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## The Industries of New Zealand

By W. N. Blair, M. Inst., C.E.

An Address Delivered to the Industrial Association Of Canterbury.

At Christchurch, N.Z., On Thursday, February 24, 1887.

Industrial Association Of Canterbury

F. Jenkins, President Of The Association In The Chair.

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The Industrial Association of Canterbury

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# Index.

## The Industries of New Zealand

By W. N. Blair, M. Inst., C.E.

### Introductory.

Three years ago I had the honour of assisting at the inauguration of the New Zealand Manufacturers Association at Dunedin, by delivering an address on the Industries of New Zealand. The Committee of the Industrial Association of Canterbury, has paid me the compliment of inviting me to repeat the address in Christchurch, or give another on the same subject. As the Dunedin address professed to deal with the past, present and future, of the Industries of New Zealand, it is difficult to break new ground, I shall therefore follow on the old lines, but instead of appealing to figures at every turn to elucidate every phase of the subject, it will now be dealt with in more general terms. I, however, produce four diagrams showing the rise and progress of New Zealand trade. The first and second give the amount of our imports and exports every year from 1841 to 1885, and show the interchange between New Zealand and other countries, the third gives the details of our exports for the same period, and the fourth shows the effect of the goldfields.

Although the question of promoting Colonial Industries is a very old one, it has only risen into prominence during the last five or six years, and within the last three years the importance of the subject has literally been forced on the attention of the Colony. The low price of wool—the falling off in the returns from the goldfields, and the practical collapse of the grain trade has convinced the whole community that we must have more outlets for our energies. One of the first fruits of the new faith is the institution in the large centres of societies like the Industrial Association of Canterbury, that have for their object the promotion of Colonial Industries, and the development of the natural resources of New Zealand. Every colonist that has the interests of his adopted country at heart must cordially endorse the objects of the Association. What are the best means of attaining these objects is a debateable question; but there can be no diversity of opinion on the general proposition that it

is desirable to foster and encourage, in this far-off isle of the sea, those arts and industries that are the principal factors in building up a nation.

With the view of presenting the subject to you in an intelligible manner, I shall first give a short sketch of what has already been done, then show the materials we have to work upon, and last of all speculate on what more can be done.

## What has been Done.

### General Sketch.

New Zealand has not lacked historians, she has had them in great profusion and of varied attainments, brilliant and dull, imaginative and veracious. But the histories that have been written, voluminous though they be, give an imperfect idea of the progress of the country. They consist for the most part of Maori traditions and chronicles of Native wars—intrigues and feuds and bloodshed—the last struggles of a dying race that has had little influence on the present or future of the world. The history of New Zealand, from a colonizing point of view—the annals of the "coming race"—is not yet written. The only authentic record we have on the subject is the volume of statistics published annually by the Registrar-General. This is probably the most valuable book issued from the Government press; at the same time it is one of the least known and least appreciated. Although the information is not always given in the form required for a general investigation of this kind, there is no difficulty in finding the facts and figures necessary to show the progress of settlement and trade, the nature and extent of our productions, and the channels through which our commerce is conducted. I am indebted to these statistics for the great majority of the figures given here.

The progress of settlement and trade in New Zealand is divided into regular epochs, each a condition precedent to the next one, and a necessary link in the great chain of evolution. First we have a guerilla warfare between civilisation and savagery in the irregular trade that was for some years carried on between English adventurers from the neighbouring Colonies and the Natives of the North Island. Beyond extending our knowledge of the country, these preliminary skirmishes in colonization were of little benefit. To this era belonged the "whaler" a civilised savage—daring and desperate—fearing neither God nor man. The second stage which is really the first step in settlement is the pastoral age during which the whole country was well explored and opened up, and a slight improvement effected in the moral tone of the infant community. Next comes with a rush the great tide of gold-seekers, penetrating into every nook and corner of the land, and achieving the progress of a generation in a single stride. The thirst for gold is a greater colonizer than the love of conquest.

After the gold fever has subsided, we settle down to the steady work of colonization in the time-honoured old-fashioned way, the tilling of the soil. The last stage, the one on which we are now entering, is the age of manufactures, and as I hope to show, it is the most important of all—the crowning act of settlement. This is the step that shows when a young country has attained its majority; from henceforth it is able to go alone.

The sequence of these periods in the settlement of New Zealand and other countries is very remarkable. It seems as if nature had fixed a plan for carrying out the work. The gold-seeker could scarcely penetrate the wilds of an extensive country unless the squatter had preceded him; the progress of settlement by agriculture alone would be slow had it not received an impetus from gold-digging; and finally, without agriculture the establishment of manufactures would be impossible. Thus the various branches of settlement and trade create and produce others; they act and react on each other, nourishing and fostering each his neighbour in the general march of progress.

### INDIGENOUS EXPORTS.

*Kauri Timber.*—Until the advent of the New Zealand Company, and indeed for many years afterwards, the trade of the Colony was exceedingly small. The principal imports were tomahawks, red blankets, and other articles used in barter with the Natives, and Jamaica rum, the favourite beverage of the whalers. It is not, however, clear that the "popular spirit" was exclusively used as a corrective to blubber. Tradition hints that it occasionally became the lubricant, if not the actual circulating medium, in land transactions with the unsuspecting savage.

One of the first exports was timber—kauri spars taken to England for the use of the navy. The trade, which still flickers faintly, was initiated by special expeditions sent out from the Admiralty long before the settlers had got a proper foothold in the country.

The trade in spars was the precursor of the general timber trade of the Colony. Notwithstanding the immense quantities of this material imported from all parts of the world, and the large home consumption, the exports are of considerable magnitude, and yearly increasing. The trade has been much greater during the last

four years than ever it was before, the highest year of all being 1835, when the exports reached £157,380, mostly kauri from Auckland, together with £7806 worth of timber manufactures. The imports of timber in 1885 were £56,381, and of woodware and other timber manufactures, such as wheelwright work, £10,905.

*Phormium*.—The next indigenous export is *phormium tenax*—the native flax, or as it is now more appropriately called "hemp." Some of you will remember the flax mania which occurred some fifteen years ago, when so many expected to make their fortunes and so few made them. The export of phormium has been in existence since the first traders touched the shores of New Zealand. The first tomahawk or pannikin of rum was probably given in exchange for a few bales of the fibre, with a square mile or two of good country thrown in.

The industry was up till 1866 almost entirely in the hands of the Maoris. In consequence of Native disturbances the export trade had almost died out between 1860 and 1866; machinery was then applied to the preparation of the fibre, and the market being propitious the exports went up rapidly. They amounted to £132,578 in 1870, and £143,799 in 1873; but since they have fluctuated between £7,874 and £41,955.

*Whale Oil*.—The feeble commerce of the pre-settlement days was considerably augmented by the whale fishing, but as the settlers increased in numbers the whales disappeared, and the trade got gradually less. A remnant of the industry, however, remains. In 1885 the exports from the industry amounted to £10,593.

*Kauri Gum*.—Kauri Gum is another indigenous export that figures largely in the earlier returns, and which is still of considerable importance, being the third or fourth largest item in our exports. The highest point reached was in 1884, when we exported 6393 tons valued at £342,151. Gum digging in Auckland, like rabbiting in Otago, is what may be termed a "vagabond industry," to be taken up when everything else fails, or when times are hard and other work scarce.

*Fungus*.—Another forest product of unique character which has appeared of late years in the exports is a peculiar kind of fungus that grows on the trees in the North Island, and which is exported exclusively to China. It is used by the Celestials both for food and medicine, as well as for dyeing silks. The fungus is chiefly found on the West Coast, so it has acquired the name of "Taranaki wool." Although probably a vagabond industry it is of considerable importance to the districts in which it is carried on. The exports in 1885 were £10,922, and in 1882 they ran up to £18,939

## PASTORAL EXPORTS.

*Wool*.—Timber and the other indigenous exports to which I have referred are not properly speaking the offsprings of colonization—they belong to the class of products that nature has provided ready made in every country. The first fruits of settlement in New Zealand are the wool exports.

The first direct shipment to England took place in 1846, the port of departure being Wellington. In 1853 the exports had increased to £66,508, and it is curious to observe that of this amount only £300 was credited to Otago and nothing whatever to Canterbury. The northern districts of the Middle Island and the southeastern districts of the North Island produced the great bulk of the wool in the early days. But the position was soon reversed, for in 1861 the two southern Provinces exported two-thirds of the total for the Colony, and the proportion remains much the same to this day.

In dealing with the progress of the pastoral industries a correct result is not obtained by taking the values only of the exports, as the price of wool fluctuates so much. For instance: 59,853,454 pounds exported in 1876 were valued at £3,395,816, whereas 86,507,431 pounds in 1885 were only valued at £3,205,275. Although the value is the main point in interchange, as it determines our buying power, it does not shew correctly the progress of pastoral settlement. With the exception of a few slight fluctuations the export of wool has gone steadily up from 1,071,340 pounds in 1853 to 86,507,431 in 1885, and this is exclusive of 2,000,000 pounds worked up in our cloth factories. We now grow practically as much wool per head of the population as we did in 1877. When we consider the rapid spread of agricultural settlement and the destruction of the natural pastures by rabbits, the figures I have given shew that the Colonists of New Zealand are zealously carrying out the laudable policy of "making two blades of grass grow where one only had grown before."

*Tallow, Hides, and Sheep Skins*.—Although the principal one, wool is by no means the only product of our flocks and herds, tallow, hides, and sheep skins have long figured largely in our exports, and meat of all kinds, together with dairy produce, are of considerable proportions.

Notwithstanding the large quantities used up in soap and candle works the export of tallow was at its highest both in quantity and value in 1884, the amount being £234,829.

The export of hides and sheepskins is not increasing in proportion to the stock killed for leather is now largely manufactured both for home consumption and export. In 1885 the figures stood at £74,845.

*Meats*.—The low price of beef and mutton in 1870 and 1871 caused the establishment of six meat-preserving works in Canterbury and Otago, and in the three following years the value of their manufactures ranged from £161,840 to £100,245. The great tide of immigration brought consumers for the

meat in its natural state, so in 1875 the exports fell suddenly to £7,180. Since then they have ranged from £21,953 to £81,401, the latter being the figures for 1885.

The export of meat cured in the ordinary way is now at the highest. Last year it reached £47,609, when we consider the short time that has elapsed since all our hams and bacon were imported it is satisfactory to find that our annual exports of these articles now amount to nearly £20,000.

Frozen meat, on which at present hangs the hopes of pastoral New Zealand, appears in the 1882 returns for the first time, the amount of the exports being £15,244. Since that time the industry has progressed steadily, the value of the exports for 1885 having reached £373,857.

*Dairy Produce.*—The exports of dairy produce are also in an equally satisfactory state. Last year they stood at £138,129, which is more than double what they were in 1882, and about £30,000 more than the total for the five years ending in 1882. This result is mainly due to the successful establishment of butter and cheese factories throughout the Colony.

*Rabbit Skins.*—Under the pastoral exports there has of late years appeared an item which might with advantage be absent, viz., rabbit skins. It increased without a single intermission from £1,263 in 1873 to £107,514 in 1884, then there is a drop to £85,574 last year. The returns from this export is the only entry on the credit side in the doleful records of the rabbit plague.

## AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS.

*Wheat.*—Next to the pastoral industry, and following close in its wake in every respect, comes the various branches of agriculture. Although the trade did not continue long, the Australian gold rush is to be credited with giving this industry a considerable impetus. This is specially pointed out in the first report by the Registrar-General for the four years ending 1856. In 1853 the export of wheat and flour was £6,163; it went up next year to £22,240, and in 1855 to £67,765. Then on to 1861, the New Zealand gold-fields year, it fluctuated from £25,101 in 1856 to £4,531 in 1860. Up to this time the great proportion of the grain exports of every kind was from Auckland, the produce of that province. From 1861 to 1865 the wheat and flour exports were practically *nil*, and in one of those years, 1863, the only grain export of any kind was 3,238 bushels of barley. The imports of wheat and flour in the non-exporting years reached a minimum in 1865, when they amounted to £512,732. The export trade resumed in 1867 with £31,367; went up to £75,966 in 1871, and £263,684 in 1874. Next year there was a fall to £112,793; and then a steady rise to £1,132,236 in 1883. But alas, this was the summit of the ridge, and the fall on the other side has been alarmingly rapid. In 1885 the exports of wheat and flour only amounted to £223,145—£40,539 less than they were in 1874. Although the collapse in our wheat exports has been as complete as it was sudden, the fault does not lie with the country. There has been no diminution in our grain-producing powers. We have simply been swamped in the London market by the cheaper production of America and India.

There is no more striking circumstance in the industrial history of New Zealand than the rapidity with which its bread-producing resources were developed. In 1867 we imported £145,959 worth of wheat and flour more than we exported, and in 1883, sixteen years afterwards, the exports exceeded the imports by £1,119,307. The first direct exportation of wheat to England was only made in 1868, and in 1883 we dispatched to various parts of the world an amount equal to the full cargoes of a hundred ships. One of the strongest arguments brought by an eminent English economist against the Public Works scheme of Sir Julius Vogel was that New Zealand could not grow its own wheat. How quickly and effectually was that reproach removed. After amply providing for our own wants, we had in 1883, £1,132,236 worth of wheat and flour to send abroad, a contribution of thirty-nine shillings worth from every inhabitant of New Zealand to the hungry of other lands. Curiously enough the point at which we became able to grow our own wheat was reached simultaneously with the opening of the first section of railway under the public Works scheme, when the exports became equal to the imports. In 1871 the imports of wheat and flour exceeded the exports by £56,794. The following year there was a balance of £39,397 on the other side; consequently the tide had turned late in 1872, and the first section of Sir Julius Vogel's railways was opened in April of that year. As showing the rapidity of agricultural settlement in Canterbury, I may state that the only "topographical features" on some of the railway plans across the plains were the dogs that kept the boundaries—the only landmarks in a wilderness of tussock. Compare this with the continuous panorama of well cultivated farms and thriving villages seen to-day from the railway trains. I went overland from Christchurch to Dunedin in July, 1872, and none of the rivers between the Selwyn and the Waikouaiti were bridged. In 1882 every river between the Northern Waiau in Nelson and the Southern Waiau in Southland, a distance of 500 miles, was bridged both for road and railway.

*Oats.*—After wheat, the most important agricultural product in the Colony is oats, and the history of the industry is somewhat similar, only that the increase has been far less, and that there has been no collapse, but a steady advance. Although there was a slight fall in the values from the previous year, 1885 was the best year of any, so far as quantities are concerned. The exports of oats and oatmeal amounted to £278,251 in 1884, and

£277,300 in 1885.

*Barley.*—The exports of barley and malt together have only ranged from £33,582 to £54,210 for the last four years, but it is satisfactory to find that the export of malt is on the increase; 1885 was the highest year, the figures standing at £20,517.

*Potatoes.*—The export trade in potatoes is exceedingly fluctuating and uncertain. It was £91,509 in 1855, £827 in 1872, £62,806 in 1882, and £38,625 in 1885. Considerable capital has been made of the *lapsus Ungues* of a well-known public man who suggested the export of frozen potatoes. While admitting that the popular vegetable would not be palatable as an ice, I have no doubt the exportation of potatoes in a fresh state would be greatly facilitated by sending a current of cold air among them in the ship's hold. One or two shipments of potatoes have been made to Rio de Janerio since the establishment of the direct mail service.

*Hops.*—Hops have been an item in our exports since 1877, and in 1883 the respectable sum of £62,423 was reached, but like wheat, there has since been a great decline, the amount for 1885 being only £8,346. This is due to exactly the same cause as the collapse in the grain trade—a great fall in the price. Notwithstanding the power of production in the Colony, £1920 worth of hops was imported in 1885.

## MINING.

*Gold.*—Coming now to gold-mining, one of the four distinctly marked epochs in the colonisation of New Zealand, we find that the production of the precious metal went up with a bound during 1861 and 1862, reaching £2,432,479 in 1863; it fell to £1,855,830 in 1864, but recovered immediately, and for the next seven years fluctuated between £2,897,412 and £2,163,910. Between 1872 and 1883 the exports decreased gradually to £892,445, then there was a rise to £988,953 in 1884, and finally a fall to £890,056 in 1885.

The extent to which the gold-mining industry has benefitted New Zealand is a debatable point. Some go so far as to aver that it would have been better had the precious metal never been discovered—that it would pay better to leave the gold where it is in the bowels of the earth and cultivate the golden grain on the surface.

I am not prepared to say that gold-mining has in itself been a profitable investment for the Colony. It is not only quite possible but highly probable that the sovereign has cost far more than twenty shillings, for in the matter of trade the greatest balance against the Colony was in the "golden years," when we imported a little over £200 worth of goods for every £100 worth of Colonial products we exported. But on the other hand the benefits derived from the industry in the *impetus* it gave every other branch of settlement are incalculable. It is the lever that starts the engine—the train that fires the mine. A small diagram which I have prepared shows clearly the results produced by the gold discoveries, I have ruled on the exports an equalising line which may be called the "gradient of settlement," the rate at which our power of production is increasing. From 1841 to 1860 the gradient is one in 38, an increase at the rate of a million in 38 years. Then comes the gold rush and for three years the gradient is 1 in 1. It slows down to 1 in 5  $\frac{1}{3}$  between 1863 and 1871 and since then it has been 1 in 7. Taking even the present gradient which is five times steeper than the pre-diggings one, and starting from the level of 1860 instead of 1863, our trade now would only be about three-fifths of what it is, and our present position would not be reached for at least twenty years. Up till 1860 we simply followed up the river bed, rising very slowly, then gold appears, and we are suddenly lifted on to the terrace, never again to descend. The elevation thus attained is clearly attributable to the goldfields.

According to the last Mines Statement, the number of men at present engaged in gold mining and digging is as follows:—

In the year ending March, 1886, the yield of gold from alluvial diggings was 121,637 ounces, and from quartz mines 111,432, making a total of 233,068 ounces. Including £343,188 expended by Government on water races the value of the gold mining appliances in the Colony is estimated at £1,438,859.

*Coal.*—The next most important mining industry hitherto established in New Zealand is coal. A few years back we depended almost entirely on other countries for our coal supply, but since 1878 the native product has greatly exceeded the imports. The demand for, and supply of coal in New Zealand during the last seven years are as follows:—

The exports for 1885 include 45,056 tons used by ocean steamers and 4000 shipped for war purposes during the scare. The export trade proper is still very small; it consists chiefly of Greymouth coal sent to Victoria for gas making.

In addition to the large expenditure by the Government and Harbour Boards in opening up coalfields by railways and harbour works private capital to the amount of £148,773 has been invested in coal mining plant and machinery. Coal mining in New Zealand gives employment to 1483 men.

*Other Mineral Products.*—Under this head the most important export is silver. Up till 1885 £118,322 worth of silver the produce of the Colony had been entered for exportation, the greater portion of which was extracted from the Thames gold which contains about thirty per cent, of silver as an alloy.

Next comes manganese, £43,103, the trade in which, for the last seven years, has fluctuated between £809

and £10,423. It has fallen off greatly since 1882.

Chrome ore follows with £37,367, but this is a thing of the past. There has been no export since 1866

The total for copper is £17,397, but it also has seen better days; the trade was larger twenty-five years ago than it is now.

Antimony to the value of £7731 has been exported from New Zealand—the amount in 1885 being £5289. This promises to be a successful industry; it is still in its infancy.

*Total Mineral Exports.*—In his last Statement the Minister for Mines gives a Table showing the value of all the mineral exports of the colony up till the end of 1885. The following is an abstract thereof.

## HOME INDUSTRIES.

*Preliminary.*—I have now given a sketch of the industries that have hitherto contributed most to the sea-borne commerce of New Zealand. So far my task has been an easy one, for the statistics show plainly their rise and progress as well as the struggle for supremacy between the native and imported products; but it is different with those industries that have not reached the exporting point, there being no such direct means of arriving at their true history or present condition. An idea can, however, be formed by calculating the amount per head of imports and exports for each class or article at different times. A statement on this basis is appended to my Dunedin address, which gives general deductions, and from which results in any particular case can be worked out.

In addition to a great variety of ordinary food preparations, which are exported in large quantities, about twenty other items of New Zealand manufactures appear among the exports. Of this number I here are seven in which the amount for 1885 exceeded £3000, viz. biscuits, leather, cloth, soap, doors and sashes, wood ware and machinery. The largest of all is leather, which has been an export since 1837. The exports have grown with few intermissions to £48,346 in 1883, the amount for 1885 being £47,054. Against this, however, our imports amount to nearly double these figures. Of course the imported kinds are quite different from the exported ones; but this shows that there is ample room for an expansion of the industry, particularly as we export £75,000 worth of the raw materials. Leather is practically the only New Zealand manufacture sent to England.

*Alimentary Products.*—After the staff of life in its various forms the other eatables that we now produce in the colony are fancy biscuits, confectionery, and jams. The industries connected herewith have become of considerable importance in recent years, and some of the finest exhibits at the Industrial Exhibition were in this class. They would do credit to the best confectioners in the old world. The local products are rapidly taking the place of the imports in the principal articles all over the colony.

Ten years ago we imported about £2000 worth of fancy biscuits. In 1885 the imports were only £773.

The imports of confectionery used to range from £20,000 to £25,000. Now they range from £15,000 to £20,000. The local products are valued at £17,130.

From 1875 to 1881 the imports of jams fluctuated between £35,761 and £49,490. Since 1881 the range has been from £10,552 to £22,923. In 1885 the colonial factories turned out £32,292 worth.

Sugar, the principal ingredient in these manufactures, is itself a New Zealand manufacture, the Auckland Sugar Refinery being now in active operation. This is an extensive establishment—the output in 1885 was valued at £176,591. Hitherto the supply of raw sugar has been obtained from Java, but in future the proprietors will grow the cane on their own estates in Fiji.

Pickles and sauces is another class of preserves and condiments that made a good show at the Exhibition. They are now manufactured all over the Colony.

After food come drinkables and materials for making them, under this head our native manufactures are beer and aerated waters. In 1885 we exported £1,780 worth of Colonial beer, but we are still far from the exporting stage, for the imports amounted to £102,229. Notwithstanding that about 4,500,000 gallons of beer are annually brewed in the Colony, the imports are practically keeping pace with the increase of population.

There are 560 men employed in malting and brewing, and the capital invested in the industry is estimated at £284,056.

The market in aerated waters and mild cordials is mostly supplied by local products. The statistics show that there are 273 hands employed in the industry, that the capital invested is £93,478, and that £94,098 worth of the various drinks were produced in 1885.

Taken altogether we are now producing not only all the necessaries, but most of the luxuries of life that can be produced in temperate climes.

*Clothing.*—Next to food the greatest essential of civilized life is clothing and some of our most successful efforts in manufactures have been made in providing it for ourselves. In the various industries connected with manufacturing and making up leather and cloth no fewer than 4,077 hands are employed, and the capital invested in land, plant, and buildings is estimated at about £330,000.

I have already referred to leather in connection with Colonial manufactures that are exported. In addition to

the ordinary leathers used in shoemaking and saddlery, the tanneries are now manufacturing the finer kinds required for bookbinding and fancy work.

Several of the native barks are used for tanning, more particularly birch bark a large quantity of which is produced in Nelson

In 1885 there were £185,642 worth of boots imported, and £276,725 worth made in factories in the Colony,

A new feature in the leather trade—the manufacture of portmanteaux and Gladstone bags—was well represented at the Exhibition.

There is no industry in New Zealand of which the colonists are prouder than the woollen manufactures, and they undoubtedly merit the estimation in which they are held, whether as regards the success they have achieved or the excellence of the products. Seven mills are now in operation, four of them have been established for many years, and three started within the last three years. Arrangements are also made for building three more. The six mills in active operation at the end of 1885, work up annually 2,000,000 pounds of wool, the value of which is £70,000. The cloth produced is worth £200,000, and the clothing into which it is made £600,000. If these manufactures took only the place of cloth, the amount of imports excluded by them would be of course £200,000, but if they took the place of ready-made clothing the amount would be the full £600,000. We know that they act in both ways, consequently it will probably be fair to assume that the Colonial manufactures, affect the imports to the extent of about £400,000.

The New Zealand cloth mills produce a great variety of fabrics suitable for all the purposes of humanity, old and young, savage and civilized. There has been a considerable export of our woollens to the neighbouring colonies, and one or two sample shipments have found their way to England.

*Household and Personal Requisites.*—Taking household requisites as a whole the import trade is not materially affected by the local manufactures, the decrease in some articles being balanced by an increase in others.

Our furniture factories are second to the cloth mills in the success they have met with, but equal to them in the beauty and excellence of their manufactures. Furniture of all kinds and description is made in considerable quantities, suitable for all classes of homes—from cottage to castle. But, considering our large supplies of beautiful woods, the industry is not so extensive as it ought to be. The imports for the last five years have averaged £57,364 as against £66,125 for the five years ending 1880. This is probably due to the fact that the trade depends not so much on the necessities of life as on the caprice of fashion and trade.

Furniture making gives employment to 757 men. The capital invested is estimated at £103,977, and the annual output at £170,435.

Ordinary earthenware for domestic purposes is manufactured at several of our potteries, and tile works in considerable quantities; but the manufacture of the finer kinds has not yet passed the experimental stage.

A glass work on a small scale has been in operation in Auckland for some years. Its products are mainly lamp glasses and chimneys, and water bottles and jugs.

The manufactures of soap and candles are generally carried on together. Although the imports of common soap have increased slightly during the past two years we may say that the local product commands the market. The exports in 1886 were £576 more than the imports. Fancy soaps of various kinds are also manufactured at the larger works.

The imports of candles fell from £96,412 in 1877 to £45,225 in 1883, but there was a rise to £74,452 in 1884; the amount for 1885 being £71,673. From this it would appear that the Colonial candle works are not holding their own.

The annual value of the raw materials used in the manufacture of soap and candles is returned at £72,951, and that of the products at £130,745. The plant and machinery is worth £75,928, and 204 hands are employed.

Under the head of personal requisites the most important item is tobacco. Although the plant has long been grown by the Maoris for their own use, and by the settlers for sheep dipping, it is only of late years that it has been cultivated for manufacturing purposes. Auckland tobacco, raw and manufactured and in a great variety of forms, made a good show at the Exhibition. The quality is officially pronounced to be "highly commendable." Duty was paid in 1885 on 16,613 pounds of Native tobacco and cigars.

Among the less important household and personal requisites of Colonial manufacture at the Exhibition were brooms and brushware, knife, metal, and boot-polish, soap-powder and blacking, plate and jewellery, drugs and perfumery, cod liver oil and mineral waters, and artificial limbs and fiddle strings.

*Building Requisites.*—In building requisites the principal Colonial product is timber, which has been already referred to. According to the last returns there are 5,108 hands employed in sawmills and woodware factories of various kinds, nearly an eighth of the manufacturing labour of the Colony. The capital invested in machinery, plant, and buildings is estimated at about £970,000. It is satisfactory to find that in 1885 £7,806 worth of the timber was exported in a manufactured state. £3,640 of this was doors and sashes, and the remainder woodware. The latest timber industry established is creosoting works to preserve the less durable

woods. A large establishment is now in full operation near Invercargill. It turns out 15,000 sleepers a month.

After timber come brick and tile works, stone quarrying and lime burning, which give employment to 870 men, and in which £198,267 is invested. The annual output from these industries is estimated at £198,267. A small quantity of the lime is exported.

The drain pipes and stoneware made from the native clays are of particularly good quality, and the manufactures have been a complete success. In addition to ordinary drainage appliances the higher class of articles for building, ornamental, and sanitary purposes are produced.

Hydraulic lime, equal to Portland cement for most purposes, is now produced in Auckland by three or four kilns, and getting into general use all over the North Island. The output of the Mahurangi kilns alone is said to be about 1500 bushels a week.

After numerous trials and failures New Zealand Portland cement of good quality has recently reached the market. It is manufactured at Mahurangi. Another factory is in course of erection near Dunedin, samples from which have given satisfactory results.

Paint made from hæmatite and other minerals is manufactured in Nelson and Auckland in considerable quantities. The works at the Thames produce a great variety of colours.

A factory for the manufacture of varnish from kauri gum has recently been established in Auckland.

*Requisites for Settlement and Trade*—The principal colonial industries under this head are rope-making, the manufacture of paper, gunpowder, and artificial manures, the building of carriages and other vehicles, ship and boat building, and the manufacture of agricultural implements.

Rope making is an old established industry in New Zealand. Rope and cord of all sizes and description, from hawsers to fishing lines, are manufactured from native and imported materials in considerable quantities, and there is a small export in the manufactures.

There are two paper mills in operation, one at the Matura and the other at Dunedin. White paper has been produced experimentally and used in printing the Dunedin "Herald," but the manufactures hitherto have principally been wrapping and blotting papers. Considerable quantities are produced of all kinds and colours, the total value of the manufactures in 1885 being £7280. The paper is made chiefly from native grasses, with the addition of such rags and waste paper as are procurable in the colony.

Although we do not manufacture writing paper in New Zealand we contribute to literature by producing writing inks, of which a variety was shown at the Exhibition.

A mill for the manufacture of blasting powder has been in operation at Catlin's River for some years. With the exception of saltpetre all the raw materials are found in the country. The sulphur comes from White Island, and the charcoal is made chiefly from mako-mako, a small tree of little value for anything else. There is apparently no difference in quality between the Colonial and English blasting powder. As yet the industry does not seem to be a commercial success. The construction of the fortifications may however give it an impetus. A cartridge factory has been established and the scheme of defence will not be complete without a local supply of gunpowder.

On account of the fertility of the soil there was little demand for manure of any kind until of late years. The item does not appear in the imports till 1879 but in 1880 £26,941 worth was imported, chiefly bone dust. Since then the imports have ranged from £31,906 to £47,022. The local manufacture sprang up as soon as the demand arose, and it is now becoming of considerable importance. In 1885 there were six chemical works, and seven bone mills in the Colony, employing 65 hands, but the chemical works are not exclusively engaged in manufacturing artificial manure, among other things they produce sulphuric acid which is extensively used in candle making, and other manufactures.

The annual value of the artificial manures and chemicals produced at these works is £43,620, and the capital invested is returned at £35,678.

The building of carriages and other vehicles has of late years attained considerable proportions, about 650 men being employed in the various establishments throughout the Colony. Vehicles of all kinds are manufactured regularly in large numbers, from mail coaches and private carriages to six-horse waggons and farm carts, and in all the vagaries of shape and style so much affected by colonials. Whether as regards design, workmanship, or price, the New Zealand made vehicle compares favourably with the imported article. Until of late years imported timber was chiefly used for wheelwright work, but the native hardwoods are now coming into general use. Kowhai, manuka, rata, and pohutukawa are found to be as suitable as hickory, ash and ironbark, and mangiao, a North Island wood, is pronounced to be the best known for body work. A landau from Auckland of this timber at the Exhibition attracted considerable attention.

In 1882 the value of vehicles of all kinds imported into New Zealand was £99,715, exactly £830 above the amount for 1862. Since 1882 the imports have ranged from £23,323 to £29,528. The imports include materials for making vehicles which of late years are generally about two thirds of the whole. The output of the Colonial factories is estimated at £128,346, and £106,238 is invested in plant, machinery, and land.



About 170 men are regularly employed in the building of wooden steamers, sailing vessels, and boats. The industry is confined almost entirely to Auckland, where there is an abundant supply of suitable timber. Trading vessels up to 500 or 600 tons are built, and the Auckland yachts have acquired a high reputation all over the Southern Seas.

There is no more successful business in the Colony than the manufacture of agricultural implements and machinery, and this fact has a peculiar significance for those interested in the establishment of manufactures. It shews that industries of this sort find a congenial soil in New Zealand, for the one now under consideration has not been fostered nor encouraged in any way. It has not even had the slight protection of the ordinary Customs' duty, agricultural appliances having all along been duty free.

The local manufactures are by no means confined to the commoner agricultural implements, but embrace high class machinery of the most scientific kind, with the very latest improvements. A peculiarity of this industry is the continual change in the fashion of the articles produced. There is no class of appliances which has of late years undergone more alterations and improvements than those connected with agriculture, and the colonists of New Zealand are always ready to adopt any invention that will save labour or otherwise cheapen the cost of production. The latest improvement in agricultural machinery is generally in full swing at the Antipodes long before it has gained a footing in the Old Country. The success of the local industries is probably due in a great measure to the alacrity with which those engaged in them accept and adopt these improvements. Although the Colonial manufacture of agricultural appliances is so great, it has not kept pace with the spread of agricultural settlement; not including hand tools, we still import from £50,000 to £100,000 worth of plant for tilling the soil and gathering in its fruits. Agricultural implements are made at 17 factories, and the capital invested in the industry is £50,205, 336 men are employed, and the output is estimated at £111,823.

*Machinery and Manufacturing Requisites.*—The industries just referred to merge naturally into those under the head of Machinery and Manufacturing Requisites, and the only ones not yet considered are the general mechanical and metal trades. First as to the raw materials for these industries—many of them exist in considerable quantities but, hitherto, our attempts to utilise them have been anything but successful. Iron sand that is so plentiful on our shores has been tried time after time and much money sunk to bring nothing but loss and disappointment. We want a Bessemer or a Siemens to overcome refractory Nature, and in the meantime our efforts should be confined to hæmatite and the other ores whose properties are well known.

So also with copper; the ore has been mined and exported at great cost and small profit, but the metal has never reached the local consumer in marketable quantities.

Cast steel works to convert scrap iron are in course of erection at Green Island. These, I have no doubt will be successful.

In addition to the ordinary requirements of trade, settlement, and manufactures, the mechanical industries in New Zealand have received a considerable impetus from goldmining, for which little machinery is imported.

Looked at from an English point of view our essays in iron-shipbuilding have been insignificant, but as a colonial industry they are well worthy of notice. Ninety-eight steamers, of sufficient importance to be put on the register of shipping, have from first to last been built in New Zealand, and, with a few exceptions, their engines were also made in the Colony. Ten iron steam dredgers have also been built and engined—the largest being the "Vulcan," 70 horse power.

Land engines of all sizes are regularly made for mills, mines, and other purposes, and water motors of various kinds have long been a speciality. In connection herewith I ought to make especial reference to a quartz mill now at work in the Wakatipu district. Twenty head of stampers are driven by electricity, engendered by the force of a stream nearly two miles away, and conveyed over an intervening range 800 feet high, by a No. 8 copper wire. This is one of the most successful applications on record of electric power, and it promises to revolutionize our mining and mechanical industries.

With the view of giving local industry a fair trial Government has, within the last two or three years, entered into a number of contracts for iron bridges to be manufactured entirely in the colony. Four large bridges and a number of smaller ones, comprising in all about 1700 tons, are in course of construction, and about as much more is in immediate prospect. The result, so far, has been highly satisfactory. There has always been sufficient competition in tendering, and the contracts have been let at a price very little, if anything, in advance of what the bridges would cost had the ironwork been imported ready made. The contractors have the option of importing the materials specially for these bridges, but the different forms of iron are imported in the state in which they leave the rolling mills, without work of any kind. In fact, the local manufacturers do more than would be done by bridge-makers in England, for even the bolts and rivets are made in the colony.

You are all familiar with the experiment Government is making in getting locomotives manufactured in the colony. It promises to be as successful as the bridge building. If we can make locomotives at anything like a reasonable cost it augurs well for other engineering industries, this being a high stage in mechanical development.

There is another class of iron manufactures that has acquired a firm footing in the colony—office safes, copying presses, kitchen ranges, stoves, grates, ornamental castings, and other light ironwork—all of which were well represented at the Exhibition.

In brass and copper works New Zealand seems to have fairly taken the lead of the Australian colonies, all the principal prizes at the Sydney and Melbourne Exhibitions having come to Dunedin. Several large orders for brewery plant and other special manufactures have followed those prizes, and many of the ordinary wares find their way to the Australian market. The local manufacture of lead piping has now complete hold of the home trade, none being imported. A remarkable feature of this trade is the large quantity of small articles manufactured—steam, water, and gas fittings, and the thousand and one metal nick-nacks that seem to constitute the stock and trade of an ironmonger. On making inquiries I find that in every instance the question of importing versus manufacturing has been carefully considered, and nothing is made that it would pay better to import. Among other advantages in making those stock articles is that it enables the manufacturers to keep around them a good supply of skilled workmen. A new branch of tinsmith work well represented at the Exhibition is the manufacture of Japanned goods, deed and travelling boxes, coal vases, canisters, trays, and other wares of this class.

The mechanical and metal industries in New Zealand give employment to 1988 men. The capital invested in land, plant, and machinery is £276,171 and the value of the annual output is £395,608.

## PRESENT POSITION.

*Extent of Trade.*—A sketch of the present position of the trade of New Zealand is practically a recapitulation of the statements already made. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than refer to the diagrams and give a few leading facts and figures.

For the 10 years ending 1875 the Imports averaged £5,767,717 and the Exports £4,980,458, and for the ten years ending 1885 the figures are: Imports £7,635,501 Exports £6,383,893. This is the value in the Colony of both Imports and Exports, but if the value is taken in the producing country the Imports will be reduced by 10 per cent. On this basis we have for the last ten years sent £100 worth of our products to other countries for every £107 worth they send us.

Returning to Colonial values the greatest difference between our imports and exports was in 1863 and 1864, the goldfield years, when the imports exceeded the exports by £3,539,269 and £3,598,988, more than double; and again in 1874 and 1878, when the figures were £2,873,543 and £2,739,963. The only years in which there was a balance on the other side are 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1880, when the exports were from £47,714 to £1,203,891 in excess of the imports.

During the five golden years ending 1866 the imports exceeded the exports by £12,598,153. It is curious to speculate how these imports were paid for, as there was very little borrowing publicly or privately in those days.

The diagrams show extraordinary fluctuations in the import trade. Leaving out the goldfield years, when it went up £5,476,341 in a single bound, which is easily accounted for, there have since then been several ups and downs—the rise from 1871 to 1874 was £4,043,619, and the fall from 1878 to 1880, £2,593,652. I suppose these fluctuations are attributable to "over-importing," the cause, according to popular tradition, of all the ills to which commercial New Zealand is subject. The export trade, on the other hand, is remarkably steady. Since the first jump up in the goldfields' years the fluctuations on either side of the average line have never reached £500,000.

*Nature of Trade.*—At present about 20 per cent, of our imports are eatables and drinkables, and 40 per cent. clothing and household requisites. Of the exports 72 per cent, are pastoral and agricultural products, and 14 per cent, come from the mines.

Comparing our exports with those of the other Australasian Colonies, we find that in food preparations New Zealand holds a foremost place, and in the matter of frozen meat, she exports four times as much as all the other Colonies put together. She has also a speciality in kauri gum. On the other hand Victoria exports nearly four times as much leather, and the tin and copper exports of New South Wales amount to about a million annually. South Australia of course greatly exceeds all the other Colonies in the exportation of grain.

Another point worth noticing is the extraordinary way in which the other industries took up the running as the gold exports gave out. Since the first great shove, gold has contributed little to the gradient of settlement. The gold line is falling nearly as fast as the other is rising.

*Interchange.*—About 70 per cent. of the trade of New Zealand is with the United Kingdom, and as might be expected there is more reciprocity between her and the mother country than in any other case. During the last ten years the balance of trade between England and New Zealand has only averaged £5157.

Our next largest transactions are with Victoria which gets about 12½ per cent, of our trade, but in this case there is less reciprocity. The Victorians only take £100 worth of our wares for every £160 worth they send us.

Furthermore what we send is mostly gold, and what they send is not their own products but the manufactures of other countries. The trade with Victoria has fallen off greatly since the establishment of the direct steam service.

The trade with New South Wales, although rapidly increasing, is still somewhat less than that with Victoria, but there is far more interchange of commodities. New South Wales is one of our best customers; she takes large quantities of our produce, and a fair share of our manufactures.

*Manufacturing Industries*—The details of the Industrial census taken in March last, are not yet published, but the Registrar-General has kindly furnished me with the following general results, together with the corresponding figures for 1881:—

The value of the raw materials used up in manufactures proper is about £2,000,000.

The Industrial statistics of all the colonies contain items that can scarcely be classed as manufactures. Excluding these, the relative position of the three leading Australasian colonies as regards manufacturing development is shown by the following table, the figures in all cases being only approximate:—

The proportions of the population engaged in manufactures in other countries are—Great Britain, 24½ per cent; Belgium, 17¼; Prussia, 13; France, 12; and the United States, 7½.

A further comparison of the Industrial position of the Colonies is made in the number of persons engaged in leading manufactures:—

Deducting the sugar manufactories, which are a speciality, this table shews that with few exceptions New South Wales is far behind Victoria in leading manufactures, and that she is also surpassed by New Zealand in a few of the more important industries.

*General*.—This concludes my sketch of the history and present position of the trade and industries of New Zealand, and I claim to have shewn that the handful of people who constitute the pioneers of this infant nation have skillfully initiated and are zealously and successfully carrying out the "heroic work of colonisation."

## Resources.

### PRELIMINARY.

In considering the resources of New Zealand I shall first refer to a subject to which I have previously directed attention—the necessity for a thorough investigation into the resources of the Colony and the want of a systematic arrangement of the information already collected. Although several excellent sketches have appeared, a comprehensive treatise on the Economic Geology and Botany of New Zealand, like Buller's "Book of Birds," or Hector's "Grasses," has never been attempted, and the large amount of valuable information we have on the subject is so mixed up with the general literature of the country as to be comparatively useless.

I believe the want will now be supplied through the labors of the Mines, Forests, and Agricultural Departments.

### NATURAL AMENITIES:

*Scenery*.—The first and by no means the least of the resources of New Zealand is its natural amenities. Someone has said that we cannot discount climate. As an abstract proposition this is probably correct, but in actual practice it is nearly as fallacious as the assertion that we could not grow our own wheat. Although they cannot well be included in the schedule to a Loan Bill, fine scenery and blue skies are valuable collateral security, with fertile plains and rich mines in the money market. Grand mountains, rivers, and lakes, are tangible assets in a nation's balance sheet; and in some countries they are, indirectly, the main source of revenue. Even in Great Britain with all its wealth they are the direct and sole support of large and populous districts. According to Mulhall 947,500 travellers went to Switzerland in 1879, and they left there £5,800,000.

