retrenchment Actually Accomplished.

The Government have a most painful task before them. I know it will be most painful to them, but it cannot be helped. They must, like the gentlemen who composed the Civil Service Commission, harden their hearts and go at this retrenchment as if they felt the responsibility that is now cast upon them.—Sir W. Fox, Hansard xxxv., page 539.

The second session of the seventh New Zealand Parliament met in Wellington on May 28, 1880, when the opening Speech was delivered by Sir Hercules Robinson. There was nothing very alarming in the Speech, and there was but little debate upon and less opposition to the Address-in-Reply in either House. But there were a few passages in the Speech which gave a rather distinct indication that a very resolute and very unusual effort would be made to reduce the overgrown annual expenditure of the Colony. The Governor was empowered to say, "I regret to have to announce to you that a falling off has taken place during the past financial period in almost all the principal items of revenue. In these circumstances my advisers entertain no doubt as to the course to be pursued. It would be

unwise to ignore the fact that, prior to the existing depression there had been a time of extraordinary inflation consequent on the expenditure of large sums of borrowed money. Expenditure must be decreased. It is to industry and economy that the Colony has to look for the development of its resources and the maintenance of a healthy progress." There were, in fact, some unmistakable indications that both the Government and the members of the House had come together with a fixed purpose to cut down the expenditure of the Government, and that purpose was greatly strengthened when the report of the Civil Service Commission was laid on the table of the House.

It was only a few weeks before the House met that Sir William Fox, who had in the previous year been created a K.C.M.G., was returned to the House by his old constituents at Rangitikei. If Sir William had been prompted by the motives which govern the actions of an ordinary place-hunter, his election would have created a great sensation in political circles, as it was well-known that he could easily have drawn a very strong support as Premier from both sides of the House. A large proportion of the members, who were now supporting Mr. Hall, were, like Sir W. Fox, old advocates of an extended franchise, vote by ballot, and liberal land laws, and, in obtaining such laws, would have preferred to work under a Premier who really believed in, and had, for fifty years, advocated the liberal measures which were now only forced upon the leaders of the Party associated with Mr. Hall. On the other hand the wisest of the now leaderless Greyites were getting every day less inclined to put their trust in Macandrew and Sheehan, and would gladly have followed the lead of such a consistent, clean-handed Liberal as Sir W. Fox. But Sir William himself never gave the Premiership a thought. His affections were set upon what he considered far more noble, and therefore more honourable work. He knew that he was doing justice and ensuring peace amongst the much wronged Maoris on the West Coast,

and he fondly hoped that he was helping the most philanthropic of his own countrymen to preserve, or to rescue those who were ready to perish from a destroyer they could not resist in their own unaided weakness. Mr. Hall, too, knew that an impassable gulf separated Sir William from the past or probable leaders of the so-called Liberal Party, and that he would never seek political success at the cost of moral degradation. On the mode of proceeding they often differed, and differed widely ; but on the great questions of political rectitude, of honourable trust and confidence, and what was practically the most liberal of all liberal questions, the right of women to the suffrage, they were ready to work, and either to triumph or to endure together, and often gave the most valuable, because the most unselfish and unsolicited, support to each other. Well might Mr. Stafford say that he longed for the return to the House of such an honourable opponent.

On June 9th, Mr. Hall laid on the table a despatch from the Secretary of State notifying that the order of knighthood had been conferred upon the Speaker, Mr. O'Rorke. Mr. Hall moved, and Mr. Macandrew seconded, that the despatch should be entered on the Journals of the House. In thanking the members of the House for their kind expressions on the subject, Sir Maurice O'Rorke said,—"I courted no titular distinction above my fellows. To be twice elected Speaker of this House, spontaneously and unanimously, was sufficient, and more than sufficient, to have satisfied any promptings of ambition that might have been harboured in my heart."

In defiance of a very distinct objection on the part both of Sir George Grey and of Mr. Hall, Sir Julius Vogel became a candidate for a seat in the British Parliament for Falmouth, and continued to act as Director of the New Zealand Agricultural Company, whilst still holding the position of Agent-General for New Zealand. As a candidate for Falmouth in the Conservative interest, he was defeated, and, when

ultimately compelled to make his choice between the Agent-Generalship and the Agricultural Company, he elected to give up the Agent-Generalship, and Sir F. Dillon-Bell was appointed in his place.

On Tuesday, June 8, which was the first day of sitting in the second week of the session, the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Dick, proposed the second reading of a Licensing Bill which proposed to repeal no less than forty-nine existing Licensing Acts and Ordinances, either Colonial or Provincial. It was probably the most knotty piece of legislation that Mr. Dick ever undertook at any period of his life, as the extreme Temperance party and the extreme Liquor interest were, perhaps, never so vehemently represented in the House before or since. It was, of course, impossible to satisfy either of the extreme parties; but Mr. Dick handled the subject with a great deal of cool judgment and good tempered forbearance; but it was not until the following year that he was able to pass a Bill, by a majority of forty-six to twenty-four, that was an improvement upon any of its predecessors, and remained for some years without material alteration, although annually more or less attacked.

On June 17th, the Treasurer proposed to go into Committee of Supply, and Sir George Grey proposed as an amendment, "That the financial proposals of the Government are not as a whole adapted to promote the welfare of New Zealand." The No-Confidence debate that followed was but a rather dreary repetition of former debates and party recriminations, and ended on July 1st in a division, giving 50 for the Government and 35 for the Opposition.

On the second day of the No-Confidence debate, the report of the Civil Service Commission was laid on the table of the House, and was referred to by most of the speakers as a proof of the possibility and necessity of a large reduction in the expenditure of the Civil Service. The boldest and most practical speech in the debate was made by Mr. Reader Wood. He suggested that twenty per cent should be deducted from all sala-

ries above £600, fifteen per cent on all above £300, and ten per cent on all above £180. He also proposed to abolish "Hansard," the Agent-Generalship, the payment to Chairmen of Committees; and to reduce the honorarium of M.H.R.'s by twenty-five, of M.L.C.'s by fifty per cent; and "that a large reduction be made in the staff of officers maintained in the various departments of Government." By this means he expected to reduce the annual expenditure by not less than £200,000; but he had not made sufficient allowance for the fact that far more than half a million spent on the Civil Service was paid in salaries under £200. Sir George Grey and most of his followers expressed their approval of Mr. Wood's proposals. In Committee of Supply, on August 27th, Mr. Wood succeeded in getting the vote for the Agent-General's department reduced from £4000 to £3000.

On Tuesday, July 6, Mr. Saunders proposed a uniform reduction of ten per cent on all salaries, and "that such public services as are not indispensable for the efficient conduct of the public business should be abolished." This motion was accepted by the Government and carried, without a division, after several amendments had been rejected, by about 49 to 36. This ten per cent reduction effected a saving of £100,000 a year, and the removal of useless officers, and the suppression of fraudulent practices pointed out by the Civil Service Commissioners, prevented the loss of another £30,000.

In debating the Railway Commissioners' Report, Mr. W. J. Hurst gave some important and interesting figures, in which he succeeded in making out a good claim for Auckland and in showing that the claim made by the four much abased Auckland Patriots, in the previous year, was well supported by official returns of the amount of borrowed money received, by each province, in proportion to its population. By these figures he proved that, in the distribution of fourteen and a half millions of borrowed money during the past nine years, Auckland had received £843,000, Canterbury £281,000,

and Nelson £231,000 less than their share, whilst Wellington had received £770,000, and Hawke's Bay £302,000 more than their population entitled them to receive.

Whilst there had been a falling off in the revenue from all other departments, the revenue from the Post Office, now again under Mr. Hall's able control, had improved to a remarkable extent. Whilst the expenditure had been lessened, the receipts had increased by £14,000, and the number of letters sent by nearly five and a half millions. Letters had increased thirty-four per cent., post-cards ninety-six per cent., and book packets fifty-one per cent. One hundred and sixty-three Post and Telegraph Offices had been amalgamated, and many other economies had been carefully and laboriously effected.

But, whilst Mr. Hall had been doing such excellent work in what he called his own department, it is impossible to resist the conviction that he had been tempted too often to follow his old habits of a departmental slave when he should have held himself free to control with a strong hand the clever old artificers who were supplanting him, and the inexperienced Ministers who were getting far too much of their own way in the all important, and yet the still utterly disorganised, departments of the Native Minister and the Minister of Public works, which had fallen into the utmost disorder and confusion under the incredible dissipation, the neglect and maladministration of Sheehan and Macandrew. The West Coast Commissioners had pointed out clearly enough what should be done at Parihaka, and the Civil Service Commissioners had left no possibility of any mistake as to what should be done with the Railways; but John Bryce was not a Donald McLean and Richard Olliver was not an Olliver Cromwell. Although they were both very good sort of men in their own way, they were both singularly unfit by intellect, by temperament, and by surrounding influences, for the kind of work now so clearly demanded from them. Mr. Bryce, especially when associated

with, and under the influence of, Major Atkinson, was far too obstinate and headstrong to acknowledge and repair the incredible injustice that had compelled the resistance of the patient Parihaka martyrs, and Richard Olliver, with far more than a common share of intelligence, with a great deal of methodical industry, and with every desire to be honest and just, could not forget that Dunedin was his constituency, that W. N. Blair was his personal friend, and that James Macandrew, with all the remarkable liberties he had taken with public money, was still the popular idol with the electors of Otago.

Directly Messrs Fox and Bell began to take evidence as Commissioners, they saw that the whole of the trouble at Parihaka had been caused by the cruel, stupid way in which the land, resided upon by the quiet, friendly Maoris for many years, and improved and cultivated by them as their own, with the consent and approval of Sir Donald McLean and several past Governments, had now, by the mere caprice of Messrs Sheehan, Bryce and Atkinson, been surveyed and advertised for sale, without any explanation being offered to the Maoris. So far from any attempt being made to allay their well-founded apprehensions, the surveyors and public officers all agreed that they had been instructed to offer no explanation and to make no promise whatever to Te Whiti or to his followers. Such being the case, the Commissioners at once sent a short, urgent report to the Governor, informing him that "the immediate cause of the ignominious end of the survey was the fact of no reserves having been made, whilst the Commissioner in charge of the district was ordered to tell the Maoris nothing about reserves. And when at last—after the surveyors had been turned off—it was hastily resolved to mark off some reserves upon the map, even this was done in Wellington and the Natives were never told of it; whilst what was then done was wholly inadequate to meet either their wishes or their wants." In a second report the same Commissioners inform the Governor, "To any one who has seen the

locality and is acquainted with the position of the existing settlements of the several tribes, it must be evident that there was but one right way, namely, that a large reserve should be made at the edge of the forest, including all the villages, cultivations and present improvements, with a few smaller reserves in the open country, such as those for Hone Pihama and Manaia, as well as burial places, fishing places and old pahs. If definite instructions had been given to Major Brown to survey and mark off such reserves on the ground, before commencing the sectional survey, no misunderstanding could have occurred, for his line of action would have been perfectly clear to him and understood by the Natives. It is remarkable that the absolute necessity of this work being done before the sectional surveys were commenced seems never to have been appreciated either by the Civil Commissioner or by any member of the Government, though, from various quarters, earnest remonstrances on the subject had long been pressed upon them. . . . At any moment, in all these years, the trouble north of Waingongoro would have vanished if, instead of talking about the right thing, any Minister had only set himself to do it. If any of us are tempted, as an easy way of escaping from reproach, to say that the fault is all Te Whiti's, we ought not to forget how our own records show that he never took up arms against us, but did his best, in all that time, to restrain from violence his unruly and turbulent tribe. To fill our jails with prisoners, not for crimes, but for a political offence, in which there is no sign of criminal intent, is not only a most harassing and perplexing process, but the worst of it is that it does not advance the one thing that is really wanted —peace upon the West Coast. As Mr. Bright has said, 'There is no statesmanship in mere acts of force and acts of repression,' such acts can only be justified on grounds of political necessity and self-defence, but even then they often stand in the way of the abolition of difficulties which wise statesmanship, if left to choose. would have solved in another way."

Such were the words of truth, humanity and wisdom penned by the Commissioners appointed by Mr. Hall and supported by hundreds of pages of evidence and historical facts which accompanied their well-considered reports. There is a great charm in the humility with which these hard tried and long experienced statesmen rank themselves amongst the erring rulers of the past. Sir William Fox was repeating, in 1880, the same brave defence of an innocent and persecuted Maori that he had gone through for Wiremu Kingi in 1860, and under remarkably similar circumstances. Mr. Bell was reversing the action that he had taken in 1863 in the Domett Ministry under the guidance of Russell and Whitaker; but there was evidently no division in their counsels now, and their power of work was still something wonderful. They were growing in popularity and influence. The parliamentary Opposition naturally took up the report of the Premier's own Commissioners, and asked why so little attention was being paid to their advice. The Opposition press found the facts collected and verified by the Commissioners most helpful to them in condemning Mr. Bryce's Native policy. But the same power behind the Ministry which had commanded Domett and misled Bell and Fox in the past, was now misleading Mr. Bryce; and Major Atkinson was always Mr. Whitaker's willing agent. Mr. Sheehan, too, had now become a business agent for Mr. Whitaker, and must have felt grateful to Mr. Bryce for the extremely lenient manner in which he had treated his defalcations and his barefaced, unauthorised expenditure. The Ministry was about equally divided, with the strongest wills on the side of physical force; so that physical force still had its own way. In September, about a month after the third report of the West Coast Commissioners had been received, Mr. Bryce resigned, but was persuaded to withdraw his resignation, and thus came back with somewhat increased support and authority.

On November 24th, the new Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, arrived in Auckland, where he was met by the

much harassed Premier, who, no doubt, did his best to make the new Governor understand and approve of the treatment accorded to Te Whiti and his followers by his Government; but he never succeeded in making Sir Arthur believe what he probably did not believe himself, and what was so distinctly at variance with the report and the advice of the Commissioners which Mr. Hall had himself appointed. The Governor carefully and industriously collected all the information he could obtain from his constitutional advisers, from their West Coast Commissioners, and from the speeches of the Opposition; but nothing ever satisfied him that it could have been necessary to treat such a man as Te Whiti in the manner he was being treated. Soon after the Premier's interview with Sir Arthur Gordon, rumours were circulated that a more conciliatory policy was to be adopted towards Te Whiti, but that Mr. Bryce had threatened to resign his position as Native Minister unless he was allowed at once to take an armed force to Parihaka and to bring matters to a close with Te Whiti. Meantime many of the ploughmen were liberated, and, at the beginning of the new year, Mr. Bryce resigned.

Mr. Rolleston was appointed to take Mr. Bryce's place, and, as Sir W. Fox also received additional assistance and additional authority as sole West Coast Commissioner, there was, for a time, reason to hope that the West Coast Commissioners' Report would be adopted without any further parade of armed forces in a district where the Maoris remained unarmed, and had done nothing more than demand to be treated with consideration and justice in the retention of their own land, the right to which they had never forfeited by any act of rebellion.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to point to any Quaker, or to any body of Quakers, who have so consistently carried out their peace principles under such extreme provocations as those inflicted upon Te Whiti and his followers for something like twenty years. Never in rebellion, but restraining thousands of his own

countrymen from violence, he was entitled by innumerable promises, and by every principle of honesty to be left in undisturbed possession of the land of his fathers, and to be respected and trusted as his consistent actions deserved. Yet his very homes and villages were surveyed and advertised for sale without consulting him, and no assurance given to him that any land would be left to him or his peaceful followers. His reasonable enquiries on a subject of such vital importance to him were treated with silent contempt, soldiers were employed to harass him, his own food was consumed by them, 45 acres of potatoes were destroyed, his women and children were insulted, his heirlooms and his money were stolen, his people were imprisoned, and yet he raised not an arm in resistance, purchased neither arms nor ammunition, but still preached peace and passive endurance. Sir William Fox and Sir Dillon Bell had reported plainly enough that the only thing necessary to ensure continued peace at Parihaka was to do justice and to keep faith. Sir William Fox was still in the Parliament and on the seat of the Commissioner proclaiming that nothing but the barest honesty was necessary to ensure continued peace; but Mr. Bryce would insist upon leading soldiers to Parihaka, keeping 400 peaceful men in prison, and leaving their families to starve or beg.

Whilst all this was going on, we find the new Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, engaged, as his first and most important duty, in collecting information about Te Whiti and his followers to send to England at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a long despatch, dated February 26th, 1881, containing sixteen pages of printed foolscap, the proceedings, both of Te Whiti and of the Government, are very fully and impartially described. Of Te Whiti, Sir Arthur Gordon says:—"Te Whiti, though himself a chief, is not one of the highest rank, and owes his power mainly to his individual qualities. He was one of those who had declined to take part against the Government in 1865, though many, if not most of his tribe, did so. In

1868, he successfully used his already large influence to keep back those who were under its authority from joining the outbreak under Titokowaru, during the whole continuance of which, he and his people remained quiet at Parihaka. The next ten years witnessed the rapid growth and development of his influence. Educated by a Lutheran Missionary, and deeply versed in the Scriptures, he has, nevertheless, whilst professing not to have abandoned the Christian faith, preached a vague and mystical religion of which he is himself the prophet. Eloquent and subtle, and animated by an unquestionably earnest patriotism, he has, for many years, exercised a powerful, and for the most part, a beneficial sway over the hearts and lives, not only of his own tribe, but of a large section of the Maori population. Where his influence extends drunkenness is unknown, industry is exacted, and peace sedulously inculcated."

It is easy to understand how Mr. Sheehan had delighted himself in exasperating, beyond human endurance, a leader in virtue, and a teacher and example of the highest code of morality, who had, in the most outspoken manner, condemned the bad example set to his followers by Mr. Sheehan; but it is not easy to understand how Mr. Hall, with Sir William Fox at his elbow, could choose to go on destroying his health with mere office drudgery, and leave Mr. Bryce to treat Te Whiti with such manifest injustice, and Mr. Olliver to lightly pass over such real felonies as those brought to light by the fictitious railway waggons built in Dunedin, which he ought to have discovered himself long before they were discovered for him by the Civil Service Commission, and to have punished with a rigour that would have proved a terror to evil-doers.

But what is most incomprehensible is, that whilst the whole Ministry and the whole Colony were sounding the praises of the West Coast Commissioners and their able reports, the very Government that had appointed the Commissioners obstinately refused to act upon their first and principal recommendation, which was that all danger of any collision with

the Maoris should, from the first, have been obviated by surveying a large reserve at the edge of the forest, including all their villages, cultivations and improvements, and pointing the same out to the Maoris as securely theirs before any other surveys had been attempted, This was all that was needed at any time to restore perfectly peaceful and friendly relations. But this was not sufficiently high-handed for Mr. Bryce. The Queen, and not Te Whiti, must be obeyed, without cavil, question, or stipulation, and the Queen, in this case, meant Mr. Bryce. The noble patriot, who valued the land of his people more than his own liberty or his life, was not to be heard on the subject in which he was the principal party concerned. With all that he had seen of the treatment of Wiremu Kingi and Tamahana, he was to believe that a European Minister could do no wrong, and that his duty was simply to accept with gratitude whatever portion of their own land Mr. Bryce might hereafter think proper to confer upon his people. And for this wretched piece of contemptible pride, thousands of men and women were to be driven from the home of their choice, contrary to the laws of the Colony and the laws of humanity: an unknown amount of blood was to be shed; the Treaty of Waitangi was to be trodden in the dust; the revenue and the reputation of the Colony were to be thrown away; and the gaols of New Zealand to be filled with the brave patriots who faithfully obeyed their virtuous and beloved chief, and sincerely believed that they were serving their children, their country, and their God, in refusing to run away from the land from which they had recently learned to obtain a subsistence in strict conformity with the habits of civilisation, the dictates of humanity, and the precepts of the Gospel.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Arrest and Imprisonment of Te Whiti.

Mr. Bryce has failed to provoke a sturdy opponent into rebellion. He has prevailed with a strong disciplined, well equipped force against an unarmed, peaceably disposed crowd of inferior numbers. He has helped to insult the Queen's representative He has instituted a policy of compensation which is simply robbery without reason, and extortion without the shadow of justice.—*Canterbury Times*, March 11, 1882.

On September 15, 1881, William Sefton Moorhouse died at his residence in Wellington. On that afternoon the Premier proposed the usual adjournment of the House on the death of a member, and placed the Government steamer "Stella" at the disposal of his friends to convey his remains to Christchurch. The funeral took place on the following Saturday, when his body was laid in a quiet country churchyard. The funeral procession was long, and was composed of mourners of all classes and of many shades of opinion; but it was not so long nor so impressive as it would have been if the bold leader of the boldest financial undertakings had died fifteen years sooner; as his fame rested entirely upon his early public ventures, and the later years of his public life were years of little activity, enterprise or success. As a very adventur-

ous, and a very sanguine borrower and spender of the public money, he will always rank with his simultaneously popular contemporaries, Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. James Macandrew, and, like them, he at one time commanded a far greater amount of popularity and applause than has ever been given by the New Zealand public to men of a far higher stamp, to far more unselfish patriots, to men of more self-control, of greater ability, or more reliable judgment, and more trustworthy integrity.