Although the tourist traffic is only in its infancy, it is beginning to affect the commerce of the country. The geysers of the North and the glaciers of the South are already contributing their quota to the dividends of the Union Company, and the main stay of the Wakatipu district is the scenery of the Lake. As there is nothing in the Southern Seas to compete with her scenery, New Zealand must always be the recreation ground of Australasia; and the healing waters of the North Island have appropriately been called "the World's Bethesda." The protective policy of the Victorians may keep our oats and potatoes out of their market, but it cannot keep the money in their own country when the commodities to be bought are the health-giving pleasures of the Hot Springs and the mountains. It is impossible to estimate the possibilities of the tourists traffic of New Zealand. We are really only breaking ground in the matter. Although the Colony has suffered incalculable loss in the Terraces, there are still innumerable attractions to be unfolded. Some of the finest scenery in both, islands has only been seen by a few explorers.

*Climate*.—The climatic endowments are greatly enhanced by their diversity. Taken in connection with her

other varied resources this makes New Zealand what may be termed a self-contained country. We grow maize and oranges in the north, and barley and turnips in the south; grapes in the interior of Otago, and red currants on the sea-board. The diversity of climate is attributable to the configuration and geographical position of the islands—a long narrow strip lying north and south close to the tropics, but separated from this and other heat centres by unbroken seas that modify the temperature. There is no country in the world of so small a size that extends over so many degrees of latitude.

*Water.*—Another natural endowment in New Zealand, which is not appraised at its proper value, is the abundant supply of water everywhere obtainable. In all probability there is not a single spot in either island that is ten miles from a permanent water supply, and the places where the distance is even half as much are few and far between. In addition to its ordinary uses pure water is indispensable for many manufacturing purposes. And if the predictions of scientific men, with reference to electricity, come true, of which there is now little doubt, we have in our swift flowing rivers, what Dr. Johnson would call, a "potentiality" of wealth. Scientists assure us that the motive power of the future is electricity, to be engendered by the forces now running to waste in every stream, and distributed to the consumer like gas or water. There is more inherent power in the Waitaki River alone than in all the engines of all the steamers that trade in New Zealand waters. What a vista of industrial activity is opened up when we consider the "world of waters" that flows from the Southern Alps, and the possibility of converting these giant forces into useful mechanical agents. We might even go so far as to predict that, instead of destroying the fertile land on its banks, the Waimakariri will some day be trained to plough them.

## MINERALS.

*Gold and Silver.*—Coming now to less ethereal resources, we have first to deal with those under the earth, and of these the most important hitherto has been gold. As shown in our historical sketch, gold-mining made one great effort to advance the colonization of New Zealand, and having fulfilled its mission sank into comparative insignificance. The country has now been well prospected, consequently there is little chance of further discoveries of alluvial diggings of an extensive character. The ordinary river workings are rapidly coming to an end, but the hydraulic workings in gravel and cement terraces will last many years, and quartz-mining is supposed to be only in its infancy. Although not very rich the quartz reefs of New Zealand are numerous and large—a small quantity of gold permeates a large body of stone. The extension of the industry is therefore dependent to a great extent on improved appliances for cheapening production. We cannot, however, calculate on any material increase on the present yield of gold; the decrease in alluvial diggings will balance any increase that may take place in quartz-mining, for the alluvial mines are still yielding more than one-half of the gold obtained in the Colony.

Nearly all the silver hitherto exported from New Zealand has been extracted from the Thames gold, which contains 30 per cent. of silver as an alloy. There is a well-defined lode of silver ore in Collingwood, but it is not supposed to be very rich. Silver has also been found combined with lead and other minerals in Nelson and Westland.

*Coal.*—Until the predicted revolution in mechanical science takes place coal will, of course, be one of the most important minerals in the Colony, so it is satisfactory to know that, from a Colonial point of view the supply is practically inexhaustible. Coal of various kinds occurs all over the country at short intervals—the geological maps are bristling with black marks indicative of its presence. Instead of being a boon this super-abundance of fuel has hitherto been a real difficulty and cause of expense, not only to the Colony as a whole, but to private individuals, for the industry is being developed in all directions much in advance of our requirements.

The portions of the Collingwood, Buller, and Grey Coalfields that have been surveyed are estimated to contain 200,000,000 tons of the best bituminous coal, a quantity equal to the present consumption of the Colony for nearly 400 years, assuming that nothing but this class of coal was burned. The area of the Kaitangata and Tokomairiro field, which yields the best class of non-bituminous coal, is about 60 square miles, and the estimated quantity, 768,000,000 tons. With the exception of the Collingwood field, which has water communication, all those just mentioned are opened up by railways. They are all in accessible situations, and, except at the Grey, nearly all the coal is procurable without sinking. Railways have also been constructed into other extensive coalfields in Auckland, Canterbury and Otago. For example: the Night-caps field, in Southland, estimated to contain 100,000,000 tons of the Kaitangata class of coal; and the Green Island field, with much the same quantity of brown coal.

Extensive coalfields that have not been opened out are also known to exist in the Mokau, Wangapeka, Upper Buller, Clarence and Paringa districts. Including the Westport and Greymouth fields there are altogether about 1250 square miles of coal-bearing formation in the country traversed by the Midland Railway.

*Oil Shales and Oil.*—Lighting comes naturally after fuel, and to provide it nature has supplied us with the

raw materials in the form of oil shales and mineral oils. Shales have been discovered in Auckland, Nelson and Otago. They are of good quality, and the deposits are believed to be of considerable extent. In addition to oils of various kinds these shales are rich in gas. I have no doubt the deposits at Orepuke will be utilised for this purpose when fully opened out, as the railway is now running into the district. The mineral oils have been found in Taranaki and Auckland, some of them are of excellent quality, and, according to present prospects a good supply seems to be forthcoming from the Poverty Bay wells.

*Iron.*—In conjunction with coal, the most important mineral to have in any country is iron, and New Zealand seems to be well supplied. Iron ores of various kinds have been found all over the country; but the information with reference to them is not very complete, no attempt having been made to work any of them, except the iron sand. The extent of some of the deposits has, however, been ascertained. The quantity of hæmatite ore, exposed at the Parapara River, in Nelson, is estimated at about 53,000,000 tons, and there is another bed in the same locality 60 feet thick. Veins of somewhat similar ore, 6 feet thick, occur in Canterbury and the Wakatipu district.

Hæmatite is also found at Paringa and other places in South Westland.

Black band and clay ironstone, which are the ores most easily reduced by the old methods, have been discovered at various places in both islands.

In most cases coal and lime, the materials required in smelting iron, are found in close proximity to the ores.

*Copper.*—Copper has been found all over the Colony, from Auckland to Otago, but more particularly in Nelson, which is veritably the home of minerals. Copper mines have been opened at various times and places, but as yet the industry is not established on a satisfactory basis.

*Lead.*—On a recent visit to the West Coast I was shewn a splendid sample of lead ore from Mount Rangitoto, similar in every respect to what I had seen worked at Home. It was looked upon merely as a matrix in which silver was found and considered of little value. This is reversing the order of things. In England, the occurrence of silver in lead ore is considered incidental, the latter being the more important metal. Lead ore is well dispersed throughout the Colony, but the extent of the deposits is unknown.

*Tin and Zinc.*—Tin has been discovered in Otago and at Reefton; but the samples hitherto obtained have been very small. Zinc occurs in Auckland, Nelson, and Westland.

*Minor Metals.*—Among less important metallic ores discoveries have been made of platinum, mercury, nickel, cobalt, manganese, chrome, antimony, and scheelite. The four latter are worked to a small extent.

In many cases small specimens only of the minerals have been found, which of course gives no clue to the extent of the deposits, but it is reasonable to assume therefrom that deposits exist. There must be a stock where the sample comes from.

*Clays.*—Coming nearer the surface of the earth we find clays, building stones, roofing slate, lime, and other building materials. Clays of all kinds are very plentiful throughout New Zealand, and there seems to be a variety for every purpose, from common bricks and tiles to chinaware and tobacco pipes.

*Building Stone.*—Building stone is also everywhere present in large quantities and of all kinds. The hard-stones are represented by granite in Nelson and the Sounds, and volcanic rocks near Dunedin, Christchurch, and Auckland. One of the best and easiest worked is the well-known Port Chalmers stone, the supply of which is practically unlimited. Freestones are also plentiful and well dispersed, particularly in the South Island. The white granular variety, of which the Oamaru stone is the type, occurs in immense quantities right across Southland, and all along the front range from the Kakanui to North Canterbury. They are all remarkable for uniformity of colour and consistency, and the Mount Somers and Southland varieties are probably the best, being comparatively hard and impervious. A particularly fine stone of this class is found at Pox's River, on the West Coast.

*Marble.*—Marble of various colours and consistency has been discovered all over the South Island, and in several places in the North Island. Small specimens of statuary marble have been found on the West Coast, but no regular deposit. Many of the best of the commoner kinds occur in accessible situations, notably at Caswell Sound, where a quarry has been opened, and in several places in Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. There is a large hill of marble at the head of the Maruia Plain.

*Slate.*—Roofing slate, equal in quality to Welsh, is found in the Kakanui Range, commencing at Otepopo, and running inland for a great distance. The deposits cover an immense area, but it is not clear that a large proportion of marketable slates can be obtained readily, the rock on the surface being considerably shattered.

*Limes.*—Limestone, suitable for burning, is almost as plentiful and widely dispersed as clay and building stone, but the hydraulic varieties which make the best mortar are not so common. The best and largest deposits occur in Auckland, and on the Otago Peninsula, Chalk the principal ingredient in Portland cement is found in large quantities at Oxford, and again in the Kaikoura mountains.

*Minor Minerals.*—Among the minor non-metallic minerals used in manufactures and the arts, which have

been found in New Zealand, are plumbago, sulphur, gypsum, magnesia, alum, flint, felspar, asbestos, meerschaum, and talc.

## VEGETABLE RESOURCES.

*Gums.*—Kauri gum is classed indifferently as a vegetable and mineral product. It is difficult to estimate the extent of our resources in this article, but I am informed that there is little chance of the supply giving out for many years to come. Gum-digging will probably last as long as alluvial gold-mining.

It is not generally known that retinite, a fossil resin or gum of a somewhat similar character, occurs in considerable quantities in some of the lignite beds of the Middle Island. I have no doubt it could be utilised in the manufacture of varnishes, but its special properties and commercial value have not been determined. The lignite beds on the Maniototo Plain are believed to contain large deposits of retinite,

*Timber.*—Coming now to the ordinary vegetable resources of the Colony, we have first to deal with timber, the most important material in any new country. The total area of bush land of all kinds in New Zealand is variously estimated at from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 acres, but the different kinds and qualities of timber have not yet been definitely classified.

Unfortunately the forests are not well dispersed throughout the Colony. Large portions of the North Island, and the whole of the West Coast of the South Island, have too much bush, while the eastern side of the South Island, north of the Clutha, has far too little. The great bulk of the settlement is in the latter area, consequently the timber supply is not convenient to the market. This is the principal reason why our forest resources have not been utilised to the fullest extent. It is easier to get ironbark for spokes from New South Wales than rata from the West Coast, although the latter is more suitable; and jarrah sleepers from Western Australia can sometimes be landed at Lyttelton and Port Chalmers at an advance of 20 per cent, on the cost of totara or matai from Southland or Wellington. When we consider the relative values of the timbers the balance is greatly in favour of the imported article—jarrah being one of the best timbers in the world for sleepers. These anomalies will of course rectify themselves as industries develop, and communication is further improved.

New Zealand has no extensive supply of large hardwood timber of special strength, like the gums of Australia and Tasmania, but she has what is more valuable, a great quantity of the pines and other softwoods that are most required for building purposes—and there are few countries in which such a variety of timber occurs. The other Australasian colonies near us are very deficient in this respect. New Zealand has ten pines that yield sawing timber, six of them being large trees.

The supplies of the various kinds of timber in the Colony are well proportioned to our wants, but, for the reason already given, many special kinds are still unused. We have for several years produced all our own building timbers, and had a surplus to export, but considerable quantities of hardwoods and furniture woods are still imported. There is no substitute for the Australian gums for long timbers of special strength, but the ordinary hardwoods imported for the use of the wheelwright, carriage builder, and implement maker, might well be superseded by the native article. Kowhai and rata are much stronger and quite as straight-grained as English oak and ash. And in the matter of furniture woods, beyond the fact that cedar is easier worked, there is no point in which the imported materials can be compared with the home products. New Zealand is particularly rich in ornamental woods, and some of the best have never been utilised.

As in the case of many other colonial products, the fashion is to deprecate New Zealand timbers. There is no real ground for doing so—class for class they compare favourably with timbers of other countries. Their faults and failures are not so much due to inherent defects as to improper treatment and ignorance of the relative qualities of the different kinds. Instead of using well-dried heart-wood from mature trees, felled at the proper season, we put into our houses wet sap-wood from young trees, that are felled when most convenient; often in their juiciest state. And, without a single enquiry into its suitability, timber is constantly used in positions for which it was never intended by nature.

*Minor Forest Products.*—As a minor forest product I have already referred to the fungus found on the trees in the North Island and exported to China. We have little information as to the extent of our resources in this commodity; they are believed to be considerable; and, being a growth which replenishes itself, the industry will undoubtedly be permanent.

Five or six of the native trees furnish bark rich in tannin, which is gradually coming into use. Being easily obtained, the bark principally used is that of the red birch (*Fagus fusca*). It is, however, not so good as that of the kamai, a smaller tree, very plentiful in Southland and on the West Coast.

Many of the New Zealand plants furnish dye-stuffs of various colours. The Maoris were well acquainted with their properties, and used them extensively, but the settlers have hitherto done little with them. Neither have we made any attempt to utilise the extracts, turpentine, creosote, tar, pitch, resin, and other similar products of our forests.

*Phormium.*—The problem of cultivating the native hemp profitably has not yet been solved. Until this is

done there can be little advance in the industries connected with this product, for the natural supply is rapidly decreasing. Phormium thrives best in good land, consequently it vanishes on the approach of agriculture.

## **LAND.**

*Pastoral.*—The pastoral lands of New Zealand are estimated at 27,000,000 acres, nearly all of which have been turned to account in growing wool and mutton; 2,671,885 acres, chiefly in the fern and bush lands of the North Island have been surface sown with English grasses, but the remainder is in its natural state. Whether the productiveness of the tussock lands can be materially increased by similar treatment seems an open question, for little surface sowing is done in the South Island.

*Arable.*—The arable lands comprise about 16,000,000 acres, of which 3,997,035 had been cultivated and broken up in 1886.

In the mild climate of New Zealand every acre of land over which the plough can pass will grow crops, no matter what the altitude may be. Our food-producing resources are therefore enormous. Instead of having to depend on other countries for our supply of wheat, as alleged by the great English economist already referred to, we could supply the whole of England with the staff of life from about half our agricultural lands.

*Capabilities.*—The pasture lands of the United Kingdom amount to about 23,000,000 acres, and the arable lands to 24,000,000, the aggregate being 4,000,000 more than the pastoral and agricultural lands of New Zealand. But taking the superiority of our climate into consideration, we could in all probability produce as much food of all kinds as Great Britain and Ireland if our resources were fully developed. That is, we might feed 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 human beings instead of the mere handful of people that constitute the population of the Colony.

As already indicated, the value of our lands is greatly enhanced by the diversity of climate. In addition to the grain and root crops of the Old Country sub-tropical plants of all kinds grow luxuriantly in New Zealand. Grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, and almonds have long been common fruits. Olive and corkwood trees are growing well in the North, and proposals have been made to the Government to commence a tea plantation. Tobacco manufactured from leaf grown in the Colony has been smoked for years, and we are planting mulberry trees for our future silk manufactures.

## **GENERAL.**

This concludes the second division of my subject—a sketch of the industrial resources of New Zealand. At the risk of being included in Anthony Trollope's category of "colonial blowers," I think you will agree in the conclusion that we have in this far-off isle of the sea the makings of a good little country. We might even be justified in saying that Nature has written on more than one page the promise given to a country with far fewer resources, "I will make of thee a great nation."

## **What More Can Be Done.**

### **PRELIMINARY.**

Having shown what we have already done, and the materials we have to work upon, I shall now consider our future prospects—What it is possible for us to do. As already stated we confidently hope and trust that the future of our industries is of far greater importance than the past. I shall therefore consider it in detail. I shall first show the direction in which the industries of New Zealand can expand, and then consider the ways and means, difficulties and doubts, which are involved in the question of extending them.

### **FURTHER INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.**

*Alimentary Products.*—As already shown, the Colony now grows far more food than it can consume, and its capacity for further development is very great. We are on the right track in this matter, and nothing is wanted to increase our production to an enormous extent but a better market.

If it only continues, the trade in frozen and preserved meats of all kinds will be a great impetus to the pastoral industries. The arable lands will be broken up more rapidly and laid down in English grass. Instead of having three acres for a sheep there will be three sheep on the acre. The old race of squatters, whom I have heard derisively styled "tussockers," will give place to sheep-farmers, tillers of the soil, like their humbler brethren, the "cockatoos." Before we reach the full measure of our productiveness our flocks must be doubled, and the number of cattle and other domestic animals increased about twenty-fold.

As shewn by Mr. Stead, the by-products of the pastoral and agricultural industries are important items in our exports, and it would be well to devote more attention to them, for it is questionable whether the New

Zealand farmer will ever again get a good price for his wheat in London. The price, which has long been falling, is now only 57 per cent, of the average for the five years ending 1869. Wheat is delivered into granaries in Dakota for 1s. 9d. a bushel, and it can be raised in the interior of India for 9d. a bushel. The carriage from these places to England is probably a little higher than from New Zealand, but the difference cannot be very great, for the total carriage on wheat between Chicago and Liverpool is only 9d. a bushel. With such formidable rivals I am afraid that the glories of the grain years have departed never to return. It will be many a long day before we again see a dozen reaping machines following each other in the same paddock, and three dozen ships loading grain together at Lyttelton.

There was no portion of the Industrial Exhibition more attractive than the food section. Animal and vegetable products and preparations of all kinds were shown in great profusion, and in every conceivable shape and form. The conclusion come to, after an inspection of them, is that New Zealand can hold its own with any country in the variety and excellence of its food supplies. With so many advantages there seems no reason why we should not extend our trade to other countries and climes.

Many of the imports under this head, such as rice, sago, and arrowroot, are grown only in tropical countries, consequently they can never be replaced by the products of New Zealand. The largest item connected with ordinary breadstuffs is seeds, which must always remain a considerable import if agriculture is to progress. We import upwards of £100,000 worth, but export about a third as much.

Another large item is fruit and nuts, of which we import annually £130,000 worth. So far as soil and sun are concerned the greater portion of these might be grown in the Colony. Why they have not been so grown is probably due to the fact that we have not yet settled down to the systematic cultivation of anything but the "staff of life."

The largest food import now existing is sugar, which in the raw and manufactured state amounts to upwards of £350,000 a year. The question of producing this article in the Colony has received considerable attention, and the cultivation of both sorghum—sugar grass or cane—and sugar beet has been practically tested in the North Island.

Although scarcely known in international trade, sorghum is much cultivated in America for Home consumption. It grows in a much colder climate than the ordinary cane of the tropics, and is said to produce an equally good sugar; the plant is also useful as fodder, being of the nature of maize. Some of the sorghum extract produced in America is manufactured into syrup and sugar, in large works, but the greater portion is worked up by the farmers themselves. About £1,500,000 worth is produced annually. Sorghum is grown in Auckland in considerable quantities, and the cane has been crushed and otherwise experimented on. The results are so far favorable, so is also the chemical analysis; but further experiments are required before the extract can be pronounced of the proper quality, for sugar boiling, like brewing, is a process which very little upsets. It is supposed that the climate of the isthmus of Auckland, where the greater portion of the sorghum has been tried, is too moist to give rich juice. If this is the only objection it is not a serious one, for any number of places can be got where the climate is much drier though quite as warm.

After a number of trials sugar beet of the proper quality has been successfully grown in various parts of the Colony. Considerable quantities have been grown in the Waikato, which contains 12 per cent. of sugar. This is something like 3 per cent. more than is common in the beet from which the sugars of Continental Europe are manufactured. Beet sugar is almost unknown in New Zealand as an ordinary article of food, but this is not the case in other countries. According to Mulhall the annual consumption of sugar in the world is estimated at 3,671,000 tons, of which 1,811,000 is beet and 1,860,000 cane. Nearly all the beet sugar is produced in France, Germany, Austria, Holland and Russia. In those countries it is used almost exclusively for home consumption, and large quantities are exported.

The proximity of New Zealand to cane-growing countries, and our prejudice in favour of that kind, will retard the production of beet sugar in New Zealand; but it is certain to become an important industry some day, for this article is rapidly superseding all others of the kind in the principal markets of the world. Beet sugar is not so agreeable to the English palate as that made from cane, but this is mere insular prejudice; any difference in the flavour is due entirely to defects in the manufacture. When properly refined it is almost identical in every respect with cane sugar.

The recent discovery of the chemical sweetener—saccharin—will give beet sugar a further advantage. Although not quite so sweet as cane sugar it is more wholesome; the addition of saccharin therefore will completely turn the scale in its favour.

About 7,000,000 gallons of spirits are also distilled every year in France from beet root. This is the source of much of the famous pale brandies so popular in the Colonies.

The liquor bill of New Zealand is a very large one. The gold we extract from the bowels of the earth barely pays for the spirituous liquors we imbibe.

I have already referred to the large consumption of imported beer. There is no territorial reason why this



beverage should not be made of as good a quality in south New Zealand as on the banks of the Trent. This state of affairs must either be due to defects in the local manufacture or the prejudice of the consumers. As previously shewn, the cultivation of hops has become an established industry in the Northern districts of the Middle Island. Like many other crops in the virgin soil of the Colony, the yield is very large—nearly double of what it is in Kent. There is an impression that the quality is inferior to the English article; but on making inquiries of experts I find that this is not the case. There is no inherent defect in the plant, but it is not always harvested and dried in the best manner.

With the advantages that the Colony possesses in cheap barley, and hops, good water, and a suitable climate, we should not only brew all the beer that we drink ourselves, but have a considerable export trade.

As you know, the distillation of spirits was begun in New Zealand some years ago, but it was shortly afterwards discontinued on account of the loss to the revenue by the concessions made to the promoters. They got a remission of half the duty, which at that time amounted to six shillings per gallon. It is difficult to say what amount of encouragement, if any, is required to again start this industry. In "Victoria, where every local manufacture is supposed to be thoroughly protected the concession only amounts to four shillings, and there are six distilleries at work, producing about 250,000 gallons annually. I do not know what quality of liquor is manufactured, but, from the number of establishments, it is reasonable to conclude that the industry is financially a success. New Zealand is better adapted for this manufacture than any of the Australian Colonies:—we have all the materials required, down even to peat, which gives the peculiar flavour so much affected alike by Celt and Saxon. That we can or ought to make spirits cheaper than our neighbours across the water is evinced by the fact that one of our few exports to Victoria is barley and malt, the principle ingredients in the manufacture of spirits.

Vine culture and wine making as a local industry in New Zealand is a subject which has received considerable attention, the conclusion being that it is well adapted to the country. When we consider how well the industry is succeeding at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Australia, and California—all new countries—there can be no doubt of a similar result in New Zealand. There are many places all over the Colony where the vine grows freely; but the future wine country *par excellence* will, in all probability, be the interior of Otago, notably the Upper Clutha Valley. In addition to other advantages, a uniformity of climate can always be depended on. The appearance even of the country favours the idea; the slopes of the ranges in the Dunstan district always remind me of views I have seen of the wine districts in Spain and Portugal.

Several proposals have been made to the Government to begin a tea plantation in Auckland; I believe the only real difficulty in the way is the labour question. The various experts who have investigated the matter are satisfied that the soil and climate are quite suitable.

*Textile Industries.*—The wool mills now in operation and building are quite up to, if not in advance of our present requirements in the particular class of goods for which they are adapted, but there seem to be wide openings in other directions. Independently of the large quantity of woollen manufactures included in drapery and slops—the total of which for 1885, amounts to £1,233,306 we still import about £200,000 worth of blankets, carpets, hosiery, and other goods which are or ought to be wool. The value of the woollen articles imported under the head of drapery and slops is at least £400,000, consequently we are still importing about £600,000 worth of clothing, the raw material for which is the staple of New Zealand. It is of course impossible to meet all this by the local manufacturers, but many more of the articles just mentioned might be made here as well as lighter fabrics for dresses. The Roslyn mill has recently erected machinery for manufacturing twilled coatings which is a step in this direction.

The question of exporting our cloth manufactures demands a passing reference. There is only one obstacle in the way, the "demon adulteration." to which I shall allude further on. But for this potentate we might find a market for our woollen manufactures in London itself.

The imports under the head of linens are comparatively small, being only about £25,000, but that "Maelstrom of attire"—drapery—undoubtedly includes considerable quantities of linen goods. We are now cultivating European flax for the sake of the seed, which is used in making oil. The plant grows freely; so there is only one step to be taken in establishing the cloth industry—the utilisation of the fibre. Formerly the two industries of oil-pressing and linen-weaving could not be worked together for the flax had to be cut at different times to suit the two purposes. But the difficulty has quite recently been overcome by improvements in machinery, and the two industries now go together. Independently of the home consumption there is a large market in England for the fibre in a raw state. With so many outlets I have no doubt the cultivation of flax and manufacture of linen will ultimately be established in New Zealand. It is rapidly becoming a large industry in the United States where there are fewer natural advantages.

At this early stage of our history it is premature to consider cotton manufactures further than to say, that our proximity to the South Sea Islands, and the fact that we will have an extensive trade with them, gives us a *locus standi* in the matter. If New Zealand is to work up to the ambitious future of the Britain of the South she cannot

do without a Manchester. The cotton trade is as natural to New Zealand as to England, and if our textile industries are to advance we must manufacture mixed fabrics, cotton and wool.

A number of experiments have been made in growing mulberries and breeding silk-worms. They show that nature has done all that is required for the successful production of silk in New Zealand. It will be many years before we can support a silk mill in the Colony; but there is no reason why the raw silk should not be produced for exportation. A small quantity will also be taken at once by the wool mills for silk mixtures. Producing silk is an industry that requires little capital, it can be earned on to a considerable extent as a pastime like bee-keeping.

*Household and Personal Requisites.*—Reference has already been made to the large imports of furniture and other household appliances. If we only had the courage of our opinions in these matters the Colonial manufactures would soon supersede the imported ones, for the native materials can scarcely be excelled, and we only require to attract the eye of fashion to make our wares acceptable in a foreign market.

China, and glass, and earthenware is another class of goods of which an immense quantity is imported, although we have the raw materials for them in the country. The imports of china and earthenware alone amount to about £50,000. There is no physical reason why a large portion of the commoner articles should not even now be manufactured in the Colony.

Referring to tobacco, the principal item to be dealt with under the head of personal requisites, the Colonial Industries Commission's Report says:—"The evidence establishes the fact that any quantity of tobacco, equal in quality to the first American, can be grown in New Zealand, and that there is no reason why the whole of the tobacco consumed in the Colony should not ultimately be produced and manufactured in it." This opinion is borne out by the official testimony to the excellence of the native tobacco at the Industrial Exhibition previously quoted.

*Building Materials.*—In 1885 about £500,000 worth of building materials of all kinds was imported; and of this amount at least £300,000 worth could be produced in the Colony forthwith, and £100,000 worth more when our resources are further developed. In fact, all the articles in this class might be produced here except a small portion of the metal work and some of the painting materials. There are three items particularly that ought to have disappeared altogether or become much less long ago—timber and cementing and roofing materials. The former is fast disappearing, and it becomes a question whether we cannot further extend our exports of timber and woodware.

I do not think it will pay to send ordinary building-timber to England in competition with the supplies from the Baltic and North America; but it is possible that a small trade in furniture woods might be established, and there is said to be a large market on the continent of Europe and in South Australia for cask staves, for which birch is suitable. A small quantity of timber was exported from Westland to Melbourne when the communication was more direct; but for some years the trade has entirely ceased. It is probable, however, that it will revive when the harbours are made and direct communication resumed.

In the case of cement there are two reasons why the import should diminish—First, because we have a good substitute in the hydraulic limes that are found in the country; and second, because the manufacture of cement is preeminently a Colonial industry.

Cement is used in New Zealand so extensively simply because the ordinary rich limes in the market have not the necessary strength, and do not set in a damp situation. With the exception of some special cases, where quick setting or extra strength is required, there are few works in New Zealand for which the native hydraulic limes are not quite suitable. These limes could possibly take the place of nine-tenths of the cement. On the imports of 1885 this represents about £75,000.

The reason hydraulic lime has hitherto not been made in the South Island is that it costs a little more, and the general public are indifferent to quality. This is not the case in the North; the superior quality of the material is recognised on all sides, and as a consequence the industry has become of considerable importance. The lime is carefully manufactured and prepared; it is first calcined, then broken by stampers or rollers, and finally ground like flour, the process followed in the manufacture of cement. Auckland lime is fast superseding cement in the local market; it has even found its way to Christchurch and Dunedin, but strength for strength, it is not, at this distance, as cheap as the imported article.

The existence of hydraulic lime obviates to a great extent the necessity for manufacturing cement. If the former is properly utilised there is little room for the latter; but if the present system of burning nothing but common lime is continued in the Middle Island a good opening is left for cement works. We have the raw materials in profusion—it is a low-priced article, the price of which is doubled by the charges of importation, and little skilled labour is required in the manufacture, all of which are in its favour as a Colonial industry.

As you all know, the ingredients of English Portland cement are chalk and clay, in the proportion of seven of the former to three of the latter. After being mixed together the raw materials are burned in a kiln and thoroughly pulverised in the manner just described. In Germany, where there is no chalk, hard limestone is used. The quality of the cement is the same in both cases, but the latter process is somewhat more expensive.

On account of the chalk and the proximity to the Malvern coalfield the best place in the Middle Island for cement works is Oxford, and after it the Kakanui and Otautau districts. The mud from Lyttelton Harbour and Lakes Ellesmere and Forsyth would, I have no doubt, do to mix with the Oxford chalk, but a supply may possibly be got nearer—in the Malvern Hills or the low-lying swampy lands on the coast.

Our bill for roofing materials of all kinds in 1885 amounted to about £140,000. As already stated the native slate is equal to the best imported kinds, and the supply is practically inexhaustible; still the attempts hitherto made to establish the industry of slate-quarrying have not been successful. This is due to a variety of causes—want of sufficient capital, the inaccessible situation of the quarries, and the prejudice of buyers, more particularly as regards the size. To save freight nothing but the largest and the lightest slates are imported; this has established a fashion in the Colony for the large size, and no other will be taken although the smaller sizes are in reality more serviceable. Had there been a ready market for all the produce of the quarries the industry might possibly have pulled through. Notwithstanding its drawbacks and previous failures, I have no doubt slate-quarrying will ultimately be an important Colonial industry, not only to supply our own wants, but for exportation, as the New Zealand slate is much superior to anything hitherto discovered in the other Australasian colonies.

An important item in building materials is glass, more particularly if we include the bottles and other glass wares in the classes already noticed, which bring up the total imports to about £50,000. The glass works at Auckland produces first class articles, but it is on too small a scale to affect the imports. We trust that the operations of the Kaiapoi works will ere long tell a different tale.

*Mining and Mechanical Industries.*—Although our historical sketch shows that the mineral resources of New Zealand have been developed to a considerable extent, gold and coal-mining are really the only two industries that have been fairly established on a satisfactory basis. The others have not yet passed the experimental stage, and the failures in the past have been so numerous that there is not much confidence in the future. These failures are not attributable so much to deficiencies in the natural supplies as to the want of means and experience on the part of those who tried to develop them, and in not a few cases to the cupidity of speculators.

In the immediate future the most tangible prospect is the possibilities of the coal trade. As previously shewn, the coal-mines of New Zealand depend almost entirely on the home consumption, which has hitherto been more than sufficient to absorb the supply. It is evident, however, that the home market is not sufficient to cause any-thing like a proper development of the industry, no matter how rapidly the colony may progress, or how much local manufactures are extended. Furthermore, the nature of our trade with New South Wales enables the imported coal to compete with the native product in all the larger centres. The New Zealand steamers have less cargo offering from Sydney than New Zealand, consequently they can carry coal at a very low freight.

All these circumstances point to the necessity for finding a market for the New Zealand coal outside the colony. I believe that the only real difficulty in the way is the West Coast harbours, and that a large export trade will spring up so soon as vessels of large draught can come in. For gas purposes the Greymouth coal is worth about 2s. 6d. per ton more than Newcastle; and this opens the door to all the colonies that have no coal of their own. With improved means of transport, I see no reason why New Zealand coal should not compete all round, and for all purposes, with the coal from New South Wales. The amount of coal imported into Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania during 1884 was over 600,000 tons; and these are not the only markets open to the New Zealand coal, if it can only be supplied cheap enough. Including the colonies just mentioned, it is estimated that the demand for coal in the southern seas and other places commanded by New Zealand, is over 4,000,000 tons per annum, of which Newcastle only supplies about 1,700,000, the remainder being obtained from England. This shows that the possibilities of the coal industries on the West Coast are very great.

As for the non-bituminous coals, which it will not pay to export, they must still depend entirely on the Home market.

Next to coal and gold the most important mining industries in future years will be those connected with the manufacture of iron and steel. Including corrugated iron, fencing wire, tram-rails, pipes, and other articles that have only been through the first processes of manufacture, we import annually about 50,000 tons of iron, valued at about £450,000, which is sufficient to keep one or two small furnaces and mills at work.

As already stated, the numerous attempts made to utilise the iron sands have signally failed—marketable iron cannot be produced at anything like a reasonable price. The reason is, simply, that the proper way of dealing with the ore has not been discovered. There is, however, no necessity to confine our attentions to iron-sand; hæmatite, which occurs in such profusion, is the ore most used in making steel by the new processes now everywhere adopted. This ore is not plentiful in England, and large quantities are imported from Spain, the amount for 1885 being 2,533,938 tons, valued at £1,688,234. There are large deposits of hæmatite in America, hence the wonderful success of the steel manufactures.

Steel is made direct from the hæmatite ore in one operation, the process being exceedingly simple and cheap. There is a large hill of the ore at Para Para to quarry straight into—coal and lime are in the neighbourhood, and there is a tolerably extensive market in the Colony for the products; we may therefore assume that there is a fair prospect of our having, at no distant date, a supply of the material most wanted in the mechanical arts.

It is impossible to consider individually the future prospects of the various branches of the mechanical industries; and, indeed, it is unnecessary to do so, for there are few of them untried. All that is required is to develop those that are now in existence—to build on the foundation already laid.

*Minor Industries.*—I have in this section considered in detail the more important industrial developments attainable in the immediate future, and others have been referred to in previous sections. I shall now simply enumerate minor industries and manufactures that it is possible to establish or extend, and which, although small individually, would in the aggregate contribute largely to the local trade of the Colony.

Products:—Mimosa Bark, Osiers, Pea-nuts, Currants, Oranges, Olives, Mustard, Castor Oil Plant, Saffron, Perfumery, Opium, Honey, Teazles, Garden Seeds, Buckwheat, Maize and Peruvian Bark and other medicinal plants. Manufactures: — Preserved Milk, Preserved Fish, Vinegar, Felt, Mats, Starch, Maizena, Whiting, Blacking, Ink, Glue, Basketware, Brushware, Paint, Varnish, Oils, Fuse, Type-founding, Matches, and Tobacco Pipes.

*General.*—As an indication of the possible expansion and development of our industries I have analysed roughly the character of our imports, with the following results:—

It is thus *possible* to produce and make three-fourths of the goods we buy from other countries, and in some cases there is every prospect of an export trade.

## THE GREAT CONTROVERSY.

At this stage I ought to give you a dissertation on the much-debated question of Free-trade *versus* Protection, but I will not do so, for various cogent reasons, the principal one being that I can only give a "layman's opinion" on the subject, my acquaintance with the "Dismal Science" being very slight. I shall, however, give what I consider the salient points of the controversy—"how it strikes a stranger"—and will endeavour to show the bearing of the question on the industries of New Zealand.

In the first place it is perfectly clear that we must not accept the statements, conclusions, or predictions of either side as gospel, for we see one country flourishing with free-trade and another equally prosperous with protection, and the one appears to be as much subject to periods of depression as the other. We are told that there are certain economic laws as immutable as those of the Medes and Persians, and that these laws govern and regulate every movement in the commercial world. I believe that nine-tenths of these laws are a myth, and that political economy has no real existence as a science. Comte, the great French philosopher, defines science as "the power of prediction." The captain of any of our Home steamers, though he has not seen land for a month, can tell the hour and minute when a certain lighthouse will appear in sight, and we know beforehand that spirits of salt poured on limestone will cause an effervescence, but the Dismal Science gives no such certainty in predicting effect from cause. According to all rule the industries of America should have come to grief long ago, but they are to-day more vigorous than ever. America manufactures more steel rails and weaves more woollen cloth than England. We have American locomotives running on our railways, because they are cheaper and better suited to our requirements, and can be got in less time than from England. Belgium, a country where native industries are protected, should not be able to compete with free-trade England, yet we are using Belgian iron in the Waiiau Bridge because it is cheaper, and we hear of Belgian ironwork being used in Glasgow itself for the same reason. Furthermore, German cottons have in a few instances been sold in Manchester.

The value of iron and ironwork imported into Great Britain from Belgium and Holland during the last five years has averaged £1,847,780 a year.

Richard Cobden predicted "that in less than ten years from the time that free-trade was inaugurated in England every civilized country would be freetraders to the backbone" It is now 40 years since free-trade was established in England, and for all practical purposes she has gone alone. Either the prophecy of the great apostle is unfulfilled, or there is only one civilised country on the face of the earth. I am afraid we must accept the former of these alternatives, for Gladstone says "that the commercial supremacy of the world must ultimately pass from the United Kingdom to the United States.

Referring to this subject Mulhall says "American industry and population increase much faster than in Europe, and so does the wealth of the nation. Everyday that the sun rises upon the American people it sees an addition of £500,000 sterling to the accumulated wealth of the republic, which is equal to one-third of the daily accumulation of mankind." The manufacturing industries of the United States are already 35 per cent, greater than those of the United Kingdom.

The protectionists point triumphantly to the progress of the industrial arts in America, as proof positive that their views are correct, but freetraders say that the prosperity of America is attributable to other causes that she has prospered "in spite of protection." Theoretical freetraders tell us that England has most to fear from competition when foreign countries throw off the trammels of protection; but the practical Chairman of the Manchester Royal Exchange says that "foreign tariffs are the bane of our existence."

We thus see that political economy is anything but an exact science, and that it cannot even be classed with the practical rule of thumb science of our every day life. The reason is simply that in the one case we have inert matter with no will of its own, to work upon—the clay in the hands of the potter. In the other we deal with the sentiments, passions and aspirations of humanity which obey no natural laws.

Another fallacy is the idea that a hard and fast line can be drawn between freetrade and protection. This can only be done when we deal with abstract principles, and carried to extremes the abstract principle in either case ends in absurdity. Mathematical freetrade, as understood, is an effectual barrier to all progress, "folding of the hands to sleep." The essence of its philosophy seems to be, "thou shalt not produce nor make anything that can be produced or made cheaper by anybody else." As applied to our case this is equivalent to saying America can grow wheat cheaper than New Zealand, why should we attempt to till our lands?—Galashiels can weave cloth cheaper than Mosgiel, why think of wearing Colonial tweeds? And the other side of the picture is equally absurd: protection, pure and simple, means that we are to roof in the Taieri Plain with glass to grow grapes, rather than let any of our money find its way to the vine growers on the banks of the Douro.

This shows the impossibility of defining the issues between freetrade and protection, in fact there is no boundary to fight for—each party is constantly encroaching on the other's territory. Freetraders are rank protectionists as regards their social and educational institutions, and protectionists are ultra-freetraders when it involves the question of cheapening raw materials and labour. The manufacturers of England would like to restrict the export of machinery, and the agriculturist the import of wheat. And quite recently the English newspapers wanted the Queen to entertain to encourage trade.

Another untenable position is to apply the same principle to all countries, and at all times. What suits old countries, who have manufactures firmly established by precedent and practise, may be quite unsuitable in a new country, where manufactures are struggling into existence. John Stuart Mill advocated temporary protection in his earlier works, and in his old age affirmed the principle, saying, further, "I do not even say that if I were an American I would not be a protectionist."

The motto of the Cobden Club is, "Peace on earth, good-will among nations," and many of its teachings are on these lines, philanthropy being a favourite text to preach from. In this matter-of-fact age it is difficult to accept the theory of pure disinterestedness. It is far easier to assume that with freetraders and protectionists alike the main-spring of action is self-interest. Until the millenium comes this is the only feasible hypothesis. During the civil war in America, when the trade of Manchester was at its last gasp for want of cotton, the freetraders, one and all, with Cobden at their head, pressed the English Government to "stimulate" the cultivation of cotton in India. When charged with inconsistency, Cobden admitted that on this question he flung the principles of free-trade to the winds.

As I was writing this part of my lecture, I came across a case in point. An article in a leading colonial newspaper, one that is severely orthodox on the doctrines of freetrade; it said—"The impenetrable stupidity of our legislators has in the past prevented the colony from reaping her full share of the advantages to be derived from the stores of coals on the West Coast. A liberal expenditure on harbours ten years ago would have repaid us again and again." This paper would probably go into convulsions at the idea of putting a shilling duty on coals, but here it proposes to give what, with the cost of the railways already made for the same purpose, is equivalent to a bounty of five shillings a ton on the total consumption of the colony for the last ten years. The interest on the expenditure is equal to a duty of ten shillings a ton on all the coal we import. As a strict matter of principle there is as much protection in making harbours to develop our own coalfields as there would be in prohibiting the import of coal from Newcastle.

The whole Public Works policy of New Zealand is a gigantic system of protection to develop the resources of the colony, and stimulate her various industries. So also is the education system; the State educates our children simply that we may hold our own with other countries. Although theoretically a free trade country, New Zealand is violating the laws of freetrade at every turn, and it has been the same all through. In the early days woolpacks and sheepwash were admitted free as a protection to the squatter. Agricultural appliances of all kinds have always been duty free as a bounty to the farmer, and now his produce is carried on the railways at a low rate with the same object. Coalmining is encouraged by the construction of harbours, and gold-digging by the making of water races. Protection is only supposed to be extended to industries that cannot go alone or require a start. In New Zealand we protect some of the industries which, above all others, are best adapted to the country. If corn cannot now be grown without protection, the look-out for manufactures is not very bright.

Assuming that there is a seed of disinterestedness in the world of commerce, I think that it finds a more

congenial soil in protection than in free trade. Protection teaches the old fashioned doctrines "love thy neighbour as thyself," and the "labourer hire," in modern phraseology "give a good day's pay for a good day's work." Free trade says "buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest." It is the practical exponent of the Darwinian theory, "the survival of the fittest. "Kill or be killed." Carlyle, Ruskin, and Max O'Rell are each in his way severely sarcastic on the great free trade principle of cheap production. The sage of Chelsea says:—"Sad news that the English nation's existence depends on selling manufactured cotton at a farthing an ell cheaper than any other people. A most narrow platform for a great nation to base itself on."

It is this unchristian doctrine of extorting the uttermost farthing that has given us the Song of the Shirt.

"With fingers weary and worn,  
With eyelids heavy and red;  
A woman sat in unwomanly rags  
Plying her needle and thread.  
Stitch! stitch! stich!  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,  
And with a voice of dolorous pitch  
She sang the Song of the Shirt."

"Work, work, work,  
Till the brain begins to swim;  
Work, work, work,  
Till the eyes are heavy and dim;  
Seam and gusset, and band,  
Band and gusset and seam,  
Till over the buttons I fall asleep  
And sew them on in a dream."

"Work, work, work,  
My labour never flags.  
And what are its wages? a bed of straw,  
A crust of bread and rags.  
That shatter'd roof—and this naked floor;  
A table—a broken chair  
And a wall so blank my shadow I thank  
For sometimes falling there."

All this is in favour of the protectionists, but we must not run away with the idea that there is nothing to be said on the other side.

The duty on cloth in Victoria has been raised lately simply because the New Zealand manufactures were competing successfully with those of Victoria on their own ground. The discussion on the question revealed the fact that the Victorian factories are not so well appointed nor so well conducted as the New Zealand ones. Excessive or premature protection undoubtedly emasculate an industry of this kind. In the one case it lessens competition, without which there cannot be life and vigour, and in the other the young plant is forced into full bloom before it has time to gather strength for itself. Although undue competition has given us the Song of the Shirt, it does not follow that a moderate amount is injurious, many a deadly poison is a good medicine when taken in proper doses, and we know that the plant that is unduly forced in its youth will not stand alone in its old age, it wants support all its life.

To start industries before their time is a still greater evil: a cloth-mill on the diggings, or a cement factory in the pastoral age, would have little chance of succeeding, no matter how much protected or stimulated.

It may also be set down as an axiom that assistance not required is injurious. The pace is always steadiest when there is a heavy load to pull. There is always a danger of a capsize when the power is in excess of the work to be done.

Again, we may take it for granted that the cost of production in a highly protected country is greater than in

a free-trade one, everything else being equal; consequently, all the industries in that country which depend on a foreign market, are placed at a disadvantage. The western farmer of America, or the wine-grower of France receives no benefit from the protected manufactures with which he is surrounded. On the contrary, they do him harm. In like manner the gold-digger of New Zealand is not a protectionist in the matter of trade. Open ports mean cheap powder and cheap picks to him, consequently he goes in for protection in the shape of roads, water-races, and sludge channels.

One of the greatest objections to protection is the un-certainty of its actions. Like some of the new torpedos, it does not always discriminate between friend and foe. The whole trade of a country may be compared to the water in a hydraulic press. The slightest pressure applied at any point is transmitted through the whole mass, and the weakest place suffers most. An all-round system of protection would have much the same effect as absolute free trade and isolated protection, whether in the form of differential duties or exemptions, is a harp very hard to tune. Nearly every manufacturer in New Zealand would be benefitted by getting in raw materials duty free, but this would leave undeveloped the natural resources of the country, and all industries connected therewith.

In admitting machinery duty free as an encouragement to manufactures, we discourage the local manufacture of machinery. Carpet weaving is encouraged by admitting certain yarns; but this militates against the use of Colonial wools, which would make a better fabric.

The evils of isolated protection and the anomalies arising therefrom are well exemplified in the evidence taken by the Colonial Industries Commission in 1880. One set of manufacturers wanted the duties taken off certain articles, and another set wanted more put on. It would be to the advantage of sauce and candle-makers to get bottles and wrapping paper admitted free, but the bottle and paper-makers see the question from a different aspect. And this difference of opinion is not restricted to different trades; it frequently exists in the same business. One Dunedin firm, in the furniture trade, advocated protection on a large scale; the representative of another waxed eloquent over the beauties of freetrade. The explanation in this case is not far to seek:—one manufactures the whole of the furniture from colonial woods; the other imports it ready to put together, the fitting, polishing, and stuffing being all that is done by him, Auckland manufacturers wanted a protective duty of 35 per cent. put on agricultural implements and brass-work. Beyond the abolishing of some exemptions, the representatives of these trades in Dunedin wanted nothing; and I have already shown that they are two of the most successful manufactures in the Colony. These cases indicate the difficulties that beset any system of isolated protection. To deal out even-handed justice in the matter is an intricate problem that can only be solved by a system of trial and error.

I shall have occasion further on to revert incidentally to the question of freetrade *versus* protection, but in the meantime I will sum up the whole case in the words of the naturalist who undertook to write a treatise on the snakes of Ireland—"there are no snakes in Ireland." There is no such thing in practise as freetrade or protection, and to the theorists on both sides I might quote the ancient Latin proverb, *In medio tutissimus ibis*, the golden mean is the only safe position; or, putting it into the vernacular, keep the middle track.

## **ADVANTAGES OF MANUFACTURES.**

The main proposition we have to demonstrate is that it is not only desirable but necessary to establish manufactures in New Zealand.

The principal countries in the world are those in which manufactures are extensively carried on, and it has always been the ambition of rulers and statesmen, from Peter the Great to Richard Cobden, to make their own a manufacturing country.

The power of England is not in her ironclads, but her shuttles, consequently the fulfilment of Gladstone's prediction involves the loss of more than mere commercial supremacy. Let us hope this may be another unfulfilled prophecy. One part of it, at least, we believe will never be fulfilled. Should the dark day ever come when the sceptre of England's commercial supremacy passes from her hand it will not go to a foreign power but into the hands of her own sons, the young nations she has brought to life. We trust that Macaulay's New Zealander may be a standard bearer in the new confederation.

No one questions the desirableness of establishing manufactures in any country, old or new, providing the conditions are favourable thereto, for without them the other resources of the country cannot be developed. The Americans go further than this, and promote every industry, "against which nature has not interposed a barrier."

Economists of all countries and ages advocate the establishment of manufactures on the ground that they provide two markets—one at Home, and the other abroad. Adam Smith advocated them as affording a ready market for rude produce, and showed that the Home market was more profitable to the State than the Foreign one. Although the latter might increase individual wealth, the former was of greater benefit to the community at large. Benjamin Franklin said—"Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as would otherwise be exported to pay for

the manufactures he supplies."

Horace Greeley appraises industrial skill and energy at its proper value when he says that Watt, Arkwright, and Stephenson would be worth more to the United States than Canada or Mexico. I could name half-a-dozen members of our little industrial community who have done more for New Zealand than a legion of Carlyle's "perorating politicians" who contribute most to *Hansard*.

Manufactures do not spring spontaneously from the soil in any country or clime no matter how favourable the soil may be. Under any circumstance the seed must be sown and the young plant sheltered and nurtured till it takes root and gains strength, and is old enough to bear fruit.

Every commercial and manufacturing country in the world has at one time or another protected and stimulated its trade and industries in a direct manner. Every legitimate means has been and still is employed, and many means that are neither legitimate nor just have in the past been resorted to. "England's thunder" has more than once been evoked to stimulate the looms of Manchester, and untold hardships and suffering have been inflicted in forcibly carrying British commerce into every corner of the globe.

The second Act passed by the first United States Congress in 1789, was one to promote native industries, and the policy thus early initiated has been persistently adhered to.

All the great industries of the United Kingdom have been largely stimulated by assistance or concessions from the State at various times. Direct bounties were given, protective duties imposed, and competition absolutely prohibited, and these regulations were altered and amended as occasion required.

The Navigation Laws of Cromwell which were only finally repealed in 1854, provided that all goods imported into England should be carried in English ships, three-fourths of the crew being Englishmen. Besides giving a direct impetus to English commerce, these laws were intended to checkmate the Dutch who were then formidable rivals in maritime trade. It is the Navigation Laws that really made Britain the ruler of the seas. Although a free trader himself, Adam Smith says of them that they were "perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England."

While thus protecting her own commerce, England choked off competition by prohibiting the carriage of colonial manufactures, even from one colony to another. And although the linen trade of Ireland was for a time protected along with that of Scotland, her industries were crushed in much the same fashion as the colonial ones. She was forbidden to trade with the East, the Mediterranean and the Colonies, and for some time the English market was absolutely closed against certain of her manufactures and agricultural products. These restrictions combined with the reluctance of the Irish to use machinery, and the start given to English manufactures completely crushed the industries of Ireland. In the year before the Union, there were 6,600 weavers in Cork alone, thirty-five years afterwards there were not 500. When we consider the army of spinners, dyers, and other workers in textile fabrics that this number of weavers represents, we have an idea of the dire calamity that befell the country. Practically it meant the extinction of Irish manufactures, for they have not recovered to this day. With the exception of the linen trade there is no manufacture in Ireland worthy of the name. Perhaps the complications in that fair isle would have been averted had her industries been properly developed.

All the metal and textile industries in Great Britain have been protected at various times, and in different ways. At one time the duty on iron was £6 10s. a ton, and later on the export of machinery and skilled labour was absolutely prohibited. In 1700 the use as well as the importation of cotton was prohibited, because it spoiled the woollen trade, and a century later there was an import duty of 60 per cent. on cotton goods as a protection to the English manufactures of cottons.

The greatest rival that England had in the cotton trade was India, and she was silenced by a special enactment that absolutely prohibited the importation of cotton goods from any place east of the Cape. This ruthless application of the Darwinian law brought starvation and death to many thousands in India—poor weaklings, who could not defend themselves, even through the ballot box. Surely they were not "foemen worthy of our steel."

So great was the desire to stimulate manufactures in the olden times that the obligation to encourage them did not cease with life. At one time it was illegal to be buried in anything but linen, and at another the only lawful ceremonies were of woollen cloth. I have copied from an old Scotch Act of Parliament in the General Assembly Library the title and preamble of one of these laws, passed in 1597. In addition to being a literary curiosity it is a good exposition of leading points in the philosophy of manufactures. "Act anent the Restreaning off the hame-bringing of Inglis claith. The same claith haveand onlie for the maist parte ane outwarde shaw wantand the substance and strenth qlk oftymes it appeiris to have, and being ane of the chief causes of the transporting of all gold and silver furth of this realme, and consequentlie of the grite scarsitie and pnt derth of the cunyie now current within the sami."

The complaint of auld Scotland 300 years ago is repeated in young New Zealand to-day, and with equal force. The "hame-bringing" of shoddy from England militates against the cloth manufactures of the Colony,



and assists to "transport furth the realme" that cunye" already remarkable for its "grite scarsitie nd present derth."

Having thus shown how highly manufactures are prized in other countries, and what means have been employed to secure them, I shall now consider the question from a colonial point of view.

Although the sketch I have given shows that ground has been broken in many places, and that a goodly number of our manufacturing industries have made fair progress, we are still depending most on the production and export of raw materials. The state of the wool market is still the pulse of colonial trade, every industry being more or less affected by its fluctuations. Wool alone constitutes about 45 per cent. of our exports, and all the pastoral products about 60 per cent. One penny on the wool clip comes to more than the property tax.

Four years ago all our hopes were centred on the grain trade. It went up with a bound, but ran down just as fast, like a watch when the mainspring is broken. As previously shewn the export of wheat in 1885 was only about a sixth of what it was in 1883. This seems the fate of all grain-growing countries, the main source of supply is continually changing. The reason is simply that the cheap production of corn in large quantities is not a permanent industry, it wants fresh fields at short intervals. This has not been directly the cause of the collapse in New Zealand, for our virgin grain country is not nearly exhausted. Notwithstanding the larger returns, we have been jostled out of the market by those who can work their fresh fields more cheaply.

A United States Commission has declared that "the policy of growing grain for exportation, except as a pioneer expedient in opening and improving farms, is not to be commended." The western farmer, so much patronised by the Cobden Club, is not a desirable settler. Like his countryman, the Colorado beetle, he sweeps across the country a veritable plague, eating up every green blade or what comes to the same thing, extracting all the substance from the land.

This is not the only way in which new countries are living on their capital—killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The wholesale destruction of our forests is a case in point. Instead of carefully conserving them—a store of industrial wealth—they are ruthlessly cut down as a "pioneer expedient" to raise the wind, or to make room for less valuable crops. Kauri gum is another indigenious export that will ultimately pay better to keep for our use or to manufacture for export, rather than export in the raw state.

Looking at the matter as a national policy, we might go further and question the wisdom of exporting coal in large quantities, for which we are making such extensive preparations. We should not be too anxious to divest ourselves of any raw material which does not reproduce itself. Although our coal supply is large for a young colony, it is very small for a large manufacturing country. The Westport coalfield would only give about one year's supply to Great Britain.

Viewed in this light, the collapse of the export trade in grain, "although for the present grievous," is not the dire calamity at first supposed. If the average price of wheat for the 80 years prior to 1881 had been sustained, the end of the century would have seen the light shingly lands of Canterbury transformed into a barren waste.

As just shown, the grain trade was only ephemeral at the best, and in the language of the old Scotch act, it "transported furth the realme" much of our substance that can be better utilised at home. A farmer on the Canterbury plains only gets 3s. a bushel for the wheat that he exports, but when it reaches Bradford it is worth 5s. as food for weavers. That food is converted into labour and woven into the cloth just as much as the yarn. By-and-by the cloth finds its way back to Canterbury, and by this time it is worth 6s. The farmer, therefore, has to pay double for the labour created by his own wheat. In consequence of the round-about way in which the conversion is effected he gives two bushels for the labour that is contained in one. When the farmer and weaver are working side by side on the Canterbury plain that second bushel of wheat will be divided between them.

If we take frozen meat and other articles of food in which the difference between the English and Colonial prices is about three to one, the result will be still more striking, one pound's worth of our exports converted into labour in manufacturing goods for the Colonial market will cost us four.

But the loss on food is not the only one. Ordinary wool used in the manufacture of tweeds is worth 1s. 6d. a pound in New Zealand, and when we buy it back in the form of English cloth we pay 5s. a pound for it. This leaves a balance of 3s. 6d. that might be distributed among the wool growers, woollen manufacturers, and consumers of cloth in the colony.

Without knowing the relative values of labour, capital, and profit in manufactured goods it is impossible to give the combined results in exporting both food and raw materials, but enough has been said to show the enormous advantages to be derived by using our own food, fuel, and raw materials in manufacturing goods for our own consumption. Unless it is a positive and permanent burden every fresh industry that starts benefits those already in existence and, through them, all classes of the community, and the producer of raw materials most of all.

Much of the opposition to local manufactures is by, or at any rate in the name of, the producer. It is contended that they are inimical to his interests, and that any encouragement given to them must be at the expense of the farmer and grazier. Theoretically this may be in accordance with "sound economics," what

would be called in Scotland "the fundamentals," but practically the effect is as often the other way about. A case in point occurred two or three years ago within the sound of the Cathedral bells. Immediately on the establishment of barbed wire manufactures in the Colony the price of the imported article fell £18 a ton in one drop. Assuming that a sixth of the wire used in New Zealand is barbed, this fall represents a saving to the producer of about £20,000 a year. He may well afford a handsome commission to local industry out of the transaction.

There is no country in the world more subject to ups and downs than New Zealand. The reason simply is that we have so few strands in our cable. When one or two give way the ship goes on the rocks. If the wool-growers, farmers, and miners had a market within the Colony they would get better prices for their products, and in all probability the periods of depression would be fewer and less sudden and severe.

It has been shown that grain growing for export is not, under any circumstance, a "national policy"; and further, that for the present, at least, it is not even a paying business in New Zealand. But independently of these considerations, agriculture is not of itself sufficient to develop any country. Adam Smith says:—"Flourishing manufactures and commerce are indispensable to a flourishing agriculture. To suppose that the latter should exist without the former is to suppose that man may be industrious without a motive—that there may be an effect without a cause."

As "we cannot live by bread alone," neither can we live altogether by producing bread. If we confine our colonising operations to growing wool and corn, as we are frequently advised to do by political economists of the Old Country, our progress will speedily come to an end. Agriculture cannot live without railways, and railways cannot live on agriculture. The half-million people that inhabit New Zealand are all living on the fruits of the earth; but it only takes a sixth of the number to gather these fruits—the rest are camp followers, who minister to the regular soldiers, and without which the warfare cannot be carried on. The relative proportion of the two classes must not be brought below a certain point, otherwise the producers will suffer; and, as already shown, the more trades and industries are multiplied the better for them.

The policy of the Colony all through has been one of progress, to make of itself a nation; but what nation can exist in these modern times that is composed entirely of tillers of the ground and shepherds of sheep?

A paucity of pursuits means a paucity of ideas, and without ideas in profusion there can be no progress. Growing corn and wool demand skill and experience on the part of those who conduct the business, but the rank and file are a lower grade than their conferees, who are engaged in manufactures; their pay also is much lower.

In pursuance of the national policy just referred to, New Zealand has made the most liberal provision for educating and raising the people to a high intellectual standard. Every latent faculty is to be developed, every talent brought to light; and as there is such a diversity of faculties in humanity generally, and in colonists particularly, so must there be a diversity of pursuits. We must have employment for "all sorts and conditions of men," strong and weak, old and young. Manufactures and other industries of various kinds would not only furnish these employments, but they would awaken ideas, develop skill in manipulation, and generally uphold the intellectual standard of the community.

What are we to do with our boys? is a question frequently asked, and every day becoming more pressing. There is only one answer:—Unless we develop new industries and new occupations within the Colony, we must simply export them along with other raw materials!

## **FACILITIES AND DIFFICULTIES.**

Having shown that it is desirable and necessary to establish manufactures in New Zealand, I shall now consider the facilities that exist and the difficulties to be overcome.

The greatest advantage that we possess is that the Britain of the South is inhabited by identically the same race as the Britain of the North. The race that has made England supreme in all matters commercial and mechanical, and which is improving on itself across the Atlantic. The manufacturers of England deny to us the right of developing our industrial instincts. We are to be the "hewers of wood and drawers of water." "roughing it" in the far distant Lebanon, while they the skilled workmen abide at home in Jerusalem earning higher wages in ease and comfort. We are to be the hodmen they the bricklayers. Before this condition of things is conceded we must assume that the Colonist has left his brains at home, and only brought muscle with him to the wilds. It is in reality the other way about. Through natural selection in coming abroad the average colonist is all round a better man than his compeer who stays at home. This being the case, why should we stifle our natural instincts, and accept an inferior position.

In a new country like this we have really an advantage as regards intellectual development. There are no time honoured ruts to travel in, no precedents or prejudices to clog our actions. Every one is fancy free to strike out a new path for himself. These privileges give us Yankee notions, and otherwise contribute largely to the prosperity of the United States. I have shown that this spirit is already in our midst, it is evinced in the readiness

with which new ideas and appliances are adopted. A curious incident in connection herewith occurred recently. The Board of Trade sent for particulars of the wire tramways in Dunedin. Fancy her youngest colony being a step in advance of England in a matter of this kind.

Next to having the proper race of men, to commence with the greatest factor in building up a nation, is to have the where-withal to prevent that race from deteriorating—a good climate, pure water, and abundance of food, in every one of which New Zealand holds a premier place. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no country on earth better suited for the Anglo-Saxon race than the one we inhabit. The climate of New Zealand is not only conducive to industrial activity in the people, but directly favours many processes of manufactures, and, as already shown, gives a wide range to our power of production.

According to some high French authorities, "that country must be considered the most prosperous in which the inhabitants are able to have the largest ratio of meat for their food." The Americans eat 120 pounds of meat per annum; and although there is so much poverty and destitution in the Old Country, the average Englishman eats more meat than any other European, his annual consumption being 110 pounds. The next highest meat eaters in Europe are the French, with 66 pounds; and the lowest the Portuguese, with 20 pounds. If the French philosophers are right, "Britannia rules the waves," not by the force of intellect, but through the power of roast beef; and by the same rule New Zealand must be the most prosperous country in the world, for it is estimated that each of its inhabitants consumes from 200 to 250 pounds of meat per annum. As showing the superabundance of food in the Colony, it is calculated that the rabbits killed every year would yield upwards of 100,000,000 pounds of flesh fit for human use, all of which is wasted. What a god-send this would be to the starving thousands of London, who do not know from personal experience that man is a carnivorous animal.

With such an abundance of food, New Zealand can grow strong vigorous men, which is the main point, whether brain or muscle is required. Although the rule does not hold good in individuals, it is well known that in communities the best eaters are the best workers. The human body is exactly like a steam engine, the amount of work that can be done being in direct proportion to the fuel consumed. This, I have no doubt is the secret of the success of many of our undertakings in New Zealand. Although wages are more than double the rate in the Old Country, the cost of production is not in the same proportion, for men here do more work.

With the raw materials and coal in the country, the industries of New Zealand have a large natural protection in the distance we are from the seat of manufactures. The charges connected with sending wool Home and getting it back in cloth alone amounts to 3d. per pound. This, on the quantity worked up by our wool mills, amounts to £25,000, a very handsome protection on £200,000 worth of goods. And, as already shown, we not only send Home the wool to be woven into cloth, but we send the com and meat to feed the weavers.

This question of manufacturing raw materials for home consumption on the ground is attracting considerable attention all over the world. The theory that England is the workshop of the world, and that the "natural way" is to send raw materials there to be manufactured is not universally accepted now. *Prima facia* a voyage round the world is not conducive to cheap production. It is found that cotton yarn can be produced in Bombay for 3¼d. a pound less than in Manchester that being the cost of sending the raw cotton home and getting the yarn back. There are already eighty-one cotton mills in India, and Mr. T. S. Teans says that were it not for the want of security to property, India would be a formidable rival to England in the cotton trade. After referring to the great decline of the silk industries in England, and the corresponding advance in America, the same writer shows that linen and jute are the only important manufactures in which England is holding her own, he says:—"In the cotton, wool, and silk trades, in the manufacture of iron and steel, in the mechanical arts, and a hundred minor industries, her pre-eminence has been threatened, and in some cases with unmistakable success." Referring to America and the Colonies, Professor Rogers says:—"There is no reason apparently except priority in the market, why the industry of the Old Country should not be transplanted to the new."

Comparing New Zealand with the other Australasian Colonies, it is found that she probably holds the best position for a manufacturing country. New South Wales has more mineral resources, but comes after New Zealand on all other points. Tasmania has all round as many natural endowments, but for some reason or other she seems to have struck the wrong track in industrial development.

One of the greatest difficulties to be encountered in establishing manufactures in New Zealand is the opposition, positive and negative, of those who have vested interests in the present state of affairs. As I have already shown philanthropic and all other sentimental arguments may be cast aside. We must go down to the bed rock of self-interest.

The first point to be considered is the relations between us and the old country. Teans says:—"It is not an uncommon sentiment at Home, that the Colonies while under English rule, ought not to be permitted to impose tariffs hostile to English trade, or indeed to follow any other fiscal policy than that with which the Mother Country has become identified." After showing how far the colonies have gone astray on this point, he adds: "Facts of this kind are not calculated to put the Mother Country in the best of humour with the Colonies."

This is one of the sentimental arguments which may be disregarded. We can transact business on strict

business principles without detracting in the slightest degree from our affection for the old country, and loyalty to the old flag.

England's dealings with the colonies have always been a matter of business. They were originally founded with the object of providing an outlet for British trade, and any attempt to establish industries in them was promptly stamped out. A writer in 1750, after describing how colonial manufacturers were to be repressed, said, that the colonists should be encouraged to go on cheerfully as they were doing, because "only one-fourth of their products redounds to their own profit," and also because they paid high interest to the English mortgagee, and bought clothing that was old fashioned at Home, but "new fashioned enough" in the colonies.

These sentiments have not died out after 100 years. Lord Brassey says:—"The British capitalist who lends his money to the farmers in New Zealand, or the grazier in Australia, may both command a liberal return for his capital, increase the supplies of food at Home, and confer a special benefit on his country by helping to create a market for her manufactures." Shakespeare says that mercy—

*"Is twice bless'd,*

*It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."*

In this transaction of Lord Brassey's the giver is himself thrice bless'd.

In a paper recently read at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Teans advocates the construction of railways in the Colonies on exactly the same ground that Brassey recommends the lending of money to colonists.

In 1750 Lord Chatham said that the colonies should not be allowed to manufacture so much as a hob-nail or a horse-shoe, and in the same year a hat factory in Massachusetts's was suppressed as a "common nuisance." In 1815 Lord Brougham said, "England can afford to incur some loss for the purpose of destroying foreign manufactures in their cradle," and the sentiment was endorsed by Hume in 1828.

A colonial factory cannot now be indited as a common nuisance, but Lord Brougham's policy is still in force. A struggling industry is frequently swamped by unfair competition, and instances are not unknown even in New Zealand of colonial goods being supplanted by inferior English imitations. This is the reason why some of our manufacturers were so chary of sending exhibits to London.

In 1885 the total exports of Great Britain amounted to £271,403,694. Of this the Colonies and other British possessions took £85,424,218, the share for Australasia being £28,104,258. The Colonial exports are increasing much faster than the Foreign ones, consequently it is only natural that England should do all in her power to retain and foster the colonial trade. Any movement that tends in the other direction is not only viewed with disfavour and discouraged, but promptly and vigorously opposed.

Referring to the Colonial Exhibition, the *London Times* says—"The manufacturing exhibits from New Zealand, as well as the other colonies, cannot well be a very agreeable spectacle to the English exporter." Two or three years ago, when a proposal was made to manufacture rails in New South Wales, the *Times* hoped that the industry would not be subsidised in any way, and about the same time a writer in an English periodical deprecated the idea of cloth being made in the colonies. He said it would pay us better to send our wool home and have it properly manufactured by skilled workmen.

The energy displayed by the disciples of the Manchester school in stamping out heresy has been frequently remarked. As far back as 1863 the *London Times* itself said: "Twenty years ago we were all thoroughly 'posted up,' as the Americans say, in every detail of the great free-trade controversy. Protection could not show its nose above water for a moment without being made the mark for a hundred harpoons discharged from vigorous and unerring hands"

The same vigilance is exercised to this day. The slightest eddy in the current of free trade is quickly obliterated by a spate of Cobden Club literature—meta-physical and statistical, serious and facetious. A discussion in the Parliament of New Zealand in 1885, brought forth a regular shower of these publications "thick as leaves in Vallambrosa." A recent article by Lord Penzance in favour of protection was promptly replied to at the instance of the Club, by one of its ablest writers.

As showing the thralldom in which the community is held by the creed of Cobden, it is said that when the Queen was petitioned to wear Irish poplin to encourage trade, the Premier advised against it on the ground that it was contrary to the principles of free trade, and might lead to international complications.

All this goes to prove that vested interests in one form or another are a formidable obstacle in establishing colonial industries.

The next greatest difficulty is cheap production, the "farthing an ell" consideration which Carlyle despised. Although frequently overlooked, one of the principal points in connection with it, is the quality of the article produced. After paying the cost of transit, and 15 per cent. duty, English cloth purporting to be made from New Zealand wool is sold in the Colony at the same price as the Colonial-made goods. But what is more, blankets and certain kinds of cloth can be bought in England for 20 per cent. less than the wool that is supposed to be in them. I have the actual figures as occurring several years ago. The price of the wool was from 1s. 10d. to 2s. a pound, and of the blankets, 1s. 2d. The explanation is simple enough, the blankets were not like colonial cloth

"all wool." With cotton at 6d. a pound, and shoddy at 2½d., the problem is easily solved. Merinos, blankets, flannels, and similar goods can be mixed with 70 per cent, of cotton, and still keep the appearance of wool. For some purposes the mixture is an improvement, but this does not lessen the fraud in selling an article for what it is not.

Cotton is however an honest adulterant when compared with shoddy, appropriately called "Devils' dust." This is a mysterious commodity that reminds one of the Hindoo doctrine of the transmigration of souls. It never dies but passes from one state of existence to another. This time it clothes a saint and the next a sinner. Like Iago's purse "'twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands."

Shoddy is largely used in the manufacture of all kinds of woollen fabrics from frieze to broad cloth. The magnitude of the trade may be gathered from the fact that the rugs made into shoddy in Great Britain exceed the wool clip of New Zealand. A curious circumstance in connection herewith is that the clippings from our clothing factories command the highest price in the rag market. Being all new wool, the first state of existence they are considered the "artist's proofs" of shoddy.

So much is cloth adulterated that only a few manufacturers in England guarantee to give all new wool in their goods. A French manufacturer at the Sydney Exhibition, after critically examining the New Zealand cloth, and finding to his astonishment that it was all wool, exclaimed "well these New Zealanders are fools" If this be folly may they ne'er be wise.

There are few manufactures of any kind that are not more or less adulterated, and in some cases even the adulterants are adulterated. The chicory that is mixed with coffee is itself "sophisticated." The chief of the Municipal Laboratory in Paris, says that forty years ago seven-eighths of the brandy manufactured was pure, but now out of a production of 50,000,000 gallons, not 1 per cent. is from grapes. The raw materials principally used are grain, beet-root, and potatoes. The shanty-keeper in New Zealand adds blue-stone, vitriol, and tobacco juice. The combined result is a decoction that I even a shearer's stomach cannot withstand.

The English manufacturer dresses cotton goods with size and china clay to twice its original weight, and sends the mixture abroad to clothe savages who have no regular washing day. Carlyle's "farthing an ell" is taken out in china clay.

The "Heathen Chinees" may be given to "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," but he is by no means peculiar in them. And in the matter of adulteration his standard is higher than the Englishman's. He uses "lie tea," but tells the quantity that he puts in. The average Englishman omits the latter part of the business.

Many of the improvements that have taken place in manufacturing processes of late years to cheapen production are really devices to improve the appearance of inferior wares. In the language of the old Scotch Act these wares "have and onlie for the maist part ane outward shaw, wantand the substance and strenth quhilk oftymes they appear to have." More than ever it can be said that "things are not what they seem." Life may be real, but most things manufactured are a "sham."

This is one of the greatest difficulties that colonial manufacturers have to contend with. As they cannot reduce the quality of their goods, the remedy lies with the consumer, who must be taught to discriminate between the wares that he is asked to buy.

The labour question is another important consideration in establishing certain industries, notably the cultivation of tea, tobacco, olives, grapes, and other subtropical products that require a considerable amount of manual labour. One of the English companies that offered to establish a tea plantation in the North Island stipulated for a certain proportion of Maori labour at a given rate. It was, of course, impossible to comply with this condition; neither can we depend on the South Sea Islands for cheap labour, as Queensland is at present doing. It would not be desirable to see New Zealand over-run with Chinese; but it seems to me that if the class of industries just mentioned is to be developed it can only be done through them.

Cheap labour is necessary in some cases where manual work is required, but it is of much less importance in manufactures, where most of the work is done by machinery. Doubling the rate of wages makes a considerable difference in the cost of a chain of ditching done with a spade, but it is very little on a pair of boots when one man attending a machine can turn out 300 pairs a day. By our exports it is shown that we can produce certain raw materials and food cheaper than at Home; and, as in the case of better food, higher wages produce more work. "We may therefore conclude that the extra price of labour in New Zealand will not prejudice the establishment of manufactures, a conclusion that is fully borne out by the experience in America. A remarkable case in point has recently occurred. The New South Wales Government called for tenders for the largest bridge in Australasia, that over the Hawkesbury River, contractors to send in their own designs. Fourteen tenders were received, from English, French, American, and Colonial firms. The prices ranged from £280,800 to £702,384. There were three American tenders, and they were the lowest, the highest of them being £50,500 below the next tender, an English one. The iron for the bridge is bought in England, shipped to America to be manufactured, and re-shipped to Australia to be erected. This is a strong testimony to the energy and skill of our Yankee cousins, and it shows that dear labour is not incompatible with cheap production.

Referring to this subject, Brassey says: "I maintain unhesitatingly that daily wages are no criterion of the actual cost of executing work or of carrying out manufacturing operations."

Hitherto I have not struck a chord which is not responded to by every one who wishes to see industries multiplied in New Zealand. But the remarks I am now about to make will not be so unanimously subscribed to.

One of the greatest rocks ahead in our industrial development is the conflict of labour and capital. This has been a crying evil in the Old World, and it is intensified in the New. The seed has already been sown in New Zealand, and may bring forth a crop of weeds that will choke our struggling industries. The largest employer of labour in the Colony—the man who has emphatically done most to advance the commerce of New Zealand—informs me that he cannot employ a boy in the most menial capacity without first going hat in hand to the Secretary of a Trades' Society for permission. And just the other week we heard of 130 colliers going on strike at the Kaitangata mine because the proprietors would not discharge two men who did not belong to the Union. On the very day of the strike there were 960 "unemployed" on the relief works in Otago and Canterbury.

Union is strength, and combinations for mutual protection and assistance, in some shape or form, are common among all classes, and in many cases they do much good. But these objects can be attained without the absurd unreasoning restrictions that are put on labour by some of the trade societies. To think that employers such as I have referred to cannot employ whom they please is an outrage on common sense.

In England some trades unions prescribe the number of bricks that a hodman is to carry, and the rate at which men are to walk. And they nearly all stereotype labour by insisting on a uniformity of wages. As one star excels another in glory, so does one workman excel another in strength and skill, and why should the best man not reap the reward of his superiority.

Colonial employers are, I have no doubt, as ready as English ones to "extort the uttermost farthing" from their employées, but there is a much more equitable division of profits between masters and men in the New World than the Old. Cotton lords and millionaire ironmasters do not grow in the colonies. The position of the workman is in every way improved, he should therefore be more amenable to reason.

I believe that this question of capital *versus* labour has a very important bearing on the future of our industries, and it ought to be put on a satisfactory footing without delay. It is surely possible to settle disputes without resorting to expedients that bring certain loss to both parties.

Many of the industries hitherto established by public companies have been unsuccessful, simply because they were not gone into as an investment or a regular source of income, but as a speculation to be got rid of on the first opportunity.

This brings me to a point that has given rise to much controversy. Mill says "Industry cannot be multiplied to any greater extent than there is capital to invest"; and the opponents of manufactures in a new country construe this into meaning that industries are not to be started on borrowed capital. There is no reason why manufactures should not give as good security as agriculture. On the contrary, the security is probably better, but the English capitalist does not look on the interest alone. According to Lord Brassey, he wants three returns for his investment. This he will get in lending to agriculturalists in the Colony, but he only gets one return when lending to colonial manufacturers. Free traders and protectionists alike admit that the accumulation of wealth in England is mainly due to manufactures, and protectionists claim the same for America. In both cases a commencement was made with small means; why should we not pursue the same course in New Zealand? If manufactures are such an important factor in accumulating wealth, there can be no serious difficulty in getting sufficient capital for a start.

One of the greatest difficulties to contend with in establishing industries is the prejudice that exists in the minds of the public against colonial-made goods. I have frequently observed this myself; and one of our leading manufacturers considers it a greater evil than the want of protection. It is the old story, "a prophet hath no honour in his own country."

With the reputation we have for belauding the Colony generally, it is curious that the other side should be taken when we descend to particulars. A senator waxes eloquent over the benefits that are to accrue from the establishment of native industries, "to keep the money in the country"; but when he retires to Bellamy's, to refresh the inner man after his exertions, he will not touch what he calls the "beastly colonial."

The manufacturer to whom I have just referred sends some of his wares to a neighbouring colony. He does not, as a rule, "hide his light under a bushel," his brand is conspicuous on all his manufactures, but in this case it is judiciously suppressed, the goods are sold as English make. A similar incident is related of an American maker of fish-hooks; the hooks were repeatedly rejected as inferior by a New York merchant. By-and-by the manufacturer bought foreign hooks surreptitiously from the merchant, and on offering them back as Home make they were also rejected.

This depreciation of Home productions is by no means a new experience in New Zealand, it has been the case all through. In the olden times it was an accepted theory in Otago, that crops would only grow on the cleared bush lands, and that the milk of cows fed on native grass would not make butter; and many of you will

remember how difficult it was to get people to use colonial flour.

Another difficulty in establishing certain industries is the serious effect it may have on the finances of the Colony. Two of the manufactures most likely to succeed in New Zealand are the cultivation of tobacco and the distillation of spirits. The duties on these articles in 1885 amounted to nearly £600,000—about two-fifths of the Customs revenue. If large concessions are necessary to make them colonial industries, and if the benefits to be derived therefrom are worth such concessions, it is clear that the revenue must be made up in some other way. To use the popular expression "the incidence of taxation must be altered."

Among the minor objections to manufactures is that the occupation has a tendency to raise up a grimy, sickly race of mortals in which the higher attributes of humanity are deteriorating. It is true that factory hands have not the physique of their brethren who work in the fields; but it does not follow that they are less comfort-able or less happy—they have certainly less "care for the morrow," as their bread is sure in all weathers. On account of their higher education and attainments they have also more means of enjoyment.

The last difficulty in establishing manufactures that I will mention is one that is almost peculiar to New Zealand—local rivalries and jealousies—No sooner is a new industry established in one place, than other places take it up, quite irrespective of the consideration as to whether there is room for all. The result is inevitable failure in the particular industry concerned, and a prejudicing of all other industries of a similar kind.

## **ENCOURAGEMENT TO BE GIVEN.**

Although it is so difficult to encourage colonial industries in a proper manner, there is not the slightest doubt they should be encouraged, for as already shown, the benefits to be derived from the establishment of manufactures of various kinds are incalculable, and our position as a commercial country will not be secure without them. It would be unwise to foster any industry that wants continual propping up—money kept in the country at this price is too dear. But when the beam is so near the balance that a slight touch will turn it, that touch should certainly be applied. As already shewn, the whole community will undoubtedly benefit by the establishment of new industries, consequently it is only reasonable that the country should bear the expense of finding out what industries are likely to succeed, and of the experiments necessary to shew whether they can really go alone. What form such assistance should take, and whether it should be decided on general principles or individual requirements are questions for Legislators to determine. One thing how-ever is clear, on account of its natural advantages, a multiplicity of industries can be established in New Zealand at little cost, and providing they can only get a start, the less State assistance they receive the better.

Leaving out bonuses, protection, and the other direct means of encouraging colonial industries which belong to the sphere of politics, I shall notice a few of the more general requirements.

One of the first is the cultivation of a thoroughly national spirit in favour of our own productions. The spirit that animated George Washington who was inaugurated in a suit of homespun, and which animates Americans to this day. The creed of Monroe may be selfish, but it has the rare merit of honesty, and it is founded on sound principles "charity begins at home."

The prejudices against home-made goods already referred to will undoubtedly wear away through time, as the public get to learn that they are unfounded; and, in the meantime, any foundation that exists should be removed by the production of nothing but first-class articles in every branch of trade. On the other hand, public bodies as well as individuals should give the preference to colonial manufactures, in every case where they compete fairly with the imported article. Loyalty to our duty as colonists demands this sacrifice, if sacrifice it is.

Another means of encouraging colonial industries is a thoroughly systematic inquiry into the industrial resources of the country and a wide-spread diffusion of the knowledge thus obtained. The necessity for this is illustrated by a paragraph which some time since appeared in the papers, stating that a great difficulty in butter-making is the want of proper timber to make casks. This is quite incorrect, the most plentiful timber in the Colony—birch—being as suitable for the purpose as English beech or oak. There are 2,208,000 acres of birch in the country traversed by the Midland Railway. We have another illustration in the fungus previously referred to, the properties of which were unknown to the settlers. There are possibly many such products in the country of which we have no knowledge. In addition to the fullest information about our resources, we want periodically an authoritative record of the progress that is made in the various industries. The Royal Commission of 1880 made recommendations in this direction. The principal part of the work must of necessity be done by Government, but much can be done locally.

It is unnecessary to descant on the benefits of exhibitions—they are universally admitted. The one held at Wellington in 1886 was a powerful stimulus to colonial manufactures. It not only showed what has been and can be done, but dispelled prejudice and extended the market for home products.

The establishment of small industrial museums or permanent exhibitions in the larger centres would also be of great service. The Mines Department has taken a step in this direction by sending a collection of typical

minerals to the mining districts.

In the evidence before the Royal Commission on the Depression in England much stress is laid on the want of the technical schools so common on the Continent. We will require these aids to industry by and by, but in the meantime the cry for them is premature. The industries must come first, otherwise their effect will simply be to drive more of the rising generation out of the Colony, and instead of going as raw materials they will be exported in a semi-manufactured state like the fruit pulp that comes from Tasmania.

Another important factor in the promotion of every colonial industry is the improvement in inter-communication that is constantly going on, and which will undoubtedly be continued till all the resources of the Colony are opened up. This is one of the engines. started by the golden lever. "Without it in the past our present position would not have been attained, and without it in the future our progress must soon come to an end. Facility for inter-communication benefits every branch of industry, and equalises trade by putting matter in the right place.

Accessibility is the first factor in every thing; an acre of land near London too poor to grow anything but houses is worth 10,000 acres of the richest agricultural land in Maniatoba.

For want of roads the price of potatoes in the Wakatipu district, in 1864, was about £60 a ton; three years afterwards they could be bought for ten shillings, for exactly the same reason. I paid sixteen shillings a bushel for oats on the Kawarau in 1864; the price at Tapanui, in 1879, was tenpence. The extremes in one direction were due to the want of facilities for bringing the produce into the district, and in the other, to the want of facilities for taking it away.

The last and most important requirement in extending the industries that already exist, and establishing new ones in the Colony, is men. With the cry of the "unemployed" ringing in our ears, this statement may appear open to question, but it is nevertheless true. In New Zealand we want most of all men, women, and children—"all sorts and conditions of men," and of all "kindreds and tongues," to develop the varied resources of the Colony. Anglo-Saxons to trade, grow corn, and drive engines; Italians to plant olives; Frenchmen to make wine; and Mongolians to grow tea and tobacco. If a tithe of the industries we have discussed to-night were fully developed, and the population increased in due proportion, there would be fewer unemployed. We have them now so often simply because the sources of employment are so limited.