It is not easy to say with certainty what Mr. Rolleston's views at this time, as to the treatment of Te Whiti, really were; but it is pretty certain that he was one of the Ministers in the Hall Government who, at that time, had not gone far enough in the adoption of physical force to please Mr. Bryce, although he afterwards accompanied Mr. Bryce at the arrest of Te Whiti; and, a few days after that, when addressing his constituents, defended all Mr. Bryce's actions. In some respects, Mr. Rolleston was the Halifax of the Hall Ministry. Like Halifax, he was not a "trimmer" in the reprehensible sense of that word; but, like that really great man, he was the most profound thinker, the most highly educated, the best read, and the most experienced and well-informed Minister upon practical political questions; so that he saw, and was not infrequently bewildered with the weighty pros and cons on each side. After carefully and ably weighing both sides of a question he not infrequently resigned himself to a mere party lead, and found himself, with his eyes open, following inferior men who saw but little, and who cared to see nothing that would not contribute to their party interests. Thus, with the strongest convictions as to the value and importance of local self-government, he accepted a seat in a Ministry led by its most active and avowed opponents. With the most extreme views on the inalienable right of all to a share in the land upon which all must depend, and even whilst devising and carrying out the best practical measures in that direction, he continued to hold office with the men who had

thrown the most and the best land of the Colony into the hands of a few wealthy monopolists. Whilst propounding and holding some of the most advanced and lofty views on the subject of National education, like Burke, he goes on refining, but he has never boldly and heartily joined in the great practical essential of success, in removing the denominational element, which has ever proved the bane of all true progress in that direction. As a party man he puts no limit on his loyalty to his colleagues: so that his association with, and defence of, Mr. Bryce, in his treatment of Te Whiti, cannot be safely taken as an indication that he really approved of the action then taken, or even that he had not given his voice in the cabinet against it. The same habit of prolonged intellectual investigation which gave Mr. Rolleston only a secondary place in the Ministry often gave him only a secondary place as a debater. His fastidious determination to say exactly the right thing in exactly the right words made him usually hesitate over the selection until the main effect of his speech was spoiled; so that it was only on the few occasions on which he was sufficiently excited to risk some inaccuracy that he spoke really well. As a writer or conversationalist, he was effective, interesting, and very original.

On March 23rd, Mr. Bryce addressed his constituents at Wanganui, and explained to them his reasons for leaving the Ministry. These reasons, which we give in his own words, were—"I am now coming to the point of divergence between myself and the majority of the Cabinet. What I ought to have been permitted to do at that time was to have paid a visit to Te Whiti. I ought to have gone and seen him with such a force at my back as would have commanded respect. I ought to have gone, in point of fact, with as large a force of the Armed Constabulary as could have been collected together, and I ought to have said this to Te Whiti, 'This is a very small country, too small to hold two separate authorities. If you are the man of sense some people suppose you to be, you will see that for yourself,

and you will also see which of the two authorities must prevail. Either the Queen or you must prevail, and I must see that the authority of the law shall from this time forth prevail at Parihaka as well as elsewhere.' . . . . . I do not think he would have resisted; he would have seen perfectly well that his means of resistance were too weak, and that our power was too strong. He would have known as well as I know that within ten days I could have concentrated two thousand men upon him, and another one thousand within another ten days, and he would not for a moment have entertained the slightest idea of resistance. . . If he had resisted I should have arrested him, and that, I believe, would have been the best thing which could have happened for the solution of the West Coast difficulty. . . I believe the idea of negotiating with Te Whiti to be perfectly preposterous."

But it was not in his Cabinet only that Mr. Hall was pressed on by this high-handed British, or, as Sir William Fox called it, "bulldoggish" talk. Mr. Sheehan, and even Sir George Grey, now heartily and eloquently supported what they now called the "firm and vigorous policy" of Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Macandrew, who had so vigorously and unmistakably denounced the land seizure and the war policy of the Stafford Government in 1868, had no sooner become Minister of Public Works in the Grey Government in 1878 than he became the most reckless advocate for seizing Maori land by force to provide the funds for his reckless expenditure.

On May 22nd, 1878, Mr. Macandrew submitted the following characteristic Minute to the Grey Cabinet —"I desire to submit to the Cabinet the expediency of there being no further delay in taking the necessary action towards surveying for settlement and disposing of the Waimate block. In my opinion the Government has shown great remissness in not having this land in the market now. It would have placed us in funds to a very large extent, and enabled public works to be carried on so far irrespective of loan. I know that there

are numerous purchasers prepared to occupy and turn to account this land at once, and to pay a good price for it. My belief is that it will place in the Treasury close on half a million sterling."

After an ostentatious, although a half reluctant and a not very complete, retirement, for some nine or ten months, from the Hall Ministry, Mr. Bryce was warmly welcomed back by at least a portion of his late colleagues, with permission to go to work in his own way, to take two or three thousand armed men to Parihaka, to disarm the unarmed Maoris, and to arrest the unarmed prophet, who had for years expressed his desire to be arrested, or even to be crucified, if, by such a sacrifice, he could secure anything like justice to the Maoris who had loved him so well and obeyed him so implicitly.

It was probably without any desire on his part to be hereafter remembered as the Guy Fawkes of New Zealand, that Mr. Bryce selected the fifth of November as the day upon which he would deprive the Parihaka Maoris of their loved and trusted leaders; but, a little before 7 a.m. on the morning of that day, the military bands were heard, and some sixteen or seventeen hundred armed men came marching from different directions to surround the unarmed Maoris who had been strictly enjoined by their leaders not to resist or retaliate, whatever provocation they might receive. Early in the warm Summer morning, and long before the armed men had begun to march, Te Whiti and Tohu both addressed something like 2500 men, women and children, enjoining them not to resist even if bayonets were presented to their breasts. They were not to strike, even with a stick. As an improvement upon their usual practice of sending their women foremost as a proof of their determinedly peaceful intention, they, on this occasion, sent about two hundred children, from eight to fourteen years of age, to meet and dance in front of the armed men as they came up. This the children did in a style which proved they must have been well-trained for the purpose. Nothing could have been more touch-

ing or irresistible as a declaration of peace. As Mr. Bryce and his staff came up, the children turned their special attention to them with the most hearty confidence and good humour, and with the most ludicrous effect. Mr. Rolleston, who was on foot, showed by his happy, expressive face, how completely he appreciated the humour and pathos of the whole design; but Mr. Bryce, who was mounted on an old white horse, which looked as care-worn and unhappy as his rider, was evidently more annoyed than mollified by the clever exhibition of humanity before him. He was still more provoked when he learned that the Maori women had provided five hundred loaves of bread with which to feed his army, and most peremptorily ordered that they should not be accepted.

The troops gradually surrounded the Maoris, who were sitting on the ground very close together. The elder Maoris, especially the elder women, looked very anxious; but the young persons generally looked remarkably happy, and some of the girls, where they could get room, were playing with their skipping ropes.

Major Tuke was now instructed to read the Riot Act, calling on all Maoris to disperse. The Act was duly translated by Mr. Butler, but it was still utterly incomprehensible to the Maoris, who heard nothing in it applicable to their case; so that they all sat perfectly still and called upon any stray friends to keep closer together. All tongues were silent, but all eyes were directed to Te Whiti, who sat calmly in their midst. A single wave of his hand would have dispersed or collected them all; but they saw no terror in the English Riot Act, even when translated into Maori. After some time Tohu again addressed his people, saying: "Let the man who has raised the war do his work this day. Let no man or woman cook stir. We have taken food, let none of us stir, lest any of us be absent. Be patient and steadfast, and even if the bayonet comes to your breast, do not resist."

Ninety-five picked men had been told off as an arresting party, armed with loaded revolvers and hand-

cuffs. They were instructed to be firm, but to use no unnecessary violence; but, if any Maori flashed a tomahawk, they were to shoot him down instantly.

A little before noon, one of the interpreters, Mr. Hursthouse, was instructed to call upon Te Whiti to come and stand before Mr. Bryce. Te Whiti replied that it was not his business to go and stand before Mr. Bryce; but, if they wanted to talk to him, Messrs. Bryce and Rolleston must come to him. Mr. Bryce insisted that Te Whiti should come to him; but Te Whiti calmly and politely refused to leave his position, saying, "I have nothing but good words for Mr. Bryce or any one else."

Mr. Bryce: "From your good wishes I feel inclined to humour your wish to come and see you. Clear a good road, therefore, for the passage of my horse through your people and I will come to you."

Te Whiti: "But some of my children might get hurt."

Mr. Bryce: "No, this is a quiet horse."

Te Whiti: "I do not think it good that you should come on horseback through my crowded children. If you want to talk to me you must come on foot."

Mr. Bryce: "The days of talking are over."

Te Whiti: "When did you find that out?"

Mr. Bryce: "Since this morning."

Te Whiti: "Then I need say no more."

Colonel Roberts then joined the arresting party and ordered them to advance. The Maoris, with some difficulty, cleared a passage for them to advance to where Te Whiti sat. As one of the armed men took hold of him, Colonel Roberts said, "Let him walk if he will." Te Whiti walked quietly between four constables, followed closely by his wife. After their arrest Te Whiti and Tohu were allowed to speak to their people. Te Whiti said, "This is not my work, but comes from the hearts of the Europeans. I have sought for peace, but the Europeans have sought for war; but our peaceful conduct has frustrated their intentions this day. Make no resistance. Let your dwellings be

good in this place. Keep your spirits up, and keep to your whares. I will be with you again." Tohu said: "This is the doing of those who want war. Be not sorry that we are torn away from you. Even this is better than war. We have sought peace; but the Europeans will not have peace. Be steadfast, give heed to peaceful words. Be not discouraged. Have no fear." As they passed away with their bright faces a Maori woman was heard to say to her weeping friends, "Why are you sorry? Look, they are laughing as they go away with the Europeans." Te Whiti and Tohu were taken to the redoubt at Pungarehu, under an escort of New Plymouth Mounted Rifles.

The main body of Maoris still sat on the ground and, after Te Whiti and Tohu had left, they were addressed by Kina, a very old Taranaki Chief, who had witnessed the mal-treatment of Wiremu Kingi by Governor Browne. He said, "Remember the peaceful words of the great men who are now taken from you, and do as they have always told you to do, shed no blood, seek no revenge, but, even if we are all arrested, don't remove from the land of our ancestors, and the land on which we have so long sought and obtained a peaceful though humble means of existence."

Mr. Bryce's first care had been to exclude all reporters and special correspondents from the scene of his operations, but all his arbitrary efforts in that direction were treated with derision, and were completely frustrated. The Maoris were just as anxious that everything should be reported, and showed much skill in supplying means of concealment to the men whose arrest had been so peremptorily ordered. So that Mr. Bryce and his white horse could, on that day, do nothing, however absurd, that was not very fully reported, with sundry additions which his foolish attempts at concealment so naturally provoked. Some few correspondents were arrested in the morning and retained for the day, but such a common enemy only made the whole fraternity of press men form a systematic organisation to collect everything that was worth col-

lecting or correcting, and caused the total co-operative result to be more than usually reliable.

After the arrest of the two great chiefs, constable Mulholland was ordered to arrest the long sought for Heroki, the murderer of McLean. It is difficult to understand how Heroki could have been so foolish as to be there at such a time, but he probably relied upon receiving the benefit of Te Whiti's extraordinary influence, or perhaps expected some exhibition of the prophet's miraculous power. Be that as it may he was there, and Mulholland, who knew him well, and had often chased him in vain, now arrested him without resistance and marched him in hand-cuffs to gaol. What we may call the political prisoners, together with Te Whiti's wife and a niece who accompanied her, were driven to the Pungarehu blockhouse. The ladies were brought back on the following morning by Te Whiti's nephew. On that Sunday morning the aspect of affairs at Parihaka was very much changed. The excitement so apparent in the Maoris' faces on the previous day had quite disappeared. Still surrounded with the armed constabulary, they no longer kept close together, but men and women, boys and girls, formed into groups, looking gloomy, weary, and anxious. Mr. Bryce and his white horse had gone into Sunday quarters and it was by no means clear what he intended to do next. The women had sent food to the soldiers on Saturday evening, but they were not allowed to accept it, so that it was now available for home consumption, and the girls and women were consequently less active than usual, and much less active than they had expected to be.

On the Monday the winds blew and the rains descended from morning to evening, driving the Maoris to their whares, and making the volunteers realise how much the pleasure of camp life depended on fine weather.

On Tuesday morning the rain had ceased and Mr. Bryce and his white horse were at work early. His first act, his proclamations and his placards had all

been treated with silent contempt, so that he looked angry and his press friends confidently reported that he was going to pull down the Maori huts or to set fire to them, but his first business was to search for fire arms and ammunition. He had already received more than ample proof that Te Whiti had all along been a remarkably consistent apostle of peace, and had provided no means either for armed aggression or for armed defence. Not a single Maori had entitled himself to be shot down by swinging even a tomahawk. But, unlike their forefathers, they depended for their meat supply upon wild game and wild pigs, and a few of them were so fortunate as to rejoice in a double-barrelled gun, a shot belt and a powder flask. Of these they were now to be deprived, and the bearers of the ninety-five revolvers and handcuffs were ordered to enter every whare and bring forth every article of that kind that could be found in the humble dwellings of these peaceful farmers. But after a search, accompanied with every possible aggravation, about two hundred guns were found with an extremely meagre supply of ammunition. Two express waggons were loaded with the produce of this cruel, unprovoked robbery, and were escorted to Pungarehu by the mounted rifles.

A correspondent of the "Lyttelton Times," writing an article at that date, says, "In one of the whares which had been searched a Maori woman found a watch, and thinking that it belonged to one of the searching party, she at once brought it to an officer. None of the party had lost a watch, so that it was returned to the whare. It was truly pitiable to see the Maoris calmly and patiently looking on while their whares were being rifled. In Tohu's whare a large cupboard was found locked, and was at once broken open, expecting to find it stored with gunpowder, but none was found!" The Maoris asserted that, besides the wanton destruction and confusion, at least £300 worth of coin and greenstone had disappeared, whilst a large number of their pigs had been killed and eaten.

The same correspondent, on the same day reports Mr. Bryce as addressing the Maoris in these words: "You people belonging to Wanganui, return to your own tribal lands, to the place that you come from. You Ngararuas, return to your tribal lands. All you people from distant places return to your homes, every one of you, that this place may be cleared for the people who own it by ancestral title." The Maoris took not the slightest notice of this speech. Mr. Bryce waited for five minutes, then called out "Go away, all of you. Pack up your belongings, go and leave this place." Again the Maoris took no notice, not one of them even turned his head to look at the speaker. After the lapse of another five minutes, Mr. Bryce ordered Colonel Roberts to "carry out his instructions."

The newspaper correspondents came to the conclusion that the "instructions" alluded to by Mr. Bryce meant pulling down the whares of the Maoris who could not be moved by words. In the afternoon two companies of the armed constabulary were ordered to pile arms, and stood waiting for further orders, when Mr. Bryce and Mr. Rolleston were seen to be in earnest conversation, and soon all hands were ordered to return to the camp. The conclusion of the correspondents was that either the Ministry or the Governor had forbidden Mr. Bryce to destroy the Maori dwellings. But this may or may not have been the real state of the case. The only thing certain is that Mr. Bryce was not a favourite with the pressmen generally, and especially not so with the Parihaka correspondent for the "Lyttelton Times."

As the Maoris would take no notice of his orders, Mr. Bryce decided to arrest individually all the men and women whom he wished to send away from Parihaka. This proceeding kept him employed for several days, and was no doubt a very distinct violation of the laws which we value for our own protection, and to which these natives were equally entitled to appeal.

On Saturday, Nov. 12, Te Whiti and Tohu were sent to New Plymouth in an express waggon, escorted

by the Taranaki mounted rifles. They left Pungarehu at 4 a.m., and arrived at New Plymouth jail at 9 a.m.; they were brought up to the Court-house at 10.30 a.m., but the case was adjourned until 2 p.m. The bench was occupied by the Resident Magistrate and nine J.P.'s, including Mr. Paris, who would have done well not to have been there at all, or certainly not to have taken the prominent part which he did take, as the Maoris knew that he was as ready to serve Mr. Bryce now as he had been to serve Mr. C. W. Richmond in his cruel and unjust persecution of Wiremu Kingi twenty years ago. Te Whiti had refused to hear him at Parihaka, and would not allow him to address the Maoris on his premises. No man, with any proper sense of justice or of fair play, would have chosen to sit on the Bench as a Government servant, and to put leading questions to the Government witnesses, who were assisted by two Government lawyers, against two prisoners who had no counsel, no witnesses, and no friends or admirers in that small crowded court-house. But not content even with doing that, Mr. Paris had the bad taste to give evidence from the Bench against the prisoners, without being sworn, or without giving them any opportunity to cross-question him. Te Whiti had offended him at Parihaka by telling him that even pig-dogs did not go to hunt pigs unless their master was with them, so that his one-sided action did his employers as little good on this occasion as it had done in the case of Wiremu Kingi twenty years before. But nothing could have more forcibly brought out one important truth, or have more completely refuted one of the oft-repeated statements of Mr. Sheehan and of Mr. Bryce, than the evidence given by the Government witnesses in reply to the leading questions of the Government Magistrate. The two first and the principal witnesses against the prisoners were Messrs. Hursthouse and Carrington, who were both described as licensed Government interpreters, and both distinctly and emphatically stated that so far as they knew the Maoris had no means of knowing what land, or that any

land had been reserved for them, whilst the action of the surveyors necessarily gave them the impression that their cultivations and homesteads were to be sold.

In reply to the Crown lawyers, who asked him if the 25,000 acres reserved by the Government for the use of the Maoris had ever been shown to them, Mr. Hursthouse replied, "Not that I know of;" and Mr. Carrington said, "I have never heard that the land described in the Proclamation as reserved for the Natives has been shown or described to Te Whiti." After this statement, Mr. Paris, from the Bench, asked Mr. Carrington, "Were you not supplied with a plan showing the land that had been reserved for the Natives, and were you not instructed to show the boundaries to the Natives?"

Mr. Carrington: "Certainly not."

Mr. Paris: "Remember you are on your oath."

Mr. Carrington: "I know that you need not remind me of it."

Mr. Paris: "A plan was made out by Mr. Humpheries, the Chief Surveyor, showing the reserve, and given to you."

Mr. Carrington: "I received a plan of the reserves, but it was given to me for the purpose of finding what Maoris were cultivating portions of the land coloured on the plan. I did not understand that I was to point out the boundaries of the reserves to the Natives, or I should have done so."

Mr. Paris: "Have the 25,000 acres ever been defined or pointed out?"

Mr. Carrington: "Not that I know of."

Mr. Paris: "Were you not aware by the map that a portion of the land seaward of the Pungarehu was reserved for the Natives?"

Mr. Carrington: "I understood that without the map."

Mr. Paris: "And yet you never explained?"

Mr. Carrington: "Certainly not."

Mr. Paris: "Well, I recollect giving you the instructions myself."

Mr. Carrington: "I was never told to point out the boundaries to the Natives. It was altogether out of my line."

Not a single witness was found to assert that Te Whiti had ever been shown any definite reserves set apart for his tribe.

The second day's examination lasted from 11 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Some time before it was over it was evident that Te Whiti was ill. With coarse, savage brutality, which must ever be a reproach to Mr. Bryce, Te Whiti and Tohu had already been treated as ordinary criminals, and clothed in prison garments, and for more than a week had been without the solace of their accustomed pipe. They had now for seven hours been breathing the foul atmosphere of a densely crowded room, which had produced the natural effect upon Te Whiti's fine, sensitive temperament, and completely prostrated his intellectual power. When called for his defence, he said, "It is night now, and not the time for speaking; I am tired." The Crown Prosecutor at once consented to adjourn the Court until 10.30 the next morning. Te Whiti's pleasant voice, his calm, good judgment, and his dignified, gentlemanly manner, had already secured him many admirers, even in Taranaki, so that before he was taken from the Courthouse, he was surrounded by J.P.'s and Visiting Justices, who at once consented to the restoration of his beloved pipe, and some other indulgences, but still the abominable prison dress was continued. His own countrymen, who had no opportunity to speak to him, rubbed their hands with glee, and exclaimed in their own language, even that cursed brown prison dress could not prevent him from being every inch a gentleman.

Both prisoners must have felt that they had nothing to answer. The very Government servants who had been put in the witness box against them had charged them with nothing which they could understand to be a crime—had, in fact, only proved how real their injuries and provocations had been, and how entirely unjustified was the reiterated assertion that the

land recommended by the West Coast Commissioners had ever really been offered to them. Thus the crowd which came on Tuesday morning expecting to hear a specimen of Te Whiti's eloquence was much disappointed, although there was not a little real eloquence, even in the translation of the few simple, unpretentious, truthful, and yet all-sufficient facts which he stated. Te Whiti was still looking languid and weak, but he spoke calmly and without any confusion or effort. He evidently thought that if what was proved against him was a crime, it was a crime which he could not understand. His words were something like these:—

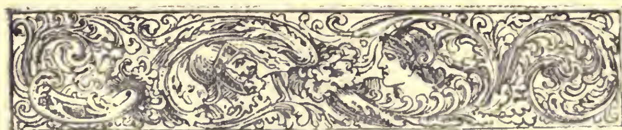
"I have very little to say about the land. We have been told that the whole of the land belongs to the Government, or to any person who can pay the Government for it. So far as I know we have been offered no part of it. If we are to live peaceably and quietly we cannot live without land. We have thought that we were living on our own land. We have been staying on the land ever since the war was over, and neither during the war, nor since, have we done anything to forfeit it. McLean told us to fence and build and cultivate, and let our fighting in future be with the land, and that we might be sure that the land was ours. We have done this, and now the land is surveyed, and sold, or advertised for sale. We have not put food in to cause a quarrel. We have put food in to sustain us up to the present time. It is my sincere wish that no evil should come either to Pakehas or Maoris. My wish is for the whole of us to live happily on the land. I have never wished to do evil or to kill any one up to the present time. My wish is for the whole of us to live happily on the land, but we cannot live without it. That is my wish. That is the way I have addressed the Maoris. That is all I have to say."

Tohu merely said: "My case is the same as Te Whiti's, and what he has said will apply to me as truly as it applies to Te Whiti."

The Resident Magistrate then said, "You are committed to the Common Gaol at New Plymouth, there

to be safely kept until you shall be thence delivered by the due course of law."

If such men were to be committed to any gaol at all, the common gaol at New Plymouth was certainly the worst place that could be found for their retention. The gaol itself was a miserably small, incomplete structure; the residents of New Plymouth had suffered so much in the long Maori war that they could not be expected to judge calmly and impartially of the accused Maori agitators, and the proximity to their own land, and to their own people, made it evidently impossible to give the purely political prisoners the same indulgence, and the same liberty that might so safely be accorded to them in the South Island, and which was actually accorded to them some five months later, when they were conveyed to Canterbury, where their prison garb was at once pronounced to be "a monstrous indignity," and was at once discontinued. It is pleasant to be able to add that, after their removal to the South Island, these remarkably harmless patriots were treated with far more leniency and consideration, and their condition made less intolerable by the well-earned, hearty good will of those with whom they came in contact. They were treated to a daily ramble, and allowed to visit the Industrial Exhibition of 1882, the Museum, and the various objects of interest that were within their reach. The more they were indulged the more evident it became that they could safely have been entrusted on parole. Although lawyers were engaged and paid on both sides, the patricts were never brought to a trial,—nothing they had ever done could be tortured into a legal crime, even with the help of a hostile Ministry, so that after months of unjustifiable incarceration, they were restored as quietly as possible to the land, to their families, and to the people from whom they had been so unwarrantably, and so heartlessly severed.



CHAPTER LXXIV.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the most unprincipled public men who have taken part in affairs within our memory would, if tried by the standard which was in fashion during the latter part of the seventeenth century, deserve to be regarded as scrupulous and disinterested. —Macaulay.

On November 8th, on the very day that Mr. Bryce was so harshly invading the humble cottages, and collecting the fowling pieces and powder-horns at Parihaka, the seventh Parliament of New Zealand was dissolved by Proclamation. On the same day Writs were issued for the election of a new Parliament, nominally summoned to meet on December 22nd. Few general elections have been so uninteresting upon the whole as the election which followed. Neither the supporters, nor the opponents of the Government could feel proud of the part they had lately played, nor at all sure of the unanimity, the consistency, or the wisdom of their leaders. The total result of Mr. Bryce's raid upon Parihaka, the dance of the children, the meek submission and surrender of the chieftains, the absence of arms and ammunition, after such a heartless, reckless, irritating violation of their homes, or of any kind of evidence that there had ever been any danger to be apprehended, or any real difficulty to be dealt with, had made the clumsy, ostenta-

tious introduction of Mr. Bryce's army as ridiculous as the production of a steam-hammer to crack a hazel nut, and had shown, not only to New Zealand, but to England, how much more correctly the Governor had estimated the harmless simplicity of the position than the majority of his Ministers had done.

On the other hand, Sir George Grey, Sir Robert Stout, Mr. Macandrew, Mr. Moss, and Mr. Montgomery had all taken diverse views as to what should be the policy of the Opposition, and had, for the most part, not dared to uphold any consistent, responsible position in opposition to Mr. Bryce ; whilst Sir George Grey and Mr. Sheehan were actually approving of his actions. There was thus a general and complete want of simple, truthful, patriotic opposition to Mr. Bryce's plans, even by those who least believed in what he had done and was still doing.

Some few days before the Writs were issued, the Treasurer, Major Atkinson, made a characteristic speech to his constituents, in which he appealed to Taranaki prejudices with great success. Sir George Grey followed at Auckland East with one of the most unstatesmanlike, inconsistent speeches he ever made, but in which he said a few long-remembered things, such as, " Whilst in office I was hampered by my colleagues and by my party, but, out of office, I can bring in Bills which I entirely believe in. To understand Mr. Bryce you should read the History of Ancient Rome, to see a complete parallel to what is now going on. There is still the same love of power, of office, of gladiatorial combats. These ancient rulers, before an election, got up a war, or disturbance of some kind, because in the general excitement the people forgot all about their liberties, their revenues, and their self-government. A number of good measures had been thrown out by the Lords—the Lord deliver us from such Lords."

Although destined to be defeated by a very weak opponent, and by the smallest possible majority, Mr. Ballance was early at work addressing the electors of Wanganui. His speeches were able and thoughtful, and

contained an outline of the progressive land tax which he was destined to place on the Statute Book some ten years later, but the utterly disorganised condition of his party told very much against his re-election, and he had committed himself almost as recklessly as Mr. Macandrew to the approval of Mr. Sheehan's unjustifiable proceedings with the Parihaka land sales. Still, the candidate who kept him out of Parliament, without being able to do his work, will always have a great deal to answer for to the people of New Zealand.

Although successful, Mr. Rolleston had to pass through the first doubtful and unpleasant election he had, up to that time, experienced. He found that he had lost much of the steady confidence which he had for fourteen years enjoyed in the Avon electoral district. Railway tariffs, and railway routes, were exciting rather a wild local interest at the time, while his responsibility as a Minister, and his loyalty as a partisan, would not allow him to promise all that the excitement of the passing moment required from him. At the same time he was severely, and very ably taken to task for his support of Mr. Bryce in the treatment of Te Whiti, by the sincere, well-meaning, philanthropic Bishop of Nelson, Dr. Suter, and by the ablest lawyer, and one of the ablest debaters in New Zealand, the Hon. Robert Stout. But none of Mr. Hall's colleagues were defeated at this general election, although two of his late colleagues, Messrs. George McLean and Richard Olliver did not venture to contest an election, but were prudently transferred by the Government to the Legislative Council.

By far the most important speech to the electors, on that speech-making December, was the speech of the Premier, addressed to what Sir George Grey was always delighted to call "the Premier's Leeston Bumpkins," although there were very few more intelligent, or more independent constituents in the Colony. The speech was a model exhibition of systematic industry ; had been most laboriously prepared, judiciously delivered, and was reported, and widely published regardless of ex-

pense. But its greatest merit was that it was the only speech ever made by a Premier of New Zealand in which it was truthfully stated that the expenditure upon the Civil Service for the last year for which he was responsible, was very much less than that of the last year for which his predecessors were responsible. The total reduction claimed on all services was £300,000, but that was an exaggeration arrived at by the mystification and manipulation of figures which New Zealand Colonial Treasurers, since the days of Vogel, knew so well how to put in operation. But even if we take it at half that amount, or at any amount at all, Mr. Hall has the honour of being the only New Zealand Premier who has ever effected a real reduction in the annual expenditure upon the Civil Service during his term of office. But no one can claim that the speech was not a strong party speech, or that it was not made by a strong party man. So that whilst it proclaimed some very important truths, that were highly creditable to his Government, it kept back some important sins of omission or commission that a historian must place on the other side of the scale.

The partial statements of truth were directed not to his own work, but to the work of Mr. Bryce, and chiefly to what he claimed to have been done to conciliate Te Whiti. He informed his constituents, or rather the electors of New Zealand, with sufficient accuracy, that his Government had appointed the best men they could find to investigate what was due to Te Whiti; that Sir William Fox and Sir Dillon Bell had sent to the Government what, on all hands, was admitted to be a thorough and excellent report. That Mr. Fox was still investigating their claims, and giving most liberal awards, and that his Government had sent Mr. Paris and Mr. Rolleston, and had proposed to send even the Governor himself, to explain the report to Te Whiti. But Mr. Hall did not say what he must have known, that the grand report of the Commissioners did not advise that Mr. Paris, Mr. Rolleston, or Mr. anyone else, should be sent with promises to Te Whiti; but

that the land, which was justly his, the land which included all the villages, cultivations, and improvements, as well as burial places, fishing places, and old pas, should be surveyed and marked off on the ground, and handed at once to the Maoris, as their inalienable possession, before any sectional survey of the land to be offered for sale should be proceeded with. This was described in the Commissioners' report as "the only right way," and the only way likely to allay Te Whiti's well-founded apprehensions that the land of his fathers was being sold to strangers. Te Whiti knew well that this was their recommendation and that the Government was refusing to carry it out. He had had promises enough from Sir Donald McLean, as Native Minister, and had confidently relied on them for years, so that he wanted no more promises, but the fulfilment, in the way so distinctly laid down in the reports of Messrs. Fox and Bell, of the promises so unmistakably, so solemnly, and so authoritatively, made 5 years ago by Sir Donald McLean. What was he the better for the Commissioners' liberal report, so long as that report was not acted on? and what the better for the promises of Mr. Paris, or any one else, so long as the promises of the only Native Minister he believed in were to be so easily set at naught by Mr. Bryce, for whom he had not the slightest respect, and by whom his own claims as a chief, and the just claims of his people to the rights of British subjects, were still being so ruthlessly invaded.

At the eleventh hour Mr. Hall was opposed as a candidate for the Selwyn by a very popular local candidate, but his seat was never in danger. He was never defeated at any election. Both his strong and his weak points were usually made to contribute to his success. During the few weeks that an election lasted he made it his business, and whatever he made his business, was sure to be attended to. One of his favourite expressions was, "Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well," and "doing well" at an election meant, with Mr. Hall, very much the same thing as winning

the election. Neither pride nor convictions suggested to him any objection to the freest and most systematic use of personal solicitations. His views on the questions of National secular education and free trade were sufficiently elastic to secure the block votes of the Roman Catholics, the Bible reader, the denominationalists, and the protectionists.

In the general scramble for the expenditure of public money in the locality of their own constituents, Mr. Hall was not left far behind, and either obtained all that the constituents could reasonably expect, or gave some excellent reason why he had not done so; and could always explain the minutest details connected with any local vote or expenditure. But these were not the only qualities which ensured Mr. Hall's invariable success. It was not only during the election weeks that he was seen and heard as a welcome observer of all that concerned his constituents. His private character was exemplary. In all his domestic relations he was faultless. His private and public charities were most liberal. He took a patriarchal interest in the welfare of all his neighbours, and gave them a helping hand in any difficulty. In his own church he was a lay reader, and a favourite with clergy and laity. The public hall and the State school of his own parish bore the marks of his thoughtful, liberal, and capable attention; so that teachers and children and committees relied upon him, and looked up to him as a friend in need. As a large employer of labour he was reasonable, just, and conciliatory, and he was at all times approachable, gentle, and unreserved in his manner to all.

He could, on very rare occasions, be provoked into something like irritability, as he was naturally very sensitive, and he was capable of strong and lasting aversion; but his natural disposition was gentle and deferential, and he was never haughty or despotic. Without being so excessively pliant with his friends and colleagues, as Sir William Fox, Mr. Hall was prone to err on that side, and would have avoided his

greatest mistakes if he had insisted upon having more of his own way with such an obstinate Maori hater as Major Atkinson, and such a crafty agent of the Bank of New Zealand as Mr. Whitaker.

The Parihaka part of Mr. Hall's Leeston speech was most ably and conclusively replied to by Mr. Montgomery only two days after its delivery. In addressing the electors of Akaroa, Mr. Montgomery quoted largely from the most important recommendations of the West Coast Commission, and pointed out how completely Mr. Hall and Mr. Rolleston had failed to act upon the advice of their own Commissioners, although professing to admire them so much.

The extension of the franchise, and the many alterations which had been made in the electoral laws of the Colony since the last general election, did not produce at this general election any of the results which the advocates of manhood suffrage had anticipated and hoped for. The number of members changed was not so great as in most former elections, but almost every change was for the worse. All the earliest and strongest advocates for manhood suffrage were turned out of the House under its first operation. Archbishop Redwood issued a Pastoral Letter instructing the Roman Catholics that they were to pay no attention to the personal or political claims of a candidate, but only to whether he would vote for a grant for their schools, and that if they could not find a candidate who would do that they were to vote for the man who would carry the least weight and influence to the other side — that is for the weakest man they could find. Every possible Catholic vote was registered by the priests, and under such instructions ten well-known, experienced, and more or less able members of the House, were replaced by unknown and inexperienced weak men, who never had, and never could, distinguish themselves in the debates or the legislation of the Colony, and what is perhaps still more to be regretted, the few intrepid, self-sacrificing advocates of economy were all replaced by men whose voices were always raised in favour of new loans, new sinecures, and new political railways.

Nor was the result of the Bishop's influential clerical dictation confined in its baneful influence to any one general election. From that day to the present time it has done much to exclude from the New Zealand Parliament men of high principle, men of ability, men of decision, men of enlightened, liberal, tolerant views — such men as in 1828 restored the Catholics of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the just rights and privileges from which they had so long been excluded by the influential rule of sectarian bigotry—such men as lifted their voices against the torture of the venerable Galileo, the enlightened Servetus, the saintly Tindale, the patriotic Russell, and the humane Alice Lisle—such men as have made the soil of England and America, and their vast Colonial possessions, to be a safe home for the conscientious holders of any faith, of any creed—of any philanthropic and benevolent intentions —such men as have curbed the bigotry of Spain, the barbarities of the Arab, the atrocities of the slave hunter, the cupidity of the slave driver, and have at least lessened the groans of millions in India, and of the ill-governed swarms in Egypt. It is, no doubt, less the fault of the Archbishop than of the system under which our elections are conducted that the block vote under his control has hitherto been so banefully applied ; and, so long as we retain that system, no man in the same position is ever likely to make a much less injurious use of his power. But, under a wise system of proportional representation, the same power would certainly be used to put in some ten of the strongest men who could be found to represent the Roman Catholic interest in all its various phases. Such men would be really strong, enlightened men, responsible to their constituents, and capable of giving a far-seeing support to anything which would promote that true spirit of toleration and religious liberty which it must be always the real interest of a religious minority in any community to cultivate and uphold.

The total result of the general election of the eighth New Zealand Parliament could hardly have been satis-

factory to the Premier, although it probably was so to most of his colleagues, who had always followed him reluctantly in any retrenchment, and were certainly not anxious to have strong men to deal with. Messrs. Whitaker, Atkinson, and Johnstone cared nothing about the efficiency of the system adopted for National education.

Worn down by the turmoil of a general election, added to his conscientious office druggery, and aggravated by the strong wills of Messrs. Bryce and Atkinson pitted against the strong, conscientious convictions of the Governor; but without a Minister for Public Works; getting no assistance from his constantly absent Attorney-General, who had more than enough to do to attend to his own boundless speculations in loans and land at Auckland, Mr. Hall was no longer able to preserve his health under such an accumulation of discouraging difficulties. On Monday, April 10, his resignation was made public, and a general expression of deep sympathy was evoked, even from those who had done their best to drive the earnest worn-down toiler from office.

The resignation of the Premier, carrying with it the retirement of the whole Ministry, placed Sir Arthur Gordon in a position of much difficulty. The late Ministry, either with or without the Hon. John Hall, was not a Ministry that the Governor would himself have chosen, and as no trial of their strength in the House had been made since the general election, and the number elected on each side was known to be nearly equal, he had no safe constitutional guide as to how far they possessed the confidence of the present House of Representatives, nor was there at the present time any recognised or proclaimed leader of the Opposition. Under these circumstances he was perfectly justified in seeking advice outside of the late Ministry as to whether the remnant should or should not be reinstated by him, and there was no higher authority to consult than Sir George Grey, who, besides being the latest Premier, was, above all

other men in the world, the most experienced Governor of New Zealand. The Governor therefore at once sent for Sir George, not, as was maliciously circulated, to form a Ministry, but to give a new Governor the advice of a most experienced man under very exceptional circumstances. Sir George came from Auckland to Wellington with all his old promptitude. He certainly had no love for the late Hall Ministry, and still less confidence in the patriotism of Mr. Whitaker: but nevertheless his advice resulted in the reappointment of the late Ministry, with Mr. Whitaker as Premier, and there can be no doubt that, with the immediate meeting of Parliament in view, that advice was constitutional, although possibly not wise, and certainly not patriotic.

From every point of view the Hon. John Hall's retirement from the Premiership at this stage in the history of New Zealand was nothing less than a National misfortune. He was a Conservative; he was a land monopolist; he was a denominationalist; he was a protectionist; but he was a patriot, and a New Zealand patriot. He was emphatically a man of business, a man of action, and a man of prudence. He was a legislator, a cool, sensible debater, a singularly practical economist, a pleasant and affable colleague, with no craving anxiety for office, and without a suspicion of any personal obligation or dependence on any commercial or monetary institution.

He could hardly have been called a Conservative in any other country but New Zealand, as on the largest and most really important political questions he was infinitely more liberal than the self-styled liberals who opposed him.

On the prominent New Zealand questions of secular education, a protection tariff, and taxation of improvements, he was not a Liberal. On these points his early education, his earnest, steadfast Episcopalianism, and the personal interests of himself and his usual associates and most intimate friends, all told against him; but on the larger, and more far reaching,

and therefore more really important questions of female franchise and proportional representation, he was head and shoulders above the men who have opposed him under the name of Liberals. He worked earnestly for ten years to procure female franchise, whilst they were working against it.

It was about six weeks after Mr. Hall had retired from the Premiership, that he became Sir John Hall. On the 30th of May one of his most clever and constant opponents proposed, in the House of Representatives:—"That this House tenders its hearty congratulations to the Hon. Member for Selwyn, Sir John Hall, K.C.M.G., and hopes he may long be spared to enjoy the distinguished honour so deservedly conferred upon him by his Sovereign in recognition of a long and honourable life in the public service of the Colony."

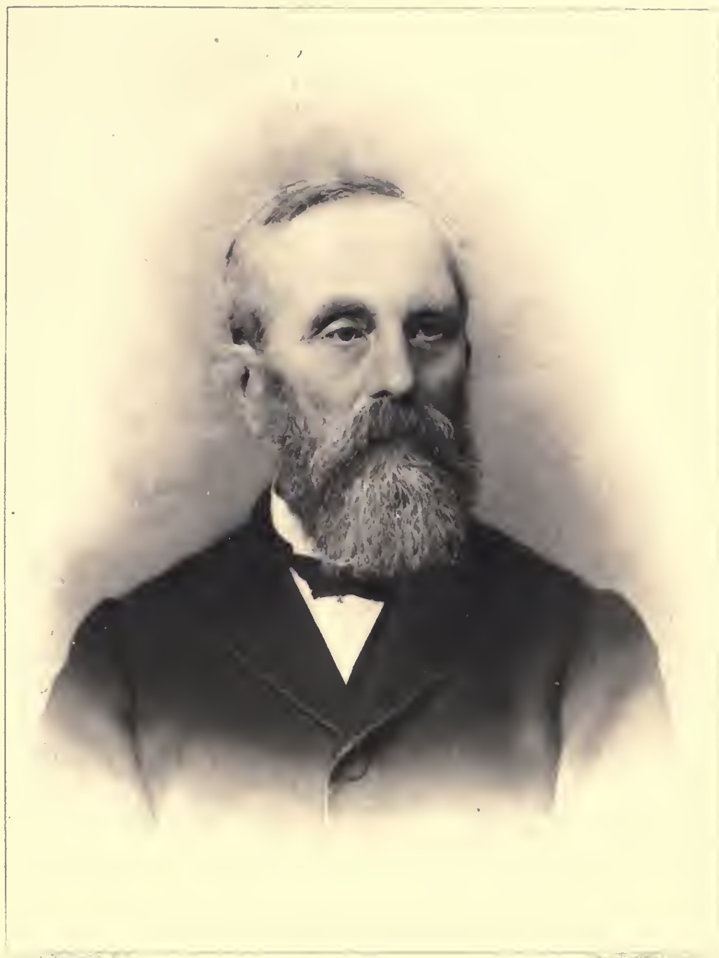
The motion was supported, in the most complimentary language, by the Speaker, the Colonial Treasurer, the leader of the Opposition, and by Mr. Macandrew, and was carried by acclamation with unusual cheers.

In acknowledging the compliment, Sir John Hall expressed a hope that his public services to the Colony, although interrupted, were not ended. That hope has been amply realised. As soon as he retired from the excessive application to office work to which he had too long and far too unreservedly sacrificed his health, his good, but too severely tried, constitution, assisted by his perfect self-control and strictly temperate habits, once more qualified him to serve his country most usefully in his own quiet way, sometimes as the friend and sometimes as the opponent of the Ministry in power. In either capacity his mature experience, his cool judgment, his constant industry, and his unquestionable love of New Zealand, gave him great influence, and enabled him to serve his country with more freedom and with scarcely less efficiency than when he occupied a more conspicuous and more harassing position. This was especially seen in his steady and

judicious support for ten years of female franchise, which he ultimately forced upon a Government which only pretended to want it, and cleverly defeated their projects to delay it for another three years to secure the support of the liquor interest.