Referring to this subject Brassey says:—"The economic value of the population is the most important element in the capital of the United Kingdom," and with all their protective proclivities the Americans have never protected labour; they also appraise it at its proper value. It is calculated that every immigrant that lands at New York is worth from £200 to £250 to the State. 75,224 landed during the first half of 1886. At £200 this represents £15,000,000 added to the wealth of the country. At the same rate 10,000 immigrants coming annually to New Zealand would be worth £2,000,000, and the taxes paid by them would just meet the interest on the million a year we are borrowing.

## Conclusion.

The patience with which you have listened to my long attempt to lay before you the past, present, and future of the Industries of New Zealand is a proof that you do not consider the subject a dry one. We might even go further and find a ray of sentiment amid the details of facts and figures, processes and plans which the question involves, for in pointing out new fields of industry we are contributing a mite to the prosperity of our adopted country. Sentiment claims as its special habitat the breezy down and fragrant meadow—

*"The sheltered cot and cultivated farm,*

*Where health and plenty cheer the labouring swain."*

Lowing herds and bleating flocks are sweet music, but so also is the din of busy labour—the sough of steam and the clank of looms. They may not murmur peace and plenty, but they tell of active brains and lissom fingers that are building up a state which may eventually hold its own in the Council of Nations—

*"There's glory in the shuttle's song,*

*There's triumph in the anvil's stroke,*

*There's merit in the grave and strong*

*"Who dig the mine, or fell the oak."*

W. N. Blair.

## Notabilia



General Meetings of The Industrial Association of Canterbury, Will Be Held *At the Rooms, 210, High Street, Christchurch, N.Z.*

at which members are earnestly requested to attend.

Members who may desire to offer suggestions or information for consideration at any of these meetings (or any Committee meetings), are invited to communicate with the Committee or the Secretary.

Committee meetings for the new year will be held fortnightly, on Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m., dating from Wednesday the 1st September, 1886.

RULE XVI., VISITORS.—Any Member may introduce visitors to the Meetings of the Association, personally or by order signed by himself; and any visitor may take part in the proceedings, but shall not be allowed to vote.

RULE XVII., MEMBERS MAY READ PAPERS.—Members shall have the privilege of reading before the Association papers containing statistics, observations, and essays on subjects within the scope of the Association.

Members or visitors are requested to record any suggestions that may be of interest to the Association, in a Book lying on the table for that purpose.

A Scrap Book is also provided for newspaper or other clippings, affording information respecting manufactures and productions, for record and reference.

Manufacturers are invited to send small exhibits of their industries suitable to the rooms for display, with any information respecting them which may be instructive or interesting.

The Rooms are open on Saturday evenings, from 7 to 10 p.m., for the use of Members and visitors.

Subscriptions for the current year were due on the 12th August. Members will oblige by forwarding the same to the Secretary as early as possible.

The following are some of the Reports and Papers in the Rooms:—

- New Zealand Gazette. New Zealand Industrial Gazette.
- New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.
- Report of Surveys of New Zealand, with Maps.
- Report of Colonial Industries' Commission, New Zealand.
- Report of Goldfields of New Zealand.
- Report on Mining Machinery in Victoria and New South Wales, with Plates.
- Report of Mining, State of California.
- Report on Control and Inspection of Mines, New Zealand.
- Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the preparation of the Phormium Fibre or New Zealand Flax.
- Report of Committee to Establish New Industries.
- Report on East and West Coast and Nelson Railway, 1886, with Maps, by W. N. Blair, M.I.C.E.
- Report of Railway Commissioners.
- Report of New Zealand Timber, Bark, and Secondary Forest Products, by T. Kirk, F.L.S.
- Report on Native Forests and the State of the Timber Trade, by T. Kirk, F.L.S.
- Papers respecting Sericulture in New Zealand.
- Papers relative to the Interchange of Colonial Products and Manufactures between the Colonies of Australia.
- Papers on Manufacture of Portland Cement, by Mr. Geo. Gray, of Canterbury College.
- The Defence of New Zealand, an Address by His Excellency Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B., &c. Illustrated with Charts and Plates.
- An Address on the Industries of New Zealand, by W. N. Blair, M.I.C.E.
- Three Prize Essays on the Industries of New Zealand, by R. Winter, W. R. Haselden, and G. R. Hart
- East and West Coast and Nelson Railway—the League's Pamphlet—in 1 volume, with Map.
- Mines Statement, by the Minister of Mines, Hon. W. J. N. Larnach, C.M.G.
- Public Works Statement, by the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. E. Richardson, C.M.G.

A large number of Maps and Exhibits are now in the Rooms ready for Inspection.

The Daily Papers—"Illustrated London News"—"Graphic"—and other papers are laid on the table.

The "Engineer," "Scientific American," "Iron," and the "Builder," and other periodicals will shortly be added.

Donations of Reports, Addresses, and Papers, or any Literature which will tend to promote Colonial Industries and the development of the natural resources of New Zealand, are earnestly solicited.

F. Jenkins, *President*.

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Great Britain and her Colonies.

By Julius Vogel, Esq., Member of the House of Representatives, New Zealand.

Smith, Elder and Co. London 65, Cornhill. 1865.

## Great Britain and her Colonies.

THERE are not wanting signs to indicate that Great Relations undefined.

Britain will soon have to consider as a serious question the relations that exist between her and her colonies. At present these relations are vague, shadowy, and undefined. They are scarcely based on mutual interest. They depend more upon sentiment—sentiment that very trifling circumstances may upset. The material benefit of the connection

English feeling in the colonies weakened.

as yet is on the side of the colonies; and on their side, perhaps, the sentiment is least to be relied on. As fresh generations spring up the personal feeling of attachment to the mother country weakens. The words "at home" no longer mean Great Britain; in course of time only a very small proportion of a colonial population will be able to boast of having even visited the mother country. On the other hand, the pride that England naturally feels in the children of her creation—her colonies—is constantly liable to the harshest of all tests—the *cui bono*. Hitherto, when the question

Doubtful whether Great Britain derives any has been asked, what good England derives from Benefit from her colonies under present relations.

her colonies, it has been customary to answer by a justification of the past. Owing to her active spirit of colonization the trade of England has been immensely increased; in making the colonies England has made the trade. Granted; but this amounts only to a justification of the past. When some statesman comes forward to question England's present relation to her colonies, he may make a present to his opponents of the past. He may admit that the vast sums hitherto spent have met with adequate return; but he may still ask, is it worth spending more or continuing a relation from which the party most benefited may withdraw whenever it suits his convenience. He will ask, does the mere fact of. England's political relation to her colonies cause the latter to consume more of her goods—in other words, suppose the colonies were set free, would the trade between them and the mother country diminish in consequence, and if so, would the extent of the diminution be worth purchasing by a prolongation of the relations?

If colonies separated from the mother country, they would still welcome her surplus population.

It is to be remembered that the arguments of those who uphold the present colonial system are mainly addressed to the points, that the colonies afford an outlet for England's surplus population and for her manufactures. These reasons are very weak. In regard to the first, there can be no question that if the colonies were cut adrift, they would still eagerly welcome immigrants from all parts of the world. The United States have long since severed their connection with Great Britain, but they have never refused to receive her surplus population.

The second argument is, if possible, weaker.

Because of Great Britain's connection with her colonies, she derives no commercial advantages.

The colonies simply consume those manufactures of Great Britain that suit them. They do not show, nor do they feel there is any claim on them to show, the least preference for the manufactures of Great Britain. They are as unsparing in taxing her goods through the customs as those of any other country. Nay, in this respect the mother country occupies a worse position in relation to her colonies than she does to foreign countries. With these she enters into treaties of reciprocal free-trade, but the colonies feel themselves at liberty to espouse protection to any extent that suits the crotchets of their public men. If Victoria and New Zealand were foreign countries, Great Britain might probably respond to their protection tariffs by reminding them that some of their exports are admitted duty free. We shall have again to refer to the tariff question, but in the meanwhile it is hardly necessary to enlarge on the argument, that whatever the past commercial advantages Great Britain may have derived from her colonies, she derives them no longer because they are colonies—she would derive as much, if not more, if they were independent countries.

The colonial idea of free trade is simply the

Colonies show her no favour, and do not adopt her treaties.

putting of Great Britain on an exact equality with other countries. Neither her ships, her goods, nor her people are treated with especial favour. Her treaties are not considered binding on the colonies, as for instance, though Great Britain has been fighting in China for the right of ingress to that country, a capitation tax has been imposed in Victoria on the Chinese. If some outlying province of the vast Chinese empire attempted to treat Englishmen as the Chinese were some time ago treated in Victoria, Great Britain would feel herself justified in

ravaging it with fire and sword.

On the other hand, colonies sources of weakness to her.

But if England derives no advantages from her colonies, much may be said on the other side. They are so far sources of weakness to her, that in times of peace they absorb a considerable portion of her army, and in times of war they would be so much more territory requiring her protection. Again, they draw a great deal of money from the mother country in other ways than for their ordinary military protection; and whenever they chose to make it, they deem they have a sort of claim on Great Britain for assistance. They give no return. They consider they have the right either to assume on their weakness, or to rely on their strength and threaten secession.

They even, to some extent, constrain her.

The transportation of two or three hundred convicts yearly to West Australia has brought on Great Britain the scarcely veiled threat from Victoria of secession. New Zealand trades, to some extent, on her weakness—she complains of not having sufficient power, and tells England to take away the troops if otherwise she be not allowed to do as she likes. But this is a threat in a form that apes humility. If Great Britain moved the troops from New Zealand, the latter would plead her weakness as a cause for violating the treaty obligations which England has entered into with the natives. The colonists would sooner or later wage a war of extermination. The Maories would be driven from their lands; and when Great Britain, scandalized by this result of her philanthropic colonizing, would ask the reason, the answer would be, you have forced it on us. Then in Northern America the steps which are being taken to form a Federal Union, have as one contingent, though veiled object, the right to demand of England a large amount of assistance as an alternative to secession.

That very question of customs' duties is a

Difficulties that may arise owing to Great Britain having allowed her colonies to fix their own tariffs.

looming cause of danger to the relations that exist between Great Britain and her colonies. On all sides it has become the fashion to make commercial treaties between different countries. The colonies will not be allowed for long to remain that sort of no-man's-land which they are at present in regard to their relations with the rest of the world. It is some years since one of the judges in South Australia strongly asserted that the Colonial Customs' Acts should be reserved for the royal pleasure, as they involved questions of national policy. The opinion was overruled simply because the colonies would not submit to allow Great Britain to regulate their tariffs, she, with a singular want of foresight, not having retained that power when she made them quasi-independent entities. But there can be no doubt the South Australian judge was right. It is true the commercial treaties into which Great Britain enters are mostly, if not always, limited to the United Kingdom. But is it likely it will escape the attention of foreign countries that the colonies are becoming large consumers of some classes of their goods, and that it would be desirable to bring them within the range of the reciprocal obligations that have been found to work well elsewhere. Then the question will be addressed to Great Britain, is she prepared to enter into engagements on behalf of her colonies or to allow them to enter into engagements with foreign countries on their own behalf? The answer in each case must be, No. She cannot allow them to enter into engagements with foreign countries, because in doing so they would be pledging the empire to responsibilities. The contraction of such engagements would argue the possibility of disputes, and the very nature of the relations between England and her colonies would convert their disputes into her own.

Practically colonies are excluded from the operation of commercial treaties.

Then she could not assume the right to enter into engagements on their behalf. She has told them protection tariffs are very stupid, very impolitic, but has allowed them to impose them. And if she now attempted to forbid them, she would be told she was interfering with vested interests. She would have then to reply to a foreign country that desired to include her colonies in its commercial polity, that such a thing was impossible. She could neither sanction a direct negotiation, nor undertake an indirect one, with any chance of success. Then would come the answer—you are practically evading your treaty obligations in shutting out from the operation of commercial treaties so large a portion of your dominions as the colonies comprise. The French include Algiers in their commercial treaty obligations; might they not ask why in New Zealand the duty on wine is four shillings a gallon, whilst the treaty stipulates for its admission into the United Kingdom for one shilling; on brandy twelve shillings, whilst the treaty stipulates for eight and twopence.

We have already incidentally referred to the

Not in the nature of things that, with the discretion they possess, colonies will always conform to imperial policy.

differences that have arisen between Great Britain and Victoria and New Zealand. But without going into specific instances, it seems that one can almost regard differences of the kind to be the inevitable consequence of the mother country having given to her colonies discretionary powers, with limitations ill defined, if defined at all. It is not in the nature of things that colonies legislating independently should altogether adhere to imperial ideas. There is a constant tendency towards an encroachment upon imperial rights, and against this

tendency there is no adequate check. The Australian colonies, for instance, are drifting into protective tariffs—are doing their best to cripple the trade to create which Great Britain has spent such vast sums, and to continue which she still undertakes her colonial responsibilities. Nay, the colonies may even venture to put a pressure on Great Britain, which she in return would not dare to put on them. It is difficult to conceive anything more defiant than the pressure put by Victoria on Great Britain to stop transportation to Western Australia. But the very success the colony has met with, will incline other colonies, when differences of opinion arise, to a like course.

Great Britain legislates only for the present.

It is almost an essential part of the policy of Great Britain to legislate only for the present—not to anticipate possible difficulties, to wait till they arise. Perhaps this is a policy inseparable to a great extent from the nature of her Government. It can frame no laws, or follow no policy requiring the sanction of laws, without a full and open discussion. A despotic monarch can work for years for a secret object. To have to ask sanction for his operations would be to disclose their object, and frequently therefore to defeat it. But the British public are introduced behind the scenes at every meeting of Parliament; Ministers are allowed to

A far-seeing policy not natural to a Constitutional Government.

leave little undisclosed. No doubt this has operated to prevent the passing of an imperial measure regulating the relations between Great Britain and her colonies. In proposing it, it might have been necessary to point out and discuss the cause that dictated it—the possible future contingency of the colonies desiring to secede, and the bare mention of the possibility might have suggested its realisation.

Responsible Ministries

But this is an explanation, not a plea in justification. The avoidance of disagreeable subjects is hesitate to interfere with subjects of not immediate moment.

a distinguishing trait of constitutional Governments. Not to tread on unnecessary debateable ground is one of the instincts of preservation of responsible ministries. Dare any one expect English ministers to enter into the question of the relations between the mother country and her colonies in a pure spirit of far-seeing philanthropy? To perhaps risk their position merely to provide for ills to come—their supporters would deem them mad. And yet men removed from the strife of politics may well come to the conclusion that the relations between the mother country and the colonies should be defined and understood.

When a question of dispute arises it will be too

When difficulties arise between Great Britain and her colonies too late to discuss subject calmly.

late to calmly discuss the subject in its broad bearings. There will be bitter humiliation in store for the mother country if she do not either draw her colonies closer to her or else define the conditions upon which she is prepared to relinquish them. Under their present relations it is inevitable that sooner or later the demand for secession will be urged by some of the colonies. What happened in America will happen again. As long as the colonies do not understand the limits of their powers they will be likely to overstep them, and the moment England makes a stand they will threaten secession.

What the writer asks is that Great Britain

The time has come for Great Britain to consolidate her Empire, and strengthen the ties between should again draw her colonies towards her. She has alienated them for the last few years. Separate interests have grown up. Let a community of her and her colonies by supplying them with capital.

interests be once more established. The colonies languish for want of capital, and Great Britain assists them not. Millions of money are forthcoming for the enterprises of foreign countries. The colonies get money at great disadvantage. Why has California advanced more than Victoria? because California is a part of the United States, Victoria only a dependency of Great Britain. With a few strokes of the pen Great Britain could give to investments in the colonics a security that would attract to them the gold and enterprise of her subjects, now so sparingly and so doubtfully directed towards them.

The money her subjects supply to foreign countries fetters her independence, and acts as a check upon her foreign policy.

The money which Great Britain invests in foreign countries becomes, to some extent, a source of weakness to her. It operates more or less as a check upon her foreign policy. The individual interests of a portion of her subjects are at stake. The holders of foreign stock, as a rule, represent an influential portion of the community. War with a country of which they are creditors they know means the depreciation of the securities they hold. There is thus always an internal pressure exercised which fetters the foreign policy of Great Britain. It may be argued that if foreign loans keep the United Kingdom from war, they act as a safeguard. But they do not so much keep her from war as destroy her independence. Their pressure is brought to bear before war is imminent; it is exerted to arrest that bold and outspoken tone that might lead in the direction of war.

It is an old tale, old as history, old as nations,

Undue accumulation of wealth leads to decline of nations.  
—a plethora of wealth creates undue anxiety for peace. Undue anxiety for peace encourages an aggressive policy on the part of other states. Then comes the decline in the scale of nations, then the decline in the nation itself. The undue accumulation of wealth is bad enough when it excites only fears within the country in which it is invested. But when to those motives of fear are added the widening ramifications of alarm for the country that threatens hostilities, the threatened nation has an enemy within the gates—a section of its community is the ally of its opponent. It is Great Britain's own wealth in alien hands that is now compelling her to keep up the war expenditure that is her sorest burden.

But if she encouraged, by simply affording  
Great Britain's colonies should be the receptacle of her surplus capital.  
reasonable security, the flow of her subjects' wealth to her colonies, she would be creating nations to act as her allies in times of danger—to afford her that security from aggression that indisputable strength supplies. Amongst England's colonies are countries that only want capital to convert them into great nations. Where capital exists, there labour is sure to follow. The surplus population of Great Britain that now presses on her resources would in the colonies reproduce her greatness. Her non-consuming starving sons and daughters would become consumers in the colonies and increase her trade. She would in fact be recurring to her old ideas of colonization—opening up the outlets of an enlarged commerce. There would be an end to the protection doctrines of struggling colonies, if the flow of wealth to their shores enabled them to develop the natural resources with which Providence has gifted them. Under a judicious system of supervision there are some of the colonies which it would be impossible to feed with too much capital. The case as between the plan proposed and the one in operation, is this—should Great Britain allow her colonies to develop themselves, assisted only by a small amount of speculative capital provided at a high

Instead of leaving them to a slow process of development, she should lend them the whole weight of her power.

rate of interest? Should she allow them to toil their way to ultimate success through a struggling period of vicissitudes and difficulties, or should she lend the whole weight of her might, her power, her wealth, to rear them as rapidly as possible into great nations—should she allow them to grow up stranger communities, or make them breath of her breath, life of her life? There is no danger of the colonies becoming estranged, if the colonists owe to the great body of the people at home the capital on which they are working their way to wealth.

Colonial creditors have no ostensible security.

What plan would we propose? it will be asked. Before detailing it, let us first consider how very undefined is the nature of the securities that the colonies offer to their public creditors. In the event of a colony repudiating, what could the creditors do? If a foreign country owes British subjects money, they can appeal to the Foreign Office, and if the nation be not over strong, they may reasonably expect that a menacing attitude will be adopted to enforce their claims. But if a colony is their debtor their only ostensible recourse is the ordinary courts of law,—a recourse which is no remedy, for to recover from a Government by legal process is a plan few would be bold enough to attempt. But if we look a little beneath the surface we shall see that a real remedy underlies the ostensible one.

Substantially Great Britain does guarantee

In reality Great Britain guarantees colonial indebtedness.

colonial indebtedness, for, if necessary, her power would be at the command of the creditors. But because she is an undisclosed guarantor she reaps no benefit, whilst the colonies have to pay an exorbitant price for the little money they obtain.

The term "undisclosed guarantor" is not a

Neither she nor her colonies derive the advantages they should from the guarantee, because it is undisclosed.

figurative expression. The colonies derive their power from the Imperial Parliament, and although they borrow on their own responsibility there is room to conclude that, at the bottom of the little credit they command, lies the conviction that in case of need the assistance of the Imperial Government would be available to those who had to complain of their failing to keep their engagements. In reality this places the mother country in the position of an undisclosed guarantor. She gets nothing for this responsibility, nor do the colonies derive any direct benefit from it, further than its possible operation in support of the limited amount of credit they enjoy.

The Colonies ought to subscribe towards the expenses of the Imperial Government.

The colonies ought to subscribe to the machinery of government of the United Kingdom, if it were laid down in law as it is in fact, that that machinery would be available for colonial purposes. It must be remembered if the colonies be regarded as forming, with England, one grand federation, that the action taken

with any one colony, even though it were of an antagonistic nature, in so far as compelling it to meet its engagement, would be for the benefit of the others.

Could do so if Great Britain guaranteed their loans. By a small annual percentage could in time pay off the national debt.

If Great Britain proclaimed itself liable for the indebtedness of the colonies by undertaking to make them meet their engagements, they could obtain money at the same rate of interest that the Imperial Government could,

We must not be understood to mean that loans on debentures can be obtained as cheaply as those that are funded. There is greater room for fraud, and therefore less security when the debt depends upon the possession of a paper acknowledgment that when it rests upon the admission of direct liability to the creditor. and would be able to afford to pay a small percentage as a guarantee. That would be their contribution to the expenses of the imperial country; and astonishing as the assertion may seem, it could be made to swell up in the course of a hundred years without pressing upon the colonies to an amount sufficient to pay off the national debt. Let not our readers start in amazement or refuse to examine into the possibility of the suggestion. We repeat, a small guarantee percentage would accumulate in a hundred years sufficiently to pay off the national debt of Great Britain, whilst the colonies would be converted into nations sufficiently powerful and wealthy not to feel the pressure of the debt which would have become divided amongst themselves.

This is no hastily stated conviction. It is one

Illustration by way of proving the principle laid down.

which will stand the test of precise figures, and more by way of illustration than with the desire to enter into details (for the object of the writer is rather to suggest than to create), we propose to subject it to a close examination. To do so it will be necessary to fix upon amounts as a basis upon which to work out results. It may be found that the amounts and dates fixed are not the most judicious, but if the principle be correct, it will work in the same direction, though its practice be modified. The following, then, are the elements of our calculation. The normal rate of interest at which we suppose the Imperial Government can raise money we set down as three and a-half per cent., and the guarantee to be charged the colonies we put down as a-half per cent, annually. This would give the colonies money at the rate of four per cent., or fully one per cent, under the price at which their most favourable loans have been negotiated—or about one and a-half per cent, under the ruling price of the majority of their loans.

The colonies might be well satisfied with

Colonies be content to borrow money during the next 100 years, at four per cent.

arrangements that promised them money for the next one hundred years at four per cent.; or supposing the Imperial Government could obtain it for less than three and a-half per cent., at a rate of only one-half per cent, more than the Imperial Government had to pay. To secure uniformity it would be necessary the advances should bear one rate of interest; the premium and discount would be the profit or gain of the colonies. Well, then, the rate of interest, we suppose, is three and a-half per cent., and of the guarantee one-half per cent.

35,000,000*l.* to be advanced every five years.

The money to be advanced we propose should be thirty-five millions sterling every five years for one hundred years. Now, we want to ascertain what the half per cent, guarantee would amount to at compound interest during the time mentioned. We suppose it to be re-invested of course at the same rate of interest—three and a-half per cent. It would, in fact, as it accumulated, be available for the periodical advances. It is simple, though somewhat tedious, to work out the result. On the first thirty-five millions, the half per cent, guarantee would accumulate at compound interest for the whole term of one hundred years—on the second thirty-five millions, it would accumulate for ninety-five years; on the third, for ninety years; on the fourth, for eighty-five years; and so on till the twentieth instalment would have only a five years' currency of compound interest. A table of the

Half per cent. guarantee annually would amount in 100 years to 855,253,059*l.*

results will be found in the appendix. The amount to which the half per cent, will accumulate is calculated on each separate instalment, and the result shows that, at the end of one hundred and twenty years, Great Britain will be the gainer by 855,253,059*l.*

It will be asked what will have become of the

Process by which the result would be brought about.

money, what will Great Britain have to show for the amount which we contend it will have gained. Its position will be this—it will have become the colonial creditor for the whole amount of the twenty instalments of thirty-five millions, or of 700,000,000*l.*, and the balance of 155,253,059*l.* will be waiting investment. The process that will be going on will be this. The first seven instalments Great Britain will have to find—will have to raise by her direct guarantee. The next instalment will be more than met by the accumulated interest of the half per cent, guarantee. Gradually decreasing portions of the next five she will have to find. But for the rest of the time she will not only out of the interest be able to meet the instalments, but a surplus will accumulate, out

of which she will be enabled to redeem the first instalments, and so convert the colonies into debtors for these amounts to herself, instead of to those who originally advanced them.

By adding up the different amounts in the table it can readily be ascertained how much interest has accumulated at any given period. Thus at the end of thirty-five years when the eighth instalment would be due, 38,833,900 *l.* would have accumulated, leaving, besides the payment of the eighth instalment, 3,833,900 *l.* available for the ninth instalment, to be added to the 14,796,250 *l.* which would have accumulated between the two dates. For the tenth there would be 18,511,500 *l.* available. For the eleventh, 22,924,300 *l.* For the twelfth, 28,165,550 *l.* For the thirteenth, 34,390,800 *l.* For the fourteenth and following instalments there would be always a surplus on the 35,000,000 *l.* It may be contended that the calculation covers an inconsistency—that the money which was left uninvested would not be fructifying at compound interest. But the 155,253,059 *l.* which, at the end of the 100 years we suppose to remain uninvested, would have accumulated nearly all during the last five years. After ninety-five years, therefore, Great Britain would either have to increase her advances to her colonies or employ the money partly for her own purposes.

Precise calculations can be made, so as to ensure that the times of repayment of the first instalments should suit the accumulations of the guarantor. It would stand thus then—for the first seven instalments and for part of the ninth and four following ones the imperial country would become the guarantor to the third parties advancing, thenceforth she would be able to meet the instalments herself, and gradually to pay off the third parties who advanced the first instalments—standing herself in their place—still charging the half per cent, guarantee, but in reality guaranteeing only herself.

Data selected by way of illustration. Principle the same, if found preferable to select other figures.

Let us again remark that these results are approximate. We do not profess to lay down that the advances should really amount to 35,000,000 *l.* quinquennially, or that one hundred years should be the exact limit of the transactions. We have used these figures as an illustration of a principle, to show that the mother country by feeding the colonies with capital, making a charge of only half per cent. for guarantee, would in a short time make a sufficient profit to pay off her own national debt. Accepting our illustration, it will be seen that at the end of the hundred years England would be a creditor of her colonies to the extent of 700,000,000 *l.* with 155,253,059 *l.* waiting investment. Her own national debt would still exist, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer instead of having to provide the interest for it from home resources, would be able to meet it from the interest derived from the colonies.

It will be as well to meet some of the objections

As calculation provides only for annual investment, a margin is left to cover expenses.

that will possibly be raised. It will be said that our calculation pre-supposes the investment of the half per cent, guarantee the moment it falls due. The answer to this is, that it supposes its investment only annually; that the interest will be paid in the colonies, and that the representatives of the mother country who. will receive it, will have no difficulty in obtaining some interest on it at call, until they are prepared to advance it on colonial indebtedness. As the interest will be payable quarterly, and according to the calculations, be invested annually, there will be an average of a half a year's interest gained, which may be considered a margin to cover expenses. Then it will be asked, may not some losses be incurred, and might not one loss swamp the whole profit. The reply is, the

Risks so largely diffused, that practically profit safely secured.

money will be so widely distributed, and so many colonies will compete for it, that the mother country will be enabled to exercise a considerable amount of discretion in the selection of her investments. Large as the amount we suppose her to lend, she will not have to search for investments. She will have to select from those offered to her. We shall see this when we come to consider directly how the colonies will employ the money. But, before we turn to the colonial aspect of the case, let us first answer a question that will be raised—how will the plan suggested operate to prevent the conflicting interests between England and her colonies, the growth of which we made the starting point of our argument, that the relations between them required readjustment?

The discretion the mother country would exercise would be a hold on the good behaviour of the colonies.

If the whole of the money were to be given to one colony, we should have to allow that Great Britain would be putting herself into a position from which she might have to pray for rather than to concede terms. But the money would be divided amongst forty or fifty colonies. These would be the competitors, and the strongest guarantee of their good behaviour would consist in the fact that on it would depend the response to their demands for capital. In the very number of the nations Great Britain would be creating would lie her security against the aggressive tendencies of any particular one. Again, in the prosperity that would inevitably attend the employment of so much capital, would be found a guarantee against the indulgence of pernicious political crotchets. As we will see directly, there will also be so much private capital invested from home, that there will be a constant revival of the personal relations between the inhabitants of the mother country and those of her colonies.

There would be an end to the mischief-

The tendency in the colonies now is to separate from the imperial country, because she has thrown them on their own resources. But then the tendency  
vous action of colonial public men.

would be to rely on the mother country for the supply of the means whereby to develop their resources. Besides, it would be a mistake to suppose that political pursuits have taken a firm hold on colonial communities generally. Public men are not, as a rule, the leading men of a colony. A very large section of the people look down with indifference approaching to contempt upon those who make political life their object. They neither interfere for nor against. They see no inducements to enter political life, and no inducements to restrain those to whom public life becomes a professional pursuit. All who have been in the colonies will bear out what we say. A large number of those whose position

Conservatism would grow up.

and intelligence would entitle them to take a lead in political life abstain from entering into it. And to a great extent they are the thoughtful men of the community. They watch, but interfere not. But if a new order of things were established; if a community of interests were to grow up between Great Britain and her colonies, and between her colonies themselves, there would not be wanting men who would have the power, as they would have the will, to control the mischievous action of political incendiaries. In short, conservatism would be of very speedy growth in the colonies if the mother country would allow the colonists to feel they had something to conserve.

Let us now turn to the colonial aspect of the

Plan suggested would suit the colonies.

case. It will first be urged that low as the rate of interest four per cent, may be, it will not pay the colonies to be forced to borrow for a hundred years. Our answer is, our plan requires nothing of the kind. For convenience sake we suppose a continuous investment; but there is nothing to prevent the loans being of short dates, and their renewal in some other form. There might be a constant repayment and constant reinvestment going on. At the same time we may conjecture that possibly the colonies may soon come to think that the repayment of loans by sinking funds is a miserable financial policy, and that for really reproductive works there could be no possible objection to perpetually funding the cost. This is, however, a collateral question. It is sufficient to say our plan would chime in with the present system of colonial finance, should a more enlightened one not take its place. It will also be said that though we have claimed our plan will feed the colonies with capital from the mother country, in reality it only amounts to feeding them with their own. That, in fact, at the end of the one hundred years, the whole amount of their debt will be represented by the interest they will have paid. Such in reality is the logical

Practically the colonies would be manufacturing their own capital.

*rationale* of the process. All that we ask for the colonies is the use of the capital they reproduce. But we call it capital from the mother country because at present that reproduction does pass into that form. As an instance, there is a three million loan authorized in New Zealand to run for fifty years, bearing partly a five and partly a six per cent, rate of interest. The money that will be paid by the colony in the shape of simple not compound interest during the currency of the loan will amount to 8,500,000*l*. If calculated at compound interest, it would multiply to an enormously larger extent. That represents the interest paid by the colony for the three millions of home capital advanced. What we ask for is simply a constant reinvestment of only a small portion of the interest—the half per cent. guarantee—within the colonies.

Let us now briefly allude to the purposes to

Purposes to which the loans should be put.

which the money can be put. They must be essentially reproductive. That must be an invariable condition, in other words the expenditure of the money borrowed must afford security to the lender. Keeping this stipulation in mind, there should be no objection to colonial Governments undertaking many enterprises, or finding the money for them that are now left to private energy. In every case the colony borrowing would have to become directly liable, not only for the debt, but also for the faithful employment of the money on the purposes for which it was lent. It would be a matter for the colony's own consideration whether the local Government itself should direct the expenditure, or whether the same should be deputed to municipal bodies, or to legally constituted trusts, or commissions. In every case the Government would have to exercise that amount of supervision necessary to ensure the legitimate employment of the borrowed money, and would be liable for repayment. There is scarcely any limit to the reproductive works that might be constructed under the conditions named. Roads, railways, water and irrigation works, gas works, plantations, improvements of harbours, river clearings, and embankments, canals, telegraph lines, fish breeding ponds, patent slips, bridges, and a host of others that will readily suggest themselves to people who only consider this that as yet the colonies are almost deficient in large reproductive works. It is by no means suggested the Colonial



Governments should compete with private enterprise, but rather that they should stimulate and lead it. The tea plant was acclimatized in India through Government enterprise, but when once its cultivation was found to be profitable the Government plantations were offered for sale, and the further development of the pursuit was thrown as much as possible upon private energy and skill.

Colonial Governments in fostering public enterprise not out-stripping their functions.

If it be admitted that every colony possesses peculiar resources and peculiar adaptabilities for particular branches of enterprise it cannot be denied that a Government that simply seeks to teach to the people the means which Providence has placed at their disposal, does not outstep its functions. We do not advocate the employment by Governments of any large amounts of capital in mere experiments. The security against a tendency of this kind will be found in the discretion that the local Parliament will exercise, and which will again be subjected to the discretion of the Imperial authorities. It is not intended that every application for a loan guarantee made by a colony should be granted by the Imperial Government. On the contrary, each application should be narrowly scrutinized, and her Majesty's Commissioners, on whom would devolve the granting or refusing the request, should, before acceding to any demand, satisfy themselves that the purposes for which the money was asked were legitimate, and that the colony borrowing was justified in doing so. If what we have before said be borne in mind, that large as would be the capital supplied by the Imperial Government, there would be a yet larger demand for it from the colonies, it will be seen that the Colonial Loan Commissioners would have the exercise of discretion forced on them.

The profits the colonies would reap may, in fact,

Profits of the colonies would be difference between rate of interest paid and that yielded by reproductive works.

be represented by the difference in the interest which they would pay for their money, and the amount of interest which the reproductive works constructed with it, would yield. But the expenditure of the money would also draw population, and every head of population represents so much customs' revenue. If capital be supplied to employ additional labour, that additional labour becomes a contributor to the expenses of Government, and to the gradual repayment of the borrowed money. Colonial populations are highly taxed because of their thinness. The machinery of a government that is available for half a million of people requires few additions to serve a population of double that number. A million people would therefore have to contribute little more than half a million; in other words, every addition to the population lightens the taxation to the existing

Indirect advantages arising from reproductive works also to be taken into consideration.

population. Again there is an indirect source of profit not to be lost sight of. A railway may not the first few years pay more than its expenses, and leave the interest on the cost a charge to the colony. But if, owing to the cheapened rate of transit, a large proportion of the population procure their supplies cheaper, and obtain an import market for their produce, a government may feel it is deriving an indirect profit sufficient to justify it in bearing the cost of the interest for a limited period. It may be said the benefit is confined to only a portion of, whilst the cost falls on the entire community. To some extent this may be the case; but as a rule an advantage gained by a large section of a community means an advantage to the whole. If, for example, the settlers in the interior prosper, trade near the coast improves. Again, when governments are large landed proprietors, it must not be forgotten that improvements which benefit the settlers increase the value of property. It really seems almost unnecessary to pursue the argument further. For who will be found to deny, looking at the matter from a broad point of view, and not from one dictated by a doubt as to the value of particular local works—who will be found to deny that the

Expenditure of

expenditure of seven hundred millions sterling in the colonies during the next hundred years would 700,000,000*l.* on public works in 100 years must make colonies great nations convert them into grand and powerful nations worthy of the source from which they have sprung—worthy of being joined in federate equality with the parent country?

The developing her territory to suit the wants of her population is the great object a nation must propose to herself which thinks she has a destiny to fulfil. A nation which stands still retrogrades, because other nations pass her. It has been well observed of China, "Stationary for ages, she has sensibly declined because she has not advanced." If Great Britain, in the pursuance of her *quieta*

*Consolidation and development of her empire Great Britain's mission.*

*non movere* policy, forget that the development of her colonies is a sacred mission entrusted to her, those nations whose one dream of the future is to increase the countries peopled by their people, will pass her in the race. Nor has she long to decide, for with the years there is growing up in the colonies a feeling that will make them disinclined to accept Great Britain's aid. The son driven too early from his father's home, forms other ties, to the exclusion of family associations.

There is another branch of the subject to which

Great Britain should encourage her subjects to employ their capital in the colonies. we must turn. We have dwelt on the manner in which Great Britain can supply capital to Colonial Governments. We may now ask if there is no way in which she can encourage private investments? Unquestionably she will do so to some extent when she aids the progress of the colonies, because she will make her subjects feel that greater security is afforded for their investments. But it must not be forgotten that at present she absolutely interposes a barrier to such investments; as far as she can do she forbids

Trust funds practically prevented from being invested in the colonies. them. To a person who for the first time studied the polity of Great Britain, it must be something astounding to learn that the investment of trust funds in the colonies is practically prohibited, and this too whilst these funds are accumulating by millions annually, and no channel can be found for employing them. Public companies in like way are not allowed to invest their reserve funds in colonial lands, although in many cases their principal income is derived from the colonies. Take, for instance, some of the insurance companies whose business is mainly colonial, but whose Acts of Parliament preclude them from colonial investments. We do not know whether the subject has ever been agitated, but we venture to assert the disqualification is precisely one of those absurdities into which an ultra-conservatism occasionally falls. Before the colonies attained to a defined position there may have been sufficient reason for precluding them as fields for the investment of trust funds; but the continuation of the inhibition is simply ridiculous.

Productiveness of investments in colonial lands.

Of course we do not ask that trustees should be compelled to seek colonial investments, but simply that they be allowed to do so. We know of a case in which a person claiming an interest of some five thousand pounds in a trust estate, offered undoubted security to the extent of 10,000*l.* to the trustees, if they would invest the money in colonial property, but they were compelled to refuse. It is notorious, too, that colonial investments increase in value immensely. Hundreds of instances can be cited of persons who have sent out money to their friends to invest for them, and who have found themselves the owners of property which after the lapse of a few years yielded them annually as much money as they originally expended.

It is difficult to find language adequate to

Enormous results that would follow the permitting the investment of trust funds in the colonies.

describing the beneficial results that would accrue to the colonies if the disability were removed. Millions on millions would flow in, property would rise in value, and a community of interests would grow up between the colonists and the people of the mother country, which, as we have seen, there is too much reason to fear is wanting now. To those trustees who preferred home investments, the money withdrawn for the purpose of colonial investment would leave the market more open; and this, too, without sensibly impairing the value of home property, for the accumulations of trust funds have become so enormous that practically it will be impossible to exhaust them.

In closing his remarks the writer disclaims the

Author has merely suggested outline of a policy.

assumption that he has dealt exhaustively with his subject. He has simply jotted down the bare outlines, leaving to others the task of filling them in. His English feeling unimpaired after a residence of many years in the colonies, he sees with dismay the growth around him of an anti-English feeling. He sees that in an increasing disparity of interests, Great Britain is forcing alienation on her colonies. He asks that she again should take them to her bosom; that she should look upon them as the seeds of nations to which it has fallen

Leaves task of filling it in to others.

to her lot to give vitality. He pretends not to the power to work out the details of the problem; he asserts only the conviction that those details can be worked out. He has seen enough of the colonies to assure him they only want capital to develop them. This is the very vitality which Great Britain most readily has it in her power to bestow. Unhappily, since the deaths of Labouchere, Molesworth, and others who could be named, few of England's public men have made colonial policy

Opportunity afforded to English statesmen to create a vast and grand empire.

their speciality. Are there none to come forward now—are there none with the ambition to leave behind them the undying fame that through all time will wait on those who have the far-sightedness to conceive, and the courage to create, an empire more vast and imperishable than any which ever inspired the dreams of the wildest heroes of the past—by peaceful means to construct that for which the blood of countless thousands of human creatures has been wasted?

## Appendix.

*Table showing the Increase at 3½ per cent. Compound Interest of a Half per Cent. Guarantee on Thirty-Five Millions supplied every Five Years for a Hundred Years.*

EACH thirty-five millions is calculated separately. Properly the table should be inverted. The first thirty-five millions would bear an accumulating per cent, interest for 100 years, the second for 95 years, and so on, until the last instalment would only have five years to run.

### British Farmers for New Zealand Farms

*A Paper read before the Blandford Farmers Club, May 1st, 1886.*

BY Arthur Clayden, F.R.C.I.

*Author of "A Popular Handbook to New Zealand."*

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## British Farmers for New Zealand Farms,

THE question of emigration is rapidly becoming one of foremost interest and importance. However reluctant we may be to leave our native land—and I yield to no one in love of fatherland, and sympathise deeply with this reluctance to leave it—it is yearly becoming clearer that sooner or later some of us must clear out. We are getting too thick on the ground. Our families are crying out for room to dwell in, and the question as to what to do with our boys and girls is in the fullest sense a burning one. Business openings are crowded. The professions are all overdone. Everywhere there is a glut of service, and from John o'Groat's to Land's End there is little to be seen but well-dressed lads and lasses standing idle as it were in the market-places because no man has hired them. Nor is it better with their fathers. Our tradesmen are being ruined by the huge co-operative stores, and a combination of untoward circumstances is destroying the agricultural interest. In all directions and in all ranks of society the social pressure is passing into the acute stage, and the demand is for some "new departure." Hence the growing importance of the Emigration Question.

It is felt by all practical men that the one answer to the universal sense of restriction, congestion, or whatever other name we give to this demand for social enlargement, are our well-nigh limitless Colonial possessions. As the facts respecting these Colonies become more known—their increasing accessibility, their wondrous fertility, their vast areas, their free constitutions, their scope for enterprise, their glorious institutions, their wealth of resources—a resistless conviction is borne in upon the public mind that the supreme need of the age is a more equitable distribution of population, in other words, for some bold scheme of national emigration. The question is no longer shall we emigrate? but rather, where shall we go to? As I have given some of the best years of my life to an elucidation of this question, it will not, I trust, be deemed an impertinence in me to venture an opinion on the subject.