Amongst the early politicians and Premiers of New Zealand, Sir John Hall will be remembered as second only to Sir William Fox in the high religious and moral standard at which he aimed. It must be confessed that in such aims neither of them was very successful. Neither of them could withstand their friends as valiantly as they encountered their opponents. In other respects, their careers, and their natural capacities, were very little alike. Sir William Fox had far too little caution, Sir John Hall had far too much. Sir William Fox denounced whatever he believed to be disreputable, regardless of consequences. Sir John Hall never said or did anything regardless of consequences. Sir William insisted upon occupying every specially dangerous post himself, Sir John was usually glad to find someone else to take it in hand for him. As a speaker Sir William was often scathing, was sometimes brilliant, but not always wise. Sir John was always wise but never brilliant. Sir William was always unselfish and almost always generous. Sir John, although not unduly mindful, was seldom altogether forgetful of his own interest, but almost always just. Sir William was a philanthropist and a patriot but never a politician. Sir John was a patriot, a denominationalist and a politician.

As a moralist, Sir Edward Stafford, with all his much longer experience, must stand below either of them, and as a practical resolute economist he must rank only second to Sir John Hall; but as a politician, a legislator and an organiser, New Zealand has never yet seen his equal in power. Sir John Hall was quite his equal in assiduous attention to what he believed to be the duties of his office, but he never made his colleagues feel that he was the responsible head of the whole Government and not merely the faultless conductor of his own



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

individual departments. He had not the same extended capacity, the same organising power, the same self confidence, the same knowledge of constitutional history, the same ability to originate and anticipate the legislation which a growing population would require. Stafford's great defect was an entire want of social magnetism and an absence of any abiding faith in great guiding principles which he nevertheless appeared to completely understand. He valued his friends just as far as he could make them useful, and there was a complete absence of any unselfish devotion in his nature.

Mr. Sewell's three weeks of Premiership was merely nominal, as it was only a succession of defeats upon every division. Mr. Domett was never really a Premier. He was only a figure head which very ineffectually concealed the arbitrary power of the firm of Whitaker and Russell. Mr. Weld intended to be honest and independent, and was generally popular, but his executive power was very small, and his theories, although bold and distinct, were so often and so completely changed that none of them were ever carried out. In the first session of the first Parliament of New Zealand, he took a prominent stand in favour of religious liberty and equality, but, after that one session, he was always known as the advocate of handing over State money to support denominational teaching. In 1863, he declared that British soldiers could never be beaten under such a General as General Cameron. In 1865 he wrote that the Governor must resign unless General Cameron was recalled. In 1865 he said that he would not accept or retain a single soldier or a single shilling from the British Government, but whilst Premier for eleven months he never sent a single soldier away from New Zealand. In 1865 he declared that the Native policy must be originated and carried out by the Governor, in 1866 he declared that the Governor must not interfere with the Native policy of the Colony.

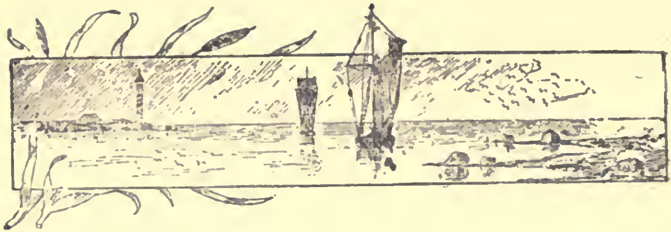
Mr. George Marsden Waterhouse was an able, prudent, conscientious man, well fitted to serve New

Zealand at the time he held the position of Premier, had he been known to the colonists, familiar with their requirements and properly introduced to the position he was so precipitately and irregularly called upon to occupy. But none of these conditions were present. He had but recently arrived in the Colony, his services had not been offered to or accepted by any New Zealand constituency, he had no vote or voice in the House of Representatives, his colleagues were not chosen by him and did not recognise him as their real chieftain. Their aims were not his aims, and their thoughts were not his thoughts; so that he soon saw his position to be a false one, and prudently and honestly retired from such a heavy responsibility associated with so little real power. With his enormously strong perceptive faculties, Sir Julius Vogel was always well aware how much his own daring and selfish projects had been protected from assault and suspicion by the nominal Premiership of such an unselfish, high principled man as Sir William Fox; so that when Sir William retired from the false position he had too long occupied, Sir Julius no doubt thought it still prudent to keep the nominal Premiership in the hands of a man as little like himself as he could possibly find; and there could hardly be found in the Colony a man less like Sir Julius Vogel than Mr. Waterhouse. The photos of the two Premiers are not more strikingly different from each other than were their aims, their dispositions and their powers. The projecting brows, the abruptly retreating forehead, the abnormally low coronal region as portrayed in the outlines of Sir Julius Vogel's head, are in violent contrast with the heavy reflective faculties and lofty coronal region of Mr. Waterhouse. Just so were their actions and their powers. Sir Julius Vogel saw the weak or the strong points of his friends or his foes at a glance, and cleverly acted upon what he saw without reflection, scruple or hesitation. Mr. Waterhouse had also good perceptive faculties; but he was cautious, reflective and conscientious, and required time to decide upon his actions. He thought of the

future as well as of the present, and of what was patriotic and right, as well as of what was momentarily advantageous or expedient. He was not quick enough to see that he should never have accepted such a Premiership; but he was honest enough to retire from it when he saw that he was wrong without consulting his own interest or popularity.

With the resignation of Mr. Hall and the appointment of Mr. Whitaker as Premier, there was very little left to stand between the Colony and the Bank of New Zealand. If Major Atkinson had been free from obligations to the Bank, he might have had self-will enough to protect, in some degree, the interests of the Colony, and that is what most of his friends, no doubt, expected that he was doing, but the Bank had now more than ever everything its own way, and the Colony had no one in power to protect its financial and commercial interests. Although Mr. Whitaker as agent for the Bank had far too much power in the Government, his banking and private business still absorbed all his best energies; and as he had no seat in the House of Representatives, the public work and the drudgery of the Premiership necessarily devolved upon Major Atkinson, who naturally took every advantage of his position to make himself indispensable as the exponent of the increasingly complicated financial position of the deeply involved Colony.

If Sir John Hall had remained in the House, or even in the Colony, his presence, with his financial knowledge and experience, and his personal independence of the Bank of New Zealand, could hardly have failed to be some protection to the Colony, but on February 7, 1883, he resigned his seat for Leeston and left New Zealand in the *Lady Jocelyn* on a visit to England with his family. After an unusually long voyage of 108 days, he arrived at Plymouth with his health very distinctly improved by his forced isolation from blue books and no further responsibility for Maori difficulties or financial extravagance.



CHAPTER LXXV.

PRETENSIONS.

THE veracity, even of men who lived in distant ages, may be safely and fairly judged of, if history has recorded the general course of their conduct; or if their writings have descended to our times and give, as it were, a portrait of their dispositions and principles.—J. TAYLOR.

IT was the 18th of May, 1882, when the new Parliament met. A Parliament which might not inappropriately be called the Parliament of all the shams, as besides the sham supporters of economy and of National Education there was really a sham Governor, a sham Premier, a sham Minister of Public Works, a sham Native Minister, and a shamefully delusive Financial Statement and financial policy. The Governor was an honest, able, just, and straightforward man, but he had, at the dictation of his constitutional advisers, to read a speech, to make promises, and to express sentiments which were abhorrent to his own convictions. In doing this he took remarkable care to guard each paragraph with words distinctly repudiating all personal responsibility for the speech it was his official duty to read. Thus we find him reading, "Conciliation having, *in the opinion of my advisers*, failed to effect its object, a Pro-

clamation was issued *during my absence from the Colony*, by the Administrator of the Government, calling on Te Whiti and his followers to accept, within a specified time, the lands offered to them. Te Whiti and Tohu were therefore removed from a position which was *deemed by my advisers* to constitute a standing menace to the peace of the Colony. Te Whiti and Tohu were therefore arrested and were committed for trial on a charge of sedition "—a trial which was manfully demanded by the arrested chiefs and their friends, but which the men who had arrested them never dared to attempt. The sham Premier was simply the agent, if not the bond-slave of the Bank of New Zealand. The sham Native Minister was never the protector but the wanton persecutor of the race whose rights it was his duty to protect, and the sham Minister of Public Works was really the social and convivial member of the Ministry who knew as little about Public Works as the maid who waited at his table upon the oft-invited members of the House whom he endeavoured to entertain and conciliate.

When Mr. Hall gave up the portfolio of Public Works which had been forced upon him in addition to all his other duties by the retirement of Mr. Olliver, he advised his colleagues to appoint the member for Ashburton, Mr. Edward George Wright, to that position. Mr. Wright was a retired, successful railway contractor, and a very capable, energetic man, whose knowledge and ability would soon have saved the Colony many thousands of pounds. But his capacity, his knowledge, and his energy, so far from recommending him for the office, only proved insurmountable obstacles to his appointment. As the Parliamentary representative of the late Railway Commission, he had proclaimed truths in the House which had offended the representatives of Otago, Wellington and Taranaki, and as a resident in Canterbury it was feared that he would not fail to throw still more light on the robbery which had been so successfully practised on that Province by the fraudulent railway waggons sent up from Dunedin, and Major

Atkinson was never likely to forgive him for the unreserved manner in which he had pictured to the House the enormous waste of public money thrown into the sea at Taranaki.

But the wily Premier made a bold attempt to get the use of Mr. Wright's brains without giving him any apparent power to alarm the patrons of the various Otago, Wellington, and Taranaki swindles. He knew that Mr. Wright knew a great deal about railways and public works, and that he knew nothing at all about the Post Office, so that he might at least appear to the various provincial designers on the public purse to be harmless if he nominally accepted duties about which he knew nothing. Mr. Whitaker's first letter to Mr. Wright, as a specimen of the Premier's talent in this direction, is worth quoting entire:

"Wellington, September 20th, 1882.

"My Dear Sir,—There is a vacant portfolio, as you are aware, and the time has come to fill it up. At a meeting of the Cabinet yesterday we unanimously came to the conclusion that an offer of the seat should be made to you. Will it suit you to take it? The designation of the office will be, "Minister of Agriculture," to be held with the offices of Postmaster General and Telegraph Commissioner. I shall be glad to hear from you as early as convenient, and I hope you will be able to see your way to an acceptance.

"I remain, yours very truly,

"FRED. WHITAKER.

"E. G. Wright, Esq., Ashburton."

To this Mr. Wright replied, September 22:

"The duties which you ask me to discharge, though highly important, are not those for which I have any special aptitude, and I hesitate to accept the responsible position of a Minister of the Crown unless by doing so I can render some service to the Colony."

Mr. Wright was then asked to go to Wellington and talk the matter over, which he did, but without result, so that on October 9 we find him finally replying:

"I am not desirous of any portfolio, so that the portfolio of Public Works is the only one which I would be willing to accept; my reason for that exception being a very strong conviction that that Department requires a thoroughly searching overhaul."

As to the Treasurer, with all the usual hackneyed expressions of prudence, and with a National Debt much greater than the one he had deplored so solemnly in 1879, with the Five Million Loan of 1880 nearly exhausted, and with a proposal to borrow three millions more in the London Market, and a quarter of a million in the Colony at 5 per cent, he informed the now extravagant House, with much apparent satisfaction, that the whole of the 10 per cent reduction, effected with so much labour and anxiety by the Hall Government, had now been restored and, in some cases, with actual compensation to the Civil Servant for having ever been deprived of it; whilst the 20 per cent reduction of Ministers' salaries, volunteered by the Hall Government, was now restored without debate, on the motion of the Colonial Treasurer. After passing 115 Bills, dropping 93, and sitting 609 hours, the Parliament, in the absence of the Governor, was prorogued by Commissioners on Friday, September 15.

In the absence of Mr. Ballance, Mr. Montgomery had been elected leader of the Opposition, with evident satisfaction to both sides of the House. No Government could desire to have a more straightforward or honourable opponent, but if the value of a leader of the Opposition is to be estimated by the amount of obstruction which he can place in the way of the Government business, Mr. Montgomery can hardly be said to have been well chosen. At the close of the session he had lost the respect of neither friends nor of opponents, but he had neither sought nor obtained any personal advantage, and the leader of the Government party was not always generous enough to give him credit for the forbearance which he had exercised, and the public spirit which he had displayed. He was an orderly and methodical, rather than a forcible speaker, and rarely,

if ever, indulged in harsh language, even under strong provocation. Perhaps one of the strongest provocations he received during this session was thus almost mildly described by him: "These Estimates were only distributed at three o'clock this afternoon. We have been sitting continually since that time, and we are now asked, at a quarter to eleven p.m., to enter upon the consideration of these Estimates, when hon. members are quite unable to give them the consideration they require. We have for the past month been asking the Government to bring down their Public Works Estimates, and now they are produced on the very day upon which some persons hoped that the session would close, and we are asked to vote the sum of £1,798,584 in a few hours. I ask the hon. Treasurer, I ask myself, if that is what I was sent here by my constituents to do?" In this case he was followed by Sir John Hall, who, notwithstanding his strong desire to support his late colleague, unreservedly admitted the justice of Mr. Montgomery's complaint, and said, "The best friends of the Government must admit the truth of what the leader of the Opposition has said, and I would ask the Treasurer to consider whether the House ought to be called upon to consider Public Works Estimates amounting to £1,798,000, within a few hours after the printed copies have been placed in our hands." In the same debate, Mr. Montgomery was able to say without fear of contradiction, "I have not used strong language, and I have not used any language in a Party spirit. I may say that there never was a time since I have had the honour to hold a seat in the House when there has been less hostility evinced to the occupants of the Government benches."

Early in October, 1882, the Member for Picton, Mr. Conolly, accepted a seat in the Atkinson Government. He was a fairly good debater, and although at first only called Minister of Justice, he no doubt did whatever there was to do as Attorney General even before the nominal resignation of Mr. Whitaker. He was a lawyer of some reputation in the small province

Mr. G. M. Waterhouse.

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

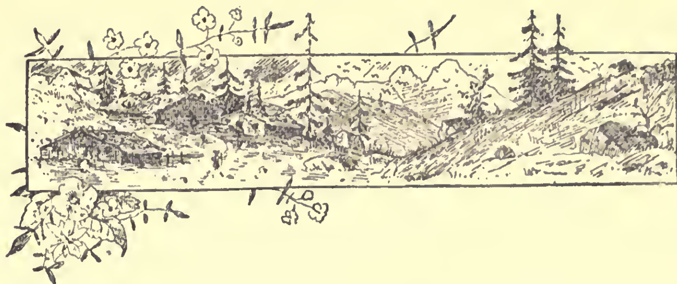
of Marlborough, and probably only accepted the seat with a view to the Judgeship which was not very long in coming to him.

In December, Sir Julius and Lady Vogel arrived at the Bluff. He had come as the agent of an Electric Lighting Company and with his head as full as usual of sundry other great projects. Mr. Macandrew lost no time in glorifying his great prototype at a public dinner in Dunedin, at which 275 persons were present and at which the two great borrowers did considerably more than justice to the patriotism, foresight, and enterprise of each other. Sir Julius had spent more time than he was expected to spend in Australia, but still he had time enough in New Zealand to receive orations in some of the principal centres and to form a very favourable idea of the reception he might yet expect to receive as a politician, from his old friends and admirers in the Colony.

In March, 1883, Major Atkinson undertook a series of political lectures in the principal centres of the Colony. The lectures were very long, were calmly listened to, and very fully reported. The only novelties introduced were a system of compulsory insurance for old age and a very mild advocacy of the Hare system of election. He possessed none of Sir George Grey's power as an orator, and, unlike Sir George, was much more successful in Parliament than on the platform, where he appeared to gain little or nothing by his exhausting efforts. Although well reported in the principal newspapers, his favourite themes were not popular, and his arguments were very grossly and ignorantly misrepresented. The Hare System of election was described in the *Lyttelton Times* as a system which "must be centrally worked by official experts who alone would understand its working, as Hare's system must be based upon ignorance of the men to be elected." How wonderful it must appear to these press sages that Sir John Lubbock, John Stuart Mill, and thousands of the most patriotic and intelligent men in the world should so strongly advocate such a system.

In the same month, the North Canterbury Board of Education was called on, by Mr. S. C. Farr, to debate the question of Bible reading in the State Schools, which called forth a very useful speech from the Hon. W. Montgomery. The speech was well reported and very widely circulated, with great effect. It concluded in these words, "It was not proposed that the whole Bible should be read. Then who were to make the selections? Would they employ their teachers to do that? If the Authorised Version were to be used, it would exclude the Roman Catholics. If the Bible were introduced at all there must be introduced with it sectarian feeling. It could not be otherwise, and they would come back to denominationalism pure and simple. The resolution proposed meant nothing more nor less than that the Christian religion should be taught by machinery. The men who were to select the chapters to be read might have no feeling in the matter. All the members of that Board felt and knew that the Bible was one of the grandest of books, that it contained the history of the human race in its various phases, and that it contained the greatest consolation for men whether in health or sickness, or on the death bed. But let it not be introduced to destroy a system of education which was a credit to the Colony."

The bye-elections for Selwyn and Inangahua rendered necessary by the resignation of the able Sir John Hall, and the clever lawyer and ex-Judge, Mr. T. S. Weston, were vigorously contested, but in both cases an able and experienced parliamentary candidate was rejected, and the weakest and most inexperienced candidate elected. Mr. Larnach, after some years' absence from the House, had now been elected for the Peninsula.



CHAPTER LXXVI.

Plain Speaking.

> Face thine enemies, accusers;
> Scorn the prison, rack, or rod!
> And if thou hast truth to utter,
> Speak, and leave the rest to God!—W. D. Galagher.

The second session of the eighth New Zealand Parliament was opened by the new Governor, Sir W. Jervois, on Thursday, June 14. Unlike his predecessor, the new Governor could not complain that his Ministers had asked him to commit himself to the expression of any dangerous opinions, as the speech was more than usually successful in saying nothing, in the greatest number of words on record, and a very unusual number of capital I's were employed in its construction. Less than a third of the members, from either House, were present, but that did not prevent Mr. Montgomery giving notice to ask the Colonial Treasurer at what date he would deliver the Financial Statement, and notifying his intention to propose the repeal of the Property Tax, leaving Sir George Grey to propose a land tax.

The Address-in-Reply was proposed by the new member for Inangahua, and seconded by the new member for Selwyn. Mr. Larnach was never fond of public speaking, and was far more alive to commercial than to political considerations, so that he rarely gave himself away at the call of any Party convenience. After a very acrimonious, although not a very long debate, the Address-in-Reply was carried in both Houses without a division. Mr. Montgomery, as the leader of the Opposition, was the first to speak against the Address, and he brought out some very well grounded facts as to the unprincipled manner in which public works expenditure was prostituted to purchase Party support. His accusations were met, not by any attempt at contradiction, but by a very angry, undignified, and unwarranted attack by Major Atkinson on Mr. Montgomery himself, which led again to some very odious comparisons by Mr. Montgomery's friends between the tenacity with which the Treasurer had always clung to office and the clean-handed unselfishness with which Mr. Montgomery had always declined to accept it. In such a contest the leader of the House stood on very tender ground, whilst the leader of the Opposition had nothing to fear.

In a very unreserved announcement of the improved relations between the two races, it is remarkable that the Speech does not attribute the happy result to Mr. Bryce, or to his white horse, or even to the two thousand volunteers, but does ample justice to the quiet, persevering labours of Sir William Fox. After reading so much in the past about Mr. Bryce's "firm attitude," we are surprised to find him now left out in the cold, or left to take legal proceedings against Mr. Rusden, whilst the Speech tells us that Te Whiti and Tohu had been restored to their homes without any apparent production of "dangerous proceedings on the part of the natives," and that "the labours of the West Coast Commission, now drawing to a close, will, no doubt, be productive of much good to the Maoris, and will greatly promote the beneficial occupation and improve-

ment of the country by both races. The thanks of the Colony are specially due to Sir William Fox for his very valuable services towards bringing about such satisfactory results."

The most important proposal in the Speech was the election, instead of nomination, of the Legislative Council, but that and all other proposals were mere suggestions which could be taken back and altered if not at once agreed to by the majority of the House.

On the sixth sitting day of the House Mr. Montgomery called attention to a memorandum of the Controller-General, complaining that the Treasurer had on the last day of the last financial year drawn £192,000 out of the public account, and placed it in the hands of the Paymaster-General in such a way as practically to evade the intention of the House to prevent the Treasurer drawing money after the time when the House should be called to vote supplies. The Controller was evidently right and the Treasurer wrong, but the vote was a purely Party vote, and gave the Treasurer a majority of 14 as a promise of what he might expect from the House in its present mood.

But four days later a motion of Sir George Grey's to alter the Constitution by abolishing the Legislative Council, which was declared *ultra vires* by the Speaker and the Colonial Treasurer, was carried against the Government by a majority of four, although in the following month the second reading of the same Bill was lost by a majority of twenty-three. Throughout the session the Government generally commanded a working majority of from eight to fourteen. During the session fifty-eight Bills were passed, and seventy-eight that were introduced in the House were not passed.

The last division during the session was important and significant as one of those divisions in which the Government gained a nominal victory, under circumstances of undoubted degradation, in which their party strength is manifestly proved to be morally worthless. In debating the Property Tax on Tuesday, July 31,

Mr. Dargaville said that "so much had the present Government become bound up with the Bank of New Zealand, that they had to consult the interests of that institution in preference to the interests of the people of the Colony."

In proof of this assertion, Mr. Dargaville stated, amongst many other cases—

"That the Government lent a sum of £225,000 of the Trust Funds over which the Treasurer has control, to the Bank of New Zealand without security for a term of years in a manner not contemplated by the law, thereby giving undue advantage to one banking establishment closely allied with the present administration, and Parliament has not yet been informed of the transaction."

In replying to Mr. Dargaville, Major Atkinson said that Mr. Dargaville should call for a Committee to inquire into the truth or falsehood of his charges, and if he refused to do so he (Major Atkinson) would move for it himself. Mr. Dargaville declined to refer any question between himself and the Treasurer to a jury that would be practically chosen by the Treasurer himself, but said no one could deny the facts that he had stated—not even the Treasurer's own witnesses and his own officers. A Committee was appointed by the Treasurer, and when Mr. Dargaville asked that no member should be allowed to sit or vote on that Committee "who was personally interested in the Bank of New Zealand," he got no reply. All the Government witnesses admitted that the transaction was just what it had been described by Mr. Dargaville, and that it was most unusual, most unwise, and imprudent to risk such a large proportion of the Insurance funds in such a way without security. But it was most absurdly contended that it was done, not by the Treasurer, but by Mr. Luckie, the Commissioner of Government Insurance, a gentleman who felt himself so lucky in getting such a lucrative office from Sir Julius Vogel as a reward for his political support, as the editor of a small Nelson paper, that he would never have thought of even carrying the key of the insurance iron chest without the permission of the Colonial Treasurer.

But on the last division of the House of Representatives in 1883, 45 members voted or paired for the adoption of the report of the Treasurer's Committee, and only 32 against it—the House dividing on strictly Party lines as absolutely as if right or wrong were questions with which a New Zealand Parliament had nothing whatever to do. If Mr. Dargaville's very proper suggestion that no member should vote who had any pecuniary interest or was under any pecuniary obligation to the Bank of New Zealand had been adopted that large majority would have become a very insignificant minority. So wide spread was the influence of the Bank, at this time, that Mr. Dargaville received no support, nor any decent protection, even from the Opposition Press in New Zealand, or from the Opposition Party in the House. No one supported anything like a censure upon the Government for the mal-appropriation of the Insurance funds, and even the Opposition only refused to absolutely approve, by their vote, of what the Treasurer had done. Mr. Dargaville's friends even begged of him to withdraw his accusations against the Government, and to express his regret for having given utterance to them, and Mr. Bryce assured him, in the House, how very kindly the Government would forgive all that had passed if he would only admit that he was mistaken, but Mr. Dargaville replied—

"If I were to express regret, if I were to withdraw one single word that I have stated deliberately and under the firm conviction that I was saying what was correct, I should feel myself to be unworthy of a seat in this House, and I should be ashamed to hold up my head before my constituents when I went back to Auckland. I have carefully read over my two speeches, and, so far from having anything to withdraw, when I remember the circumstances that were clear in my mind at the time; when I remember what has since been brought out in the evidence before the Treasurer's own Committee; when I remember what this Colony has suffered under this *regime*, the bribery there has been of certain constituencies by means of public works and money grants—the mal-administrations and gross favouritism in clandestine Native land transactions, and financial transactions; when I remember the numberless politically corrupt proceedings of the present Government,

and then read over those two speeches, I feel ashamed of the utterly feeble and inadequate manner in which I have attempted to describe such transactions. So far from having expressed myself too strongly, I regret not having been able to find language equal to the occasion. I absolutely refuse to withdraw one single word. I absolutely refuse to express regret. I should be a false man and recreant to the trust my constituents repose in me were I to do so, because I know, and feel in my own heart, that I was fully warranted in saying everything I did say. I am quite ready and willing to take all the consequences, whatever they may be, especially if I am relegated to my constituents. I say again to the Treasurer do not be pusillanimous, do not be cowardly. Do your best to punish me if you can. Let the highest tribunal, so far as I am concerned, the people of Auckland West, be appealed to, and whatever their decision may be, I shall be satisfied. But, Sir, as to the decision of the Government Party now in this House, let them, impelled by gratitude for past favours and by a lively sense of favours to come, adopt, at the bidding of their leader, this wretched Report. The constituents, whose interests it is my duty to represent in this House, will be able to regard such a Report, from such a Committee, with as little respect and with as little concern, as I now regard it myself. Whom have we but the Colonial Treasurer to protect the revenue, the public chest, and the honour and credit of this Colony? And what has he descended to? He is the willing tool of the Bank of New Zealand. They keep him in his office. He knows it. He knows that he could not occupy these benches for a single week beyond the time he had their support at his back. I am not going to be debarred from expressing my opinion in this House upon this or any other subject by the fear of being condemned by a Select Committee of my opponents' choosing. If that were to be the rule in the House, I would not give much for the liberties of the people in this country. How could corruption be put a stop to? How could the interests and liberties of the people be guarded? I am willing to submit to any censure or punishment the Government section of this House imposes upon me for having done my duty, and I challenge the hon. gentlemen, with their majority, to proceed to any extremity they may think fit. If they stop merely with the adoption of this Party report, I shall regard it as an act of pusillanimity."

Although it was the last debate of the session, no Minister replied to this defiant speech, and no motion was made to punish the damaging accuser. But the Treasurer's relative, Mr. Hursthouse, said in reply what he no doubt wished to be true, when he said, "The sooner we adopt the report and let the matter drop into everlasting oblivion the better."

On Sept. 8th the Parliament was prorogued by Commission, and never was any poor leader of either House more glad to see the backs both of his friends and his accusers than were Messrs. Whitaker and Atkinson at the close of this unhappy session. On Sept. 22nd, fourteen days after Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Whitaker resigned the Premiership on the ground that his private affairs demanded his presence in Auckland, which they most certainly did.

Major Atkinson was at once sent for by the Governor and entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet, in which there was really as little change as possible. Major Atkinson took the Premiership as well as the Treasury, and Mr. Conolly became Attorney-General as well as Minister of Justice. Mr. Dick gave up the Post and Telegraph Offices which had been tacked on to the all-sufficient work of the Colonial Secretary and were now transferred to Mr. Olliver, who had been serving as a member of the Whitaker Cabinet without portfolio. No change was made in the Lands, Public Works, or Native portfolios held by Messrs. Rolleston, Johnston and Bryce, although it was now generally known that Mr. Johnston would soon be going for a visit to England; but early in November the young member for Marsden, Mr. Edwin Mitchelson, was appointed Minister for Public Works in the place of Mr. Johnston. Like his predecessor, he knew nothing about public works, and never excelled as a public speaker, but he was an Auckland representative, a disciple of Mr. Whitaker, a constant voter with Major Atkinson, and quite certain to agree with the Bank of New Zealand. He was a very unpretentious, pleasant man, so that his appointment was not unpopular, and he held it long enough to learn a good deal about the claims and condition of the various New Zealand Railways.

On Saturday, November 3rd, 1883, being the first day of the Spring Meeting of the Victorian Racing Club, the Victorian Derby was won by a New Zealand colt in the shortest time on record, doing the mile and

a-half in 2 min. 39 secs. On Tuesday, November 6th, being the second day of the races, the same colt easily won the Melbourne Cup, also in the shortest time on record, thus placing the racehorses bred in New Zealand in even a higher position than had been previously obtained for them by Strop and Lurline.

The Victorian Derby was a sweepstakes of 25 sovs. with £500 added, to which there were 144 subscribers, and for which eleven horses started. At the distance post the New Zealand colt went easily through the other horses, and landed a winner by three lengths from the second horse. The Melbourne Cup was a handicap of 1000 sovereigns with a sweepstake of 20 sovs. each added. To this there were 150 nominations, and 29 horses started. Of this race a Melbourne paper says—"At the distance Commotion led by half a length, with Aide de Camp and Claptrap close by, but, like a shot from a gun, Martini Henri came out from the crowd and passed them without any apparent effort on his part, and amidst the deafening cheers of the immense concourse of people, landed the easiest of winners." Another Melbourne correspondent says: "At the distance post he drew away from the others as if they were standing still." The time for the two miles was 3 min. 30½ secs. Martini Henri was bred by the Auckland Stud Company, and was purchased from that Company by the Hon. James White for 1260 guineas. By the Melbourne Cup alone the Hon. James White is said to have won £35,000. The attendance on the course just before the Cup was run for was immense, exceeding that of the Exhibition year. The Hill was densely crowded, while the flat contained the largest crowd ever seen upon it. The total attendance was estimated at 140,000.

On December 7th, the Transit of Venus was observed in New Zealand under highly favourable conditions. At Auckland, an American expedition took no less than 74 photographs. At Wellington the Chief Surveyor, Mr. McKerrow, and his assistants, were equally successful. At Dunedin, Mr. Gillies and Mr.

Skey obtained some clear observations, but at most other stations in the South Island the sky was clouded during the transit.

The year 1883 was remarkable for the most destructive earthquakes on record at Ischia in the Bay of Naples at the Anatolian villages, and in the Straits of Sunda, altogether destroying some 80,000 lives, and leaving a much larger number wounded or homeless. The death of the strong, bold swimmer Webb, who had swum across the British Channel, was very sincerely lamented in both of the great Anglo-Saxon communities when he lost his life this year in a rash attempt to swim across the angry whirlpools below the Niagara Falls.

In defiance of a deteriorated Parliament, a Bank-led Government, a falling revenue, and a fast growing National Debt, aggravated by the low price of wool and grain, the year 1883 will ever be remembered as the year which saw the steady and complete development of one of the greatest natural resources of a wonderfully resourceful Colony. The meat freezing industry was successfully established beyond a doubt, and carried with it the establishment of a successful first-class direct steam service to England. It also carried with it increased confidence of the Stock Exchange in all the wool-growing colonies, so that the only free-trade Australasian Colony, New South Wales, placed a loan of six millions on the market at 4 per cent., and obtained £100 10s. for each £100 debenture, and twenty millions was immediately borrowed by the Southern British Colonies, Victoria, New Zealand, and Tasmania, getting 98, and Queensland 97 for their debentures.

On nearly the last day of the year a most interesting letter was received by Sir G. M. O'Rorke from the Hon. William Gladstone, regretfully declining an invitation to visit the Colony, which had been sent to him by the leading public men of New Zealand. The letter concluded in these interesting and really important historical words : "Besides the fact that one of my dearest friends, the first and illustrious Bishop of New Zea-

land, took a warm interest in the proceedings connected with its earliest history, I consider that in that history were worked out many of the most important principles which now regulate the Colonial connection, and which promise to make it alike honourable, beneficial and enduring."

In February Mr. Whitaker became Sir Frederick Whitaker, and at the same time it was rumoured that Sir Julius Vogel intended to sail immediately for New Zealand, and would not be very averse to become Premier of that Colony once more, as the Australian Electric Light Power and Storage Company had decided that ten guineas per diem was too much to pay Sir Julius for his expenses to New Zealand and back.

During the next few months both the Premier and Sir George Grey held public meetings in the principal centres of population, but neither of them did their work well, nor improved their own reputation with the electors of the Colony. Sir George Grey was embittered with the dissensions amongst his late followers, which had left his party so powerless and had set up so many rival leaders to weaken his own position. This caused him to show very strongly the weakest and worst side of his character, and to depreciate and exasperate several rivals whom a wiser policy might have restored to their allegiance. His speeches, too, degenerated very much into exhibitions of class prejudices, so that what he gained with the less educated he lost with the better educated electors, and with the most able writers who had for years been his champions and defenders. It was easy for Sir George to prove that Major Atkinson's finance was delusive, reckless and unsound; or that his colleagues were none of the ablest; but it was impossible for him to conceal the fact that his own finance had been still more reckless; or that even Johnston was a safer Minister of Works than Mr. Macandrew; that as Native Minister even Bryce stood on much higher ground than Sheehan had done; that Olliver carried more brains than J. T. Fisher; or that Atkinson had kept his weak team better in hand than

Sir George himself had ever kept his dangerous runaway steeds.

Major Atkinson had somewhat improved as a platform speaker, but was still very far from being judicious or successful, whilst the financial prospects of the Colony were every day becoming more gloomy under his pretentious, but delusive manipulations. Then the unanswered accusations of Mr. Dargaville, with regard to the influence of the New Zealand Bank upon the actions of himself and Sir Frederick Whitaker, were much strengthened in the minds of thoughtful electors, both by what the Premier said, and by what he failed to say about them. At these public meetings, whilst both Sir George Grey and Major Atkinson were aiming to lower the leader of the Opposition in the estimation of the electors of New Zealand, the effect of their speeches had a distinct tendency in the opposite direction, as the more his past actions were brought to light, and the more the real difficulties and dangers which made that opposition necessary were kept in view, the higher was the estimate which the electors of the Colony would naturally form of Mr. Montgomery's very unpretentious, but very unselfish, honest and useful work.

It was in this way that matters were made singularly favourable for the re-appearance of Sir Julius Vogel, especially as, with his usual quick perception, he at once saw that Mr. Montgomery was the man—the honest, unselfish, well-known and justly trusted man, that he could put in the foreground as he had previously put Fox and Waterhouse, as a guarantee of his patriotism and honesty of purpose, which his late antecedents might well now render more than ever doubtful.

Of course Sir Julius Vogel's first aim was to get elected to the House of Representatives. At first this appeared to be practicable by a vacancy for the East Coast seat, but that was soon abandoned for a vacancy at Ashburton, caused by the resignation of Mr. Wright; but after reading a long and important speech to the

Ashburton electors, the seat for Christchurch North, was rendered open to him by the unexpectedly early dissolution of the House of Representatives, and there, without addressing the electors at all, he defeated Mr. Crewes by a majority of 3 to 1, although Mr. Crewes was an unusually good public speaker.

The third session of the eighth New Zealand Parliament was opened, in Wellington, by a speech from Sir W. F. D. Jervois, on Thursday, June 5, 1884. The speech was of little importance, as it avoided all debatable political subjects, and was carefully confined to the proposal of desirable reforms, which were unlikely to raise any debate. It referred in high terms of commendation, and formally thanked Sir William Fox for his able and very useful work, now brought to a close, on the West Coast Commission.

But such politic precautions did not prevent the Address-in-Reply being pretty fully debated, and an amendment of No-Confidence in the Ministry being easily carried. Although it was known that the amendment of No-Confidence would be carried, it was also known that when it was carried the majority that had voted for it would not agree upon any leader, or upon any policy, so that Mr. Montgomery did not propose it himself, but put it into the hand of his party whip; a member who was not looked upon as one of the possible rival leaders, and who, if sent for, would not attempt to form a Ministry, but would advise an early dissolution.

The addition to the Ministerial Address-in-Reply thus proposed by the member for Waimate, William Jukes Steward, was thus worded:—

"In conclusion, we deem it our duty to represent to His Excellency that His Excellency's advisers do not possess the confidence of this House." This was carried by 43 to 34 on Wednesday, June 11. Determined, as he always was, to retain office under any possible conditions, Major Atkinson would have promoted his own object far more effectually if he had now resigned, and left his opponents to prove to the country

how impossible it was for them to moderate their bitter hatred of each other, or to agree upon any leader, any policy, or any compromise. Sir George Grey did not want the cares and toils of office, but he wanted to prove that no one but himself could lead his old comrades. Mr. Montgomery could not work under, or even with a colleague who had for months been attempting to lessen his influence with the country. Mr. Wakefield's object in life had long been to become a minister, and Mr. Macandrew had always been quite sure that New Zealand would never take her proper place in the universe unless he were allowed to supply her with an unlimited profusion of paper money. But neither Major Atkinson nor his opponents had yet seen how completely they were all to be eclipsed, in a few days, by the all but universal elevation and adoration of their late discarded Agent-General, whose sins were for a few weeks all to be forgotten, whilst his power and his virtues were to be placed on the highest New Zealand pedestal. So that in a moment of temporary blindness, the Premier advised a dissolution, which he confidently hoped would weaken his assailants, but which he was soon to find had placed his great, unexpected rival in a position of overwhelming power, which he could not otherwise have so soon achieved.

The General Elections thus hastily brought about were all over on Tuesday, July 22, with the result that 37 members of the eighth, and perhaps the weakest Parliament of New Zealand, were rejected. A large proportion of those who were not returned to their seats were decidedly weak men, whilst quite a third of those who now took their places were really strong men, including Ballance, Stout, Vogel, Russell, Ormond, Gregg, O'Connor, Garrick, Samuel, Bruce, J. T. McKenzie, and W. C. Walker. The Vogel excitement greatly lessened the influence of the Catholic priests in this election, and the Bank of New Zealand were quite as sure of Vogel as they had ever been of Atkinson, and believed he would be more able to serve them. Of the 91 members returned only four had declared in favour of

the leadership of Sir George Grey, 33 for Vogel, 32 for Atkinson, 15 for Montgomery, whilst seven declared their opposition to Atkinson without promising their support to any leader. As these, and the 15 who had declared for Mr. Montgomery, were sure not to support Major Atkinson, and would most of them support Sir Julius Vogel, the Atkinson Government was evidently beaten at the General Election, and should have resigned, as both Gladstone and Disraeli had done under far less decided defeats. But the Government did not give up their portfolios until August 16, which was nine days after the opening of the new Parliament.

Without asking advice from Major Atkinson, the Governor sent for Sir Julius Vogel, and instructed him to submit the names of a new Ministry to him. After seven days' consultation with his supporters, Sir Julius submitted the names of Vogel, Stout, Richardson, Macandrew, Montgomery, Ballance, Morris, and Whitmore. These names were approved by the Governor, and formed the Ministry from the 16th to 28th August. But in the construction of that Ministry the Province of Canterbury had three representatives, and Auckland had but one; so that, out of pure provincial jealousy, the Ministry was defeated, on the Address-in-Reply, by the votes of the offended Auckland members. The difficulty had arisen from the fact that there were three Canterbury members who could not well be asked to stand out of the Ministry. Of course Vogel must form one of a Vogel Ministry, but Montgomery's supporters really held the balance, and were entitled to a strong voice, as they were essential to Vogel's success, whilst Mr. Richardson was known to be the only experienced, well-informed Minister of Works. Under such circumstances, who of the three was to give way? The only answer could be, the most unselfish, the most honourable, and the most patriotic, and that was undoubtedly the Honorable William Montgomery. After Mr. Stout had been sent for, and succeeded by the generous retirement of Mr. Montgomery, in forming a Ministry, with but two

Canterbury and with two Auckland members, he informed the House that "such self-sacrifice and self-abnegation as he had experienced would never be forgotten by him."

The Ministry that Mr. Stout was able to form consisted of himself, Premier and Attorney-General; Vogel, Treasurer; Richardson, Public Works; Ballance, Native Minister and Lands; Tole, Justice; Buckley, Colonial Secretary; and G. H. Reynolds, without portfolio.

Atkinson's short-lived Ministry had consisted of himself, McLean, Mitchelson, Wakefield, Hursthouse, and Russell. It lasted but six days, and their retirement brings us to the first interruption of what is usually called the continuous Ministry, or of the five years in which very much the same men pursued very much the same policy, under the names of the Hall, the Whitaker, and the Atkinson Governments.

Before the close of the year 1884, a Conference of all Nations, at which twenty-four Nations were represented, decided to accept the meridian of Greenwich as the universal meridian of longitude. The choice of the Conference lay between Greenwich, represented by fourteen million tons of shipping, and Paris, represented by one and three-quarter million tons. The representatives of Paris and Brazil did not vote; twenty-one representatives voted for Greenwich, and only one, the representative of San Domingo, voted against it.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Still Spending, Pretending, and Borrowing.

During their protracted decline in power, in reputation, and in character, Ministers had dragged down with them the aspiration, the earnestness, and the hope of the people; and the political deterioration could be endured no longer. The indifferent had become more indifferent; the sceptical more doubting; the timid more disheartened, and the earnest more angry. —Charles Knight.

To Major Atkinson, it was a most unpalatable dispensation which now consigned him to lead a weak opposition against the best debaters, the most powerful and the most strongly supported Ministry he had ever had to contend with.

The new Premier, Mr. Robert Stout, was a man of extraordinary mental power, whose transcendent natural ability had overcome every social and educational disadvantage and had placed him, without an effort, without delay, and without question, at the head of the legal profession in New Zealand.

Sir Julius Vogel had returned to New Zealand slightly improved in caution and greatly improved in financial experience, and in his knowledge of the financiers and the financial institutions of the great

money market of the world; whilst he retained that quick perception and that accurate estimate of public men which guided him at once to seek the service of the most able men in the House as his colleagues and advisers. What is more unusual, he had the rare good sense, with all his numerous and able supporters at the General Election, not to put himself above such an intellectual giant as Mr. Stout, assigning his own physical infirmities as a reason for not taking the lion's share of the work upon himself. The same reason had been assigned for not addressing the electors of Christchurch North during the election, but in both cases the real reason was that whilst he was a very capable writer of speeches, and especially of financial statements, he was very far from being an attractive extempore public speaker, and would have cut a poor figure on the platform by the side of Mr. Crewes or in the House by the side of Mr. Stout. But whilst he had learned a good deal in his travels, and especially in London, and had grown even stronger in the financial acuteness so often remarkable in his race, his restless ambition, his inveterate habit of gambling, and his habitual self-indulgence in luxuries, made him a constant prey to the gout, and had left him so insensible to natural mental stimulants that he would often snore in the House with a written speech in his hand, and require to be shaken up by his friends when his opportunity came to read what he had written. His deafness, too, had greatly increased, so that he was incapable of replying to anything which he could not see in writing or in print. It would have been impossible for any colleagues to have supplied these defects more ably or more willingly than they were supplied by Mr. Stout and Mr. Ballance, but no one could have enabled him to meet the reasonable demands of the House if he had been unwise enough to have taken the Premiership himself, as it was generally expected that he would do.