In common with many others, I formed a high opinion of Canada as an emigration field. My imagination as a youth was fired with admiration of the life so graphically portrayed by Fenimore Cooper in his incomparable stories. A decade back I visited the Colony, and spent two months in incessant travel throughout its towns and villages. I saw the daily life of its settlers. I visited the toilers in their homes. I gauged the social circumstances. I realised the summer's toil and the winter's enforced idleness, four months' blazing heat and four months' Arctic cold, and I came to the conclusion that were I a working man, dependent for support on my daily earnings, I would not go to Canada to earn my daily bread. The worn and haggard appearance of the farmers, and the incipient discontent of the labourers, were eloquent to my ear of climatic conditions utterly unsuited to the average English constitution. I then turned my attention to the much-vaunted emigration field of Virginia. In that pre-eminently English State I thought I might find my quest—a suitable second home for the average Briton. I found, however, in the negro element a fatal objection. English settlers told me, in confidence, that it would not do, and it did not need any great gift of discernment to see that the majority of those settlers on Virginian farms would gladly make their escape were it possible to do so. My next visit was to the Australian Colonies, and it was not until I had reached New Zealand that I found what I had been looking for. I have just returned from a third visit to New Zealand, and the result of an exhaustive survey of the Colony, visiting all its leading cities, penetrating its inland settlements, living among its toiling people, and reading its well-informed Press—is a conviction that no better second home for British subjects is to be found on the face of the earth. Hence my appearance here this evening. I have volunteered my services to the New Zealand Government to set before the hard-pressed dwellers on this crowded isle—more especially the practical agriculturists—the special advantages of the Colony.

I propose in the first place glancing at the general features of New Zealand—its area, its physical characteristics, and its varied industries. I shall then give my reasons for recommending it to British agriculturists as a field for business enterprise. So much has been written about New Zealand that it seems hardly necessary to go over its facts and figures, and yet perhaps it may be well just to repeat a few of them. Let it suffice, then, that in talking about New Zealand we keep before us a couple of islands at the Antipodes about

the same area as that of England and Scotland—*i.e.*, about 100,000 square miles, or 64,000,000 acres. These islands are known as North and South, the former being about 40,000 square miles in extent, and the latter about 50,000. A small island called "Stewart's Island," situated at the extreme south of the South Island, and having an area of about 1,000 square miles, completes the group. The shape of these islands is not very unlike the British Isles. They stretch out some 1,200 miles in the Pacific, as our British Isles stretch out their thousand miles in the North Atlantic. Like the mother country also, their shores abound with harbours, bays, and more or less picturesque scenery. All along the 3,000 miles of sea coast are found the chief cities and centres of population. The population of New Zealand is about 600,000, exclusive of the native population, which does not exceed 40,000. The chief industries are pastoral and agricultural, and the leading exports are wool, cereals, and gold. The total amount of land under cultivation in 1884 was 6,072,949 acres. The number of sheep was 14,056,265. The wool clip for the year was over 80,000,000lb., and valued at £3,267,527. The number of cultivated holdings over one acre in extent in February, 1885, was 29,814. The value of the ratable property in the colony is £65,260,338. The annual value is set down at £2,307,051. The total exports for 1884 were £6,942,486, made up as follows :—Gold, £988,953; wool, £3,267,527; wheat, provisions, tallow, timber, &c., £2,320,380; flax, £23,475; Kauri gum, £342,151. The revenue for the year was £3,707,488, and the expenditure £4,101,318. The public debt on the 31st of December, 1884, stood at £32,800,982, or £58 4s. 8d. per head of the population. This debt, however, is more than represented by the reproductive public works, differing in this respect from the English and other European public debts, which are largely the cost of gigantic wars. Among these valuable public works the 1,479 miles of railway ranks first in importance, the gross revenue not falling far short of a million sterling per annum. Then there is the electric telegraph with its 4,264 miles of line, and its £100,000 a year gross value. The 967 Post-offices of the Colony, with their annual revenue of £188,772, and the 987 public schools are permanent works of almost inestimable value. How the former are prized may be inferred from the fact that no less than 35,257,846 letters passed through them last year, and 14,093,742 newspapers, &c. The public schools also are the glory of the Colony, affording as they do free education to 90,075 children at a cost to the Government of £371,548 19s. 9d. per annum—an average of £4 3s. 2¼d. per child. I must not weary you with more statistics. Let it suffice that I state generally it is not barbarism that you find to-day in New Zealand, but an advanced civilisation almost shaming the mother country. In civil and religious liberty we have shot a long way ahead of her. Most of the reforms yet to be won here in England New Zealand has long enjoyed. We have absolutely free trade in land. It is as easy to buy or sell an acre of land as it is a cow or a horse. Thanks to the admirable Land Transfer Act of the late Sir E. Torrens, all the cumbersome abominations which impede the sale of land here are swept away. Our public schools are the common property of the whole community. No fee is charged, and no child is shut out. In politics there is the utmost freedom. Every adult resident of six months' standing is entitled to vote, and the poorest citizen may aspire to a seat in the House of Representatives. A honorarium of 200 guineas for the Session enables the poor man to take his place side by side with millionaires. Thus much for the first division of my subject.

I come now to the various local industries, and here I must be content with the most cursory glance. On my first visit to New Zealand some seven years ago I was much impressed with the need there seemed for a development of local manufactures. As I revelled amid the varied natural attractions of the Colony and drank in the inspiring influences of the bright and joyous atmosphere, I thought of those smoke-begrimed toilers of the old home, of their crowded workshops and their dreary homes, of their terrible social disabilities, and their generally joyless lives, and an involuntary aspiration escaped me—would that some thousands of those valuable toilers could be brought with their machinery to this fairy region and work out their useful lives beneath this glorious sunshine! I am glad to say that this aspiration is to-day in course of realisation. It was my privilege a few months back to be conducted over one of some half-dozen woollen manufactories which have been started in the Colony. Already over two million pounds of the native grown wool is used up in the works; and with machinery of the best and newest make, and no shoddy introduced to the fabrics, results of the most satisfactory character are attained. Many hundreds of hands are employed, and the light and spacious workrooms seemed to rob the well-requited toil of all its bitterness. A large number of other industries are now found in active operation throughout the Colony. There are no fewer than 49 carriage and harness manufactories, employing some 400 hands, a hundred printing offices with their 2,000 *employés*, 230 saw mills, 119 fell-mongering establishments; 99 breweries, 40 flax mills, 127 brick and tile works, 79 aerated water works, 45 furniture manufactories, and I know not how many more different openings for honest industry. Here, then, we have the Colony of New Zealand well before us.

I come now to my main purpose in appearing before you to-night. My mission to England is exclusively for the purpose of influencing the emigration of British fanners to the Colony. We want practical men to come and make the best of our glorious climate, and our varied natural advantages. I am well aware of the seeming risk involved in recommending fanners to try their fortunes in so distant a Colony, and I think it is only reasonable that I should be challenged to show cause for such recommendation. I proceed then to give my reasons for

thinking New Zealand a good field for agricultural enterprise—premising with the statement that I have no El-Dorado to dazzle the imagination with. Farming in New Zealand to-day is pretty much the same as farming elsewhere. There is little money in it. The low prices of produce which have made such havoc of British agriculture are telling equally disastrously in other parts of the world. One fact just brought out by the eminent statistician, Mr. Giffen, is sufficient itself to explain this agricultural depression. The average prices of wheat from 1882 to 1886 have shown the following unparalleled decline :—In 1882 the price per quarter was 44s. 7d.; in 1883, 42s. 2d.; in 1884, 37s. 7d.; in 1885, 31s. 4d.; in 1886, 29s. 9d. A drop from 5s. 7d. per bushel to 3s. 8½d. is simply ruinous. Not only is profit out of the question, but a dead loss of at least 1s. per bushel is all that the producer gets for his pains. So much for British agriculture. New Zealand has not escaped the blow. There is, however, all the difference in the world between agricultural depression in a country where high rents are paid and all kinds of rates and taxes, and the same visitation in a Colony like New Zealand. In the former case it means ruin, as many a British farmer knows to his cost! In the latter it rarely means more than a temporary check to his prosperity. The new barn will not be built, or that latest reaping machine will not be bought for another year. The wife will not get a new carpet for the best room, and the promised piano will not be had. That is about all. Except in cases where a man has overbought himself, and is consequently hopelessly entangled in the money-lenders' toils, I know of no cases of real distress in New Zealand consequent on the depression. What, then, are the arguments in favour of a British farmer's transference of his energies from this side of the world to the other? In other words, what special advantages does New Zealand offer to practical agriculturists? I reply.

1.—There is the advantage of an incomparable climate. The average temperature of New Zealand is nine degrees warmer than England in winter and two degrees warmer than the English summer. This means almost perfection of climate for agricultural pursuits. Not only can outdoor operations be carried on all the year round, but from January to December stock of all kinds can remain out of doors. The difference between this and the state of things in Canada, where for four or five months of the year the ground is hard with frost and cattle have to be hand-fed and kept under shelter, does not need to be pointed out. It is literally the difference between comfort and discomfort, the endurable and the unendurable. I shall not soon forget the haggard and worn look of the Canadian farmers whom I visited a decade back! It seemed to me that if that modern question, "Is life worth living?" were coupled with the condition of a farmer's life in the fierce cold and blazing heat of a Canadian winter and summer, there would be no difficulty about an answer. I for one should unhesitatingly say no—a thousand times no. I well remember a conversation with Lord Dufferin on this subject at Quebec. As the Governor of Canada he felt bound to say his best even of a Canadian winter: I can assure you, Mr. Clayden," said the genial and every way admirable representative of Royalty, "that, contrary to my expectations, I never enjoyed a winter more." "I have not the least doubt of it, your Excellency," I replied. "With such magnificent appliances as you are surrounded with, frost and snow can have no terrors for you, but I am thinking of toiling men and women who must go out and do battle with the fierce elements for their daily bread." "Ah! that is quite another view of the case," replied his lordship. It is another view of the case! but I venture to think it is a very common-sense view of it. It is time all illusions were swept away from the Emigration Question and the light of common sense brought to bear upon it. The abundant rainfall is a leading characteristic of the Colony. I have often thought, while noticing the numberless water-courses, how fitting a description of the place those words of Moses, descriptive of the ancient Canaan, would be. New Zealand is emphatically "A good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of olive and honey, a land wherein thou shalt eat bread, without scarceness; thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." So much, then, for my first reason for recommending New Zealand to British farmers—its superb climatic conditions.

2.—My second reason is the general excellency of the soil, and its suitability for farming operations. "The proof of the pudding," says our old proverb, "is in the eating." Now, as a matter of fact, we can grow almost anything in New Zealand. Our wheat is equal to any that is grown in the world, and the average yield is three times that of South Australasia and twice that of any other Australian colony. New Zealand oats are too well known to need any reference, and the barley is of a very superior quality. Root crops are usually very large. I was shown over a 200-acre farm in the Auckland district, a few months since, by its owner—a fine specimen of a New Zealand settler. There was a field of beet-root which he estimated at 80 tons to the acre. I think he had overestimated it, but I certainly never saw a more regular crop. Every root seemed grown to perfection, and the rows were as regular as a line of soldiers. On another occasion I looked over a farm of 1,000 acres, owned by an old Somersetshire farmer named Best. Plucking a handful of the ripe barley, he rubbed a few ears out and asked me what I thought of it. "Think of it," I replied, "it would gladden the heart of Mr. Bass to get hold of such a sample." It was a magnificent malting barley, such as only the sunny south could produce. Then there is the New Zealand hop. In the neighbourhood of my home at Nelson there are as fine hop-gardens as any to be

found in the world. Unfortunately, the low prices of the last year or two have severely depressed the industry. Three years ago prices were abnormally high, and every one was going in for a hop-garden. As much as 3s. 3d. per lb. was realised, and as all over 9d. per lb. is profit, many a little farmer was set upon his legs by the "boom." Dairy farming is probably one of the most promising of New Zealand industries. A great stimulus has been given to this department of agriculture by the action of the Government in engaging the services of an expert in dairying—I believe he was a Dorsetshire man—to go throughout the Colony and give practical instruction to farmers, and also to establish dairy factories. How these are likely to tell upon the future prospects of the New Zealand farmers may be inferred from the following figures respecting one farmer's dealings with the Edendale Dairy Factory. A Mr. James Milne, who milked from 80 to 90 cows, sent all his milk to this factory. The financial result was as follows :—From 16th October, 1883, to 31st May, 1884, he had drawn cash from the factory to the amount of £630—an average of nearly £7 10s. per cow. When it is remembered that the average price of a first-class milking-cow is only from £7 to £10, the return is, to say the least, very handsome. Some 50 tons of cheese were made at this young factory in 1883, and although the price realised—5½d. per lb.—was low, there is undoubtedly a great future before these factories in the Colony. I found at New Plymouth a butter merchant hard at work packing butter for the New South Wales market. The drought had run up the price of good fresh butter in Sydney to 2s. 6d. per lb. Other markets for dairy produce are opening up. Rio de Janeiro was looking New Zealand wards for butter, the price when I was there a few months ago being 3s. 6d. per lb. As the direct steamers call there on their way to England, I see no reason why a good trade should not be done there. Then there is our delicious mutton with its ever-growing market in England. By every steamer some 20,000 sheep are brought to the London market. As it would be perfectly easy to make our 14,000,000 sheep into a flock twice as large, or even quadrupling the carrying powers of our runs, by the judicious use of English grasses and the increase of root crops, it will be at once seen that there is abundant room for agricultural enterprise in this direction. I think, therefore, I have said enough to make good my second reason for encouraging British farmers to try their luck in New Zealand—namely, the general excellency of the soil and the suitability of the Colony for farming operations.

3.—My third reason for this recommendation is the certainty of the New Zealand farmer getting at least a fair share of the result of his toil and enterprise. I have no wish to say unpleasant things of the British landlords. They have their full share of trouble and anxiety just now, and it would be like striking a man when he is down to say a word respecting their relations with their unfortunate tenants. This, however, I will say—that in my judgment every tiller of the soil has an inalienable right to every tittle of improvement which his labour and capital have produced. It seems to me—and I do not say it offensively, but as a simple matter of right between man and man—that the 150 millions sterling which, we are told, have within the last 25 years gone out of the pockets of the British tenant farmers into those of the British landlords, has gone wrongfully. Now, in New Zealand this thing cannot be. Undoubtedly a good deal that rightly belongs to the toiling producer finds its way into the pockets of those who "toil not, neither do they spin," but this is largely the toiler's own fault. If in his greed of land he overshoots the mark and has to mortgage his farm, he must take the consequences, and when, as at the present moment, the prices of produce are low, while the price of money keeps about the same, these consequences are serious enough. I cannot, however, admit them as arguments against New Zealand farming. They are simply the results of errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that the supreme evil of the British tenant farmer—his loss of the result of his toil and enterprise, or, at any rate, of a large proportion of it—is unknown in New Zealand. What a man puts into his land is his and his children's inalienable possession. And what an incentive to thrift and industry this is! I know of nothing more inspiring than the enthusiasm with which I have seen the New Zealand settler clearing his land. It has brought to my mind the noble lines of the poet, for in the kindling eye and bold mien you see—

The pride to rear an independent shed,  
 And give the lips we love unborrowed bread;  
 To see a world from shadowy forests won,  
 In youthful beauty wedded to the sun;

To skirt our homes with harvests widely sown,  
 And call the blooming prospect all our own;  
 Our children's heritage, in prospect long—  
 These are the hopes, high-minded hopes, and strong,

That beckon England's wanderers o'er the brine  
To realms where foreign constellations shine.

4.—A fourth argument that I would use in this direction is the cheapness of the New Zealand land. I know this is denied by some. One would think to hear what men of a certain school even in New Zealand assert, that all the agricultural land in New Zealand was already swallowed up by the "land grabbers." Such, however, is not the case. I have been riding through tens of thousands of acres of New Zealand soil within the last six months which may be bought at from £2 to £3 per acre, and my attention was called just prior to leaving Auckland in January last to a Government block of over 100,000 acres which might be bought for £1 per acre. I accepted an invitation to visit a large block of land on the Auckland and Rotorua Railway, situated some 120 miles from Auckland, and I there found, to my astonishment, a vast area of land which, unquestionably, would make splendid farms. That land I am actually empowered to sell to *bonâ fide* settlers at £2 per acre, and with the easiest terms of payment. And so of various other parts of the Colony. Even in the South Island I found myself riding for scores of miles through virgin soil. As a matter of fact the total area of land sold by the Government up to March, 1884, was 17,477,765 acres, realising £12,397,509, and I suppose it is safe to assume that at least an equal quantity remains to be sold. This, however, is but half the case. Of this alienated area a large part is held by land speculators, and Nemesis has overtaken these grasping adventurers. Much of these millions of acres of sold land is to-day in the market at less than its cost price. The cry of land monopoly is, therefore, an exceedingly hollow one. There is plenty of good land to be had, and the price is ridiculously low.

5.—One more reason for encouraging British farmers and others to emigrate to New Zealand is the thoroughly English character of the Colony. This in my judgment is the supreme recommendation of the Colony. You never feel away from home. I have a thousand times had to ask myself whether I was not traversing the lanes and meadows of my native county of Berks. In the cities also one might be in an English or Scotch city for any difference that was visible. Everything, save the climate, is essentially home-like. You meet only your own folks, for the native race, alas! is fast disappearing from the scene. The temptations of civilisation are too much for them, and ere another generation has passed away the Maori, with all his touching memories, will have become a thing of the past. It seems to be the destiny of the Australasian aborigines to fade away before a superior race. There is plenty of room for sentiment over the doom, but the hard fact remains, they are in the way of the march of improvement, and the great Juggernaut simply rolls over them. Not only are the people our own, but the homes are also ours. Little by little every characteristic of the old home is finding its way into the new. There is the familiar old armchair. The children are singing the old-world melodies. You join in the same grand old church service. You listen to the same old story. There is the same Sunday-school for the children, and the same sweet day of rest for all. You are also under the same old flag. There are no people more loyal than the colonists in general, and those in New Zealand in particular. Every Royal birthday is kept as a public holiday, and in the Soudan war we showed you what you might expect from us in the hour of danger. In a word, we are Englishmen, and join heartily in the refrain of the old song;—

*"Tis a glorious charter, deny it who can,  
That's breathed in the words, I'm an Englishman.*

Before I sit down I ought to anticipate one or two inquiries of a practical character which will probably occur to some present. For instance, it may well be asked, "Does farming pay in New Zealand?" I have gone to considerable trouble in getting at the truth on this all-important point. I addressed the following letter to a leading paper in the Colony—the *Otago Witness*:—"Does New Zealand Farming Pay? Sir,—The above question is no new one; but just now, when the Government is preparing to encourage English farmers to come over here with their skill and capital, it is all-important that there should be no mistake in the matter. . . . Could you not invite an expression of opinion from practical men in your free and independent columns?—I am, &c." The editor promptly entered into the spirit of the inquiry, and invited replies from his wide circle of agricultural readers.

In response, the following valuable testimony was given :—By a Canterbury farmer (from the *Otago Witness*, June 28th, 1884). "I have had placed before me a letter on the above subject, written by Mr. Arthur Clayden. I have now been farming for more than twenty years in Canterbury, and my experience has been of the most practical character. My first acquaintance with farming was made on a farm on the Canterbury Plains of considerably less area than 200 acres in extent, the soil of which was below the average in quality. I have had experience of good seasons and bad seasons, and indeed there are few, if any, of the trials and vicissitudes

which fall to the lot of a farmer beginning with a capital of less than £500 that I have not been through. I am at present in a position which enables me to stand the strain of a bad season or two without difficulty. Looking back over my last twenty years of experience, I have no reason to regret that I put my hand to the plough as a Canterbury farmer and did not look back. For my own part, I am of opinion that a practical farmer, with a capital of from £500 and upwards, could choose no better time for coming into the country. The time to sell is when the season and the prices are good, but the time to buy is when things are depressed."

This farmer then goes into calculations as to the relative cost of producing wheat in America and New Zealand, and arrives at the conclusion that it can be grown much cheaper in New Zealand than in America, the average yield being double. Quoting from a Mr. Randolph, the secretary to the Chicago Board of Trade, he gives the net cost of a bushel of wheat in the West at 3s. 0½d., and the cost of transit to Liverpool, including insurance and other charges, 2s. 3d. more, making 5s. 3½d. per bushel, or 42s. 4d. per qr., the net cost at Liverpool. The net cost of wheat in New Zealand is given by Messrs. Ellis Brothers, large farmers in Otago, as follows:—Taking the low estimate of 16 bushels to the acre—cost of putting in crop, 15s. 7½d. per acre; reaping to stacking, 16s. 4½d.; threshing and delivering on board ship, 11s. 4d.; rent and seed, 10s. 5d.; making in all 53s. 9d. per acre, or 3s. 4d. per bushel. In 1883, however, their average crop was 22½ bushels per acre, and owing to improved machinery and other causes the cost was less. Putting in crop to stacking, 25s. 3d.; threshing and delivering on board ship, 11s. 11½d.; making in all, 37s. 2½d. per acre, or about 1s. 8d. per bushel. It should be added, however, that Messrs. Ellis had no less than seven of McCornick's reapers and binders running night and day throughout the harvest, thus cutting on an average 140 acres per day.

This Canterbury farmer gives some interesting details as to his experiences. He had learnt as an English farmer the value of sheep on a farm and from the first had kept a flock. His first flock consisted of fifty store wethers for which he gave 19s. a head—about double what they may be bought for to-day. "My flock," he says, "has been steadily on the increase to this day. Whatever success I have attained as a farmer I attribute largely to my having combined sheep farming with grain growing. I have experienced some seasons during which my grain was from various causes little better than a failure, and it was then that I found the advantage of having a second string to my bow. At the worst of times I never failed to make some profit, greater or lesser, from my flock."

This practical man winds up his letter as follows: "I think there is no pleasanter way of making a living than by farming in New Zealand. With moderate capital there is no necessity of any great amount of physical exertion on the part of the farmer; he is very independent, and if he is moderate in his desires and content to live well within his income, a bad season need not be to him an object of dread. This is supposing that he has not gone in deeper than his capital warrants, and has not allowed himself to be carried away by the prevailing spirit of speculation. Fanning is one thing and land speculation another, but the two things are often confounded, and failure and losses are attributed to the climate, the soil, the taxes, the country generally, which, properly speaking, are due to rash speculation in land. In cases where farming is not found to pay, it is seldom, if ever, the fault of the country, but is mainly due to impatience of steady work, to extravagant habits, and to that feeling of restlessness and discontent which seems to pervade all classes of the population. Our agricultural statistics show conclusively that there is no other country in the world in which the land yields a larger increase of produce in return for each day's labour expended upon it, and this I think is proof enough that when farming does not pay it is not the country that is at fault, neither do I think it is the taxes, notwithstanding the recklessness with which the public funds have been spent during the last twelve years. We are, it is true, paying interest on a great deal of unproductive outlay, but much of the public expenditure has been highly productive. The taxes are higher now than when I began farming in Canterbury, but farmers have conveniences and labour-saving appliances which were not dreamt of in those days. The cost of production has been reduced immensely. In my early farming days, too, if a man wished to educate his family he had to stand the whole expense. There were no free schools either in town or country, and as my family was a large one the cost of giving them a plain education was a considerable drain upon my means. I beg leave to conclude with a quotation from a writer of shrewd and homely wit, but whose works are somewhat out of date. 'Friends and neighbours, the taxes are indeed heavy, and if those laid on by the Government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others and much more grievous to some of us—we are taxed as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly, and from these taxes the Commissioners cannot save us.'"

At the risk of wearying you I will give an extract from another letter which appeared in response to the editor's appeal. A "Cluther Farmer" gives the following illustration of what any industrious man with a very small capital may do in New Zealand. "My neighbour," he writes, "leased five years ago (that would be about 1880) 300 acres of unimproved land at an annual rental of 3s. per acre. The land was about three parts fenced. His entire capital on entering his farm amounted to £80 and one horse worth about £20. Not being able to raise a three-horse team and double-furrow plough, he purchased another old horse and a second-hand swing plough



cheap, thus being able to cross-plough some sixty acres which he had broken up. A small cottage to reside in, seed for his first crop, horse feed, and a set of harness, pretty well used up his little capital. From the proceeds of his first crop, which was a fair one, he was enabled to procure another horse and a double-furrow plough. Since then he has had three successive grain crops, from each of which he has been able to purchase stock and procure the necessary implements, even to a reaper and binder. At the present time his position financially stands thus—he has a comfortable four-roomed cottage, barn and stable, all his land under cultivation, one-third being down in English grass, owns a team of four good draught horses, three or four milch cows, 150 sheep, all needful farm implements, and, as the proceeds of last year's labours (this would be in 1883), £300 clear of all expenses. I may add that he is married and has a young family; his wife pulls well with him, is thrifty and industrious. These results have been attained, not through any exceptional ran of good luck, but solely from hard work, perseverance, and economy."

I think I need add nothing to these straightforward utterances. If hard-pressed British farmers who only find themselves yearly growing poorer hear not the voice which speaks to them through such simple matters of fact, neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

One more practical inquiry which I would anticipate relates to the requisite capital for New Zealand fanning. This, however, so entirely depends upon what a man intends doing himself, and the strength of service in his household, that no absolute rule can be laid down. I know, for instance, an Englishman who seven years ago entered on New Zealand farming without any previous experience in farming and with less than a thousand pounds of capital. I found him last year the owner of some 400 acres, half of it in crop; a new eight-roomed house had just been built, and the appearance of things seemed most prosperous. But he had four stalwart sons to help him. Had he been dependent upon hired service he would have needed twice the capital to produce the same results. On board the steamer which I recently came home in there was a gentleman in the steerage department who I learnt had only recently gone out to New Zealand with capital as a saloon passenger. He had lost his money, and would probably be loud in his denunciation of New Zealand farming. But what are the real facts of the case? The look of the man told his story. There he was day after day posing as a swell among his fellow-passengers. I never remember seeing him without an eye-glass stuck in his left eye, and of all the men whom I have known I never saw one whose failure I could more confidently predict. Another of our passengers was a colonial failure, but his failure was no argument against the Colony, though of course he thought it was. Easy, self-indulgent, and indolent, it would have required a miracle to be worked daily to have made him successful. No amount of capital avails if the man himself has no business capacity, while the man who has his head screwed on right can hardly have too little.

To descend to particulars, however, I will, for the sake of argument, assume that a man goes in for 200 acres of cheap, unimproved land, such as I am authorised to offer to British farmers at £2 per acre. He gets possession of the land on payment of one-fourth, leaving the balance on mortgage at 5 per cent, per annum for two years, and 7 per cent, per annum for three years longer if required. Here, then, is a man placed on the land at an outlay of £100, and a yearly rental of £15 for two years, and £21 for the following three years. The £300 could remain on mortgage. The New Zealand Government is affording help to *bonâ fide* farmers with a little capital to the extent of one-half the passage money. Any farmer who can satisfy the Agent-General for New Zealand that he has a minimum capital of £100 for himself, and £50 for each child over twelve years of age, will receive a passage by the direct steamers on payment of £10 each adult—*i.e.*, each person over twelve years of age, and £5 for each child under twelve years of age. Supposing the family to consist of husband and wife and four children over twelve years of age, and two children under twelve, on a farmer showing himself to be worth £300 he would get a passage for himself and his family to New Zealand for £70, or perhaps something less. Allowing £10 for expenses, we have the sum of £180 sunk. Now the farmer is on his land, but he is not at the end of his necessary expenditure. He must have a house to live in, and this will cost him from £50 to £100. Then his land must be fenced, and, however economically he may go to work, I do not think he will get this done under £25. If we put the house at £75 we have another £100 of the capital sunk, making in all £280, or, to be safe, say £300. Then there are the implements, household furniture, seed, and the cost of living for, at least, a year. This would bring up the expenditure to £500. Here, then, I place the limit of capital necessary to start farming in New Zealand. I think £3 per acre is the very least that a man should have, and, if it were £5, his chances of success would be all the greater. Of course, if an improved farm were contemplated a much larger capital would be required, unless the Government leasing provision were taken advantage of. I have a strong conviction that if a man does not go in for cheap unimproved land he would do better with a small capital by renting land with a purchasing clause in the lease. Full particulars of the Government system of leasing will be found in my "Popular Handbook to New Zealand." I can only venture to say here that provision is made for the fullest security of the tenants in the matter of improvements, and for all practical purposes the tenure is equal to freehold. I must not enlarge, as I fear your patience is already more than exhausted.

I will conclude with an earnest invitation to practical men to pull themselves together and face this great

question of New Zealand emigration. I would especially urge it upon the young men of our English shores. I would ask them if they are content to repeat the losing game of their fathers; if they are willing to bury the remainder of their shrunken patrimony in the grave where so large a proportion of their father's hopes and fortunes have been buried? In yonder sunlit isles of the Pacific you may go and build up a home for yourselves untainted by the servile spirit. Free land, free churches, free institutions, free schools are there enjoyed. Every citizen has the right to a vote and a voice in the passing of those laws which he is called upon to obey. Go, then, young Englishmen, with your accumulated moral force, your superior culture, your law-abiding habits, and your instinctive reverence, and give the young community over there the benefit of your training and experience. Help in the passing of righteous laws. Help in the creation of a sound public opinion. Help to write the name of God on the public escutcheon, and, although I cannot guarantee you wealth, for the race is not always even to the swift, or the battle to the strong, I dare guarantee this—that it shall be given you to share in those acclamations of praise with which the old world shall one day greet the advent, amid the splendours of the Pacific, of a second England of transcendent glory, the home of happy millions, and the envy of the world.

*W. Speight and Sons, Printers, Fetter Lane, London,*

## **By The Same Author. A Popular Handbook To New Zealand.**

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In this work will be found a full description of the resources, local industries, constitution and government, and natural features of the Colony. The aim of the author has been to compile and present, in a popular form, all that is necessary to be known by an intending emigrant. The following table of contents will show the scope of the work :—Introduction—General description of Colony—Agricultural Products—Pastoral Pursuits, with Live Stock Statistics—Wool—Sheep Stations—Minerals—Fisheries—Classification of Soil—General Statistics, Schools, Churches, &c.—Imports and Exports—Finance—Savings Banks—Manufactories—Crown Lands—Land Transfer Act—Public Works—Post and Telegraph Service—State Education—Volunteers—Government and Constitution—Woollen Mills—Frozen Meat Trade—Flax Works—Saw Mills—Colonial Products—Natural Attractions—Hot Springs, Mountains, Lakes, &c.—Leading Cities—Reprint of Letters to *Daily News*, *Christian World*, &c.—Hints to intending Emigrants—Rate of Wages—Alphabetical Index.

A copy will be sent post-free to any part of the United Kingdom on receipt of Post-Office Order for 2s. 6d. Address, Winterbrook, Wallingford, Berks.

*N.B.—Mr. A. Clayden requests all persons desiring information on New Zealand to enclose a stamped envelope for reply.*

## **Special Party To New Zealand.**

Mr. ARTHUR CLAYDEN hopes to accompany a party of intending settlers to New Zealand in November next, with the view of forming a Temperance Settlement in the Auckland district. Government assistance towards the passage out to the extent of £10 for each adult will be afforded all *bonâ fide* farmers who may accompany this party, on condition of their proving, to the satisfaction of the Agent-General for New Zealand, their possession of a minimum capital of £100 for each adult. A Prospectus, giving full particulars of the proposed Settlement, will be sent on receipt of two stamps. Address, Winterbrook, Wallingford, Berks.

## **Lecturing Appointments.**

Mr. A. CLAYDEN is open to engagements for the delivery of his Lecture, "An Hour's Talk about New Zealand." Secretaries of Literary Institutes, Young Men's Christian Associations, &c., are invited to make early applications, as Mr. Clayden's stay in England may be short.

Prospectus of The New Zealand Agricultural Company, Limited, Second Edition  
With Appendix.

Capital £1,000,000, In 50,000 Shares of £20 Each.

Office of The Company: 110, Cannon Street, E.C.

Waterlow & Sons Limited, London Printers, London Wall 49, Parliament Street, Westminster 1879

# Second Edition Issued May, 1879, of the Prospectus The New Zealand Agricultural Company, Limited.

Capital £ 1,000,000, Divided into 50,000 Shares of £20 each.

Shares already disposed of (including those fully paid up allotted to the Vendors) 27,233, amounting to £544,660. Amount paid up, £398,665.

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It is not expected that so much as £10 per share will be called up, but allottees desiring to pay up in full, may do so, with the consent of the Directors, and interest at the rate of £6 per cent, per annum will be allowed on the amounts paid in advance of calls.

Attention is called to the particulars as to Contracts made since the issue of the first edition of the prospectus, see page 17a.

Forms of application for shares, and of this prospectus, and copies of the maps, and reports and valuations of the properties, and full report of the Statutory Meeting, can be obtained on application, personally or by post, to the Secretary, 110, Cannon Street.

## The New Zealand Agricultural Company, Limited.

*Incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1862, 1867 and 1877.*

For Purchasing, Improving, Managing, Dealing with, and acting as Agents for, Agricultural, Pastoral and other Properties in the Colony, and creating Settlements thereon.

The liability of Shareholders is limited to the amount of their Shares.

Capital £1,000,000, In 50,000 Shares of £20 each,

With power to issue Mortgage Debentures to the extent only of two-thirds of the amount paid for property.

First Issue. £500,000 in 25,000 Shares of £20 each, And £100,000 Debentures at 5, 5½ and 6 per cent.

## **As to the Shares.**

£1 will be payable on application and £4 on allotment. Calls not to exceed £2.10s. each per share, or to be made at less intervals than 3 months, 1 month's notice being given. It is not expected that so much as £10 per share will be called up, but allottees desiring to pay up in full may do so, with the consent of the Directors, and interest at the rate of £6 per cent, per annum will be allowed on the amounts paid in advance of calls.

## **As to the Mortgage Debentures.**

These will be a first charge upon the uncalled capital of the Company. They will also be charged upon all the property of the Company for the time being subject to any claim of vendors for unpaid purchase money.

The Debentures will be issued in sums of £50, £100, £500, and £1,000, payable in three, five, or seven years, as the applicants may desire, with interest in the meantime respectively at the rate of £5, £5.10s. and £6 per cent, per annum, payable half-yearly, either in London or Dunedin, at the applicant's option. The Debentures now to be issued will be received by the Company at any time in payment for land purchased of them or for rent of lands held under them, and in such cases a bonus of 10 per cent, will be allowed.

The Company is restricted from issuing Debentures in excess of two-thirds of the amount of the consideration given or paid for property for the time being, after deducting monies received from sales of land or premiums on granting Leases, except Debentures issued to raise monies to pay for Properties or Debentures arriving at maturity, which monies are forthwith to be so applied, and in the meantime to be carried to a separate account or invested in the names of Trustees. Ten per cent, on the amount applied for will be payable on application, and the balance within one month after allotment. The Interest will accrue from the days of payment respectively.

The Debentures will be payable "to bearer," or to the registered holder, as applicants may desire.

## **Directors.**

- WILLIAM CLARK, Esq., C.E., 9, Victoria Chambers, West-minster.
- W. J. MUDIE LARNACH, Esq., Late Colonial Treasurer and Minister of Railways, New Zealand; 118, Holland Road, Kensington, W.
- MAJOR-GENERAL PATRICK MAXWELL, Westmont, Ryde, I.W.
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- SIR JULIUS VOGEL, K.C.M.G., late Premier of New Zealand, 127, Cromwell Road, South Kensington.

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- BANK OF ENGLAND.

## **Solicitors.**

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## **Auditors.**

- Messrs. DELOITTE, DEVER, GRIFFITHS & Co.

## Secretary.

- JOHN SCOTT GAVELL, Esq.

## Registered Office.

- No. 110, CANNON STREET.

## Prospectus.

THE great demand which has arisen for land in New Zealand for Agricultural purposes since the opening of the Government Railways, the rapidly increasing prices obtained either on sale or letting, the large profits which are being realized by landowners (especially by those having capital at command for improvements), and the desire which exists in many families in England to obtain facilities for settling in New Zealand, have induced the formation of this Company, the objects of which are fully stated in the Memorandum of Association, a copy of which is annexed hereto.

As a first investment the Company has purchased from the several owners, as a going concern, properties which, as a whole, may be considered to form one of the finest and most desirable agricultural estates in the Colony.

The estate is situated in the province of Otago and Southland, and nearly due west of Dunedin, the Capital of Otago, and lies between latitudes  $45^{\circ} 20'$  and  $46^{\circ}$ . The climate is all that can be desired for stock breeding, wool growing, and agricultural pursuits. The district is not liable to droughts.

The estate is in direct communication, by two lines of rail-way, with the town and port of Invercargill, distant fifty miles on the south, and by one of these lines with the city and port of Dunedin, distant about seventy miles.

There is also a line of railway under construction through the heart of the property, which will be opened in 1879, and will give all parts of the estate connection with Dunedin. A plan of the estate and also a key plan, showing its situation in the province of Otago and Southland, is issued herewith.

The different properties forming the estate adjoin, and consist together of 167,769 acres of freehold land, in one block, of which 16,823 acres are under cultivation, in grain crops, English grasses, and clovers, the whole fenced in and a great portion sub-divided into convenient sized fields and meadows. There are besides 141,675 acres of leasehold lands held partly under the Crown and partly under Trustees for Educational Reserves who are restricted from selling.

With the estate has been purchased the stock thereon, consisting of 167,500 sheep, 82 draught and saddle horses, and 112 head of cattle, together with the agricultural implements, plant, steam engines, &c., as also the suitable and substantial residences, buildings, wool sheds, sheep yards, shepherds' houses and saw mills.

The clips of wool from Waimea, Want wood, and the Dome have realised prices not much short of those paid for the Longridge clip, which, on reference to the London Wool sales during a few years past, will be found to have fetched as high as from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d. for washed wool. This station's greasy wool has this year sold for 13d. and  $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.

The annual per-centage of lambs by way of increase from these flocks may be reckoned, one year with another, at from 65 to 75 per cent. As the freehold, becomes cultivated and improved this per-centage may be increased.

Hitherto, with the lands in their natural pasture, the sheep have been yielding annually an average of 5s. each net to their proprietors, while their increase and fat stock have served to pay all expenses, besides providing for considerable permanent improvements.

The purchase takes effect as from the 1st November, 1878, so that the Company will have the benefit of the present year's dropping of lambs, and of the clip of wool and grain crops soon to be realised. The shareholders will thus be secure of regular dividends from the date of the allotment of shares.

The price agreed upon is £1,070,000, of which the vendors take £350,000 in fully paid-up shares of the Company, forming no part of the present issue, and the balance payable thus: £40,000 at once, £100,000 on 31st March, 1879, £110,000 on 1st August, 1879, £200,000 on 1st February, 1880, and £270,000 on the 9th December, 1883.

The first three instalments will carry interest at the rate of 5 per cent, per annum and the last at the rate of 6 per cent, per annum, as to the latter however the interest will only be payable out of the surplus profits of the Company in each year after setting aside sufficient to pay a dividend for that year at the rate of 7 per cent, per annum on the paid-up capital, and without any claim in case of deficiency on future profits. The Company have the option of postponing the payment of any instalment or any part thereof (except the last), for not exceeding two years. Any deferred instalments, however, are to carry interest at the rate of 6 per cent.

The Vendors' shares, until after the 9th December, 1883, will only be transferable in the colony.

It is confidently anticipated that the property will rise rapidly in value, and that beyond the enhanced profits which will be realised from the improvement of the lands, and the increased number of sheep, the Company will derive large returns from the sale and letting of, portions of the estate to settlers in suitable sized farms, at prices considerably in excess of the rate per acre paid by the Company. For such farms there is a large and increasing demand.

The Shareholders will therefore acquire, at a moderate cost, an estate rapidly rising in value, with a reasonable prospect of a minimum dividend of 7 per cent., and with the probability of largely increased dividends, and of a considerable enhancement in the capital value of their property.

## **Fuller Particulars.**

### **1.—the Names And Situation of The Properties.**

The freehold estates and leasehold runs now acquired by the Company, are known as Croydon, Waimea Plains, Wantwood, Okaiterua, Longridge, Dome, Eyre Creek, and Ardlussa. They are situated in the province of Otago and Southland, about 70 miles distant from the City and Port of Dunedin, on the east, and 50 miles distant from the town and port of Invercargill on the south.

There are already running through different parts of the estate two main lines of railway belonging to the Government—the one from Invercargill to the lake gold fields the other from Invercargill to Dunedin.

A company has been formed to make a branch line to connect these two main lines.

This branch line will run from Elbow to Gore, as shown on the map, a distance of 37 miles, and entirely through the Company's estate.

The whole of the capital required for this line has been provided, and the railway will be finished for use in 1879.

### **2.—the Extent And Description of The Lands.**

The freehold portion of the estate contains 167,769 acres, and consists chiefly of first-class agricultural lands, being rich alluvial river flats, plains, and easy undulating ridges, all capable of being ploughed at any time with double-furrow ploughs, there being no timber (excepting some valuable bush reserves) or stones to hinder the progress of the plough.

Last year some of the lands were newly ploughed under contract at 11s. to 12s. per acre, with double-furrow ploughs ploughing five inches deep, and produced from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat per acre, and from 55 to 75 bushels of oats from the first furrow.

The suitability of the soil and climate for growing turnips, rape, and other green crops is a very valuable feature in this property. The land being free from couch-grass and other weeds turnips can be sown upon the first furrow of the newly turned sod, and some of the Directors can vouch for the fact that crops of turnips averaging 20 to 25 tons per acre can be grown in this manner if seeded at the rate of a few ozs. per acre without manure and without either hoeing or thinning.

Of these freehold lands 16,823 acres are cultivated and improved. There are also 340 miles of good substantial fencing, several brick and stone residences, eight large wool sheds in good order, with hot water and spout water washes attached, sheep yards, shearers' houses, shepherds' and labouring men's houses, and stabling conveniently placed at the several homesteads.

There are large deposits of bluestone, freestone and lime-stone, each being well adapted for building purposes, and already extensively used in the buildings on the estate.

There are also large deposits of brown coal and lignite on various parts of the estate, which make an excellent fuel for engine driving and household uses.

The leasehold lands contain 141,675 acres. They consist of well grassed hills and valleys of rich quality, but rather too steep for ploughing. Their sheep-carrying capacity, however, is capable of great improvement by

English grass and clover seed being scattered upon them.

The freehold lands around the leasehold were selected with a view to preventing competition for the leaseholds, so that there can be little difficulty in securing a renewal of the leases from time to time as they fall in.