On Tuesday, September 16, 1884, Sir Julius Vogel read a very able Financial Statement which was

received and applauded with great enthusiasm by the House, by the Press, by the electors and by the Bank of New Zealand. He, perhaps, never stood higher in public estimation in New Zealand than he stood for a few weeks after reading his bold and characteristic proposals, some of which were undoubtedly able and wise, although the most attractive and most applauded of all his proposals was neither wise nor able, but characteristically proposed to give present relief to the tax-payers of New Zealand at a heavy cost to the immediate reputation, and to the future credit and welfare of the Colony. This proposal being nothing less than to violate the entire spirit of all the conditions under which New Zealand had borrowed more than thirty millions of money by stipulating to pay one per cent. as sinking fund, in addition to any interest agreed upon. Sir Julius now proposed that this should henceforth be paid with the one hand but immediately borrowed back with the other; in other words, that the legal construction of the agreement should be formally complied with, whilst the spirit and evident intention of the agreement was to be broken. There was, in fact, nothing either able, honest, or prudent in such a proposal; but the same statement contained a very able criticism upon the general muddle under which New Zealand loans had usually been negotiated. Although no one could more effectually mystify and confuse the members of the House, under a cloud of superfluous names and figures, than Sir Julius Vogel when he wished to do so, no one could put the truth before the public more simply and convincingly when his object was to expose the incapacity and mischief of his predecessor's finance. Thus he now put before the House the simple facts that New Zealand was annually paying £1,578,799, upon a debt of £29,574,902, or at the rate of $5\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., whilst her 4 per cent. inscribed stock was being quoted in London at $103\frac{3}{4}$, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ above par. From these facts he might have shown that the Colony lost something more than a hundred thousand a year by constantly anticipating revenue with short-

dated debentures, issued under heavy charges, and paying from 4½ to 5 per cent. interest: when the money could have been borrowed, on inscribed stock, for less than 4 per cent.; but, for obvious reasons, he preferred to enlarge upon the desirability of not paying the Sinking Fund at all, whilst he suggested to the House that "without further annual charges than at present, the Colony could borrow seven and a half additional millions." As he was himself proposing, at once, to borrow half a million from the Bank of New Zealand, at five per cent., and under very expensive arrangements, he could not enlarge upon the vast sums which his predecessors had lost to the Colony in that way. With the number of clever lawyers and able business men who had now been returned to the House, and with two such able, well-informed and undoubtedly honest colleagues as Mr. Stout and Mr. Ballance, it seems quite impossible to comprehend how Sir Julius could even now be allowed to talk complacently about borrowing a million and a half every year, for the "vigorous prosecution of public works," when every one must have known that not one penny of the million and a half would come to New Zealand, as far more than that would now be required to stay in London to pay the interest on the money he had borrowed so lavishly and spent so extravagantly under his misnamed "public works policy," during his first disasterous reign in New Zealand. He knew, full well, that every public work in New Zealand must in future be done by the revenue drawn from her over-taxed residents, whilst the million and a half a year which he now so easily persuaded the new Parliament to borrow, would only serve to hide, during his present reign, the disastrous effect upon the Colony of the many thousands which, for the future, must every day be sent away from the Colony as the result of her past reckless improvidence. But his strangely fascinating advice was eagerly adopted by the elected guardians of the public purse; with the very commonplace and very unfascinating result that in three years, under his financial

reign, the National Debt of New Zealand had increased by £4,551,171, being about £8 per head of the European population in New Zealand at that date, or equal, in proportion to the resident population of the two countries respectively, to an increase of 320 millions on the National Debt of Great Britain with its present resident population.

Whilst finance was thus so trustingly and confidently left to the captivating financial genius of Sir Julius Vogel, Messrs Stout and Ballance were allowed to have their own way in liberal and useful legislation, such as Married Women's Property Bill, the Police Offences Bill, and the Workman's Wages Bill. The West Coast and its gold and coal mines received great attention and very liberal treatment, and more really useful legislation was got through the last two months of this session than had been accomplished in so short a time before since the days of Stafford. Mr. Ballance devoted his attention almost exclusively at this time to his favourite subject of land distribution. He tried some bold and liberal experiments with village settlements, with varying success, dependent on sites chosen and the class of settlers dealt with. His failures were much exaggerated and very unreasonably condemned, but his experiments were useful and instructive, and helped him in the better work which was afterwards to be performed by his Government, and, after his death, by his Minister of Lands. He was naturally a prudent financier, but so far he had rated his own power too modestly to interfere or to be any effectual check upon Grey, Macandrew, Stout, or Vogel. Mr. Stout, with great power to comprehend and to analyse financial proposals, was by no means an ardent economist, and was not always averse to try the effect of some of Sir Julius Vogel's boldest proposals; but he never believed in any of his other colleagues so implicitly or so justly as he believed in Mr. Ballance, and his trust was reciprocated. But his private business was all the time becoming more lucrative and attractive; so that he tried to convince himself that he did right to attend

to it, and leave Sir Julius to finance in his own way. In 1886 he became Sir Robert Stout. It had been generally believed that, with his democratic theories, he would not accept that aristocratic honour; but the K.C.M.G. was offered him, during the second year of his Premiership, and he accepted it, much to the disappointment of some of his supporters.

It is not our intention to follow the various stages by which Sir Julius Vogel gradually but surely lost the confidence of his colleagues, of the House, and of the electors; so that he came back to the House, after the General Election of 1887, without the able Premier, who had been most unexpectedly defeated for Dunedin East by a young, untried, but able and well-informed candidate; and without sufficient support in the House to induce the Governor to send for him to form another Ministry.

On Friday, the last day of September, 1887, Sir Robert Stout placed the resignation of his Ministry in the hands of his Excellency, Sir W. F. D. Jervois who, without asking for advice, sent for Major Atkinson and instructed him to form a Government, which he had no difficulty in doing, with two of his old and five new colleagues. Sir F. Whitaker was once more Attorney General, and Mr. Mitchelson Minister of Works. Mr. Hislop was Colonial Secretary, Richardson Minister of Mines and Land, Fergus of Justice and Defence, George Fisher Education and Customs, and Stevens without portfolio.

Entangled, as Major Atkinson was now known to be, with the Bank of New Zealand, it was a great misfortune to himself, and to the Colony, that he should have consented to pretend to govern the Colony with two of his old colleagues even more at the command of the Bank than himself. This was the more certainly fatal to his reputation or success as the new colleagues, whom he was undoubtedly directed to choose, were men who could never be suspected of carrying any counteracting power or influence, as against the Bank and its three dependents. Mr. Hislop was a

young talking lawyer, who always appeared to be talking under direction without much personal interest in what he was saying. Mr. Richardson was a talking land surveyor, sometimes persuaded to make very inaccurate financial statements. Messrs Fergus and Fisher were both very capable of lowering the reputation of any Ministry by personal attacks upon all who dared to tell unpleasant truths, whilst the dignified and highly respectable Mr. Stevens not infrequently excited suspicion, by the profound silence and inviolable secrecy with which he carried, so safely, all the confidential transactions of the Cabinet. Both in the Opening Speech, which he put in the hands of the Governor, and in his own Financial Statement, which he delivered three weeks later, Major Atkinson announced, in most decided terms, his apparently final determination to effect very important reductions in the public expenditure of the Colony. In his Financial Statement, the Premier himself says, "I take, therefore, as my starting point, the firm determination of the country for retrenchment, which no one can say is not reasonable." But nothing practical came of all the promises about retrenchment; borrowing was so easy, and retrenchment so unpopular, that during the three years and a half which he remained nominally at the head of the Government, there was, not only no reduction, but a very large increase in the annual expenditure and in the Colonial Debt. On almost the last page of his last Financial Statement, which he was unable to read himself, we find this honest, pathetic confession of his total failure in this direction:—

"The increased amount for interest and sinking fund, from £1,642,876 paid in 1886-87, to £1,897,600 paid in 1889-90 is £254,727. For these increases the Government is only so far responsible that we continued, and have carried on cautiously, the policy approved by more than one Parliament."

Before Parliament met in June, 1889, Mr. George Fisher had forfeited the confidence of his colleagues and had been called upon to retire from the Atkinson Ministry. His great vituperative powers had in consequence, with retributive justice, been exercised in

something like a hundred pages of public correspondence upon the Premier himself. His removal enabled the Government to obtain the services of the member for Hawke's Bay, Captain William Russell, who accepted the portfolios of Colonial Secretary, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Defence, and it would certainly have been impossible to have found in the House a more complete contrast to Mr. George Fisher. As a man and a gentleman, Captain Russell was almost equally respected by both sides of the House. He was not an orator nor a strong debater, nor a vigilant executive officer, but he made no enemies, attempted no misrepresentations, spoke good English and good sense and was loyal to a fault, as he accepted, without hesitation, his full meed of censure for all that had been done by his party, his superiors, or his subordinates, however much he may have disapproved or tried to prevent the action for which he was censured. As a wealthy man, as a large land owner, and as a military officer, he shared the prejudices, and usually watched over what he believed to be the interests, of his own class, but his sympathies for the suffering and the oppressed, his ideas of constitutional government and constitutional safeguards, of free trade and equal opportunities to all, were instinctively liberal, and often contrasted favourably with the opinions or actions of those who delighted to call him the leader of the Tories.

In the year after he entered upon his last and most unhappy Premiership, Major Atkinson became Sir Harry Albert Atkinson, K.C.M.G., and about the same date his health and physical power began very evidently to decline under his manifold provocations and embarrassed surroundings.

On the evening of Wednesday, July 2nd, 1890, a staggering blow to the last Atkinson Ministry, from which it never recovered, was struck by Mr. George Hutcheson in a no-confidence debate in the House of Representatives. In Mr. Hutcheson's remarkably able and merciless speech, all the damaging accusations

brought against the Atkinson Government by Mr. Dargaville, so far back as June 20th, 1884, were put in a much stronger and more unanswerable form, with very large and very important additions. The accusations of both members affecting Major Atkinson, Mitchelson and Whitaker, were more than confirmed, and were made far more generally known by the imbecile attempts of the Government to throw doubt upon facts which admitted of no doubt whatever, and which were greatly aggravated by such unprincipled attempts to get them concealed by party actions for party purposes. All attempts to intimidate Mr. Hutchison were met by him in exactly the same spirit that Mr. Dargaville had met the same kind of actions, and with even more humiliating and more widely known consequences to the Atkinson Government. We need only give one example of his very definite and to this day unrefuted accusations. After pointing out a number of ways in which the Colony had been defrauded for the benefit of the Bank of New Zealand by the Whitaker and Atkinson Governments, and especially that whilst the Stout Government, in 1887, had left only 11 per cent. of the borrowed money in the Bank of New Zealand, without interest, the Atkinson Government had left in their very first year 53 per cent., or no less than £412,749, and that they had floated £840,000 of Deficiency bills "to purchase gold to fill the coffers of the Bank of New Zealand," he goes on to say:—

"The Chairman of Directors of the New Zealand Bank was then the Hon. Sir F. Whitaker, and he was also then, as he is still Attorney-General in the present Administration. And I may say that the honourable gentleman was at that time deeply indebted to the Bank of New Zealand. I will not say that the amount of his overdraft was £40,000, or any other sum, because some Minister may get up and say it was not so, because the amount was a little larger, or a little smaller, but I will say that it was a very, very heavy amount, and an amount which has never to this day been discharged. If the Government will appoint a Committee to inquire into the transactions of the Government with the Bank of New Zealand, during the last three years, I take upon myself the onus of proving that what I now say is absolutely correct."

A committee of nine was appointed in which the Government had a majority of one. But every division was on strictly party lines, so that nothing was ever proved or disproved by such a committee; but, as might be expected, a clever, well-informed lawyer, as Mr. George Hutchison undoubtedly was, had ample evidence for all he had said and for much more than he said. So that, although days and weeks were spent, chiefly by Mr. Hislop, in talking against Mr. Hutchison and all who sided with him, Mr. Hutchison's statements, as to the complete bondage of the three leading Ministers to the Bank of New Zealand, were not even distinctly denied, and no attempt was made to disprove them. The excitement was kept up for a considerable time by reports of legal proceedings, commenced against Mr. Hutchison, who claimed no protection as a member of Parliament, but evidently courted an opportunity to prove his statements in the Supreme Court, to which the unfortunate and unhappy victims of his accusations dared not take him.

When the fourth session of the tenth New Zealand Parliament was opened by a speech from Governor Onslow on Thursday, June 19th, 1890, the House of Representatives was informed, by the Speaker, that he had, on September 30th, 1889, received the resignation of Mr. Campbell who had for thirty-five years performed the duties of Clerk to the House with much ability and satisfaction, and that Mr. Friend, the assistant clerk of twenty-six years' standing, had been appointed in his place. A vote of thanks and appreciation of Mr. Campbell's long service, proposed by Sir H. Atkinson and seconded by Mr. Ballance, was carried by acclamation. It was the last motion ever proposed in the House by Sir H. Atkinson.

The next, if not the prior, business should have been to receive the resignation of the long disabled Premier, who was now positively forbidden, by his medical advisers, to read a Financial Statement or to incur any excitement in the House. But the ruling passion of life was still too strong to allow him to resign, with all

his hopeless and daily increasing incapacity. His last poor, weak effort in the House was made eight days later, when he told the House :—

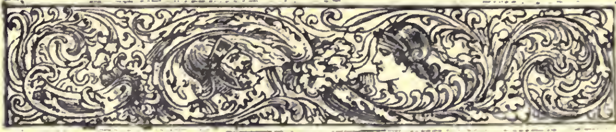
"My medical advisers say that it will be absolutely dangerous for me to enter into any exciting debate whatever, and that I am not to do so under any circumstances. I therefore naturally thought that it would be proper for me to resign, but upon consulting with my friends I find that they are very averse to my doing that, and I therefore propose not to resign. I propose to still retain the Premiership, and I am going to ask the House the extraordinary indulgence of allowing me not to attend the chief debates."

A less amiable man than the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ballance, could hardly say "No" to the appeal of a dying man, however wrong he must have known it to be to consent to such an unreasonable request as that of accepting a Premier who would never be able to speak or to be spoken to in the House, and who could name no colleague qualified by ability, experience and independence, to perform the duties of the most important and the most indispensable link in the ministerial chain. The Bank of New Zealand had the audacity to name Mr. Mitchelson, with all his well known dependence on them, and Mr. Mitchelson consequently became the Acting Premier, in what was still called the Atkinson Ministry, but what might always with more truth have been called the Ministry of Mr. Thomas Russell. What he consented to, in a moment of compassionate weakness, Mr. Ballance had abundant reason to repent, as the work of the session was dragged on ; and, on the last day of the session, he was compelled to say :

"One of the chief causes of the want of success on the part of the Government in carrying the large public measures in this House is the absence of the Premier from the House ; and so strongly do I feel upon this point that, notwithstanding the earnest appeal on behalf of the Premier on account of the state of his health, I should feel it my duty, were such a case to arise again, to oppose any proposition that the Premier may be absent from the House during the whole of a session."

The last speaker in that session and the last in that Parliament, said, September 17th, 1890 :—

"I entirely agree with what has been said by the leader of the Opposition, that the Government has displayed an amount of weakness, and, I might almost say, of political imbecility, such as no other Parliament has ever seen."



CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE BALLANCE MINISTRY.

IF a statesman will raise no money but what is wanted; nor employ any civil or military officers but what are useful, and place in those employments men of the highest integrity and of the greatest abilities; if he will employ some few of his hours to advance our trade, and some few more to regulate our domestic government, he will either have no opposition to baffle, or he will baffle it by a fair appeal to his conduct. Such a minister may, in the language of the laws, put himself on his country whenever he pleases, and he shall come off with honour and applause.—FEILDING.

THE resignation of Mr. Montgomery, who was visiting England, the defeat of Sir Robert Stout, at the General Election in 1887, and the return of Sir Julius Vogel to London, had forced Mr. Ballance to be at first the actual, and finally, the nominal leader of the Opposition, notwithstanding his own diffidence, and his long estrangement from Sir George Grey. As Treasurer in the Grey Ministry, and as editor and proprietor of the "Wanganui Herald," he had kept himself well informed upon the financial condition of the Colony, and had never lost his interest in the non-taxation of improvements, and in the multiplication of working, cultivating land holders.

It was thus that, with all his great mental power, he naturally stood to take the place of the now utterly discredited, but slow dying Atkinson Ministry. Their last act was to place as many of their friends as they possibly could in the Legislative Council, and to get their poor, disabled leader appointed Speaker of that

body, when the General Election of 1890 had proved that it was no longer possible for them to hold the emoluments of office, and that they had no longer any right to pretend that they were representing the electors of New Zealand. After putting the Colony to the expense of a useless and untimely session, they resigned without further struggle on Jan. 24, 1891, or on the first day after the Parliament met, when Mr. Ballance was sent for and instructed to form a Ministry.

The new House of Representatives presented some important new features. By its own action the representative House had now been reduced from 91 to 72 members; large land speculators and their agents were less conspicuous, and four *bonâ fide* working mechanics had been sent to the House by some of the largest constituencies, and they were well received by the House, as they had been well chosen by the electors. There were two shoemakers, one brass founder, and one carpenter. The carpenter was the youngest man in the House, but had already been frequently called in print the young New Zealand orator. He was a remarkably good, polished speaker, but never wasted the time of the House. The brass-worker spoke much more frequently, but not so well. The shoemakers were not very frequent speakers, but were fairly well informed politicians. As neither of them had been in the House before, it would hardly have done to place even the young orator in the Ministry.

No man of Mr. Ballance's stamp had ever before been called upon to select a New Zealand Ministry, and no Premier of any stamp had ever been called on to select a Ministry from such entirely new material, and with such entirely new objects in view. With all his great ability, and accurate information, and public spirited aims, rejecting less modest men than himself was not a congenial task for him, nor one in which it can be said that he was very successful; so that, when his Ministry was formed, there was no man in it who estimated his own importance and capacity so modestly as the man who must and did lead, and must be, and

was responsible for all that was done. But what he wanted in self-esteem he more than made up by a sweetness of manner, and by a tender consideration for all, which made it a pleasure, even for the high-minded, to fall in with his mildly expressed wishes. With all his gentleness, he never gave up the reins, as Sir William Fox, whilst Premier, too often did, but recognised the responsibilities of his position as fully, as firmly, as kindly, and as justly, as he recognised the full right of his advisers to be advisers in reality, as well as in name. In the House, as well as in the Cabinet, he set his somewhat uncouth and rough-spoken colleagues an example of polite reply in the face of the most unjust and unfounded accusations: an example which two, if not three, of his colleagues very much needed, and which, fortunately for them, and for the reputation of the New Zealand Parliament, they did not often forget, even after the death of their more gentle and more civilized leader.

Up to the time that Mr. Ballance occupied the position of Premier his retiring modesty had deprived the Colony of the full value of his great ability, his honest patriotism, and his natural prudence, as it was only then that he felt himself called on to insist upon following his own conscience and his own judgment. In 1877, under the popular Sir George Grey as Premier, misled by the almost equally popular Macandrew as Minister of Public Works, he felt it his duty to work with them as long as he could, and to retire from office, and from responsibility, when he could no longer honestly do so. In 1884, under the Premiership of his able and trusted friend, Sir Robert Stout, assisted, if not guided, by the glorified popular financier of that day, he would have thought it presumptuous, in his position of Native Minister, to have made any serious stand against the fiscal policy of the rulers so loudly applauded by the electors, and so strongly supported by Parliament. But now that the responsibility was clearly his own, the first duty that lay before him was to select a Ministry from those members of Par-

liament whose views, on great distinctive public questions, were in accordance with his own, however little reason he might have to be proud of his selection with regard to less indispensable qualifications. But it would be presumptuous to assert that so genial and modest a man, as Mr. Ballance unquestionably was, was not, like most other Premiers, in some cases, driven, rather than drawn, to accept colleagues more qualified by self-confidence than by distinguished ability or unselfish patriotism, or more certain to be formidable as opponents than to be manageable and helpful as colleagues. No careful observer of parliamentary promotions would dare to assert that it was always, or even often, the "meek who inherit the earth."

From the newly-elected House Mr. Ballance had to select his Ministry, which he did with the fixed determination to be associated with men who would work heart and soul with him in exempting improvements from taxation, in placing land in the hands of those who would cultivate it, and in arresting the madly ruinous increase of National debt; with the National burdens, and National loss of population which were now so evidently resulting from it. The new House contained an unusually small proportion of highly educated and experienced men; and most of those that were left were opposed to Mr. Ballance and his patriotic proposals; whilst his choice was still further limited by the resolution, which New Zealand Parliaments had always shown, to avoid any over representation, in the Cabinet, of any province or locality.