The present leases of the several runs will expire as follows:—14,239 acres will expire in June, 1881; 4,905 acres in November, 1881; 4,692 acres in March, 1883; 6,255 acres in November, 1883; 830 acres in November, 1882; 7,781 acres in September, 1883; 23,591 acres in September, 1882; 3,590 acres in September, 1882; 6,440 acres in November, 1882; 10,334 acres in March, 1883; 21,553 acres in January, 1884; 10,000 acres in February, 1885; 485 acres in November, 1882; 5,170 acres in February, 1885; and 21,810 acres in January, 1887. They are subject to very low rentals.

### **3.—Title.**

The freehold properties are all held under grants from the Crown, and the leaseholds are held partly under the Crown and partly under the Trustees for Educational purposes.

The Vendors will give titles under the Land Transfer Act, which titles by the laws existing in the Colony are guaranteed by the Government.

### **4.—Particulars of The Flocks, &c..**

The number of sheep purchased with the estate is 167,500, consisting of the following classes, viz., breeding ewes, ewe hoggets, wether, wether hoggets, rams, &c., none being broken-mouthed, but all in good condition, strong, and healthy.

The owners are also to deliver 29 draught horses, 53 saddle horses, and 112 well-bred quiet dairy cattle.

The lands in their natural pasture are capable of feeding nearly one sheep to the acre, and by sowing English grasses they can be so improved as to carry from five to six sheep to the acre.

The freehold and leasehold lands, together aggregating 309,000 acres, will in their present condition, at a very small additional expense, carry 130,000 sheep more than are now upon the lands. This addition could be made as quickly as circumstances will allow.

The flocks of sheep now running upon the several estates are among the best in New Zealand.

Upon each of the properties there is a stud flock, from which only the best sheep are employed for breeding purposes. The whole of the flocks have been carefully culled annually for years past immediately after each shearing, and the culls sent to market.

From £100 to £250 each have been paid for some of the stud rams, and proportionately high prices have been given for some of the ewes for the purpose of improving the breed.

### **5.—Particulars of Plant, &c.**

The agricultural machinery and implements purchased are to be delivered in good order, or compensation allowed. Most of them are nearly new. They include two 10-horse power and one 8-horse power steam engines, one 12-horse power water-wheel, several new reapers and binders, double and single furrow ploughs, harrows, mowing machines, rollers, blacksmiths' and carpenters' tools, and everything of the kind necessary for carrying on the business of the Company.

There are also two valuable saw mills on forest lands belonging to the Estate, with engines, saw benches, planing, tonguing and grooving machines, tramways, &c., all in thorough working order, and two teams of working bullocks. These Mills have been found of great benefit in supplying timber for all purposes for the use of the estate. The Company will have the right of cutting timber in the Crown forests for a nominal payment.

### **6.—The Price To Be Paid And Terms of Payment.**

The owners of these properties have agreed to accept the sum of £1,070,000 for the whole of these lands, free from incumbrances, with the sheep, cattle, horses, plant, buildings and improvements as above mentioned, the price being based upon a low estimate of the value of the lands according to the prices which are being realized for lands of similar quality in the neighbourhood, and at the prices at which flocks of sheep of the same class are generally sold in the Colony, and to give the easy terms of payment above mentioned. The price is equal to £6. 7s. 6d. per acre to the freehold lands, with all the live stock, leaseholds, improvements, plant, &c., given in, which is below the price that similar lands are realizing without any flocks thereon.

## 7.—Debentures.

The Mortgage Debentures will be a first charge upon the property and the uncalled capital of the Company for the time being, and will rank in point of charge *pari passu* with any future issues. The amount to be issued is positively restricted, as before mentioned. The bonus of 10 per cent, on the first issue is given to induce the holders to settle on or invest in the lands of the Company. Without delay land will be set apart in suitable sized farms, upon which the holders of these debentures can exercise their rights.

The debentures will be received by the Company at par in payment for premiums payable by Cadets as hereinafter mentioned, and will serve the purpose of ordinary debentures to those who do not invest in the Company's lands.

To fathers of young men growing to manhood, or to families who contemplate emigrating, these debentures will prove excellent investments, whilst, as far as the Company is concerned, it will be benefitted by the enlargement of the circle of those who may become its customers.

At the option from time to time of the holders the interest and principal of the debentures will be made payable either in London or Dunedin.

The debentures vary in amounts to suit the wishes of applicants. The £50 debentures will be useful for paying rentals and for purchasing township allotments, than which no investments are more profitable as in a very short time they generally increase many times in value.

The debentures issued for three years will carry interest at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum, those for five years £5. 10s per cent., and those for seven years £6 per cent.

## 8.—Management.

The Company will be managed by a Board of Directors in London, with Local Directors in the Colony acting under their control. Three of the Vendors are willing to act as the first Local Directors, so that the Company can secure the benefit to be derived from their extended and practical experience.

## 9.—Future Operations.

The estates are stocked with sheep far below the carrying capacity of the land in its natural pasture.

Experience has shewn that the carrying capacity of such land for sheep and cattle breeding purposes only, can be increased six-fold by sowing English grasses and clover and dividing into smaller paddocks.

It has also been found that the returns from the land can be largely increased by bringing it under cultivation for grain.

It is therefore proposed by degrees to increase the number of the sheep, and also to bring more land into cultivation.

The line of railway running through the heart of the property will create a demand for agricultural holdings, and sites for towns and villages—lands for which may be expected to realize very handsome prices.

The settlement of a large and thriving population on first- class lands, hitherto occupied only by sheep and cattle, is an important object in the formation of this Company, and it is intended at several points of the estates to lay off suitable farms of from 200 to 2,000 acres, or upwards, in extent, with the object of leasing or selling the same to a desirable class of farmers at such rates as will leave large profits to the Company, whilst they will undoubtedly afford excellent prospects to the farmers.

The Company at the same time will be prepared to arrange advances of money at a fair rate of interest to such farmers, to be spent in buildings and improvements on their farms. Under this plan settlers of a most valuable class can be obtained, and a large and certain profit will in consequence accrue to the Company.

Whilst these operations will be very profitable to the Company, they will open to those who take advantage of them, and who can exercise frugality and prudence, the opportunity of future competence or wealth, according to the scale on which they are able to embark. As the Colony increases in population, the intrinsic value of land increases. Every person who acquires land of fair quality, has before him the certain prospect of receiving from it fair interest on his money from the outset, and of working it up to a value of at least £30 an acre; that is to say, a value either to sell at £30, or to yield at £30 per acre per annum ten per cent, on such value.

It is also proposed to form nurseries for forest and other trees, and to supply young trees to tenants and purchasers at moderate rates.

## 10.—Facilities For Settling In New Zealand.



There are a great number of young men in this country who desire to acquire knowledge of the management of agricultural and pastoral properties with a view to afterwards securing lands in the Colony.

It is proposed to receive every year a certain number of these as cadets upon the estate, to learn sheep, cattle and horse breeding, farming and agriculture. Cadets will require to have received a good education. On entering the Company's service a premium will be required from each cadet, but after a short period of satisfactory service upon the estate, a salary will be paid him, which will be increased in proportion to his general merits. Suitable accommodation and board will be provided. Cadets will be required to be steady and active, to be ready to work early and late. To those who desire to learn the occupation of stock farming and agriculture thoroughly, no better opportunity could present itself.

After a satisfactory term of service, facilities will be afforded to cadets to become tenants under the Company with easy terms of purchase.

## **11.—As To The Value of The Enterprise.**

The high character of New Zealand as a field for the investment of capital has long been known to practical observers, but the construction of public works, more especially the formation of railways, has recently imparted to it an impulse of a most marked character.

The history of land settlement in New Zealand may be briefly told.

At first immense blocks of land were taken up for pastoral purposes, while agricultural farming was carried on upon a small scale. Later on it became apparent that laying down English grasses enormously increased the pastoral capabilities of the soil, and from that time the extent of land so treated has rapidly increased. Later still it was ascertained that the production of grain was more profitable than sheep farming, even when conducted on English pasture carrying seven or eight sheep to the acre, and thus vast quantities of land have been and are being laid down in crops.

The growing increase in the value of improved land in New Zealand has long been patent to persons connected with the Colony, but lately, as railways have been completed, and have opened up communication between the seaboard and the interior, this increased value has augmented in a very remarkable manner.

Recent sales in the Colony have demonstrated that during the last few years land has steadily increased each year in value by at least 25 per cent.

Fair land, ready for the plough, and within easy distance of a railway, readily sells for from £7 to £11 per acre, while several estates which have been cut up into farms have sold for an average of from £12 to £14 per acre, as appears by the published accounts of sales of land which are now taking place in New Zealand. An instance of this may be given. A property of 17,000 acres in the province of Canterbury which adjoins Otago and Southland, has recently been sold by auction with the stock thereon for £191,000, the land being in no way superior to the properties now purchased, and not nearly so well placed for carriage to port.

Subdivided lands in South Canterbury with an inland carriage to port of about double the distance, and a soil not superior to the lands in question, have recently been selling at from £10 to £15 per acre, and upon the other side of the Maitai River immediately opposite the Company's Estate, settlers have purchased from the Crown by auction on the deferred payment system, at prices of upwards of £7. 10s. per acre, and this for naked Crown land, unfenced and without buildings, or other improvements.

Herewith will be found extracts from newspapers and other public documents, shewing the results of sales in various parts of the country in the neighbourhood of these properties, from which it will be seen that the price proposed to be paid for these estates is far below the value which properties in the neighbourhood are realizing. Official statistics are also appended, showing the results obtained from the land under cultivation in the various colonies over a series of years.

A table is also attached showing the present value of the shares in various Colonial Companies established in Great Britain.

## **12.—Concluding Remarks.**

The owners of the properties which are to be purchased by the Company, feeling assured that the same can be better developed as a whole by a Company with a large capital and extensive resources than as separate individual properties, have determined to invite the public to participate with them in what they are convinced is a thoroughly sound enterprise, and on terms which they are satisfied will bear rigid enquiry and investigation. They are therefore themselves promoting the Company by their agents in London, Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. Larnach (himself a part owner), who will act as two of the Directors of the Company.

The whole of the preliminary expenses of establishing the Company, up to and including the allotment of shares, will be borne by the above-mentioned agents of the vendors, so that the Company will start without any

preliminary charges to be repaid out of future income.

Sir Julius Vogel and Mr. Larnach are acting under a power of attorney dated the 14th November, 1878, from the owners of the properties, in which is set forth the terms and conditions of the arrangement, as to remuneration and otherwise, between the owners and themselves. The following contracts have been made:—

- A contract by which certain of the vendors agreed to convey, free of charge, lands required for the purposes of the railway above referred to in course of construction. The Company undertakes to perform this agreement.
- The contract for the acquisition of the properties above referred to. This contract is dated the 9th day of December, 1878, and made between the Vendors, namely: George Meredith Bell, Joseph Clarke, Patrick Kinney McCaughan, Henry Driver, the above-named "William James Mudie Larnach, Malcolm McNeill, and Alexander McNeill, of the first part, Sir Julius Vogel, and the said "William James Mudie Larnach, of the second part, and Robert Miller Robertson, as a Trustee for the Company, of the third part.
- A Contract dated 13th February, 1879, made between the Vendors of the first part; Sir Julius Vogel and W. J. M. Larnach of the second part; R. M. Robertson of the third part, and the Company of the fourth part, adopting the Contract of 9th December, 1878, with modifications.
- A Contract dated the 25th April, 1879, made between the same parties, except the said R. M. Robertson, providing for the issue to the vendors of the fully paid-up Shares.
- An Indenture dated the 25th day of April, 1879, and made between the Company of the one part, and Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., Sir William James Montgomery Cuninghame, Bart., M.P., and Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow, Bart., M.P., of the other part, as Trustees for Debenture holders.
- Various Contracts with persons about to proceed to New Zealand in the Company's Employment.

December, 1878, and made between the Vendors, namely: George Meredith Bell, Joseph Clarke, Patrick Kinney McCaughan, Henry Driver, the above-named "William James Mudie Larnach, Malcolm McNeill, and Alexander McNeill, of the first part, Sir Julius Vogel, and the said "William James Mudie Larnach, of the second part, and Robert Miller Robertson, as a Trustee for the Company, of the third part.

3. The Power of Attorney above referred to, which is made between the Vendors, other than the said "William James Mudie Larnach of the one part, and Sir Julius Vogel and the said "William James Mudie Larnach of the other part.

General Maxwell has an equitable interest in one of the properties purchased.

Copies of the Power of Attorney and Contract above- mentioned, and of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company, and the form of Mortgage Debenture, may be perused at the office of the Solicitors to the Company, 21, Cannon Street, London, any day between the hours of eleven and four o'clock, except Saturday, and on that day between eleven and two.

The properties have recently been valued by Mr. W. H. Pearson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Southland, and Mr. Horace Bastings, a Member of the House of Representatives, and of the Otago "Waste Lands Board. This valuation with maps of the Estate, and detailed particulars of the properties, can be seen at the office of the Company.

Applications for shares and Debentures must be made in the accompanying forms, either to the Bankers of the Company, or to the Secretary at the offices of the Company, 110, Cannon Street, London, of whom prospectuses and forms of application may be obtained. If no allotment is made the deposits will be returned in full.

## The Companies Acts 1862, 1867 and 1877.

Company Limited By Shares.

Memorandum of Association

Of The New Zealand Agricultural Company, Limited.

- The name of the Company is "THE NEW ZEALAND AGRICULTURAL COMPANY, LIMITED."
- The registered office of the Company will be situate in England.
- The objects for which the Company is established are—
  - ¶ To acquire land and hereditaments of any tenure in New Zealand, and to work, manage, and develop the same in such manner as the Company may think fit, and in particular by farming, stocking, grazing, breeding sheep and cattle, erecting houses, factories, stores and other buildings, by mining, draining, planting and constructing waterworks, gas or other lighting works, canals, reservoirs, wells, aqueducts, embankments, piers, wharves, harbours, roads, railways, tramways and other works and conveniences, by promoting immigration and aiding in the establishment of settlements by leasing and selling land, manufacturing, converting and rendering marketable colonial products, and by carrying on any trades, business, or undertakings, the carrying on of which may be deemed by the Company conducive to the development of its property.
  - ¶ To adopt and carry into effect an Agreement, dated the 9th day of December, 1878, and made between

GEORGE MEREDITH BELL and others, of the first part; Sir JULIUS VOGEL, K.C.M.G., The Honble. WILLIAM JAMES MUDIE LARNACH, of the other part; and ROBERT MILLER ROBERTSON as Trustee for and on behalf of the Company of the third part, with any modifications thereof which may hereafter be agreed to by the Company.

To provide for the religious, sanitary and educational welfare of persons settled on the property of the Company, or in its employment, and in particular by providing churches, chapels, schools, reading rooms, wash-houses, baths, parks and places of recreation, and by granting money.

To establish or aid in the establishment and support of any Associations for the benefit of the Company's tenants, workpeople and others, and in particular Building Societies, Mutual Insurance Clubs, other than for Life Insurance, and Co-operative Stores.

To train persons for carrying on business as Farmers, Graziers, Estate Agents, or otherwise in New Zealand.

To buy sell and deal in all kinds of property in New Zealand and elsewhere, necessary or convenient for the business of the Company, and in particular land, tenements and hereditaments, live stock, wool, consumable goods, hardware, machinery, timber, patent rights, licenses, goods and chattels.

To lend money, to guarantee the performance of contracts, and to act as agent in the management, sale, and purchase of property of all kinds, and in the collection of debts, valuation of estates and otherwise.

To enter into partnership or into any arrangements for sharing profits with any person, association, or body corporate. To acquire and hold shares or stock in any body corporate or association, having objects altogether or in part similar to those of this Company, or carrying on any business capable of being conducted so as directly or indirectly to benefit this Company. To receive money on deposit at interest or otherwise.

To acquire and undertake all or any part of the business, property, and liabilities of any other Company, person, or Association carrying on any business which this Company is authorized to carry on, or possessed of property suitable for the purposes of this Company.

To procure the incorporation of the Company by Act of Parliament if thought desirable.

To sell, work, manage, lease, develop, improve, mortgage, export, or otherwise deal with the property of the Company.

To do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects, or any of them.

- The liability of the members is limited.
- The capital of the Company is £1,000,000, divided into 50,000 shares of £20 each.

## Appendix.

### Colonial Companies.

Name of Company    Nominal Amount of Share    Paid up    Present Price of Shares    Last Dividend and Bonus  
Amount of Reserve

### Exact From Colonial Governments Statistics.

Name of Colony.    Year.    Total Cultivation.    Wheat.    Oats.    Barley.    Acres.    Acres.    Bushels.    Acres.    Bushels.  
Acres.    Bushels.

### The Following Extract from a Letter was Quoted in a Paper on New Zealand, read by Sir Julius Vogel, at the Colonial Institute, on the March 19th, 1878.

"Mr. Ford's estimate of the value of Acton at £7, as corroborative of our own, is satisfactory. My own conviction is that a much greater rise in the value of good freehold land in New Zealand is certain to take place, and this at a much earlier period than you in the Colony or the public generally have any conception of. In looking into the agricultural returns of Great Britain, with abstract returns for the United Kingdom, British possessions, and foreign countries, for 1876, I find that the average yield of wheat per acre in New Zealand, out of the 90,804 acres under this crop for 1875-6, was 31.5 bushels, -while in Victoria, with its 321,401 acres, the average yield for the same year was only 15.5 bushels per acre; New South Wales, with 133,610 acres, was 14.7; South Australia, with 898,820 acres, was 11.8; Tasmania, with 42,745 acres, 16.4; Natal, with 1,740 acres, was 12.6; and Cape of Good Hope with 188,000 acres, was 8.9. Dominion of Canada, for 1871, the latest

date given, the average of the Lake Ontario district is 6.4; Quebec, 8.5; New Brunswick, 10.8; Nova Scotia, 11.8. Then, if we turn to the United States, the great competitor, so to speak, for the population of Europe, the average yield of wheat for 1874 (the latest date given) is 12.3 bushels per acre; and the United Kingdom, in which the best of the land only is cultivated for wheat, and this highly cultivated and manured, only yields an average of 27½ bushels per acre. I give you herewith in a tabulated form the returns of cereal crops, so far as given in the Blue-books, not only of the above, but also of the several countries in Europe.

"From the tabulated statement (page 27) you will easily see that when it comes to be generally known and understood in the United Kingdom and Europe, as well as in Australia and America, that the returns to an agriculturist are so superior in New Zealand to those in other countries, and this with a climate relatively superior, their attention will naturally and, as a matter of course, be concentrated upon New Zealand. If you only put down the cost of ploughing, seed-harrowing, reaping, thrashing, and carting to port, all of which may be said to be nearly the same in the several countries (reaping and thrashing alone excepted in Australia and California, where, I understand, it is done by a special method, with the straw left standing on the field), and deduct these charges from the returns the grain would yield, say, 5s. per bushel all round at shipping port, you will find the immense advantage in the shape of returns to the agriculturist in New Zealand from any of the Australian Colonies, the Cape, or America. In this I do not deal with Europe, as in the countries where the yield is great the land is not only highly cultivated but heavily manured. Then, when you come to take into consideration the fact that in all Australia the land may be said, after being cropped, to be left in an unproductive form, and allowed to revert to its natural state, no permanent pasture of an artificial character (*viz.* English grass) is given for Adelaide in 1876, and only 19,260 acres for 1875; for New South Wales none stated; for Victoria, out of 1,126,000 as under crops and grass, only 293,000 acres is given as under artificial grass; for Western Australia and Queensland none given; and for Tasmania (the most favoured for this of all the Australian Colonies), out of 332,000 acres, only 102,000 is given, or under one-third of the whole: whereas in New Zealand, out of 2,377,000 acres, not less than 1,770,000 acres is given as sown out in permanent artificial grass. For Natal and the Cape, none. For Canada none stated, but I have no doubt, both in it and the United States—*viz.* the Atlantic—a relative proportion to New Zealand will also be sown out in English grass; but, on the other hand, they have a six months' winter, when the ground is wholly covered with snow, and when there may be said to be no outside feed for cattle and sheep. So far as I can make out, all that can be said of small agriculturalists in Canada, the States, or in any of the Australian Colonies, the yield of wheat per acre, or the returns therefrom, will only pay the farmer fair wages for his own labour, or in some cases yield him probably 10s. to 20s. per acre beyond this; whereas in New Zealand, with the climate much more pleasant to work in than any of the others, the farmer, after allowing himself wages at the same rate as in the other Colonies for self, family and horses—*viz.* manual and horse labour—would have from £4 to £4. 15s. per acre net returns, instead of 10s. to 20s., as in the others. Then, after the land is cropped and sown out in English grass, the yield in feed for sheep is four to five times (*viz.*, equal to 20s. per acre of yearly wool return) what it was previous to being broken up and laid down in English grass, instead of (in Australia at least) yielding less returns in pasturage than it did in its natural state.

"You will thus easily see how much better it will be for a man to pay £10 per acre—aye, even £20 per acre—for good land in New Zealand than £1 to £2 per acre for fair land in Australia. The cultivation of 20 acres of good land in Australia (I mean the labour, and ploughing, sowing, harrowing, and reaping, thrashing, carting to port, &c.) cannot be put down with safety at under close upon £3 per acre, basing my estimate upon the current rate of manual and horse labour in the several Colonies. The returns from the wheat crop in these Colonies will not yield 5s. per acre over this sum one year with another, whereas the returns from New Zealand will yield £4 in excess of this. As before stated, I am taking the wheat all round at 5s. per bushel at the shipping port in the several Colonies in this statement. From the foregoing it will be seen that the net returns from wheat to the landowner, after paying £3 per acre for the manual and horse labour, is fifteen times more in New Zealand than Australia and for the United States; and for years after the land has been cropped in Australia it will yield next to nothing, until the natural grass again springs up and gets a sole, when two or three acres must go for each sheep: whereas in New Zealand one acre of good English grass will keep four or five merino sheep, and for three cross breeds, over the year. I daresay, when you have all the foregoing weighed over and thought out, you will conclude with me that at no distant date good agricultural land will be selling at £10 to £15 per acre in New Zealand, according to quality and locality, and A 1 agricultural land at from £20 to £25 per acre.

"In the returns on profit of one acre in New Zealand of wheat against 15 to 20 acres, as the case may be, in Australia or America—*viz.*, the net returns after payment or allowance for labour, seed, &c.—I omitted one very important item of outlay, *viz.*, the fencing of one acre, say in New Zealand, as against from 15 to 20 acres, and the maintaining of said fences. I doubt not you will concur with me in the rapid and permanent increase in value that must necessarily take place on agricultural land in New Zealand, when once the facts as already stated are known and generally recognized."

Countries. Year. Acres under crops and grass. Average Yield per Acre of Yield of Cotton. Sugar. Vineyards Bare Fallow. Grass for Hay. Permanent artificial Grass. Tobacco.

## **Extracts from Newspapers Published in Dunedin, and from Reports of Land Agents as to Sales of Land in Otago and Southland, and the Adjoining Province of Canterbury, During the Year 1878.**

### **Otago and Southland.**

#### **Spring Garden Farm, Taieri,**

Consisting of 105 acres good agricultural land on the Taieri Plains, with usual farm buildings and improvements, was to have been sold by auction, but was disposed of privately on the day of sale for £2,000, or nearly £20 per acre. This farm again changed hands within one month of sale at a rise of £5 per acre; *i.e.*, at £25 per acre, and it is reported that £30 per acre has since been refused by present owners, who consider that money can be made out of it by farming even at £35 per acre.

#### **Meadow Bank.**

157 acres of entirely unimproved land, not even having been ploughed, situated on the Taieri, and consisting of swamp land, was knocked down at auction, after a very spirited bidding, for £20 per acre.

#### **Titipua Valley Estate.**

This property, consisting of 5,000 acres, 117 mile from Dunedin, and some six or seven miles from a railway, was lately cut up into farms of from 100 to 400 acres, and although this land was rejected some years ago by the A. & N. Z. Land Company as worthless, and being unfenced and without improvements of any description, yet sold at auction to bona fide settlers and farmers up to £5 per acre. So great is the demand for land in this district that the property known as Benmore, 800 acres, an unimproved estate adjoining the above, was sold at the same time for £4 per acre, although not even fenced, and some of the country being so steep and broken that it is impossible to plough it.

#### **Creighton Park, Waipahie District.**

Consists of 2,300 acres fenced, but unimproved land, some 10 miles from Gore, and 60 miles from Dunedin, sold privately at £5. 10s. per acre to a gentleman, who purposes dividing and reselling in small farms.

#### **Linton Hill Farm, Near Blueskin.**

150 acres fair agricultural land within five miles of Blueskin Railway Station, and the main north road. Property improved by ploughing, general cultivation, fences and usual farm buildings, was sold at auction on the 20th October, 1877, for £20 per acre.

#### **Lansdowne Estate, Molyneux.**

This property consists of 2,000 acres unimproved land, situate on the banks of the river Clutha, ten miles from a railway, and 60 miles from Dunedin, was sold at auction for £11 per acre.

#### **Cringletie Farm, Milton.**

Consisting of 210 acres, some six miles from Tokomairiro Railway Station, and 40 miles from Dunedin brought at auction £15 per acre, the property was fenced and carried the usual improvements in fences and farm buildings.

#### **Popplewell Farm, Tokomairiro.**

Of 150 acres fair agricultural land, fenced and under cultivation, situated five miles from Milton Railway Station, and 40 miles from Dunedin, sold for £14 per acre.

#### **Comer Bush Estate, Waikonaite.**

500 acres unimproved land, portions being partly drained swamp, sold at auction from £7 to £11 per acre, averaging £8. 18s. per acre, 24 miles from Dunedin and one mile from main road. The country generally hilly and broken, while the flats consist of undrained swamps.

### **Bank Head Farm, East Taieri.**

100 acres of first class agricultural land well improved, by draining, ploughing, fencing and buildings, mostly with flats, sold for £28 per acre.

### **Warepa Estate, Waimera District.**

66 miles from Dunedin, and fifteen miles from Clutha Railway Station, consisting of 2,000 acres broken cold country, without improvements of any description, sold at auction from £4. 10s. to £8. 10s. per acre, and averaging £5. 16s.

### **Horsehoe Bush Estate.**

On the sea coast about 35 miles from Dunedin, consisting of 2,000 acres ridgy country, of which about 400 acres have been ploughed and improved, was sold privately for agricultural and cattle breeding purposes for £20,000.

As an example of the rapid rise in value of properties of the above description, Terrace Ranges was sold at 50s. per acre, and re-sold within a month for 60s.; Coombe Hay brought £20,000, and was re-sold within two or three months for £23,750. Waihola, a property of 3,500 acres, high land, sold at £3 per acre, and present owner has since refused £3. 10s.

MACLEAN BROTHERS report 15th January, 1878:—

"This afternoon we submitted to auction the Brooklands Estate, Pleasant Valley. There was a large attendance of buyers; the competition was brisk throughout, and with the exception of one lot of 49 acres 2 roods and 30 poles, all the sections offered were sold at prices ranging from £18 to £44 per acre, making a total of £11,876. 13s. 10d., or an average of £24 per acre."

### **Government Land Sale At Lawrence.**

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LAWRENCE,

May 1st, 1878.

At the Crown Lands sale to-day, in the Court-house, the building was crowded in every part. The sale commenced at 1.30 p.m. with the deferred-payment land. The conditions of sale, which was read by Mr. R. B. Martin, the Government auctioneer, were evidently prepared and drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the Land Act, 1877. The sale commenced in the order advertised.

Section 11, block I., Glenkenich district, containing 200 acres for which there were seven applicants, was bought by Mr. James Scott, Tapanui, at £5 per acre, the upset price being £3 per acre.

Section 19, block IX., same district, fell to James Barr Gore, at £5, the upset being the same.

For section 14, block VI., Chatton District, there were five applicants. James Smail was the purchaser at £5. 17s. 6d.

Section 3, block XII., Crookston, 200 acres, for which there were twelve applicants, seemed to be the attraction of the deferred-payment sections, having been keenly competed for, and was purchased by Mr. William Hayes, Lawrence, as agent for Robert Dunback, shepherd, at £9. 7s. 6d., per acre per annum. This section was sold subject to a road line being reserved through.

### **Land Sale At Palmerston.**

PALMERSTON,

May 17th, 1878.

The Crown land sale held here yesterday by Mr. R. B. Martin, Government Auctioneer, at the court-house, was attended by every class of buyers, all anxious to secure land, either town or rural. The court-house was

crowded. The sale commenced punctually at 2 o'clock, beginning with the deferred payment land, section 4, block VII., Maheno district. There were 18 applicants, 200 acres, the upset price being £3 per acre, fell to F. W. Reichelt at £17 per acre; section 5, same block, 200 acres, to Thomas Dent at £10. 2s. 6d., for which there were 17 applicants; section 6, 11 applicants, fell to George Dent at £8. 2s. 6d.; section 7, four applicants, was bought by Hugh Fraser at £6. 2s. 6d., area 200 acres; section 12, same block, 200 acres, David Walsh at £9.12s. 6d.; section 13, four applicants, bought by Wm. Heffernan; section 11, supposed to be specially good, 14 applicants, fell to Frank D. Bell at £15. 12s. 6d. For this section Miss Mary Hoad competed spiritedly. Section 1J, block VIII., Waihemo, came next. There were only two applicants, and it fell to Wm. Sanderson, at £4. 5s. Section 13, same block, nine applications, David Muir, £9.2s. 6d.; section 14, seven applicants, Thomas Brown, £6. 2s. 6d.; section 15 was unopposed, and bought by Wm. H. Bayly. Land in Highlay district followed next. Section 11, block III, eight applicants, was bought by Robert Matheson at £9. The rural land in Waihemo and Highlay districts followed the de-ferred-payment land. Section 1, block VIII., Waihemo, land of special value at 40s. was passed in, there being no offer. Section 2, block VIII., Waihemo, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, at upset price, 20s. per acre; section 3, same block, passed; section 4, 305 acres, bought by Wm. Hepburn at 34s., upset 20s. per acre; section 5, Sir F. D. Bell, upset 20s.; section 6, same buyer, at upset 20s.; section 7, same buyer, at upset 20s.; section 8, same buyer, at 35s., upset 20s.; section 9, Wm. Hepburn, at 23s. per acre. Land in the Highlay district came next. Section 2, block III., 273 acres, was sold at the upset 20s. to John Muir; section 4, 291 acres, to Peter M'Leod at £4.3s., upset 23s. There was keen competition for this. Section 9, John Muir, at upset 20s.; section 12, 207 acres, Connell and Moodie as agents, at £1. 15s., upset 20s.; section 13, 270 acres, Sir F. D. Bell, £2. 1s., upset 20s. The township sections followed next in order as advertised. Naseby township had been withdrawn, and for the Blair Taieri, Hamilton, and Herbert townships there were no offers. In Macraes three sections sold at £7. 10s. each. In Hyde township, after brisk competition, section 8, block III., was bought by P. A. Connelly, at £18. 15s., upset £7. 10s.; sections 38 and 39, same buyer, at £7. 10s. each. In Hampden, sections 19, 20, 21, 22, block III., were bought by A. T. Gillies, at £7. 10s. each section. In this case Volunteer scrip was exercised to the extent of £30. In Waikouaiti, section 7, block X., was bought by Thos. Pratt, at £7. 10s. For sections 8, 9, 10, 11, scrip was exercised by Peter Duncan to the extent of £30. It would seem as though Volunteers began to understand how to use their scrip. At this stage of the sale, considerable interest was shown as to the sale of the Moerski Coal-mining lease. The conditions of sale, which were exceedingly lengthy, having been read, the first premium bid was £5., and the bids gradually worked up, until the lease fell to Mr. George Elliott for the sum of £570, also subject to a yearly rental of £30 per annum, with a royalty of 6d. per ton for all coal raised. I observed five or six keen competitors for this lease. I understand that the total sale of land, including deferred payment, will amount to nearly £35,000. Since the sale, I find the general desire is to open up more land in this district. Judging from the number of disappointed applicants, no doubt a large block would be readily absorbed.

## Government Land Sale.

At the Government land sale, held yesterday, 31st October, 1878, in Dunedin, the following sales were made:—

### OAMARU DISTRICT.

Section 2 of 80, block XI, containing 28a. 2r. 24p., upset price £1 per acre, was sold to Peter Miller, Oamaru, at £12. 10s. per acre.

### WAIKOUAITI DISTRICT.

Upset price in every case, £3 per acre.

Block III., section 66, 15a. 3r. 30p., S. H. Trevenna, Dunedin, at upset price; section 67, 11a. 3r. 17p., W. Goldie, Port Chalmers (on Volunteer scrip), £6 per acre; section 92, 13a. 1r. 17p., G. W. Elliott, £10 per acre; section 93, 8a. 2r. 24p., A. Morton, Green Island, £9 per acre; section 94, 11a. 3r. 25p., D. Proudfoot, £8. 5s. per acre; section 95, 9a. 2r. 14p., D. Proudfoot, £8. 5s. per acre; section 45, 11a. 3r. 11p., A. W. Maurais, Port Chalmers, £6. 5s. per acre; section 48, 13a. 3r. 16p., L. M'Donald, Waikouaiti, £6 per acre; section 49a, 11a. 3r. 15p., John Reid, Dunedin, £8. 15s. per acre; section 50, 11a. Or. 12p., G. W. Elliott, £8 per acre; section 51, 9a. 2r. 35p., John Reid, £6. 5s. per acre; section 52, 13a. 1r. 31p., W. Downie Stewart, £4.5s. per acre; section 53, 11a. Or. 39p., M. Hughes, North East Valley, £5. 5s. per acre; section 54, 10a. 38p., T. Morris, Oamaru (on Volunteer scrip), £6.10s. per acre; section 55, 10a. 2r. 10p., Thomas Morris, £4. 15s. per acre; section 56, 12a. Or. 7p., S. Moore £5. 5s. per acre; section 57, 9a. 2r. 27p., Peter Kane Merton, £6. 10s. per acre; section 58, 11a. 2r. 20p., W. White, Seacliff, £9 per acre; section 59, 11a. 2r. 7p., W. White, £7 per acre; section 60, 13a. 1r. Op., W. White, £5. 5s per acre.

## DUNEDIN AND EAST TAIERI DISTRICT.

Upset price, £2 per acre.

Block VIII., section 61, 9a. 3r. 35p., R. Ewin, Dunedin, £7. 10s. per acre; section 62, 4a. 3r. 10p., R. Ewing, £7 per acre; section 63, 2a. 1r. 13p., Edward L. and Jessie Peterson, £13 per acre; section 64, 8a. 3r. 32p., Edward L. and Jessie Peterson, £16. 10s. per acre; section 65, 2a. 3r. 15p., E. L. and J. Peterson, £25 per acre. (There was keen competition in the three foregoing cases.) 66, 4a. 2r. 3p., Josiah Griffin (on immigrant's scrip), £4. 5s. per acre; 67, 2a. 3r. 32p., R. Ewing, upset; 68, 4a. 2r. 15p., J. Jones, Dunedin, £4. 5s. per acre; 69, 7a. 1r., J. Jones, £4. 10s. per acre; 70, 6a. 3r. 18p., William Orr, Saddle Hill, £4. 5s. per acre; 71, 6a. 2r. 34p., James Burt, Green Island, £5 per acre; 73, 5a. Or. 16p., R. Ewing, £5. 15s per acre.

## Education Reserves.

The old School site near Outram, West Taieri, containing 8a. 3r. 5p., was, after a warm competition, purchased by D. M. Spedding, Dunedin, at £60 per acre.

Leases for 14 years, the upset being 2s. 6d. per acre per year, were disposed of as follows:—

Otakia.—Section 1 of 26, block I., 40 acres, J. V. Davey, upset; 2 of 28, block V., 15 acres, Mee Bros., upset.

North Harbour and Blueskin.—Part of 2 of 23, block IV., 29 acres, C. Robertson, 7s. per acre per annum; 2 of 7, block 6, 16 acres, Adam White, upset; 82, block VI., 10½ acres, J. Archibald, upset; 2 of 93, block VI., 19 acres, D. Proudfoot, upset; 2 of 89, block VI., 10 acres, R. Bauchop, upset.

*From "Otago Times," November 7th, 1878.*

Mr. R. B. MARTIN, Government auctioneer, had a busy hour or two yesterday at the Crown Lands Office, where a land sale which attracted considerable attention was held. Between 150 and 200 people were present, and the proceedings were very brisk. Competition in many cases was very keen, and the bidding was lively. For a piece of land near Outram, eight acres in extent, sold by the Education Board, no less than £60 an acre was obtained. The total proceeds of the Crown Lands Sale were about £2600. The particulars appear elsewhere.

## Government Land Sale At Gore.

*(Adjoining the Company's Estate).*

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GORE,

November 6th, 1878.

There was an attendance of about 300 present at the Government land sale here to-day. A good number of speculators from Dunedin were present, and some from Invercargill. The sale was held in Green's Assembly Rooms by Mr. R. B. Martin, Government auctioneer. The land was put up in the advertised order. Town and suburban land in East Gore sold well, and some sections in Waipahi brought good prices. Only one section sold in Kuriwao. Town sections in Wyndham excited considerable competition. The only three deferred payment sections brought high prices, after good competition. The following is the result of the sale:—

## CHATTON DISTRICT.

Deferred payment.—Upset price, £3 per acre.

Section 16, block XI., 200 a, 2 r. 24p. Five applicants were present, but the bidding was confined to two. The land fell to John Watt, at £6 an acre.

Section 18, block X., 299a. 22r. 38p. Four applicants present. A. Mellick bought at £5. 8s. 9d. per acre.

Section 1, block XII., eight applicants appeared, and there was strong competition. This fell to Mary Ann Styles, amidst applause, at £11. 12s. 6d. per acre. This was all the deferred payment land.

## TOWN OF EAST GORE.

*(Adjoining the Company's Estate).*

Town sections, quarter acre.—Upset, £7. 10s.

In Block V., sections 6 and 7 fell to George Wilson, at the upset.

Block VI.—Sections 2 and 3 passed; section 8, George Wilson, £17. 15s., quarter acre; section 9, Thomas Henderson, £9. 5s., quarter acre.

Block VII.—Section 1, George Wilson, £26. 10s.



## SUBURBAN

*(Adjoining the Company's Estate).*

Block II.—Upset price £20 per acre; section 1 passed; section 2, 1r. 35p., John Lewis, at the upset.

Block VII.—Upset £10 per acre; section 14,3a. 2r. 22p., J. Marshall, £17 per acre.

Block XX.—Upset £10 per acre; section 1, 6a. 3r. 22p., William McLeod, upset; section 2, 5 acres, William McLeod, upset; section 3, 5 acres, William McLeod, £16. 15s. per acre.

Block XX.—Upset, £15 per acre; section 4, 3a. 3r. 36p., Peter Traill, £16. 5s. per acre; section 5, 5 acres, Alexander M'Nab, upset; section 6, 5 acres, Alexander M'Nab, upset.

Block XII.—Upset price, £15 per acre; section 6, 3a. 3r. 19p., John Strauchan, £56. 15s. per acre; section 7, 3a. 3r. 18p., Alex. Brown, £16. 10s. per acre.

Block XXII.—Upset price, £20 per acre; section 3, 2a. 2r. 7p., Michael Dillon, at the upset; section 4, 3a. 0r. 4p., Robert Robson, £24. 10s. per acre; section 5, 3a. 0r. 4p., Robert Robson, upset; section 6, 3a. 0r. 4p., Thomas Moodie, upset; section 11, 1a. 1r. 17p., J. Marshall, upset.

Block XXIII.—Upset price, £15 per acre; section 13, 5 acres, J. Strauchan, upset; section 14, 5 acres, Lawrence Cody, £26 per acre; sections 15 and 16, 5 acres each, John Strauchan, upset.

Block XXIV.—Upset price, £10 per acre; section 3, 8a. 3r. 6p., John Lamond, upset; section 12, 5a. 0r. 15p., A. Brown, upset; section 15, 3a. 3r. 7p., Daniel Ryan, £18 per acre.

Block XXV.—Upset price, £15 per acre; section 1, 5a. 2r. 11p., Alex. Moir, upset; section 2, 5a. 2r. 11p., Alex. Brown, upset; section 27, 4a. 1r. 20p., Alex. Mair, £21 per acre.

Block XXVI.—Upset £10 per acre; section 1, 4a. 2r. 32p., John Cameron, upset; section 3, 4a. 2r., Thomas Moodie, £11. 10s. per acre.

## TOWN OF KURIWAO.

Town sections.—Upset, £7. 10s. quarter acre.

Block I.—Section 1, R. Bree, upset.

## TOWN OF WAIPAHI, QUARTER ACRES,

*(Adjacent to Company's Property).*

Town sections., quarter acres.—Upset, £7. 10s. Block I., sections 1 and 2, Christina Cameron, upset.

Block II.—Section 11, James Kirker, upset; section 14, Mary Ann Holmes, £8.

Block III.—Section 12, M. R. Bree, upset.

Block VIII.—Sections 10 and 12, Frederick Lichner, upset.

Block IX.—Section 6, William Matthews, £9. 5s.; section 8, William Goldie, £5 10s.; section 21, William Goldie, £46; section 14, William Mathews, £13. 10s.; section 15, George Wilson, £13. 10s.; section 16, George Wilson, £17.

Block XII.—Section 18, Thomas Green, £9. 10s.; section 21, Donald Kelly, £8; section 22, M. R. Bree, £9.

Block XIII.—Section 10, James Green, £10; section 11, Thomson and Beattie, upset; section 12, Donald Kelly, upset.

## TOWN OF WYNDHAM, QUARTER ACRES,

*(Within 15 Miles of the Company's Estate on the banks of the same River.)*

Town sections, quarter acres.—Block II., section 20, upset, £8, Donald Kelly, £9. 10s.

Block III.—Upset, £8; section. 19, Donald Kelly £10. 10s.; section 20, Donald Kelly, £8.

Block VII.—Upset, £8; section 1, M R. Bree, £10. 10s.; section 2, Rev. J. Henry, £8; section 35, Rev. James Henry, £8; section 36, Rev. J. Henry, £11.