The member for Waitaki, John McKenzie, had long been at his command in the House when he wanted a vote, and a voice, and a resolute will in favour of his land reforms, so that he now became the Hon. John McKenzie, Minister of Lands, Immigration, and Agriculture. He was physically the largest man in the House, who, without long legs or a long neck, stood six feet four inches high, with a circumference that was more than in full proportion to his height. He had received the education of a Scotch and New Zealand

Hon. J. Ballance.

shepherd, and had been some years in the House. His language was now sufficiently Anglicised to be generally understood; he was well read on his favourite subjects, with a powerful natural intellect, a resolute will, a guileless, outspoken manner, and a good judgment, when not carried away by his occasional fits of hot, impulsive temper. Physically and mentally, he was a brave and powerful man, and remarkably fearless in his opposition to the land speculators and monopolisers, both in and out of the House. On great occasions his speeches were sometimes remarkably influential and instructive, but when his indignation was roused, either justly or unjustly, he was prone to lash out wildly with no regard to consequences, justice, or consistency. He was, however, well chosen for the work before him, which he performed honestly and fearlessly. His giant physical strength faded for want of exercise at his sedentary pursuits, and he would have been more healthy, and probably more happy, if he had been left in charge of his sheep on the southern mountains; but New Zealand is to-day much the better for his work, and many will rejoice that his courage and ability were not left to the sheep.

Richard John Seddon, whom Mr. Ballance now chose to make Minister of Public Works, Mines and Defence, was almost as large without being quite as tall as Mr. McKenzie, whom he called his friend "Jock," and who called him "our Dick;" so that Mr. Ballance, who was himself a large man, looked comparatively small when he sat between these two giants on the front Ministerial bench. "Our Dick" had not had the advantage even of a Scotch shepherd's education, but had to the full the very great disadvantage of a publican's education in the midst of a rough, noisy, gold-scrambling population, and was, even now, but very partially civilised by having been fourteen successive sessions in the House of Representatives. But he had always found himself a jolly, jovial dictator among his comrades on the West Coast, and contrived, with admirable tact and wonderful powers of quick percep-

tion, to maintain the same position under all his wonderfully improving opportunities of association. Bashfulness was a weakness which he never realised or understood at any period of his life, or at any stage of his education. His first speech in the House was anything but a maiden speech. He laid down the law to the House for two and a-quarter hours, and sat down with a feeling of confidence and self-satisfaction which Sir John Hall or Mr. Ballance were never permitted to realise. But no one who heard that speech, or any part of it, with all its misplaced H's, its distorted verbs, and carelessly and verbosely misstated facts, would ever have dreamed that such a speaker would, before twenty years had passed, be Minister of Public Works, leader of the House, Councillor to the Queen, patronising Sir George Grey, enlightening Mr. Gladstone, and rivalling all the great Premiers of the Empire at the British Diamond Jubilee ; coming home with a Right Honourable for life, and with an LL.D. which thousands of highly educated men had sought and laboured for in vain. Mr. Ballance, at any rate, had no such expectations when he appointed " our Dick " to be the Hon. Richard Seddon, Minister of Public Works. He only knew that he was the longest-winded and the most insuppressible of stone-wallers, who would be an intolerable nuisance to him and to his party if he left him in opposition : that he had not a particle of respect or sympathy for the great land monopolisers who were now to be taken in hand, and, what was perhaps the greatest cause of Richard Seddon's universal success, that no human being —no man, woman or child—could ever be too high or too low for him to address with familiarity and apparent interest. All his early intellectual educational disadvantages have been practically compensated by the great natural powers which nature has conferred upon him. He is a fine specimen of the sanguine temperament, with exceedingly strong perceptive faculties, which make him almost always more ready, although often far less correct than his more reflective, cautious, or conservative opponents. His lungs are so very large, and his vocal

powers so perfect that he could soothe a lady, attract a child, or shake the roof of the largest tabernacle, for three hours together; whilst his sleeping and digestive powers are almost as good. If his moral had only been equal to his intellectual perception his present position would be unassailable, and he would probably maintain his remarkable pre-eminence to as late an age as Gladstone maintained his; but such, unfortunately for New Zealand, and for the Hon. Richard Seddon, is not the case. Neither nature nor circumstances have endowed him with a high moral sense. Disinterested patriotism, constitutional justice, impartial equity, and invariable accuracy, are not amongst his virtues. He seeks the advice and assistance, not of the wise and good, but of the weak and subservient, or the designing and unscrupulous; and stoops to seek popularity either as a saint or as a sinner; either by praying with General Booth, or by siding with the brewers and their agents who crowd the Parliamentary lobbies. Strong, conscientious men are not chosen by him as colleagues, or as members of the Legislative Council, or of the House of Representatives; and very rarely even as the upper Civil servants. No really liberal measure will ever be supported by him that offers any proper constitutional check to his autocratic power. He wants no Hare system of election, that would send strong men to the House; no Elective Executive Bill that would make him only one of a strong Executive Council, chosen by Parliament, instead of the dictator of an Executive Council nominated by himself, and holding office during his pleasure. He is, without a doubt, a jolly, good-tempered despot, and we are in no danger of the fate of Elliot or Alice Lysle; but that does not justify him in calling himself a Liberal, whilst he is really employed in converting the New Zealand Democracy into a smiling despotism. In his social instincts, Mr. Seddon is an extreme Liberal, a warm and unchanging friend, who has allowed no elevation in his own station to make him undervalue his old friends. His old comrades are still shaken by the hand as warmly as ever, although

their hands may be grimed with soot or still hardened with toil, and their language as unceremonious as in the old time.

> The man who hails him Tom or Jack,
> And proves with thumps upon his back
> How much he loves him,
> Still gets a hearty thump in return
> And gives no offence to the Right Honourable Richard Seddon, LL.D.

But, in a political sense, it is only charitable to conclude that he knows so little of constitutional history, and of the importance of keeping the Executive power under the control of the Legislature, that he really does not know that he is now playing the part of a despot; choosing his own parliament, his own colleagues, spending money and thrusting his old friends into office, without any regard to their fitness, and without the slightest respect for the safeguards which true liberalism has always regarded as so essential and so sacred.

William Pember Reeves was appointed by Mr. Ballance as the Canterbury representative in his Ministry, less on account of any experience or qualifications of his own, than because he was the eldest son of the Honourable William Reeves, M.L.C., the managing director of a widely circulated and influential Canterbury newspaper. He was quite a young man, neither physically, mentally, nor morally strong, but had enjoyed more opportunities for intellectual cultivation than any other member of Mr. Ballance's Ministry, not excepting, perhaps, Mr. Ballance himself. By the aid of his father's paper, he had defeated a far more experienced and able man than himself for the St. Alban's seat, and had just been elected with flying colours for the City of Christchurch. He was appointed to the new portfolio of Minister of Labour, in which no member of the House had had any experience, and for which his extensive modern reading, as a member of the *Lyttelton Times* Editorial Staff, had perhaps done something to qualify him. But no phrenologist would ever have chosen him for any post requiring the exercise of an

honest and active sympathy in the welfare of the masses.

He had been educated, but never practised as a lawyer, and the professional bias thus created, confirmed by the luxurious indulgence of his home life, and the unearned promotion which he enjoyed amongst the employees of the *Lyttelton Times*, had done much to still more unfit him for a sympathiser with labour. He was, on the contrary, a very sincere sympathiser with the Christchurch publicans, whose vote he always secured, and whose interest he continually guarded in the House. He had a good share of natural ability, but, like Crabbe's Richard Monday, "he had but one care," so that he might have succeeded in most vocations better than in trying to appear as the sincere guardian of the working classes of New Zealand. Whilst on the Ministerial benches he improved much as a public speaker, and, as such, often made a good display in the House. For some years his goal was the Agent Generalship in London, and that is what he ultimately attained.

It would have been a happy thing for New Zealand if Mr Ballance had succeeded in his desire to obtain, in his Ministry, the assistance of Mr David Goldie, member for Newton, who had been nicknamed, by the selfish spenders of the House, "the King of the Skinflints;" and who was, in fact, the assiduous, courageous, high-principled, insuppressible guardian of the public purse so long as he remained in the House. But nothing could persuade him to accept office, and the demands of his private business, joined to what he had experienced of the hopeless and thankless task of a parliamentary economist in New Zealand, soon induced him to resign his seat in the House, just after Mr Ballance's accession to power might have made his honest and patriotic efforts more successful.

Failing Mr. Goldie, Mr. Alfred Jerome Cadman, the member for the Thames, was called on to take a seat in Mr. Ballance's Government, as the guardian of

the Auckland province. He was a quiet, pleasant mannered man, who only spoke when he had something to say, and there was not much to say about the only portfolio he held at first, which was the Commissioner of Stamp Duties. He was a man of weak voice and small head, and by no means robust constitution, so that he could hardly cope with the Minister of Public Works, but was destined to prove a very useful assistant to him. He was a plodding reliable office man, who probably did some very good important office work, and certainly did very little harm. It was not long before he was called Native Minister.

The Minister without any portfolio to start with, Mr. Joseph George Ward, is not a man of Mr. Cadman's stamp at all. He can talk, and talk well, and talk faster than any short-hand writer could keep up with him ; and is just the man who might do any Government a great deal of good or a great deal of harm, and who has probably done both to the Seddon Government. He can talk about millions of money, or about Federation, or Banks, or marine cables, or shipping companies, or postal contracts, as easily as the farmers he deals with can talk about potatoes. But the most remarkable and unusual thing in connection with him is, that whilst the members of Parliament, who have never had any business transactions with him, declare him to be the most untrustworthy and dangerous of men, the electors, who insist upon retaining him as their representative, the farmers who are said to have been ruined by him, and the Government which secretly consults him about every important financial transaction, repudiate all protection or interference by the law or the Parliament in their interest, and only ask to be left entirely alone to his ability, to his honesty, and to his undoubtedly good intentions. There must have been in his past transactions excessive and imprudent speculations, the working out of which was unwisely, and too confidently, left in hands less able and less responsible than his own. There must have been a delusive fondness for public work

that could have induced Mr. Ward to undertake public business to the neglect of private business of such magnitude. But, in the light of recent recoveries and restorations, there can be no doubt that the losses incurred were not a little increased, and forced on by the action of social, commercial, or political bitterness; that Mr. Ward's intentions have all along been heroically honest, and that his steadiness of purpose, and power of endurance are on a par with his manifest ability.

In public life Mr. Ward is no doubt responsible to some extent, at least, for the early departure of the Seddon Government from the prudent and happily successful non-borrowing policy of Mr. Ballance, and for the heavy responsibilities incurred to save the Bank of New Zealand. But it must be admitted that the borrowing speculations originating with him have been better thought out, with a more justifiable object, and with far more to show for the debts undertaken, than can be shown for most of those incurred under Vogel or Atkinson. The strong point in his favour is that he has always been most esteemed, both in his private and his public life, by those who have had the best opportunities to really know him.

The Hon. James Carroll was called, not Native Minister, but the Native Member of the Executive. He is a well-educated and completely Anglicised half-caste, who speaks either language grammatically, and makes himself agreeable and useful to both races. He is not so fond of public speaking as the pure-bred Maoris usually are, and his English speeches, although correct, and even elegant, are usually delivered with a formal stiffness which very plainly suggests that English is not the language in which he expressed his earlier and more simple ideas. But he nevertheless sings English songs in a very fine voice, and is quite a boy in his love of English sports and pastimes.

The one member of the Ministry in the Legislative Council who combined in his own person the two important offices of Colonial Secretary and Attorney-General was the Hon. Sir Patrick Alphonsos Buckley,

K.C.M.G. He never presented the appearance of being over-worked or under-fed; was not often quoted as a great authority, even upon law, and was never approached with any appearance of awe by his shorter named colleagues. He was, in fact, a jolly, good tempered Irish lawyer, upon whom the cares of office sat very lightly, whose aspirations were never very exalted, whose jokes were more humorous than refined, and who was never likely to prove such an important factor in any Government as the holding of two such important offices would seem to imply.

Such were the men with whose help Mr Ballance now undertook some of the most difficult, because the most strongly and ably resisted, reforms that any statesman could take in hand. His aim was to give land to the landless, to give political knowledge and power to the ignorant and to the weak, to place the heaviest burden of taxation upon the strongest shoulders, and, as far as possible, to expose and abate the fatal delusion that any country or any community would grow rich by extravagance and borrowing; by employing a deluge of overpaid officials; or by following the counsel of selfish traders and gold hunters. hasting to be rich. At such work he was sure to incur the resistance of the land speculators and large property holders of the House, and to be hated and thwarted by them as much as William Cobbet was hated when writing, in his honourable gaol, to demand political rights and untaxed bread from the landholders who, in his day, composed the omnipotent majority in the British House of Commons.

If Mr Ballance had known that he had only two and a-quarter years to live he could not have gone more promptly and resolutely to work on behalf of those who now placed him in power; nor could he have found in the House two assistants equally ready to follow him, fearlessly and resolutely, at any pace he chose to lead, than Messrs. McKenzie and Seddon were now prepared to do. For several years they had sat on the same bench by the side of Mr. Ballance, advocating

THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD J. SEDDON, P.C., LL.D.

the same reforms, and somewhat more roughly encountering the same opponents, so that they were prepared to respect and trust him as they would respect and trust no other leader, unrestrained by the slightest respect for the wealthy, educated men whose private interests were now to be assailed in the pursuit of the greatest good of the greatest number. For such a purpose, they were the backbone of his Ministry, who never asked for a moment's delay. The easy-going Buckley, the poetical Reeves, the placid Cadman, and the willing, jovial Carroll, all had their every-day uses, but for grappling with the real difficulties before him, the two big men, with their fixed purpose, their parliamentary experience, their knowledge of land, their contempt for learning, wealth, or gentility, their implicit confidence in their chief, in themselves, and in each other, and with their rough and ready tongues, were the lieutenants whom he needed and always found ready at hand to perform the rough work least congenial to his refined and gentlemanly nature.

In the short time which he lived, he had established a Labour Department and a Labour Bureau, had succeeded in getting a progressive land tax, which exempted land of less than £500 value, and, starting with a penny in the £ on land above that value, progressed to 3d in the £ on land exceeding £210,000 in value, whilst stock, buildings, fences, and all improvements were exempted altogether. In the electoral laws he carried One Man One Vote, and carried Woman Suffrage in the Lower House, but it was delayed for one year by the Council. He obtained the power to purchase large estates and to let them, in small blocks, on perpetual lease; and obtained, on good terms, the celebrated large Cheviot estate, by resisting an under-valuation, for taxation purposes, by its owners; and put more than a thousand cultivators where less than twenty shepherds had lived before. But his greatest work, his hardest work, and his most self-sacrificing work, was that of restoring the credit of the colony, and arresting the growth of the National

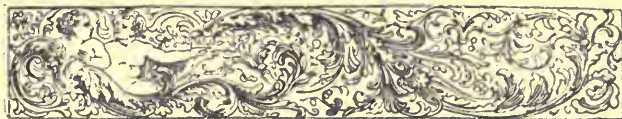
Debt, by determining to live no longer upon borrowed money. In the first Financial Statement which he produced after he became Premier, he informed the House that, "If we are to maintain our credit and our financial independence, borrowing in the London market must cease." After another year's reflection and experience, he was able to see his way to speak on this vital question with more hope and confidence. Instead of the million and a-half of annual increase in National debt, which had been usual under Vogel and Atkinson, he was able to state that the National Debt had fallen from £38,830,350 on March 31st, 1891, to £38,713,068 on March 31st, 1892.

In the last Financial Statement which this truly honest and able statesman lived to make, we find these memorable words :—

"Our debt is great and the population to bear the burden is comparatively small. We have marched for twenty years at a furious pace; too severe to last; and have piled up obligations which should make some men pause. It is not more than five years since a powerful journal—the *London Standard*—wrote of New Zealand in these terms :—

'Here is a colony wasting millions of loans because it could not pay its way without them; a colony, in a true sense, is not what we find, but a soil in the grasp of speculators; a people huddled into towns dependent on public works for subsistence; municipalities joyfully dispensing other persons' money; a land of Banks, mortgage and finance companies; a community whose very life is jobbed away on the Stock Exchange with no more thought than if it were so much hemp.'

The indictment is fierce, and bitter and overdrawn. But to some extent, unfortunately, it is not absolutely unfounded. If Parliament is resolutely determined to remove every trace of the charges contained in the indictment it has it in its power to do so. It may, in spite of every possible resistance, release the land which is still in the grasp of speculators; it may commence to erect the structure of our financial independence, and, at length, restore to the people their heritage free from the hand of the Spoiler."



CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE LAST DAYS OF FOUR NEW ZEALAND CELEBRITIES.

THE living and the dead alike claim an honest and impartial estimation.—CHARLES KNIGHT.

IN addition to the usual temptation to prolong the enjoyment of place, power and pay, the Atkinson Government were strongly tempted, after the general election of 1890 had clearly gone against them, to cling to office long enough to put seven of their strongest partisans into the Legislative Council, and to appoint their disabled Premier to the well-paid and very light duties of Speaker of that easy-going Legislature. Sir William Fitzherbert had held that much-coveted office for eleven years, in addition to the large pension and the illegal leave of absence which we have seen that he obtained so rapaciously with Mr Gisborne's help in 1869 and 1870. He was now lying on his death-bed, and his death had for some time been daily expected; but, as it did not take place before the Government was compelled to resign, his resignation was, with difficulty, obtained in time for the appointment of his successor to be made by the minority Government.

On June 28th, 1892, Sir Harry Atkinson met the sudden death which he and his friends had so long expected. During the sessions of 1891, he had, with the personal courage which made him such a distinguished and respected soldier, and in disregard of the warnings of his medical attendants, occupied the Speaker's chair in the Legislative Council without incurring the penalty which the diseased state of his heart rendered so probable; and with still more desperate courage he attempted to endure, with a still weaker heart, the same dangerous excitement in the session of 1892 which began June 23rd. On that day the Council only listened to the Governor's speech and immediately adjourned. On the following day, a very little formal business was transacted, and the Council adjourned twenty-five minutes after it met. At the next meeting of the Council, which was on Tuesday, June 28th, the Council only sat for quarter of an hour, but the frail heart was affected by some observations on the deaths of Messrs. Whitaker, Fulton, and Martin. As he left the Council Chamber for his own room, he said to Mr. Olliver,—" I should very much like to have said a few words myself on the losses we have sustained, but I did not dare to attempt it." Soon afterwards he was stretched on the floor of his room, and said, calmly and bravely,—" I have got my marching orders." On the following day, his friends in the Council were discussing his death, and naturally chose to enlarge exclusively on the good work of his brave and vigorous youth rather than on the weakness of his long decline. His friend, Dr. Grace, concluded a strong eulogy of his military work at Taranaki in these words:—" I scarcely felt any sadness as I looked at him lying dead yesterday, for I felt that death, so far from being a catastrophe, was often a real blessing, as, for example, when it came, at the crowning epoch of a career, to transfer the suffering creature to his noble inheritance in heaven."

Seven months after the death of Sir Harry Atkinson, died Wiremu Kingi, the noble patriot to whom

the justice of the future generations will probably assign a more honourable place, a more stainless record of cruel wrongs endured, of fierce calumny un-revenged, and of incredible injustice meekly forgiven, than could be truthfully assigned to any other New Zealand patriot. His timely preservation of the doomed early settlers in Wellington from the inevitable destruction planned for them by the bloodthirsty Rangihaeata; the brave and skilful generalship that so astonished Governor Browne, by which he evaded, without bloodshed, the destruction of himself and his supporters on their own land at Taranaki by the great guns and surrounding army of the arrogant Governor; his thoughtful and effectual protection of those Taranaki settlers who refused to bear arms against him, and of innumerable peaceful, unoffending settlers throughout the whole course of the long, aggressive war; the meekness with which he endured so many years of hardship and suffering and misrepresentation as an unjustly persecuted outlaw, and after all, returned, with every expression and proof of kindness and goodwill, to end his eventful life amongst the children of the settlers who had so long mistaken him for an enemy; all show a greatness, a nobleness, a justice and humanity of character that it would be difficult to equal in the annals of even the most civilized community, and was really marvellous to find amongst the descendants of a race so long habituated to the atrocities of uncivilized warfare. His death should have afforded a too tardy but a much needed opportunity of giving a strong public expression of remorse for the injustice inflicted upon the living and forbearing patriot: and, by the New Zealand press some handsome acknowledgments and candid confessions were actually made in that direction; but no manly public opportunity to acknowledge repentance and regret for their past cruel injustice was taken by such of his persecutors as now survived him; so that his funeral was allowed to be as unostentatious as the last years of his social, domestic and amiable life had been. He

died February 14th, 1893. We regret that we have not been able to obtain even a photo of this ill-requited patriot.

> Him did the scorn and wrath of man
> Pursue with deadly aim,
> And malice, envy, spite and lies
> Long desecrate his name.
> But truth shall conquer at the last,
> As round and round we run;
> The right shall yet come uppermost,
> And justice shall be done.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to enumerate all the benefits to New Zealand that so promptly followed upon Mr. Ballance's carefully considered and firmly pronounced determination, which he made known to the House on June 16th, 1891, and reiterated still more emphatically on June 30th, 1892, in these memorable words:—

"If we are to maintain our credit and financial independence, borrowing in the London market must cease. Our debt is great and the population to bear the burden comparatively small. We have marched for twenty years at a furious pace, too severe to last; and have piled up obligations which should make sane men pause. But now for the first time we have determined on a policy of true self-reliance—the only policy, I firmly believe, to make this a great country."