Block VIII.—Upset, £8; section 1, Donald Kelly, £29; section 2, Robert M'Kay, £19; section 3, Robert M'Kay, £16. 16s.; section 4, Mathew Monaghan, £14. 10s.; section 5, O. Elliott, £14; section 6, Thomas Moodie, £14. 10s.; section 7, Thomas Moodie, £16. 10s.; section 8, Thomas Moodie, £16. 10s.; section 9, Thomas Green, £15. 10s.; section 10, Thomas Golder, £15; section 11, Duncan Davidson, £13. 10s.; section 12, John Russell, £11; section 13, John Gall, £13; section 14, John Gall, £12.10s.; section 15, R. A. Elliott, £12. 10s.; section 16, R. A. Elliott, £12. 10s.; section 17 John Russell, £9.

Block VIII.—Upset, £7. 10s. Section 18, Thomas Golder, upset; section 19, Thomas Golder, upset; section 20, passed; section 21, John Gall, upset; section 22, John Gall, £8. 10s.; section 23, Donald Cameron, upset; section 24 passed; section 25, Thomas Golder, upset; section 26, Thomas Green, upset; section 30, R. A. Elliot, upset; section 31, Matthew Monaghan, upset; section 32, Robert M'Kay, upset; section 33, Robert M'Kay, upset; section 34, Thomas Green, £12.

Block XI.—Upset, £7. 10s.; section 12, Thomas Green, £13. 10s.; section 13, Donald Kelley, £14. 10s.; section 14, Mr. Winter, £10. 10s.; section 15, John Templeton, £11; sections 16 and 17, passed; section 18, Winter, £11; section 19, John Templeton, £20; section 20, James Milne, £13. 10s.; section 24, Alfred Parker, £9; section 22, M. Monaghan, £8. 10s.

Block XIII.—Upset, £10. Section 10, R. A. Elliott, £10. 10s.; section 18, Hugh Carswell, upset.

Block XIV.—Upset, £10. Section 11, Thompson and Beattie, £11. 12s.; section 12, R. A. Elliott, £10; section 24, R. A. Elliott, upset; section 25, Thompson and Beattie, upset; section 26, John Templeton, upset.

Suburban.—Block VI.—Upset, £5 per acre. Section 4, 4a. 2r. 38p., John Gall, £15. 10s. per acre; section 5, 4a. 2r. 38p., John Gall, £14. 10s. per acre; section 6, 4a. 2r. 38p., John Gall, £12 per acre; section 8, 4a. 2r. 38p., Thomas Golden, upset; section 9, 5a. 3r. 20p., Thomas Golden, upset; section 10, 3a. 2r. 29p., Thomas Golden, upset; section 11, 2a. 1r. 15p., Thomas Golden, £7 per acre; section 13, 5a., W. S. Trotter, £12 per acre; section 14, 5a., W. S. Trotter, £13 per acre; section 15, 5a. 3r. 8p., W. S. Trotter, £18. 10s. per acre; section 36, 4a. 1r. 21p., R. A. Elliott, £6. 10s. per acre; section 37, 3a., James Walker, £6. 10s. per acre; section 38, 3a. 2r. 17p., James Walker, £10 per acre; section 39, 3a. 2r. 26p., James Walker, £6 per acre; section 40, 4a. 0r. 20p., James Walker, £10. 10s. per acre; section 45, 5a. 0r. 39p., James Milne, £8. 10s. per acre; section 46, 4a. 0r. 2p., James Milne, £12 per acre; section 47, 3a. 1r., James Milne, £8. 10s. per acre; section 48, 4a. 0r. 3p., James Milne, £7. 10s. per acre; section 49, 4a. 2r. 20p., James Milne, £7 per acre; section 50, 3a. 3r. 10p., James Milne, £8. 10s. per acre; section 57, 3a. 2r. 12p., William Goldie, £29 per acre; section 58, 4a. 0r. 2p., W. S. Trotter, £18 per acre; section 69, 5a., W. S. Trotter, £18 per acre.

Quarter acre, section 20—block VIII.—town of Wyndham, was sold to Mr. R. Bree, at £10; sections 16 and 17, block XI., to Hugh Carswell, at the upset.

## **TOWN OF WAIKAWA, QUARTER ACRES,**

*(Within 10 Miles of the Company's Estate).*

Block I.—Quarter acre, upset £7. 10s. Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8, fell to the Rev. J. Henry, at the upset; section 9, Rev. James Henry, £10. 10s.; section 13, Rev. J. Henry, upset; section 14, Rev. J. Henry, £8. 10s.; sections 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, all to the Rev. J. Henry, at the upset; section 21, Hugh Carswell, £11. 10s.; section 22, Hugh Carswell, £10; section 23, Hugh Carswell, upset; sections 24, 25 and 26, John Russell, at upset; section 27 and 28, John Russell, £8. 10s. each; section 32, John Templeton, upset; section 34, John Templeton, £8. 10s.; section 35, John Russell, upset; section 36, John Templeton, £10. 10s.; section 37, R. A. Elliott, £10. 10s.; section 38, John Cameron, £9; section 39, Hugh Carswell, £10. 10s.; section 40, Hugh Carswell, upset; section 41, Hugh Carswell, £12. 10s.

## **TOWN OF KELSO.**

*(Adjacent to Company's Property).*

Block I.—Upset, £30 per acre. Section 3, 1r. 33p., John Howett, £49 per acre; section 3, 1r. 20p., George Wilson, £46 per acre; section 4, 2r. 29p., Thompson and Beattie, upset; section 5, 1 rood, James Logan, £50; section 6, 1 rood, James Logan, £38; section 7, 1 rood, James Logan, £38; sections 8, 9, 10 and 11, ¼-acre each, fell to John Macfarlane, at the upset; section 12, 1 rood, Thomas Mudie, £11. 10s.; section 13, 1 rood, Thomas Mudie, £8. 10s.; sections 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25, fell to Thomas Moodie, at the upset; section 26, Thomas Moodie, £10, 10s.; section 27, Thomas Moodie, upset; section 28, Thomas Moodie, £16.

Section 6, block XII., James Logan, upset.

## **TOWN OF WAIKAIA, QUARTER ACRES,**

*(Adjacent to Company's Property).*

Quarter-acre sections—upset £7. 10s.

Block XXI.—Section 16, James McLean, upset; section 17, James McLean, £14.

Block XXIV.—Sections 18, 19 and 20, Edwin Dence, upset.

Block XII.—Sections 7 and 20, D. Matheson, upset; section 21, D. Matheson, £8. 10s.

Block VIII.—Section 17, George Wilson, £12; section 18, George Wilson, £13; section 19, Donald Matheson, £14. 10s.; section 20, Donald Matheson, £13.

Block XIII.—Section 18, George Wilson, £25. 10s.; section 19, George Wilson, £20. 10s.

Block XVII.—Sections 8, 9, 10 and 11, went to Donald Matheson, at £8. 10s. each; section 13, Donald Matheson, upset.

Block XIX.—Section 15, John Russell, upset.

## **WAIKAIA DISTRICT.**

Rural land.

Block IV.—Section 17, la. Or. 32p.; application for mill site—upset, £10 per acre. John Russell, upset.

Wyndham.—Upset, £2. Section 53, block IX., 128a. 3r. 34p., Gillies, Street, and Hislop, £6. 5s. per acre.

Glenkenich.—Section 19, block XIV., 6a. 2r. 33p., upset £6; Thomas Moodie, £7. 10s. per acre.

This concluded the sale, which had proceeded vigorously from noon until half-past 7 without an interval. It was excellently conducted by the Government auctioneer, with-out a dispute of any description.

## Canterbury Province.

### Sale of the Sherwood Estate.

The Sherwood Estate, near the Makikihi Railway Station, in the Waimate County, was submitted at auction on May 10, by Mr. R. Turnbull. The property is a magnificent one in every respect, consisting of low rolling downs, with well-watered valleys between. The soil could not be surpassed for grain-growing purposes, and the few wheat crops already grown on it have been exceptionally heavy. It comprises 6,500 acres, which were divided into farms in size from 54 to 327 acres.

The sale was held in Messrs. Miles, Archer and Co.'s new buildings, in Strathallan Street, in a room 80 ft. by 40 ft. This, during the middle of the day, was almost crammed with people, the greater portion of whom were intending buyers. Amongst them we noticed persons from all parts of South Canterbury, as well as from the north of the provincial district and from Otago. The bidding, all through, was more animated than any we have seen before, and the excitement over some of the best sections was most intense. Offers advanced rapidly, and a perfect mania seems to have taken possession of many buyers. Nor did the auctioneer fail to take advantage of the land-fever, the symptoms of which were so plainly visible on every face. On the contrary, he lost no opportunity of increasing its intensity, and the result was that exceptional, not to say more than satisfactory, prices were realised.

The following is the detailed account of the sales. Owing to the names of the different purchasers being withheld, we are unable to lay them before our readers. The total amount realised was something over £87,566:—

*From the "Morning Herald," June 4th, 1878.*

### Special Telegram.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CHRISTCHURCH,

June 3rd.

A property sale of great interest took place to-day, when Messrs. J. T. Ford & Co. offered the Otaio Station, in the Waimate district, consisting of 17,300 acres, and stock thereon consisting of about 24,000 sheep. The run was offered on behalf of Messrs. Teschemaker and Le Cren. The competition was very keen. The property was finally knocked down to Mr. Thomas Teschemaker for £191,000—an average of £11 per acre.

### Special Telegram.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CHRISTCHURCH,

June 25th.

At the sale of Tancred and Allan's run (2,000 acres at Ashburton), the land fetched enormous prices. Some of it was sold at £35 per acre, and a good deal from £15 to £20.

### Particulars of Properties Sold In The Timaru District, 1878.

- Island Flat, 404 acres, 20 miles from Timaru, 7 miles from Railway Station, adjoining road. Per acre, £10.
- Quinn's Farm, 741 acres, midway between St. Andrew and Makikihi Railway Stations, and Railway Sidings on property. Main road running through the farm. Per acre, £20.
- Goldie's Farm, 181 acres, 3 miles from Timaru. Per acre, £20.

- French and Sharlands, 4 miles from Point Railway Station. 500 acres at £10. 6s.
- 534 acres unimproved, 9 miles from Albury Railway Station, at £3. 5s.
- 112 acres, Kakahu district, 9 miles from Railway, laid down in grass, at £8.
- Lots 1, 2 and 3, Sherwood Estate, 677 acres, resold at £9. 10s.
- Otaio Estate, 17,500 acres freehold and 30,000 acres leasehold, with all stock, for £191,000.
- Claremont, 7 miles, and Timaru 2,239 acres at £13. (Bought in.)
- Strathcoonan, 9 miles from Albury Railway Station, 7,000 acres at £7.

TIMARU,

June 26th, 1878.

## Sale of The Arowhenua Station Estate.

Messrs. H. Matson & Co., auctioneers, on May 16 sold by auction, in the Volunteer Hall, Temuka, Messrs. Ford and Newton's Arowhenua Station Estate, situate in the vicinity of Temuka. It comprises about 7,500 acres of splendid agricultural and pastoral land, and is altogether one of the best properties in South Canterbury. The attendance at the sale was very good, the bidding exceedingly spirited, and the prices realised highly satisfactory. The following are the particulars of the sale:—

## A Successful Settlement In New Zealand.

The following interesting item we take from the *Wellington Monthly* price current. The township of Feilding, in the provincial district of Wellington, is an example of successful settlement of a very satisfactory character. The timber trade of the place alone is estimated at equal to £1,000 per week.—*Extract from "The Colonies and India," December 31st, 1878*

## Live Stock And Produce Sales.

By some of the principal Agents for last week during October, 1878.

Mr. HENRY DRIVER (on behalf of the N. Z. L. and M. A. Company, Limited) reports for week ending 30th October:—

For to-day's market the following fat stock came forward; 239 cattle, 1,535 sheep, 364 lambs and 17 calves.

Fat Cattle.—Those penned were almost all first-class quality, but in consequence of the large number forward, and the trade having been supplied privately, we have to report a fall of fully 2s. 6d. per 100 lbs.—say best pens bullocks realised from £14 to £18; cows, £7. 10s. to £11—or, say for prime beef 40s. to 42s. 6d. per 100 lbs., medium 35s. to 40s.—and as these prices did not come up to owners' expectations, about 100 head were withdrawn. We sold 40 head on account of Messrs. Keith, Little and Wallace, at the above rates.

Fat Sheep.—About one-half of those yarded were prime quality, the remainder only medium. The supply being small, last week's rates were fully maintained—viz.: 14s. to 14s. 6d. for shorn, 17s. to 21s. with the wool—or, say 3d. per lb. for the former, and 4d. for the latter. We sold on account of Messrs. Wilson and Thomson 400 head. Mr. Thomson's being a very fine lot of shorn cross-breds, brought 16s. 6d.

Fat Lambs.—The supply was large, and the demand brisk. The whole of those penned sold at from 6s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. 100 very prime, from the farm of Mr. Wm. Shand, Taieri, brought 12s. 6d.

Calves.—The few offered sold at from 15s. to 45s. each.

Store Stock.—We have no transactions to report.

Sheepskins.—At our weekly auction on Monday we catalogued 1,400 sheepskins, which were fairly competed for, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state of the wool market, and the absence of several buyers. Best cross-breds sold up to 5s. 8d., and merinos, 4s. 6d.

Hides.—There have been no sales this week. The demand is slack. Wet-salted are saleable at 3½d. per lb.

Tallow.—Market quiet. Value unaltered. Good lots rough fat, 22s.

Grain.—Wheat: Very little business doing. Market stagnant. Quotations nominal; 4s. to 4s. 2d. for best milling. Oats: Feed oats are 1d. dearer. No stocks or arrivals. Sales at 4s. 1d. for feed. Some holders require 4s. 6d. before supplying the market. Barley: A small sale of inferior malting at 6s. 3d. net cash is the only transaction to report. Feeding sorts, 4s. to 4s. 6d.

Messrs. WRIGHT, STEPHENSON and Co. report for the week ending 30th October, 1878, as follows:—

Fat Cattle.—The large supply of 239 was yarded, which, being beyond the requirements of the trade, a reduction on last week's rates had to be submitted to, and a considerable number were turned out. We sold 117

head, on account of Messrs. Murray, Roberts and Co., Gladbrook Station; Messrs. Geo. Wilson, Geo. Wallace, the N. Z. and A. L. Co. (Limited), and others. Bullocks brought from £13. 2s. 6d. to £17; cows, from £10 to £13. 17s. 6d.—equal to 40s. per 100 lbs. for prime quality. Privately, we have delivered 50 head to the trade at satisfactory prices.

Fat Sheep.—1,535 were penned, consisting of cross-breds, principally in wool; all were cleared off at about equal to last week's quotations. We sold 939 on account of Messrs. Wilson, Smith, Elder, M'Aulay, and others. Crossbred ewes and wethers brought, in wool, 15s. to 16s. 3d. each; do. wethers, from 16s. for medium to 24s. for prime heavy weights. We quote mutton, in the wool, 3½d. to 3¾d. per lb.; shorn do., 2½d. to 2¾d. per lb. We have delivered privately to the trade 630 crossbreds.

Fat lambs.—364 penned, the greater portion of which were of good quality and fairly grown. We sold 193 at from 8s. 6d. to 10s. each.

Store Cattle.—We have no sales to report since last week. We beg to call attention to our sale at the Mosgiel Yards, on Tuesday, the 5th November, when we shall offer 200 well-grown bullocks and cows; and to our sale at Palmerston, on Thursday, the 7th inst., when we shall offer about 230 head of mixed cattle, consisting of dairy cows and quiet well-bred steers and heifers.

Store Sheep.—We have to report the sale of 4,000 full-mouthed merino wethers, for delivery after shearing, at a satisfactory figure.

Country Sales.—On Friday, the 1st November, we will hold a clearing sale at Messrs. Coskery and Reid's, Trotters Creek, near Hampden, when we shall offer for positive sale, on account of dissolution of partnership, the Trotters Creek Farm, draught and light harness horses, cattle, sheep, and farming implements, &c., &c.

Horses.—Heavy draught and strong upstanding light harness horses continue in good inquiry, but the supplies are very limited. We quote first-class draughts, at from £65 to £75; medium, £45 to £60; light, £30 to £40; first-class saddle and light harness horses, £25 to £35; medium, £12 to 20; light and inferior, £5 to £10.

Sheepskins.—We did not offer any this week, but shall hold our next sale as usual on Monday first.

Hides.—The market continues very depressed. We have sold 136 at equal to 3½d. per lb., which may be taken as present market value.

Tallow is in good demand, but none offering. We quote prime mutton at £28 to £30; medium, £24 to £27; rough fat, £22. 10s.

Grain.—Wheat. The inquiry for this product is almost *nil*. We quote really prime samples at 4s. 2d. per bushel; good, 4s.; ordinary, 3s. 9d.; fowls' feed, 3s. 3d. Oats are much sought after, but very few offering. We quote first-class samples of feed and milling at 4s. 2d.; ordinary, 4s. to 4s. 1d. Barley is in good request at up to 6s. 6d. for really prime samples, and 6s. for ordinary ditto.

MACLEAN BROTHERS report for week ending 30th October as follows:—

Fat Cattle.—The largest supply we have had for at least two months came forward for this day's market, 239 head being yarded, all good to prime quality. Notwithstanding the short supplies lately to hand, this number proved largely in excess of the requirements of the trade; and as sellers, in some cases, did not feel disposed to quit at prices offered, about 90 head were turned out unsold. Best bullocks brought from £14 to £16. 10s.; do. cows, £11 to £13—or equal to 40s. per 1000 lbs., quite 5s. per 100 lbs. under last week's rates;

Fat Calves.—Only 17 penned, 14 of which we sold at from 9s. to 54s. each, according to size and quality.

Fat Sheep.—About 1500 came forward, and, although only a small number, competition was only moderately active, and prices a shade easier than last week. Best cross-breds brought from 18s. to 19s. 3d.; do. shorn, 16s. to 16s. 6d.

Fat Lambs.—364 were penned, and sold at from 8s. 6d. to 11s., at which figure we sold 100.

Store Cattle.—During the past week there has been a brisk demand for store cattle, and a considerable number has changed hands at satisfactory prices. On Friday, 25th inst., at Outram, we sold by auction 250 head on account of Messrs. Petrie, Wright, Draper, Waldie, and others.

Store Sheep.—Transactions during the week have been quite unimportant, as only exceptional lots are now in the market. At Balclutha, on the 24th instant, we sold 750 crossbred hoggets at 13s. 6d. each. We anticipate a good demand for young sheep after shearing.

Country Sales.—On Friday, November 8th, we shall offer at the pound yards, Outram, on account of Messrs. James Henderson and others, 150 head good store cattle.

Sheepskins.—We had but a small catalogue for our sale on Monday last, and, although there was moderate competition, prices were barely up to last week's level. We quote green cross-breds at 4s. 10d. to 5s. 4d.; do. merinos, 4s. to 4s. 3d. Dry skins: six bales sold at 6¼d. per lb.

Hides.—The demand continues very dull, and prices cannot be quoted at over 3½d. per lb. None offered at auction, and only some small lots sold privately.

Grain.—Wheat meets with but little inquiry, and sales of all descriptions are difficult to effect. Quotations are without material change. Oats are in excellent demand, and good feed may be quoted at 4s. 1d.; ordinary

do., 3s. 11d. to 4s. Prime milling up to 4s. 3d. The arrivals during the past week have been quite inconsiderable. Barley is quite out of the market, and brewers seem prepared to give extreme prices for really good malting to meet immediate requirements.

R. W. CAPSTICK reports having sold on Tuesday, the 29th October, at his yards, Milton, on account of Mr. W. A. Mosely, the following lots:—34 half-bred hoggets, at 12s.; 90 Leicester ewes, at 13s. 6d.; 5 do. at 24s. 9d.; 8 do. at 25s.; 8 do. at 25s.; 85 do. at 17s.; 51 do. at 16s. 1d.; 50 do. at 16s. 1d.; 42 do. at 16s. 3d.; 25 do. at 16s. 1d.; 1 Leicester ram, £2. 13s.; 10 do. at 25s. There was a very good attendance, but the bidding was not at all spirited, and the flock, looking very poor after standing in the water on the Inch Clutha, did not realise the prices expected.

## Australia And New Zealand.

From the "*Scotsman*," Sept. 4th, 1878.

It is always interesting, though it may not always be profitable, for a parent to look into the books and balance-sheets of the sons that he has started in business. If they are doing well, he must have pleasure; if they seem a little doubtful, he must have anxiety; if things are all against them, he cannot be comfortable. What is true of father and sons is true of the mother country and the colonies. At home we desire to know how they are getting on, and whether they promise to be as successful as the mother country has been. Every now and then one or other of these colonies gives an account of itself. Some colonist, desirous to further the interests of his new home, will tell us a flattering tale of its prospects, and he is gladly listened to. Still, it is well to look into the matter a little for ourselves—to confirm, if possible, his statements by undoubted facts, and to satisfy ourselves that all is well. From the Australian group of colonies many promising accounts have come, and recently New Zealand gave a particularly favourable account of herself. It may be well to see, from authentic sources, whether this account is borne out; and in order to do so a comparison may be made between New Zealand and the other Australian colonies.

The total area of all the Australian colonies is 53,173,310 square miles, while that of the United Kingdom is only 120,830 square miles; so that they are more than 26 times as big as we are. No doubt a good deal of the area is not likely to be productive at any time; but it may be doubted whether, comparatively, there is as much of their surface in that condition as there is of the surface of the United Kingdom. How much elbow-room they have may be seen by the fact that, while upon our 120,830 square miles we have a population of not less than 33,000,000, upon their 53,173,310 square miles they had only a population of 2,401,715 in 1876. That is to say, they had not one inhabitant per square mile, while we had more than 273. Plainly, then, they have plenty of room to grow; and they are growing rapidly. Their population, which, as just stated, was 2,401,715 in 1876, was only 1,264,954 in 1861. That is an increase in 15 years of close upon 90 per cent. In the same time, taking our population now at 33,000,000, our increase was only a little more than 13 per cent. Where the growth arose may be seen in the following table:—

It will be seen that, while New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia have increased rapidly, the rate of their increase has been small compared with New Zealand and Queensland. In New South Wales, the increase was something over 75 per cent., and that was the largest of the three first named. But the increase in New Zealand was a little over 303 per cent., and that of Queensland was rather over 436 per cent. This is little short of marvellous, and speaks volumes for the vigour with which the Governments of New Zealand and Queensland have pushed the claims of their countries. It will be found, however, that there is a material difference between the two colonies when their condition is further examined.

Of course the Australian colonies have to raise money and to spend it; and all of them have gone further, and indulged themselves with a National Debt. Taking them altogether their gross public revenue, which was £8,166,816 in 1862, was £16,012,288 in 1876, so that it had very nearly doubled. In the same period, their public expenditure had gone up from £7,769,619 to £16,749,923. Not only, therefore, had it more than doubled, but, whereas in 1862 the expenditure was well below the income, in 1876 the income was sadly below the expenditure. As a natural consequence, the public debt had increased. It was only £16,097,070 in 1862; it had become £59,380,862 in 1876. The question will naturally be asked which colony contributed most to this growth; and the following table will give the answer:—

There again we have New Zealand and Queensland distinguishing themselves. Roughly speaking, New South Wales has rather more than doubled her revenue, her expenditure, and her debt. Victoria has not grown at so great a rate in her revenue and expenditure, but has exceeded it in her debt. South Australia has rather more than doubled revenue and expenditure, and more than quadrupled her debt. But when we come to New Zealand, we find revenue increased more than 182 per cent., expenditure more than 263 per cent., and debt more than 2,134 per cent. Queensland has, however, done more than this. Her revenue has increased more than 264 per cent., her expenditure more than 249 per cent., and her debt more than 5,101 per cent. Really these Colonies are magnificent in the way of debt.

What have they to set against it? The inquirer will naturally look to the trade returns, and rightly. There he will find an answer which cannot be regarded as unsatisfactory. He will find that the total imports of the Australian colonies, which were £31,623,093 in 1862, had grown in 1876 to £45,505,083, while the exports had grown from £26,542,713 in 1862 to £43,093,920. It is plain from these figures that the Australian colonies do not yet indulge in many luxuries; and another lesson which might be brought out from the figures is, that Protection has not done much for them. But it may be well to take the colonies separately:—

Here again we have Queensland showing well in front in increase, though South Australia comes near to it, and Western Australia and New Zealand are also exceptionally strong. The apparently small increase in Victorian exports is accounted for by the decrease in the quantity of gold exported. Thus in 1862, of the total exports from that colony £7,611,636 was bullion, while in 1876 the amount was only £3,701,242. New Zealand sent out about £260,000 less bullion in 1876 than in 1862, but Queensland rose from £1,028 in 1862 to £1,448,731 in 1876. Plainly, then, the Australian colonies had a fair growth of trade in the 15 years between 1862 and 1876, and New Zealand comes out very well.

But it will be wise to look a little deeper. The Australian colonies are and must be to a great extent pastoral and agricultural for many years to come; that is to say, they must look chiefly to the growth of their flocks and herds, and of their agricultural produce. Here it will be seen that their opportunities are almost boundless, and they have taken fair advantage of them. Their staple export is now wool, and it is worth while seeing how enormously that export has grown.

The teaching of these figures is, that New Zealand has developed one of her staple productions more than any other colony. Let us see what New Zealand does in the way of agriculture. The following table shows the product of wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes in each of the colonies:—

Here there is no mistake about which colony is most suited for agriculture. New Zealand gets as much of wheat per acre as is got in this country, and she far surpasses every other colony. With a soil so fertile, and with such unbounded resources, her people must have a brilliant future before them. There is perhaps no one of the colonies that agriculturists would despise—no one that cannot look forward with confidence to the future: But New Zealand stands out before them all as possessed of a soil, a climate, and resources which seem to guarantee prosperity.

*From Sydney Morning Herald.*

"Talk and action (says the *Sydney Morning Herald*) may be fairly said to be the characteristics of the respective railway policies of New South Wales and New Zealand. We have been told almost nightly for years in our local Parliament that railways are the cheapest as well as the best roads that can be constructed. Yet we have barely 700 miles completed, only 208 miles in course of construction, and 210 miles approved. In New Zealand, with two-thirds of our population, they have 1,100 miles opened, and over that colony there will soon be a perfect net-work of railways connecting every capital, and crossing the islands from east to west and north and south, in all directions. We have observed with satisfaction the rapid progress this Colony is making—how it has for several years been overtaking the Colony of Victoria, But there can be very little doubt New Zealand is growing with still greater rapidity; and it does not require great prescience to foresee that a continuance of its immigration policy, concurrently with the opening up of every part of its magnificent territory by a railway, will enable it ere long to outstrip any of the Australian Colonies in the race for national advancement, unless, indeed, more energy is displayed in future on this continent. Railways might be thought to be less required in a country of which no part is 100 miles from the ocean, than in one like ours, extending 700 miles from the seaboard. Those who guide the destinies of New Zealand, however, evidently have a high appreciation of how progress is to be promoted; and whatever their provincial jealousies may be, they are not allowed to interfere with a comprehensive railway scheme adapted to the requirements of all parts of the Colony."

## **The New Zealand Agricultural Company, Limited.**

Capital £1,000,000, In 50,000 Shares of £20 Each.

Property acquired, 167,769 acres of Freehold Land, 141,675 acres of Leasehold Land, 167,500 Sheep, 82 working Horses, 112 head of Dairy Cattle, besides Steam Engines, Agricultural Implements, Buildings, 340 miles of fencing, and other improvements.

Price £6. 7s. 6d. per acre for the Freehold lands, everything else given in.

Each £20 Share will therefore be represented by upwards of 3 acres of Freehold land, and 3 Sheep, and about 3 acres of Leasehold land, besides an interest in the buildings, working plant, improvements, &c.

N.B.—The Company is assured of extensive consignments of "Wool and other produce. Inclusive of its own Wool, now being shorn, it will receive, it is expected, during the current year nearly 5,000 bales of Wool of the value of upwards of £100,000.

The Book of Common Prayer,

And Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of God in New Zealand Being an Amendment of the Present Church of England Service.

Respectfully Suggested For The Use of All Men Who Desire To Worship God Side By Side In Brotherly Adoration.

decorative feature Wellington, A.Z. LYON & BLAIR, PRINTERS Stationers, &c., Lambton Quay 1886

There is but One God. All Men his and Prophets.

## Preface.

THE accompanying Form of Prayer has been prepared principally for the purpose of preventing persons who profess Free thought doctrines from drifting into Atheism. The alterations in the Church of England Service are slight, but very important, fully as important as the alterations effected in Henry the VI L's time. Amendment being belter than abolition, it has been thought [*unclear: being*] to amend than to abolish. The Lyceum Leaders and Guides published throughout Australasia offer no form of prayer; they are rather hymn books than prayer books. The accompanying amendment of the Church of England Service will allow all persons to worship God reverently side by side. This, I take it, is what most Colonists desire; thinking men being anxious to escape from the wretched differences of religious creed. A subsequent work will contain an adaptation of those glorious anthems and hymns used by all Churches in God's worship; but in this I hope to receive the aid of friends possessing musical ability. Music hath the power of softening the feelings of men worried by the cares of the world, and rendering them more ready to bow their heads to God. I would also gladly receive any suggestions towards correcting the accompanying drafts. Especially would I ask Presbyterian and Wesleyan clergymen to take them into their consideration.

Certain portions of the Church of England Service have necessarily been omitted. Reference will be made to the reasons why this has been done when the Evening Service and the ordinary Prayers and Thanksgivings are submitted. There is nothing to prevent any minister of religion from using the present proposed form of worship, and preaching from any authority he pleases, or from which his congregation desires him specially to preach. Yet even this form of prayer contains many verses which I should like to omit, were it not that I fear to amend too much. A century hence these words may be omitted. Let that which has been done suffice for the present.

Gladly would I see a Church established in New Zealand to be called the Church of God, in which all men may worship the Great Maker and Ruler of this Universe side by side. But this will be a work of time, and all who aid in the work must so expect it. Had it not been for the steady determination of Thomas Cromwell, Cecil, Walsingham, and other English statesmen at the time of the Reformation, we should never have had a Church of England Service at all. The prayers would still be read in Latin, and a multitude of human beings worshipped not entitled to our adoration. There is but one God, and all men are His sons and the prophets of His wondrous laws. Truly, it is not for us to worship any man or woman who has lived upon this earth; for that is equivalent to the setting up a human idol in place of the old graven image. Thinking men of the present day will not tolerate idolatry of any kind, and soon women will follow their example. Earnestly do I ask my fellow colonists of the Roman Catholic Church to think carefully over what I say; to read such a work as Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," and to make use of the wonderful organization power, and beautiful musical service of their Church in causing men to combine in the simple worship of God. And, further, to remember what Plato taught, the unity of God, and brotherly love;" so that our children may be educated side by side, and grow into a united and happy people.

The congregation of any church edifice may, by using this form of prayer, and inviting to their pulpit any clergyman who will preach these broad religious views, greatly aid in establishing such a Church as most men wish to see established. School Committees can also have portions of the Prayer Book taught in the schools, so that our present system of education may no longer be termed a Godless one. I hope these Committees will not, upon any account whatever, allow the Bible to be read in the schools: for the reading of the Bible does not mean the worship of God, but rather the perpetuation in Australasia of all the miserable differences of religious creed. And so. with God's good grace, I submit these pages, sincerely hoping that they may tend to bind men's minds to one another in brotherly regard upon [*unclear: earth*], and cause them humbly. modestly, and reverently to worship the Father and Ruler of all things who is in Heaven.

Coleman Phillips.

Wellington,



# The Order For Morning Prayer.

## Daily Throughout The Year.

*At the beginning of Morning Prayer the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one or more of these sentences that follow:—*

WHEN the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.

I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me.

Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgment: not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.

Repent ye: for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: but, if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

DEARLY beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness; and that we should not dissemble nor cloke them before the face of Almighty God our heavenly Father; but confess them with a humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart; to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by His infinite goodness and mercy. And although we ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before God; yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at His hands, to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy Word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul Wherefore I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, saving after me:

*A General Confession, to be said by the whole Congregation after the Minister, all kneeling.*

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, who confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent; And grant, O most merciful Father, That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

*The Absolution or Remission of Sins, to be pronounced by the Minister alone, standing; the people still kneeling.*

ALMIGHTY God, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn away from his wickedness and live; therefore I say unto you that God pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe in Him. Wherefore let us beseech Him to grant us true repentance, that these things may please him which we do at this present; and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy.

*The people shall answer here, and at the end of all other prayers, Amen. Then shall be said or sung the following hymn:—*

UNIVERSAL Lord! who sceptre swayed,  
'Ere first creation's wondrous form was framed:  
When by Thy will divine all things were made;

Then King, Almighty, was Thy name proclaimed.  
When all shall cease, and this world's system o'er.  
Then He omnipotent alone shall reign;  
Who was. Who is, and Who evermore  
In most refulgent glory shall remain.  
Sole God! unequalled and beyond compare,  
Without division or associate;  
Without commencement, date, or final year,  
Omnipotence is Thine, and regal state.  
Thou art my God, my living Redeemer.  
My sheltering rock in painful hour,  
My refuge, standard, and protector,  
My lot's disposer when I seek Thy power.  
Into Thy hands my spirit I consign,  
Whilst wrapt in sleep, and when again I wake;  
And with my spirit my body I resign,  
The Lord with me, no fear my soul can shake. Amen.

*Then the Minister shall kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice; the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him both here and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service.*

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses. As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil; For Thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

*Then likewise he shall say,*

O Lord, open Thou our lips.  
Ans. *And our mouth shall shew forth Thy praise.*  
O God. make speed to save us.  
Ans. *O Lord, make haste to help us.*

¶ *Here all standing up, the Minister shall say,*  
Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

Ans. *As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end Amen. Praise ye the Lord.*

Ans. *The Lord's Name be praised.*

*Then shall be said, or sung, this Psalm following:—*

Venite, exultimus Domino.

O come, let us sing unto the Lord: let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving: and shew ourselves glad in him with Psalms.

For the Lord is a great God.: and a great King above all gods.

In his hand are all the corners of the earth: and the strength of the hills is His also.

The sea is His, and he made it: and his hands prepared the dry land.

O come, let us worship, and fall down: and kneel before the Lord our Maker.

For he is the Lord our God: and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts: as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness;

When your fathers tempted me; proved me, and saw my works.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said: It is a people that do err in their hearts, for they have not known my ways.

Unto whom I swear in my wrath: that they should not enter into my rest.

Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

Ans.—As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

*Then shall follow the Psalms in order as they are appointed. And at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise at the end of Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc dimittis, shall be repeated:*

Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

Ans.—*As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.*

*Then shall be read distinctly, with an audible voice, the following Lesson by the Minister:—*

GOD spake these words, and said; I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates.

Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt do no murder.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.

*Answer.* Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Te Deum Landamus.

WE praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.

To thee Cherubim and Seraphim: continually do cry:

Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabbaoth.

Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy glory.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee:

The Father: of an infinite Majesty.

O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.

Govern them: and lift them up for ever.

Day by day: we magnify thee;

And we worship thy Name: ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

*Or this Canticle:*

Benedicite, omnia Opera.

O ALL ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Waters that be above the firmament, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye Powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Sun, and Moon, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Showers, and Dew. bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Winds of God, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Fire and Heat, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Winter and Summer, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Dews, and Frosts, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Frost and Cold, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Ice and Snow, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Nights, and Days, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Light and Darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Lightnings, and Clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.  
O let the Earth bless the Lord: yea, let it praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Mountains and Hills, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O all ye Green Things upon the Earth, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Wells, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Seas, and Floods, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Whales, and all that move in the Waters, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O all ye Fowls of the Air, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O all ye Beasts, and Cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Children of Men, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O let Israel bless the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.  
O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
O ye holy and humble Men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.  
Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

*Then shall be read in like manner this Second Lesson.*

BLESSED are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets who were before you.

Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted: it is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.

Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.

Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven.

For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:

But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council: but whosoever shall say Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee:

Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time thy adversary deliver thee to the Judge, and the Judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery;

But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

It hath been said. Whosoever shall put away his wife let him give her a writing of divorcement.

But I say unto you that whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

And if thy right eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

And if thy right hand offend thee cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths:

But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne;

Nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the Great King.

Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because you canst not make one hair white or black.

But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;

But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.

And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.

Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you;

That ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?

And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in Heaven is perfect.

Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Benedictus.

BLESSED be the Lord God of Israel: for he hath visited, and redeemed his people;

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us: in the house of his servant David;

As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets: who have been since the world began;

That we should be saved from our enemies: and from the hands of all that hate us;

To perform the mercy promised to our forefathers: and to remember his holy covenant;

To perform the oath which he sware to our forefather Abraham: that he would give us;

That we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies: might serve him without fear;

In holiness and righteousness before him: all the days of our life.

Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

*Or this Psalm.*

Jubilate Deo.

O BE joyful in the Lord, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song.

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.

O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto Him, and speak good of his Name.

For the Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting: and His truth endureth from generation to generation.

Glory be to God on High, the Ruler of the Universe.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

*Then the Minister, Clerks, and People shall say the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice.*

OUR Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As

it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

*Then the Minister, standing up, shall say:*

O Lord, show thy mercy upon us.

Ans. *And grant us thy salvation.*

O Lord, save the Queen.

Ans. *And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.*

Endue thy ministers with righteousness.

Ans. *And make thy chosen people joyful.*

O Lord, save thy people.

Ans. *And bless thine inheritance.*

Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Ans. *Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.*

O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Ans. *And take not thy holy Spirit from us.*

*Then shall follow these three Prayers or Collects, all kneeling.*

*First Collect.*

WE prostrate ourselves humbly before Thee, Oh Supreme King of Kings, Lords of Lords, who stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth. Thou art our God, and there is none other. As it is written, Know thyself this day, and reflect in thine heart, that the Lord he is God, in heaven above and on the earth beneath: there is none else. Amen.

*The second Collect, for Peace.*

O GOD, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us Thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in Thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries. Amen.

*The third Collect, for Grace.*

O LORD, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who has safely brought us to the beginning of this day; Defend us in the same with Thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings may be ordered by Thy governance, to do always that is righteous in Thy sight. Amen.

*In Quires or places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem. Then these four Prayers following are to be read:—*

*A Prayer for the Queen's Majesty.*

O LORD, our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth: Most heartily we beseech Thee with Thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen *Victoria*; and so replenish her with the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that she may always incline to Thy will, and walk in Thy way: Endue her plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant her in health and wealth long to live; strengthen her that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies; and finally, after this life, she may attain everlasting joy and felicity. Amen:

*A Prayer for the Royal Family.*

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech Thee to bless *Albert Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Princess of *J Wales*, and all the Royal Family: Endue them with Thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with Thy heavenly grace; prosper them with ail happiness; and bring them to thine everlasting kingdom. Amen.

*A Prayer for the Clergy and People.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who alone workest great marvels; Send down upon our Ministers, and all Congregations committed to their charge, the healthful Spirit of Thy grace; and that they may truly please Thee, pour upon them the continual dew of Thy blessing. Amen.

*A Prayer of Chrysoetom.*

ALMIGHTY God, who has given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto Thee; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in Thy Name Thou wilt grant their requests: Fulfil now. O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of the truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

*The Grace.*

THE grace of the Most High and Merciful God, and your humble reverence for His Holy Name, and your loving fellowship with each upon earth, be with you all this day and evermore. Amen.

*Here endeth the Order of Morning Prayer throughout the Year.*

Published Weekly from Jan. 1st to May 30th, and from Oct. 1st to Dec. 31st. \$1.00 per annum. Eight months' Lectures, or 5 cents a single copy.

VOL. I. No. 1. January 10, 1885. The Independent Pulpit. decorative feature with building and title Lectures of George Chainey,

*Delivered every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45, P.M in Chickering Hall, Boston, Mass.*

How and why I Became a Spiritualist.

Published by George Chainey, No. 310 SHAWMUT AVE., Boston, Mass.

*Entered as Second Class Mail Matter.*

## **Announcements.**

We take pleasure in presenting many new friends, as well as old ones, with this the first number of THE INDEPENDENT PULPIT. This lecture contains a brief account of former religious experiences, and narrates the facts that enabled me to pass from the company of the *Don't Know's* to that of the *I Know's*.

## **Former Subscribers.**

I send a copy of this number to each of the subscribers to THIS WORLD. I cannot, of course, expect you all to follow my example. What I have said to Col. Ingersoll, I repeat in my heart to each one of you. I shall take it as a great kindness if you will read this, and, whether you subscribe or not, let me know just how it impresses you. If you are not sufficiently interested to subscribe, will you be kind enough to hand it to some good Spiritualist of your acquaintance,

## **Present Subscribers.**

I send an extra copy to each subscriber, hoping that they will be able thereby to procure me at least one new subscriber. If you will send me names and addresses of sincere and earnest Spiritualists, I shall be glad to send them sample copies free.

## **Chickering Hall.**

The title page contains a cut of the building in which the lectures are delivered every Sunday afternoon at 2.45 P. M. This hall is probably the finest one of its size in the country. It is fitted up with all modern improvements, and lighted by the Edison electric light. The ventilation and acoustic properties are perfect. Its seating capacity is four hundred and sixty-two, all numbered, leather folding seats. We hope our friends at a distance will be present with us in spirit while we try to find the Perfect Way. Material contributions to the support of the lectures and work of the Society of the Perfect Way are needed, and will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

The following are some of the subjects that will be published during the year:—"The Ministry, Old and New." "Is Spiritualism a Religion?" "The Sphinx, or the Problem of Life." "Medusa and Perseus." "The Perfect Way, or the Finding of Christ." "Spiritualism in Shakespeare." "Walt Whitman." "Rosicrucianism." "The Four-fold Nature of Man." "Lights and Shades of Spiritualism." "Ingersollism." "The Philosophy of Delsarte." "The Church of the Future." "Spiritual Gifts." "Immortality." "The Prodigal Son." "Black and White Magic." "The Occident and Orient." "The Light of Asia." "Soul Culture." "Theosophy." "Excelsior."

## **Theosophy.**

Boston Hermetic Lodge of Theosophy, George Chainey, President. Anna Kimball, Corresponding Secretary. Regular meeting Thursday, 2.30 P. M., at Theosophical Parlors, 310 Shawmut Avenue.