Never was an honest, brave resolution more promptly or distinctly rewarded. The financial difficulties that Mr. George Hutcheson so ably and truly depicted in such gloomy colours as endangering the solvency of the Colony, and dragging down the life of its Treasurer in the last days of the Atkinson Ministry now disappeared like a morning mist. The £400,000, which the New Zealand Bank could not advance at any price, and which the Colonial Bank had lent to the Atkinson Government as a great favour at 5 per cent. and could not get repaid, was now at once negotiated with a saving of £4,000 a year in interest, whilst the eight millions falling due during the first two years of the new Ministry was not only converted without difficulty, but with a saving of £85,000 a year in interest; as the London *Financial Times* no longer decried the credit of the Colony but some months before the death of Mr. Ballance wrote:—

"When Mr. Ballance inaugurated a sound policy we were among the first to recognise and applaud the fact, and now, with all their enormous debt and with all their past incomprehensible folly, we would, under such a Treasurer as Mr. Ballance, rather hold New Zealand stock at the present time than that of any other Australasian Colony."

This was Mr. Ballance's wisest, boldest and greatest work, and would, if it had only been adhered to by his successors, have proved the greatest boon that any man was ever allowed to confer upon New Zealand.

We say this with no desire to undervalue Mr Ballance's great work upon land, electoral or labour legislation, which it would be difficult to overrate. The large majority he usually commanded in the House, and the unanimity with which his wishes were supported in his Cabinet enabled him to effect more important political and social changes than any other man could have effected in so short a time. Nor did his influence in his Cabinet, or in the House, entirely cease even with his life. None of his colleagues in his Cabinet were at all anxious to carry female suffrage, and most of them had strongly opposed it before they became members of his Cabinet, but, either from veneration for their beloved chief, or from a desire to appear consistent, they professedly, rather than actually, supported it after his death. But what is more remarkable, though less satisfactory, is, that such a wholesale borrower as Mr Seddon has always been, did not immediately return to his natural habit after the death of his great restrainer, but obtained the support of Mr. Ballance's friends to his Premiership at a caucus meeting by assuring them that "Mr Ballance's non-borrowing policy had proved successful and beneficial to the country beyond the most sanguine expectations, and that no one understood that policy and could be in such a good position to carry it out as one who for more than two years had worked with Mr. Ballance so cordially and so heartily." Even nearly three months after Mr. Ballance's death, the Financial Statement of his Government, made by his Treasurer, Mr Ward, contains the strongest possible testimony to

the beneficial effect of the policy they were so soon to overthrow. In that Financial Statement Mr. Ward says :—

> "I am of opinion that the best interests of the colony are being better consulted by our steadfastly adhering to the policy of self-denial and by maintaining the strong financial position which we now hold than by further large and heavy reductions in taxation, and in substitution thereof adopting a borrowing policy. The Government believe that borrowing is not necessary, and have decided to conduct the business of the country without having recourse to it. The policy of self-reliance has borne fruit, and economy in both public and private life has assisted to bring about a happier condition of things. Never in the previous history of the Colony were its prospects brighter. Land settlement has progressed vigorously. The acquirement of Native lands has gone on actively. Trade and commerce are active and increasing. The bulk of our exports is larger than ever. Our mines have greatly developed and the output of our gold is once more recovering. The avenues for the employment of well-directed energy are large and expanding, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that, in addition to a surplus in our revenue, we have also a surplus in all articles of produce, over and above our requirements, available for export."

Such is the testimony given to the complete success of Mr. Ballance's non-borrowing policy by the very Government which in its Financial Statement of the following year was so completely to overthrow that policy and propose to borrow more than had ever been borrowed before by any New Zealand Government in any one year.

The speech made by Mr Ballance, which was concluded at midnight on Friday, August 5th, 1892, and which occupies twenty-four pages in No. 76th Hansard, was the last and perhaps the best of his great financial speeches. It was a most able and courteous but crushing reply to the most acrimonious attacks on his land and fiscal policy which had principally occupied the House during the previous three weeks. No public man could wish for a happier final indication of his public aims and aspirations than is contained in the last few lines of that speech, or desire any more worthy record of the noblest aims of his patriotic life. After speaking for nearly three hours, defending his policy

and his friends, and paying little or no attention to the coarse accusations that had been made against himself by the sufferers from his progressive land tax, he concluded a memorable speech in these patriotic words: —

"What should be the object of members of this House? To raise the people, the great mass of the people, of this country. To raise them to prosperity by contriving that land shall be widely distributed, and not left in the hands of the few. If there is to be one great distributor of property in this country, let that be the State and not a few individuals. Honourable members may say that this is socialism. I attach no importance to mere terms. That word has many meanings, and applications. We do not suit our doctrine to words, we seek the common good and care not what words are used, and shall never cease our efforts until we have done something to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to promote that common prosperity which should be the end and aim of all political and social effort."

This was his last great speech; his last gigantic intellectual performance; the last time that he was able to listen day and night, for three successive weeks, to all the misrepresentations, to all the subtlety, to all the accusations, to all the provocations that able, angry partisans could bring to bear upon his refined, sensitive nature, and then to rise and reply for three midnight hours without any exhibition of anger or resentment, without using an unparliamentary word, and without even betraying the fact that the cruelly prolonged mental strain had proved too much for his weaker physical powers which had been too long subordinated to the mighty intellectual control. For the rest of his life his great mental power was handicapped by physical suffering and weakness that could no longer be ignored. For two hundred days the strong brain maintained a brave, and more or less successful struggle with the faulty bowels, and then his life and his intense sufferings were shortened by a surgical operation which he was not strong enough to survive.

No statesman was ever more universally or more deservedly lamented by the nation he had served so faithfully. Every proof of veneration and affection that the nation could give was expressed by the overwhelming numbers that joined in every demonstration to

honour his memory. The eulogies of his devoted friends were almost surpassed by the handsome, unreserved tribute to his memory volunteered by his late opponents. The leaders of the Opposition informed the House of Representatives that :—

"There was not a public body throughout the length and rea lth of New Zealand, that has not passed resolutions expressive of sorrow for the loss of the late Premier."

But, of all the handsome tributes to his memory which lie before us, we select for its well expressed completeness the tribute of his generous, although constant and prominent opponent, Captain Russell, who said :—

"There was never a more painstaking, thoughtful or industrious man. He performed his duties, not perfunctorily or by mere regulations, but conscientiously and with consideration. He was earnest in the extreme and never neglected a detail, whilst at the same time he worked upon principles which held firmly those who had occasion to meet him. Those who saved him were always impressed with his force, his acuteness and his wonderful grasp alike of details and of generalities. He was an educated man in the true sense, a man of vast reading and extraordinary mental digestive organs. As a political opponent he was a very model of courtesy and chivalry. He towered head and shoulders above most of those around him, and he was earnest and devoted to a degree. There was no rancour in him. He bore no malice, and harboured none of the grudges that sometimes disfigure political life. Nothing, to my mind, shows the calibre of the man so clearly as the fact made manifest of late, that his success exceeded the most sanguine expectations of his friends and completely suprised his opponents. I call them opponents because of enemies he had none."

We must give only a few concluding sentences from a long article in the *Wellington Post* :—

"Before the great leveller, Death, all questions of party sink into nsignificance, and Mr. Ballance's decease will be mourned as sincerely by those who were unable to agree with his political views as by his most devoted political admirers. His motives no one questioned, even when compelled to sometimes disapprove of his methods. For him personally all who knew him entertained not only respect but a degree of affection which became the deeper, the better he was known. His early death will be mourned from one end of the colony to the other by all who can appreciate the high qualities, intellectual and moral, by which John Ballance was honourably distinguished in every relation of public and private life. To Mrs. Ballance the most respectful sympathy is due in the

most terrible affliction which has fallen upon her. It was no ordinary bond of affection which united Mr. and Mrs. Ballance. Theirs was indeed a marriage of true minds, and in the very fullest sense did his wife prove a helpmeet in times of adversity as well as of prosperity, in failure and success, in public and in private life, and, above all, in the last sad scenes which preceded the final and fatal separation."

In the Legislative Council the Colonial Secretary said :—

"Ours was not a friendship of yesterday, it was a friendship of twenty years, unbroken and sincere; and from my knowledge of the deceased gentleman, I can safely say that a more single-minded and honest man, and a more straightforward politician, I have never met. Sir, when I saw him from time to time on his bed of sickness, his mind was ever actively at work. Even when suffering the most acute pain, he discharged his departmental duties in a manner perfectly extraordinary; and when I visited him I always saw that noble woman, his wife, watching and nursing him tenderly and carefully until he breathed his last."

The Hon. Dr. Grace said :—

"I had the privilege of knowing the late Premier for fully twenty years. In every progressive step he earned the confidence of this Colony, and I take this opportunity of testifying the high estimate which I hold of the many sterling qualities which characterised his public career."

The absent Governor wired—

"The Governor desires to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to his Ministers his sense of the great loss which the Colony has sustained in the removal of so able and experienced a statesman. He also desires to express his own sorrow at the loss of one with whom his personal relations have ever been of the most pleasant and cordial description, and whose courteous assistance and counsel have always been at the disposal of the Governor during this his first year of office."

Never was such a large and mournful assembly seen in Wellington as that which filled Hill Street from end to end on the morning appointed for the funeral and for the removal of the body from Wellington to Wanganui. The brothers of Mrs. Ballance were the chief mourners, the Ministers were the pall-bearers, and a gun carriage carried the body in its coffin with the plain inscription,

JOHN BALLANCE,
Died April 27th, 1893.

Five hundred mourners entered the special train, which took them at a rapid pace to Wanganui, which was reached at 3 p.m., where fourteen thousand mourners waited to follow to the grave their long beloved and recently illustrious citizen. As the train whirled rapidly through the numerous stations on the long railway line, uncovered crowds were there to testify their gratitude, love and esteem. No man in New Zealand has ever called forth such demonstrations of respect as were shown to the lifeless body in its plain untitled coffin on that day. No Queen, no Government, no Parliament, no millionaire, could have conferred such honours upon their greatest favourite, as were conferred on the memory of plain John Ballance, by the hearts of the New Zealand nation, on the day that his body was consigned to its long rest in the public cemetery at Wanganui.

He told of England's sin and wrong;
The ills her suffering children know;
The squalor of the city's throng;
The green field's want and woe.

Swart smiters of the glowing steel,
Dark feeders of the forge's flame,
Pale watchers at the loom and wheel,
Repeat his honoured name.

Where is the victory of the grave?
What dust upon the spirit lies?
God keeps the sacred life He gave;
The patriot never dies.

Less than two months after the death of Mr Ballance, a much older and much longer known statesman was called away by the hand of death. On June 23rd, 1893, Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., M.A., died at his residence in Auckland, on the first anniversary of his beloved wife's death, which occurred on June 23rd, 1892; only a month after they had completed their fiftieth year together, and had been, in every sense of the word, all the world to each other. Life never seemed like life to him after they were parted. We have seen that he was four times Premier of New Zealand, and four times he had resigned or voluntarily retired from that position in favour of men in every way inferior to himself. He was a very uncommon, as he

was a remarkably unselfish man. But considering his complete education, his uninterrupted health, his power of endurance, his long life, his high character, his extraordinary energy and mental power, and his great opportunities of usefulness, he can hardly be pronounced a great success, if success is to be estimated by realised personal advantages, rewards or distinctions, but those were never a principal object with him. As a student of law he passed all his examinations with flying colours ; but, when fully equipped with qualifications, he declined to practise as a lawyer. As agent for the New Zealand Company he saved hundreds of victims of that Company from starvation, and lived to receive the earnest gratitude of their grandchildren ; but his benevolence earned neither gratitude nor reward from his employers. As a leader of the Opposition he was brilliant—especially from 1856 to 1861, whilst Stafford was Premier—but, when he reached the Premiership, he always lifted some inferior man into all the solid advantages of the position, and usually followed where he ought to have led. In the settlement of Native Land claims he succeeded, where all other lawyers had failed, and earned and received the approval of both races ; but, after four years of hard, honest, intelligent, benevolent work on the West Coast Commission, he retired with thanks only, as if he felt himself no longer fit for employment, or that he had no claim upon the double pensions which he saw heaped upon the inferior ex-Ministers, Domet and Fitzherbert, who had received so much from, and done so little for, the Colony. As a philanthropist he aimed too high and often missed his mark. He expected the multitude to be influenced by the same unselfish sympathy for the fallen and unfortunate which burned so brightly in his own breast. He never understood what a large proportion of the human family would think themselves fools to curtail their own gratifications to secure the safety of their weaker brethren ; so that he scorned to approach by spade and sap, by patience and education, or by any long slow process,

in which alone a majority would go with him, what he fondly believed that a benevolent majority stood ready to effect by immediate assault and battery. Although his great ability and energy, his reputation and his purse, were all placed, in his later days, at the service of the temperance cause, he never accomplished an equal amount of practical reform, upon those he so earnestly longed to serve, as has been accomplished, in Nelson, by the fine old whaler known as "Ben the Bullock-driver," who estimates his fellow colonists at what they are and not at what they ought to be. But all his failings were on virtue's side, so that those who knew him best loved him most, and those who were most solicitous to promote the welfare and happiness of the human family were most ready to honour the great philanthropist "who went about doing good."

In the habits of his own life he was a cheerful Puritan. Although an honoured and consistent Episcopalian, he was almost a Quaker in his veneration for the Sermon on the Mount, and was ever ready to honour those who honoured God in their lives rather than by their lips. It was in fine harmony with the habits of his whole life that his last appearance in public was to lay the foundation stone of the Salvation Army Barracks in Auckland only a few weeks before his death. Good men of all creeds followed his remains to the grave, and the churches of all denominations thanked God that so great and good a man had been so long spared to serve, to honour and to bless the country of his adoption.

When his death was announced in the House of Representatives by the Premier on Tuesday, June 27th, 1893, and an appreciative motion proposed by the Premier, and seconded by Sir John Hall, its support was naturally taken up by the oldest members of the House. Sir John Hall said :—

"My first meeting with Sir William Fox was before I came to New Zealand. We next met in the year 1856 on the floor of the House of Representatives in Auckland. Since then I have known him in private life and in many public positions. He was a great figure in this Colony; he had great ability, was highly educated,

had an excellent memory, was full of information on nearly all subjects, and marvellously so upon every detail of New Zealand history. He had a ready command of language, and those who have heard him will agree that his brilliant and impetuous oratory fully earned for him the title of the Rupert of debate in New Zealand. I have known him as a political opponent. In that capacity he was formidable, but he was always fair, always honest. I have known him much more as an ally, and as an ally he was loyal, unselfish, genial and considerate in the highest degree. The Government of which I was a member was fortunate enough to obtain the services of Sir William Fox and Sir Francis Bell for the task of disentangling the longstanding Native difficulty upon the West Coast of the Island, and on Sir Francis Bell's departure for England the task was carried to completion by Sir William Fox. Those who know the work they did will agree with me that no equally difficult task was ever more ably or successfully grappled with, or accomplished at so small a cost to the Colony, or with such permanently beneficial results I am glad to think that I was twice enabled to offer Sir William Fox a seat in the Legislative Council, which he declined. He was not merely a politician, not merely a statesman ; he was, what is even greater, a sincere and ardent philanthropist in the highest and best sense of the term. He devoted himself, heart and soul and purse, to the cause of humanity."

Mr Saunders said,—

"It would give me great pleasure to speak of him as a politician, as a statesman, as a legislator, as a brilliant debater, as a patriot, and as a philanthropist, but of all the positions he filled so ably I should choose rather to speak of him as a personal friend who never changed his conduct towards those who had once gained his confidence and affections, and as one whom no one had ever found to be anything but faithful and loyal to those who worked with him. No colleague ever had reason to doubt his loyalty or to fear that he would be anything but sincere and true in any relation he accepted. In the course of the fifty years I have known him, I have sometimes agreed with him and been associated in the same work with him, and at other times I have felt it my duty to differ with him, and to oppose him as strongly as I could, but he made me love and admire him quite as much when I opposed him as when I was working with him. As a personal friend I have never known anything more sweetly reliable than his friendship was. I have been struck with the exact application of some lines of Whittier written on the death of Joseph Sturge, which I will repeat and apply to our venerated and departed friend,—

> The very gentlest of all human natures
> He joined to courage strong,
> And love, outreaching unto all God's creatures,
> With sturdy hate of wrong.

Tender as woman; manliness and meekness
In him were so allied
That they who judged him by his strength or sweetness
Saw but a single side.

And now he rests: his greatness and his sweetness
No more shall seem at strife,
And death has moulded into calm completeness
The statue of his life."

The venerable William Hutchison concluded the nation's testimony to its oldest patriot in these earnest, affectionate words :—

" Sir, as one who has enjoyed the friendship of Sir William Fox almost from the time I landed in the Colony to the last, I should like to add to what has already been so well expressed my heartfelt testimony to the great worth and high character of the deceased gentleman, as a public man and as a private citizen, as a Christian and as a philanthropist. He was always working; working not for himself but for others. No man cared less for show; he had a contempt for money-getting: and he shunned all vulgar ostentation. Wordsworth's "plain living and high thinking" were his daily life. Yet he was a man of exceptional ability. He possessed a fine literary gift which he cultivated to the last. He was as ready with his pen as with his tongue, and his power in this latter respect as the Rupert of debate is fully set forth in the chronicles of this House. And now that the stormy passions which babbled round these distant controversies are dead and forgotten—better still, are forgiven—we can see that even his passions leaned on virtue's side. I know of few things more pathetic, and in its way more noble, than that of the greatest member of the present House, Sir George Grey, visiting Sir William Fox on his death-bed—the two distinguished men — the two hard hitters of their day—talking over the past and then parting as friends and Christians should part. In private life Sir William Fox was one of the most companionable of men—genial, chatty, sympathetic. There was tenderness in every line of his mobile face, yet intricately blended with that firmness of mood which we are told 'refuses and restrains.' He has served his generation; he has died at a good old age; and a more patriotic, and a less self-seeking man, is not left amongst us this day."

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. . by . .

Alfred Saunders.

Opinions of the New Zealand Press on Vol. 1.

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The Lyttelton Times, February 27, 1897.

"The following notice of Mr. Alfred Saunders' 'History of New Zealand' is contributed by one of the foremost public men of the Colony :—

"'Mr Saunders has succeeded in placing on record a lasting and living history of the events which encircled the cradle of the New Zealand Commonwealth. It is written from the point of view of one who has shown himself, over a long life, a close observer of human and other nature, and who, like the painters of the pre-Raphaelite school, trusts to truth of detail rather than idealism for the effectiveness of his picture. The colouring is strong, and the lights thrown are from the standpoint of a man ill-disposed to conventionalities and politically opposed to all that is connected with privilege, monopoly, sectarian leanings, or upper-class feeling; and with a large sympathy, sometimes a little exaggerated, with the popular side. His own strong personality is evident at every turn to those who know him, though he has suppressed all reference to himself, even when dealing with matters of history of which he might have said *Quorum pars magna fui*. . . . . The early story of Captain Cook and Marsden is well and simply told. Mr. Saunders shows a keen and instinctive appreciation of the greatness of the characters he is dealing with, and he succeeds in impressing his readers with what is evidently his own feeling of the difficulties and struggles in which early New Zealand was involved. He might well have taken as his motto, *Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.* Sir George Grey's character is well drawn. It is one—like that of all great men—of light and shade, and the shade, which is lost in the case of Cook and Marsden, is made more apparent in the case of Sir G. Grey. Still he has the place which posterity will give him, as the greatest man of his time in the period which began with British rule, and with which Mr Saunders is dealing in this volume. . . Those who do not know Mr. Saunders' book on "The Horse," one of the best books on that subject, and his love for that noble animal, will wonder at the prominence he gives to racing matters. This is, however, only by the way. The general effect is good, and the book contains a great deal of what is new, or what is rendered new by its grouping. The missionary period, the miraculous influence of Christianity, and the bloodthirsty savagery of Rauparaha are treated with a good deal of novelty. This is especially the

case with the Wairau massacre, in respect of which Mr Saunders had peculiar opportunities of forming a correct opinion. He brings out more clearly than has been done before the mixture of muddlement and wrong-doing of which the so-called "massacre" was the outcome. The positive truth in respect of some of the details will always be a matter of controversy; but the importance of the event as a turning point in our dealings with the Maoris has full justice done to it. The false reliance on prestige obtained when Maoris had less knowledge of firearms, the personal character and conduct in the tragedy of Tuckett and others, and the muddle, and worse than muddle, of the New Zealand Company's land transactions are well depicted. . . . It will be interesting to learn how Mr. Saunders reads the signs of the times in the period of New Zealand's history which he will next deal with. At any rate we shall have the opinion of a man who is fearless and truthful. His contribution will be valuable as coming from one who looks at our democracy from a different point of view from that of previous writers of New Zealand's history.'"

The New Zealand Herald (Auckland).

"The volume is tastefully got up, and the illustrations nicely executed. The work should be in every public library, and on the shelves of every public school library in the Colony. As a contribution to the history of New Zealand it is timeous and useful. We shall await with interest the advent of the succeeding volume, dealing with the history of the Colony from 1861 onwards."

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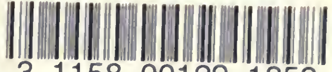
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