## **Psychometry.**

We take great pleasure in recommending all who wish, through this wonderful gift of soul sight, to know themselves, to send to Mrs. Kimball for a reading. Her terms are as follows; Character Readings, \$2.00; Medial Faculties and their Culture, \$2.00; Prophetic Readings, \$3.00; Messages of Counsel from Guardian Teachers, \$2.00; Examination of Minerals, \$3.00. Personal Readings from 12 until 4 every day, except Sunday, \$2.00. Enclose stamp for all letters, please. For all delineations, the requirements are some earnest thoughts, in own

handwriting.

Address,

MRS. ANNA. KIMBALL,

310 Shawmut Av.  
Boston, Mass.

As I purpose for a time to send out many sample copies to strangers, I venture to publish the following Testimonials, as giving me some right to hope that my lectures may be interesting and instructive to those who read them:—

## Testimonials.

COL. ROBERT G. INGERSOLL says:—

"Mr. Chainey is one of the best thinkers in this country. He has a wonderful command of language, is full of imagery, comparison, anthithesis, logic and beauty. He feels what he says with his whole heart, and perceives it with his entire brain. He is perfectly honest, and for that very reason is intellectually keen. Downright honesty in such a man is genius. He gives a true transcript of his mind, and gives it with great power. His lectures stir me like trumpets. They are filled with the loftiest spirit. Eloquent, logical, and poetic, they are as welcome and refreshing as the breeze of morning on the cheek of fever."

"Mr. Chainey is a large, well-formed though round-shouldered man, wears no beard, and in these days of crops would be called a long-haired man. He has a big head and a broad face. He is an orator. His eloquence is his chief fascination. His periods are models of oratorical beauty, and though ordinarily unimpassioned, he occasionally becomes intensely strong in his dramatic effects. He is singularly graceful of gesture. His methods inspire one with a conviction of his honesty. His elocution is masterly. His voice is magnetic, powerful, flexible, very pleasing. He would make a famous actor."—*Scranton Daily Republican*.

"Mr. Chainey has great ability, a most vivid imagination, a vast poetical capacity, a marvelous power for word painting, a command of the choicest flowers of rhetoric that language can furnish, together with high moral culture, a generous disposition, and a loving heart."—*Charles Watts*.

## How and Why I Became a Spiritualist.

Nothing exists in this world alone. Each is related to all and all to each. To-day is colored by every yesterday. It would be in vain to try to make you understand how I became a Spiritualist without prefacing it with a brief description of former religious experiences. Some of these having been published, no doubt some have read them; yet I feel that I could not be just to those who have not, or to the subject, without somewhat of repetition. I commenced my religious career as a Methodist; but this was simply my birthright, and came to me as naturally as measles or the whooping cough. I was so thoroughly cradled in Methodism that I hardly realized there was anything else to believe. Hell was beneath my feet, and heaven over my head. The world was a doomed ship just ready to sink, out of which I was to save as many as possible before she went down for good, and all the pleasures of life were, the fearful rapids that lurk at the brink of eternal ruin. In my eighteenth year I was minister of a church, with no thought or purpose in life but to save as many as possible from hell.

I cannot stop to enumerate the various influences that combined to open my eyes to a far different and far nobler interpretation of life. Suffice it to say that the time came when the principal doctrines of Methodism became to my mind false, to my conscience immoral, and to my heart utterly repulsive. Still, I was some time halting between two opinions. My reason called on me to go out, my heart to stay in. It was the church of my parents. It was their greatest joy and pride that I was one of its ministers. In it were hundreds of good and sincere people who loved and honored me truly. It seemed the store-house of all my affections. Outside the world was all strange, and for aught I knew unfriendly. Why should I, for the sake of a mere difference of opinion, sacrifice all the wealth of love and friendship gathered by years of devotion? Why should I pierce my own mother's heart with the sword of disappointment, and endanger the support of my loved ones for a few intellectual speculations? It is not possible to describe the struggle of such a position. The power of the heart to enforce its claim is mighty. The remembrance of a mother's prayers, the most sacred associations and tender memories of life, hold captive the intellect. The gathering tears of pity and love blind the eyes of truth. It seems



as wrong to go as to stay. Remembering what I suffered, I have not one word of condemnation to utter against those who decide to stay. I can only tell them that to me there came a time, when I could no longer respect myself and stay, and so came out. . I can also add that from that day to this I have never regretted it. I can not tell you what I suffered at that time. Do you know what it is to be time to your highest vision of duty and have some dear friend whom you love with all your heart come and weep over you, upbraid and charge you with pride and vain glory? You stand together in the first meeting heart to heart and hand to hand, and you begin to talk in gentle words. He is sure he can convince you that you are wrong, and you are sure that he is so good and true that he must at least see that you are honest, and continue your friend though he cannot agree with your opinions. So you begin to talk. But a little stream begins to flow between you, and it grows wider and wider. You can no longer hold each other by the hand. The clash of argument rises above the gentle entreaties of the heart. The distance becomes wider and wider, and the waters grow deep and strong. You shout to each other in words of despair across the chasm, and then the sad desolation comes over you that the flowers of friendship are dead and that you are parted forever. You little realize how many of these tragedies of faith there are going on all over the land. The sad, silent pain of the heart, the conscious integrity, the noble purpose, the manly courage and the heroic sacrifice you have made—all regarded as a crime in the eyes of your dearest friends. The price of liberty of thought is no longer the sword and the flame, but it is almost as great when all your honor is treated with contempt. You who have been loyal at so great a cost called a traitor; you who having lost much that was dear to you discovering in your desolation that those whom you had thought it would ever be your privilege to love have become in their narrowness and bigotry objects only for your pity and contempt.

Why should a mere change of opinion produce such division between those who were once friends? The world is constantly changing. One form of civilization gives place to another. Systems of religion come and go. Nothing can be just the same to-day as it was yesterday. Why should we not expect our friends to change and be proud of them when they do? Why should not parents expect their children to have opinions as well as faces of their own? The differentiations of nature are infinite. No two leaves in all the countless forests are exactly alike. The idea of intellectual conformity to a creed is at discord with every law of nature. On leaving the Methodist I entered the Unitarian ministry, with the understanding that what was wanted was a man who would simply give his honest thought from Sunday to Sunday about life and duty, untrammelled by any creed. At this time I believed in God as the tender, loving Father and Mother of us all; in the Bible as containing the divine truth in a great deal of human error; in the immortal life; in Christianity as the highest ethical standard of conduct. Rejecting the idea of the Divinity of Jesus, I still saw in him the most perfect man, whose life might be taken as the light of the world.

But the spirit of growth, of progress, was ever urging me onward. Now the honor of all progress and civilization is claimed for Christianity. In calmly scrutinizing this claim I found that our art, our literature, our science, our education, our liberties had all been torn from its covetous grasp, from time to time, in moments of sheer desperation, as starving men have sometimes snatched food from the jaws of a cruel tiger. Reaching this conclusion, I gave up all right to the Christian name. The Christian doctrine of immortality is based on the literal physical resurrection of Jesus. That story is so contradictory and absurd, according to all laws of evidence and nature, that as soon as I thoroughly understood the evidence I lost my faith. I clung to it as a hope. But I did not know whether death was night or day, the folding or the unfolding of wings, eternal rest or eternal life and progress. Sometimes my hope shone like a star, and at others vanished like a meteor's ray! When life was bright and fair the thought of annihilation seemed absurd. When dark and troubled with the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, it seemed sweet to think of death as the dreamless sleep of eternal rest. Hearts of dust do not break; eyes that are closed forever are no more scalded with the hot, bitter tears of grief. Welcome to many might be the placid waves that lave the shadowy shore of the silent continent of death. In the gloomy land of annihilation crawls no worm that never dies, and burns no lurid fire that is unquenched. We might die, but the race might go on growing grander, nobler and happier every day.

Better a million times that we reappear only in the grass or flowers, or be a part of the dust of the most common highway, along which living feet run on errands of mercy and justice, than to wail in hell, or sit with folded hands eternally singing psalms in an Orthodox heaven.

I also lost my faith in God. Prayer seemed but the offering of incense to infinite silence and nothingness. The purpose of this lecture makes it impossible to describe all the causes of this effect. But again, with great pain and discomfort, I was compelled to surrender my relations with a church. Again the stream of a divided faith parted me from dear friends. Again my best and noblest motives were misunderstood and maligned.

But believing that I still had a gospel to preach, I came to Boston and started an independent lectureship.

I felt it my duty to do my best to inspire and elevate people on the plain of this world. I saw thousands who had drifted away from the church, scattered like sheep without a shepherd. I felt that even without faith in the future, or in God, there was ample inspiration to the noblest loyalty in duty and consecration to all that is true, beautiful and good in this world. When I first asked the Directors of the Paine Memorial to aid me in this

enterprise all prophesied failure with the exception of that noblest Roman of them all, Elizur Wright. Though he has been for many years a Materialist, we may say of him:—

*"His life is gentle, and the elements  
So mixed in him,  
That nature might stand up and say to  
All the world:  
Here is a man."*

But I had just leaped the last ecclesiastical fence, and was now a free rover on the broad, bright, breezy, unfenced prairies of the universe. I had broken the last, fetter that bound me to a creed, and felt the full flush of liberty, flooding life with boundless joy and enthusiasm. While feeling thus I was bound to succeed. For the accomplishment of my purpose all causes had to give way. For the first two years Paine Hall was crowded summer and winter; sometimes there was not even standing room. People went early to secure a seat.

But by this time I was heartily sick of destructive work, and sought earnestly for grounds of construction. We drew up plans of work, and offered to labor with the Paine Hall Directors to make that building for the Agnostics what the Christian Union is to the Unitarians.

The question in all its bearings is too complicated to bring in here. Suffice it to say that the treatment we received led us to go to Horticultural Hall. But I was losing faith and interest in my work, and you know lack of enthusiasm in a leader will weaken any cause. I saw that many did not care a fig for constructive work. After I had given them my heart's blood for two years, if I could not continue to tickle their fancy with gibes and sneers at the old theology, they were ready to fling me away with as little remorse as they would a squeezed lemon. As I grew more and more constructive in my lectures, these staid away in disgust, or ran after other novelties. I saw the ground of support slipping from beneath my feet, and so made haste to study for the stage, so that when compelled to abandon the lecture-field, I might still do something to keep the wolf from the door. Much of my time was of necessity given to my weekly publication, which was started soon after I commenced to lecture. The first year, through lack of business experience, I published it too cheap and ran in debt. At the end of the second year I was less in debt, and as my subscribers owed me three thousand dollars I thought I should pull through. But the worry and anxiety of my position, the performance of labor in which I took no delight, broke me down physically. My principal trouble was insomnia, I was a whole week without sleep. I had to retreat or go mad. As he that runs away lives to fight another day, I ran away. I had no chance to go away and rest unless I left my wife and children to starve, so I went West on a lecture tour. In doing so I slowly recovered my health.

During the last year I established a circuit in order to speak in Boston and other important points once a month. But I have steadily lost faith in the Agnostic and Materialistic position as a base of constructive work. Though I long refused to believe my own sight, I found the majority of them generally indifferent to the propaganda of their own principles. I felt this rust growing surely but slowly on my own sword.

It now becomes necessary for me to give you the particular facts that made me a Spiritualist. Quite recently I received a letter from Col. Ingersoll, asking me to tell him just what made me a Spiritualist. I will therefore close my lecture by reading you Mr. Ingersoll's letter and my reply to the same.

CHICO SPRINGS, N. M., Oct. '84.

My Dear Chainey:—I see by the papers that you have become a Spiritualist. of course you did not reach your present position by a simple course of reasoning upon facts common to the world. You must have seen something or heard something that satisfied you not only of the existence of spirits, but that those spirits were once human beings, and can and do communicate with the inhabitants of this world. I read your speech that you delivered at the convention, but you did not give an account of the evidence you had received. I should like to know what facts caused you to embrace Spiritualism, and, if not too much trouble, I wish you would write me an account of your experiences. We are all well, and all send regards.

Yours truly.

R. G. INGERSOLL.

—I need not tell you, that I join in no hue and cry against you.—

310 SHAWMUT AVENUE,  
BOSTON, Mass.,

Nov. 4, '84,

Col. R. G. Ingersoll:—My dear friend; Your letter is an oasis in a desert, and most sweet surprise, though I had already declared that I knew no word of disparagement or mockery would ever pass your lips. In a naturally serious life the event you refer to has been the most serious experience that has yet befallen me. I have been greatly pained and shocked at the amount of illiberality shown by former associates. Tortured and stung by all manner of gibes and jokes and unjust accusations of false motives, I fear I may have been less discriminating than I ought to have been in my replies. I thought that in leaving the Methodist first, and afterwards the Unitarian ministry, I had safely passed all danger of suffering for opinions sake. But that was mercy in comparison with what I have endured in the past six weeks in private letters and public ribaldry. Let me then thank you from the bottom of my heart for this wave of kindness you send me so generously from your far Western home. Though I have often felt the overflow of your great, loving soul before, it never seemed so truly great as now. Before giving the facts you solicit, let me make one or two observations. I have no right to expect that my experience will convince you. I had heard in my association with Spiritualists many equally startling narratives, and yet had remained honestly unconvinced. So then may you. Then it is much easier to suppose another the victim of an illusion than to admit the same touching an experience of your own. It is also utterly impossible to put into the scales again, all that helped to turn the beam. I was surrounded by hundreds of bright, intelligent, happy Spiritualists. They all had marvellous experiences to relate, and many of them gave me the benefit of the same. Precious sacred joys, screened from the eyes of unbelievers, were, for some reason or another, freely confided to me. Through the free and delightful social intercourse of the camp life I had a far better opportunity for forming a correct judgment of the people than one does in the ordinary course of life, so that the conditions by which I was surrounded all helped to produce conviction. I hold that we do not believe as we want to, but as we are compelled. From their appreciation of my lectures I also had golden opportunities of investigation pressed upon me, without money and without price. I have seen and sympathized with the sufferings of mediums such as no money could have tempted them to endure. I have seen those who, when I first came on the ground, could hardly exercise their gifts by reason of the positive influence I exerted over them, bathed in tears of joy when from the platform I told the story of my experience. I could hardly tell that story for tears of joy myself, while the impression made upon the audience was simply indescribable. I have seen people happy under the excitement and emotion of Methodism, but this was altogether of another character. But these are not the facts you want. I went to this meeting quite by accident. You know yourself of what I had told you of my discouragement with the great majority of professed Liberals. That feeling had grown still stronger, and so I had thoroughly resolved to go on the stage. I have been studying with this in view for two years. But my dear friend Putnam was most desirous of leaving business and entering the field of Liberal propaganda. I tried hard to dissuade him from it. He felt then that his chance was dependent on joining forces with me. Under an impulse of gratitude and sincere friendship I consented to try it for a year, if the conditions I mentioned in a former letter to you should be complied with on the part of the National Liberal League. Having to go to Canada, I went around to Salamanca in order to consult with Green in reference to our plan. While there I quite accidentally resolved to visit the Camp, so as to engage accommodations during the forthcoming meeting for myself and friends in advance. They invited me to lecture. I spoke to them on "The Church of the Future." They liked it so well that they invited me to speak again the next day. I gave them the "Genius of Shakespeare." They wanted some more, and so the following day I gave them "Leaves of Grass." of course they talked to me about Spiritualism. I said, as you often do, "I don't know." I had no proof, and all the proofs I had been taught to trust were broken reeds. To use your own beautiful words, I did not know whether death was night or day, a prison wall or a door, the folding or unfolding of wings. I said to them: "I have no objection to another life, but at present that is my position." At the close of my lectures, what they called public tests were given. A young man, who sees clairvoyantly, stood up and described spirits he saw, giving their names, and the time and place of their death. He would also frequently go into distant homes and describe the furniture of rooms, contents of bureau drawers, containing relics of the departed, such as a locket or a picture, or articles of clothing, so minutely as to produce a most startling impression. These descriptions were generally witnessed to as being strictly true by some one in the audience, nearly always an avowed stranger to the young man. Still I set them down to a judicious selection of epitaphs on gravestones, carefully culled obituary notices from the Spiritual papers, coupled with mind reading. I was invited to a seance. Most striking and exciting things were done. It was in such company and under such conditions as made the thought of trickery impossible. We had not sat in the circle a minute before each one was patted on the knee, hands or face by hands not belonging to any one of us, while beautiful starlike lights flitted like fire flies about the room, and a guitar was taken from the lap of one of the sitters and passed all around the room, beyond the reach of any of us, and all the time discoursing sweet music. Though startled and perplexed, this would not have convinced me. I met next Mrs. Anna Kimball, a celebrated Psychometrist. As Prof. Denton, who made a special study of this subject, testifies to her accuracy in this field, I gave her a ring I had been wearing, to hold. She soon made me

feel like the woman of Samaria, who said of Jesus: "Come see a man who told me all that ever I did." As a seer or clairvoyant she described the spirit of two young ladies standing by my side, who gave their names, and said I visited them when they were sick, and preached their funeral sermons, all of which was true. She also described another spirit, standing by, who was my guardian angel. But more of this anon. I began to be somewhat shaken and to catch myself saying, "Great Heavens! Is it all true?" But then I thought of all the trickery and fraud that has been exposed in Spiritualism, and all I must undergo should I proclaim myself a Spiritualist, and said quietly to myself: "No, it won't do. You have changed around enough. It seems to be true, but I will just keep this to myself and say nothing about it." Being under engagement I attended another seance. This time the manifestations were still more wonderful. The room seemed to be full of spirits, audible voices speaking all about us, giving names and messages fully recognized by some of the sitters. Next I saw the phenomenon of independent slate writing. To deny that it was the work of an invisible agency was utterly impossible. That it was done by spirit friends seems probable, as in most instances the message was written in the handwriting of the person signing. I was, of course, still more excited by each additional marvel. Still I persisted in my purpose not to be converted. At this time I had been on the ground a week. It was Sunday. I arranged to leave next morning bright and early, and so went around bidding the new friends I had made good-bye. This kept me out until eleven o'clock. When I reached the hotel I found the door locked. Just as I was about to knock at the door I seemed to hear a voice saying, "Go and sleep with Jack." Now, Jack was a very nice fellow, the musician of the camp, and husband of Mrs. Lillie, a most interesting inspirational speaker. They lived in a lovely tent, and as Mrs. Lillie was away, I knew that Jack would like my company, and so went. We lay awake talking some time. It was a bright, beautiful night, and the tent, in consequence, almost as light as day. Finally Jack fell asleep, but there was no sleep for me. I was going away in the morning. All that I had seen and felt during the past week passed through my mind. I felt more sure than ever that it was true, and yet I resolved more firmly than ever that I would not be a Spiritualist. Suddenly I became aware that some one was there in the tent besides Jack and myself. It was a most strange feeling. Words were put on my lips to the following purport: "You have been brought here to be convinced of the truth of Spiritualism. Those that love you see that this is all that can make life for you now worth living. You must stay here until every cloud of doubt and haunting shadow of despair is cleansed from your mind." Long I reasoned against it. Finally, in despair, I yielded the point, and fixed upon a plan by which I might stay. The moment I did so I felt a soft hand placed upon my brow. I cannot tell you how I felt. It was at once the strangest and most beautiful sensation I ever experienced. It thrilled me through and through with indescribable ecstasy. I can assure you that it was no dream, but a most sweet reality, amply confirmed by many subsequent experiences. As soon as it was known that I had changed my mind about leaving I was again invited to lecture. A voice seemed to come and whisper in my ear: "This is to give you an appropriate chance to confess what you have seen and felt, and swear allegiance to the faith." I resolved to do so. The manner in which it was received was as great a miracle as anything that had happened. I never dreamed that such an effect could be produced by a simple recital of my religious experience. It gave me new ideas about oratory. From that time on the revelations have continued to increase in power. Through three different mediums my guardian spirit claimed to be the one who had touched my brow in the tent. From the fact that she was seen one time to place a bunch of lilies on my breast, and another time a dove, I called her Lily Dove. I have had the strangest and most wonderful dreams, in which I have been with her in a beautiful country. All that I have done of importance since has been foreshadowed in dreams. These dreams are unlike anything I ever had before. But this letter would stretch out to a cyclopedia should I tell you all. Two of the leading persons attending the camp meeting were Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Skidmore of Fredonia, N. Y. Mr. S. is a successful railroad contractor, and a man of large brain and heart. His wife is a most sweet and royal lady. Several years since they lost a beautiful daughter by consumption, just as she had blossomed into womanhood. Her name was Kitty. The love between her and her parents must have been much like that between your own sweet daughters, Maude and Eva, and their parents. But they lost their Kitty. She was married to the man of her heart's choice a week before she died. They were beside themselves with grief. Life hardly seemed bearable. They had all that money could buy. But the pride of their hearts and light of their home had gone out in the darkness of death.

Think for a moment how you would feel if Eva were your only child, and you should lose her. As you would feel so felt they. They had no faith in the teachings of the church. Your lectures have a more honored place in their home than the Bible. But they turned in their despair to Spiritualism. They received message after message on closed and locked slates in her own familiar hand, full of the perfume of the same loving nature she revealed in earth life. They saw her materialize, felt her arms around their necks, and then saw her simply fade from their sight without moving from the spot. Since then she has come to them in so many different ways that they feel that she makes one of the home circle almost as much as while in the visible form. They have a lovely little seance room, and whenever a medium comes that way he or she is called in, and they commune with her as of old. The tent that I occupied in camp was furnished by their kindness. The easy chair I sat in was the one

Kitty was married in a week before she died. She was seen several times, by clairvoyants, to come into the tent and sit down in that chair. During life her favorite flower was a white rose. Mr. Prang, of Boston, kindly sent me a package of picture cards. On one of them were some white roses. I gave it to Mrs. Skidmore, saying, "That is for Kitty." That night while I was talking with Mrs. S., Kitty was seen by a medium to enter the tent, kiss her mother, and then come and place a bunch of white roses on my breast. After the camp, Mr. and Mrs. Skidmore invited myself, Mrs. Anna Kimball and Mr. Mansfield", the slate-writing medium, to spend a few days at their home, during which time we had two seances, with only ourselves and two relatives and members of the family present. Just as soon as we sat down the first night, Mr. Mansfield was entranced, and the most startling phenomena commenced. Kitty came and covered her father and mother with tender caresses. Things were taken out of our pockets and passed to each other. I felt two soft hands touching my forehead and toying lovingly with my hair, while all the others in the circle were being touched by other hands. When I felt them on my forehead I said mentally, "If that is you, Lily, please touch my lips with your fingers." It was done immediately. The next day I went into Dunkirk and bought a box of flowers—white roses, a lily, some jessamine, heliotrope, sweet peas and carnations, appropriate presents, I think you will say, for such sweet angel visitants. When we sat down, the box of flowers rested in Mrs. Kimball's lap, whence it was immediately taken and placed in mine. I then asked if that was to indicate that they knew I had brought them the flowers. At once I felt three gentle touches on my forehead, while at the same time three distinct raps were made on the box, which in spirit telegraphy means yes. I then formed the mental request that if Lily was present she should put the lily in my hand. It was done as quick as a flash. I then said mentally, "Kitty, if you are here, I brought the white roses for you, and would like you to put one where you placed the spirit roses. Immediately I felt something placed there, and when the light was turned on, there was seen the white rose. Ever since I had the experience already related, of the hand touching my forehead, if I happen to be mentally tired I am almost sure to have it repeated. At the first touch of those magical fingers, the pain and weariness vanishes. The emotion this gives is all I can stand and live. I feel now so sure that much sweeter experiences will follow death, than can come to us in this life, that I think of that otherwise gloomy event with the most joyful and intense expectation. But this letter is growing too long. If I had far greater marvels to relate, I should expect you to reply. I might not this believe without the sensible and true avouch of my own eyes. So far as I am concerned, I can say, my life upon the ghost. She has told me many things and never played me false. She inspires and strengthens me constantly. I would not part with the joy of this experience for all the gold of earth. I do not think I shall be any more sure of immortality when I am dead, than I am now. I wish I could have seen you face to face, or sat in the dear family circle while I told my strange story, and answered all the questions which might arise, and see just how it affected you. I have not written it in such fulness before, from a feeling that some of it was too sacred and personal, that it would be almost sacrilege to give it to the general public. Your letter, however, shines so grandly and beautifully alongside of most of the comments of my old friends, and inspires me with such perfect confidence, that I cannot resist the temptation to give both the question and answer to the public. I feel sure that it will do much to restore the good feeling marred by the unjust censure of others and my own somewhat strong remarks under the intense excitement in which I was thrown, first by my experience, and next by its unfriendly reception. If you will write a short reply, and say just how it presents itself to your mind, I am sure that also will do a world of good. If you can explain it away on any hypothesis, that does not demand more credulity than the theory of spirit return, please do so. I have no wish to be deceived. Spiritualism is not Christianity. It courts investigation. If you think I am insane please say why. If you have any questions to ask touching the possibility of my being deceived I shall be glad to answer them. You may put me on the witness stand and cross-examine me in this trial, and I shall be delighted to take any pains to give you all the light I can. If your confidence in my sincerity causes the star of hope your loving eyes saw gleaming above your brother's grave to shine with a steadier ray, and brings to your ears, so thirsty for the grandest and sweetest music, the sweeter music of the rustle of a wing from a world that conquers death, and gives back to the heart all its desire, then I know that thousands, through your help, will be cheered by the same sweet music. With ever faithful love to you and yours, I am now, indeed, yours always and afterwards,  
GEORGE CHAINEY.

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Front Cover

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## Notices.

*All communications respecting the "New Zealand Masonic Journal" to be addressed to BRO. D. HARRIS HASTINGS, "New Zealand Masonic Journal" Co's office, 69 Princes street, Dunedin. (Postal address, box 315.)*

*We shall feel greatly indebted to secretaries of lodges and scribes of chapters if they will kindly forward us concise reports of meetings, installations, etc.*

*All correspondents are requested to sign their own name as well as give the name and number of the lodge they belong to.*

## Ourselves.

IN introducing the first number of the NEW ZEALAND MASONIC JOURNAL to the craft, we consider that no apology is needed for its existence. Without any disparagement to its senior—*The New Zealand Freemason*—it can safely be said that there is room for another Masonic organ, and more especially one which will endeavour to supply its readers with the latest and most accurate information upon Masonic events. This will be the principal aim of the NEW ZEALAND MASONIC JOURNAL, and its promoters trust that the secretaries of the various lodges and chapters will assist in this work by sending us concise reports of all their meetings. Whilst

our columns will always be open to any suggestions which will benefit the craft generally, we intend to discourage anonymous correspondence, as often, under the cloak of an emblem of Masonry, brethren attempt to create differences and foment existing grievances. Further than this, whilst the conduct of lodges will be closely watched and any errors or breaches of constitutions pointed out, we do not intend to champion the cause of any particular constitution or lodge. We expect to be supported equally well by the brethren of the three constitutions, and our aim will be to do equal justice to each. Should the occasion arise we shall not hesitate to differ with the most exalted brethren, but at all times we shall thankfully receive any suggestions or information from them and be happy to follow their advice. In conclusion, whilst asking the craft generally to pardon any shortcomings and look leniently upon any trifling errors, we trust and expect that the merit of the NEW ZEALAND MASONIC JOURNAL will be sufficient guarantee for its receiving liberal support throughout the colony.

## Our Masonic Hall.

The Dunedin Masonic Hall, with all its imperfections and inconveniences is very well suited for its present purpose, and unless the craft are prepared to spend a considerable amount of money in building a new one, should certainly not be given up. Without going into details, which are well known throughout Otago. it is sufficient for our purpose to remind the brethren that the hall is heavily weighted with a load of debt which threatens to bury it. The question then arises how is this debt to be reduced in accordance with the conditions of the original mortgage? If all the lodges will put their shoulder to the wheel in the manner the Otago Kilwinning has done, there would not be much difficulty in the matter. But the majority of the lodges are not numerically strong enough, nor have their members sufficient energy to follow so good an example. Some nine months ago, a meeting was held in the lower hall, in order to consider whether it would be desirable to hold a carnival or bazaar, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the liquidation of the debt on the hall. At the time this project was vetoed, and we think rightly so, as the masters, past masters, and officers of the various lodges did not show much enthusiasm in the matter, and unless the project had been heartily taken up, there would have been a deficit instead of a surplus. In a *very* short time the old question what is the best thing to do? will again have to be faced, and we hope that the directors, assisted by the craft throughout the city and suburbs, will initiate some project by which money can be made, and the incubus on the hall lifted off. It has been said, what right have Masons to ask the public to relieve them of their debts? With a carnival or encampment you do not ask any one to give you a sixpence, value should always be given in return, and unless the show, to use a theatrical term, is a good one, it will not pay. In America, the brethren have periodical Masonic carnivals in aid of Benevolent Funds, etc., and in the majority of instances, a large amount of money is thus realised. What we propose, therefore, is that a small but influential committee be appointed, either by the District Grand Lodges or the craft generally, to consider the whole matter, and report upon as early a date as possible. If they think that by means of a bazaar, carnival or encampment, it is possible to raise a considerable amount of money, let us, one and all, do our best to make the affair a success. If, however, they consider that such a course would be inadvisable, then we shall have individually to take up shares and put our hands into our pockets, or else lose the hall. A little might be said upon the subject of utilizing the hall for other purposes, but this is a wider question, and can be better considered at a future date.

Commencing next month, we purpose giving an authentic summarised history of the Victorian Grand Lodge movement.

In addition to those fixtures which appear on our Presentation Almanac, we would remind our readers that the Installation of Lodge St. John, 663, S.C., Milton, will be held on the 4th inst., and the Hiram Lodge of M.M.M's, 272, E.C., on the 9th inst.

With the first copy of the X. Z. MASONIC JOURNAL, we have much pleasure in presenting our subscribers with a Dunedin and Port Chalmers Masonic Almanac for 1887. On it will be found the dates of meetings of every Lodge, Chapter, &c., for the district, and also all installations for the current year. This Almanac has been very carefully compiled and revised, and we trust that no errors have crept into it. Should any other district wish for a similar almanac, we will be happy to execute it for them.

We must apologize to our readers for not having any original reports for any lodge outside our own District, but hope to have this remedied before the second number of the NEW ZEALAND MASONIC JOURNAL appears.

## Installations.

## **Provincial Grand Chapter, S.C.**

An imposing, interesting, and, as far as Royal Arch Masonry is concerned, an important ceremony, was performed at the ordinary meeting of the Kilwinning Otago Royal Arch Chapter No. 116, on December 20th, 1886, when M.E.P.Z. Comp., Louis Court was installed as Grand Superintendent of the Provincial Arch Chapter of New Zealand. The Otago Kilwinning Chapter having been opened, M.E.Z. Comp. W. Caldwell explained to the companions the purpose for which they had met, and the steps which had led up to the resuscitation of the Provincial Grand Chapter. Scribe E having read the commission from the Scottish Grand Chapter, the M.E.P.Z. Comp. H. Neill presented M.E. Comp. Louis Court to M.E. Comp. Caldwell, and the latter installed him as P.G. Superintendent of the Provincial Grand Chapter of New Zealand. M.E. Comp. Caldwell then proclaimed the P.G. Chapter duly constituted. The honours having been paid. to M.E.P.G.S., the following P.G. officers were invested: Prov. Grand H., Comp. J. Robertson, P.Z.; Prov. Grand J. Comp. D. A. McNichol, P.Z.; Prov. Grand Scribe E., Comp. H. Neill, P.Z.; Prov. Grand Scribe N., Comp. S. W. Gibbs; Prov. Grand 1st S., Comp., H. Credington; Grand 2nd S., Comp. H. Carter; Prov. Grand 3rd S., Comp. W. Parker. M.E. Comp. Caldwell then addressed the M.E.P.G.S., and his newly-invested officers, pointing out the responsibility that laid upon them. The M.E.P.G.S' in replying, stated that he, with the assistance of his officers, intended doing all he could for Royal Arch Masonry, and felt sure that their efforts would be crowned with success. He also thanked M.E. Comp. Caldwell for the able manner in which he had conducted the installation ceremony, and stated that had it not been for that exalted companion the Provincial Grand Chapter would not have been reconstituted. The ceremonies were beautifully carried out, and witnessed by a large number of visitors, amongst whom were the M.E. Companions Sir R. Stout, P.Z.; T. S. Graham, P.Z.; and C. de Longueville Graham, P.Z. The Chapter was closed in customary and ancient form at 10.15 p.m.

The Companions afterwards assembled at a banquet given by M.E. Comp. Court in honour of his installation. After the usual loyal and Royal Arch toasts had been honoured, M.E. Comp. Sir R. Stout proposed the health of the newly installed Prov. Grand Superintendent, and in so doing on behalf of the English Chapters stated that they would do their best to support the M.E. Comp. in his high position. In replying, M.E. Prov. G.Z. Comp. Court intimated that, accompanied by the Prov. Grand Scribe E. Comp. Neill, he intended visiting all the chapters in New Zealand, and hoped to bring back favourable reports. He also hoped that he would supervise Royal Arch Masonry as well as the M.E. Comp. Sir R. Stout presided over the interests of the Colony.—(Applause). The health of the M.E. Comp. W. Caldwell, P.Z., was then drunk, and in reply this exalted companion said that he hoped that the ceremony of the evening would be productive of good for Royal Arch Masonry throughout New Zealand, and he for one intended to closely watch the actions of the Prov. Grand Chapter. The other toasts honoured were "The visitors and M.E. Comp. Sir R. Stout," "Sister Chapters," "Prov. G. Scribe E. Comp. H. Neill," and "The Press." During the evening a number of brethren sang several songs, etc., and the companions separated shortly before midnight, thoroughly satisfied with the success of the ceremonies and social gathering.

## **Otago Royal Arch Chapter 844, E.C.**

The election and installation of Z. and officers of the above chapter was held in the Masonic Hall, Dunedin, on the evening of the 12th inst. The chapter was opened by M.E. Comp. H. Eldridge P.Z.; E. Comp. C. Braid being H.; and E. Comp. Bamfield as T. There was a large attendance of visiting companions, both the Joyce and Kilwinning Otago Chapters being well represented. E. Comp. Braid stated that he thought it would be advisable under the circumstances to proceed with the election and installation of officers for the ensuing year. After some discussion M.E. Comp. S. James, P.Z., stated that he had seen an exalted Comp. from England who thought the installation could be proceeded with, and if by accident anything was wrong the G. Chapter would condone it. The ballot was then taken and resulted as follows:—M.E.Z. Comp. Bamfield; H. Comp. Henry Eldridge P.Z., T. Comp. O. J. Hodge; Scribe, E. Comp. F.P. Cahill; Treasurer, Comp. J. E. Peake, P.Z.; P.S. Comp. the Rev. W. Ronaldson. M.E. Comp. Eldridge then vacated the chair in favour of M.E.P.Z., Comp. J. A. D. Adams, who proceeded to install the above officers, being assisted during the ceremony by E. Comps. S. James, P.Z., and T. Fordyce, P.Z. The ceremonies were well carried out, and it was remarked by some of the visiting companions, that the interior of the Chapter was equal to anything they had seen in the colony.

## **Lodge Of Unanimity, 604, E. C.**

The annual meeting and installation of W.M. and investiture of officers of this lodge took place in Lyttleton Masonic Hall on 23rd December. Bro. S. Mitchell was installed as W.M., and the following were the officers invested: I.P.M., Bro. H. Arnold; S.W. Bro. C. Curtis; J.W., Bro. J. Schmidt; Treasurer, Bro. J. Thompson;



Secretary, Bro. R. Griffiths; Chaplain P.M., Bro. Allwright; Organist, Bro. H. Crofts; S.D., Bro. R. Brown; J.D., Bro. W. Austin; D. of C., Bro. C. Russell; I.G., Bro. the Rev. E. Chambers; Tyler, Bro. A. Gordon; W.D.D.G.M. Bro. Dr Deamer acted as installing master.

## Lodge St. Andrew, 418, S.C.

Bro. Farquhar Macrae, who is well known throughout both Auckland and Otago, was installed as the R.W.M. of Lodge St Andrew, 418, S.C. (Auckland) on December 28th in the presence of a large and distinguished number of brethren. The following are his officers for the ensuing year:—D.M., Bro. R. B. Symon; S.M., Bro. James Anderson; S.W., Bro. J. P. King; T.W., Bro. Malcolm McLeod; Organist, Bro. Dr H. Walker; Treasurer, Bro. T. Ellison; Secretary, Bro. John F. Bulford; S.D., Bro. Page; J.D., Bro. Urquhart; Stewards, Bros. Robinson and Mason; I.G., Bro. Burford; Tyler, Bro. Tonge.

## Poetry.

### What was his creed?.

He left a load of anthracite  
In front of a poor widow's door  
When deep snow, frozen and white,  
Wrapped street and square, mountain and moor,  
This was his deed-  
He did it well;  
"What was his creed?"  
I cannot tell.

Blest "in his basket and store,"  
In sitting down and rising up;  
When more he got he gave the more,  
Withholding not the crust and cup.  
He took the lead  
In each good task;  
"What was his creed?"  
I do not ask.

His charity was like the snow,  
Soft, white and silken in its fall;  
Not like the noisy winds that blow  
From shivering trees the leaves; a pall  
For flower and weed,  
Dropping below.  
"What was his creed?"  
The poor may know.

He had great faith in loaves of bread  
For hungry people, young and old;  
And hope inspired kind words, he said

To him he sheltered from the cold,  
For the must feed,  
As well as pray.  
"What was his creed?"  
I cannot say.

In words he did not put his trust-  
In faith his words he never writ;  
He loved to share his cup and crust  
with all who needed it.  
In time of need  
A friend was he.  
"What was his creed?"  
He told not me.

He put his faith in Heaven—he  
Worked on with hand and head;  
And what he gave in charity  
Sweetened his sleep and daily bread.  
Let us take heed,  
For life is brief.  
"What was his creed—  
What his belief?"

## **Try the Square.**

[By Bio. David Barker in the Keystone.]

Is a Brother off the track?  
Try the Square;  
Try it well on every side.  
Nothing draws a craftsman back  
Like the Square, when well applied.  
Try the Square

Is he crooked, is he frail?  
Try the Square.  
Try it early, try it late;  
When all other efforts fail,  
Try the Square to make him straight—  
Try the Square.

Does he still persist in wrong?  
Try the Square.  
Loves he darkness more than light?

Try it thorough, try it long  
Try the Square to make him right—  
Try the Square.

Fails the Square to bring him in?  
Try the Square.  
Be not sparing of the pains;  
While there's any work to do.  
While a crook or knot remains—  
Try the Square.

## The Wages of the Craft.

There is a mine of wealth in the verbiage of Masonry. To ordinary observers the surface indications may be slight, but to the thoughtful Mason every word contains a nugget of ore. Often the Senior Warden of a lodge is regarded as a greatly inferior office, with little authority, and merely a sort of deputy Master, a lay figure, unless the Master be absent. Not so; he tells us so, and what he tells is true, and indicates a deeper truth than he tells. The Senior Warden is the paymaster of the Craft, now nominally, once really. He is a sort of stranded Masonic official on the shores of time. His vocation is largely gone. But what he now asserts of himself gives us a hint of what he once really was. It proves that he was an historic character, that time, the great lever, has lessened his authority; that his office was not created in the present or in the last century, but originated with Freemasonry itself, in the remote past. The language used by the Senior Warden proves that he is a kind of fossil. When does he ever pay the Craft wages now? But he did once—aye, and as long as three thousand years ago, if there is anything in Masonic tradition, or in Masonic philology. This carries us back to the building of King Solomon's Temple.

According to the traditions of the lodge, which are fortified in certain respects by the facts and traditions of Mark Masonry as well, there were two classes of stone-hewers and squarers, or Fellow-crafts, at the building of Solomon's Temple—first, a superior class, of skilled workmen, who were each in possession of an individual "Mark," and who always designated their work by this mark; and second, an inferior class, of probably younger and less experienced workmen, who had no mark, and probably performed only the rough work of the quarries. The former received their pay in silver, the latter in corn, wine, and oil. It was the duty of the Senior Warden of the lodge to pay these wages, and he did it on the sixth day of the week (Friday) at the sixth hour (High Twelve), when the Craft was called off from labour to refreshment. Now that the Mark Degree has been severed from the Fellow-Craft Degree, and made a special degree, the Senior Warden's vocation in the Fellow-Craft or Master Mason's lodge is gone. He has no wages to bestow, and no craftsmen to pay. Nevertheless he retains the old language, which indicates what his duty once was, and thereby testifies to the antiquity of his station, and the dignity with which he was once clothed.

But let it not be inferred that Freemasons no longer receive wages. Far from it. There is no man who receives better wages than a Freemason. He is a member of that ancient and honoured fraternity which has no rival, whose wealth—intellectual, moral, social, and material—is untold, and which dispenses its wealth with a liberal hand. Let us see what the wages of the Craft now are, and to whom they are paid.

The non-affiliate gets nothing, and merits nothing. He is a backslider, out of all sympathy with his fellows. He comes not near the lodge, and of course can receive no wages. Neither does the habitual absentee from the lodge who is in good standing receive any wages. Seeing is receiving, and he never sees. Hearing is receiving, and he never hears. No one receives wages but the brother who is dutiful to his lodge. But what does *he* receive? Most liberal wages. He is enriched in mind, in body, and in spirit. The sublime truths taught in the Craft, by sign and symbol, by word and act, are impressed again and again on his memory, so that he cannot forget them. Every devoted Freemason should be a noble man. He has no excuse for turpitude. He unfailingly knows what is right, and cannot err through ignorance. Besides this he is enriched in spirit, by communion and fellowship with his brethren. He has their sympathy. He sits with them both at labour and refreshment. The convivial joys of the banquet room are his. He is enriched also in body. Often the wages are material in form. He partakes of the viands which upbuild the body and rejoice the heart—the corn, the wine, and the oil of the Craft. His wages often include all these payments. Can any brother under these circumstances go away

dissatisfied? Can he be aught than happy, yea, delighted? Is the fraternity a useless one which can offer such rewards to its initiates—truth for the mind, nourishment for the body, encouragement and inspiration for the spirit, the emotional nature? Aye, and its wages are larger still. Does fortune fail, do friends fall away, does penury follow sharply on the heels of misfortune, then heaven-born charity is dispensed by the Craft. Then the wages are in shekels, as well as in the corn of nourishment, the wine of refreshment and the oil of joy. The unfortunate brother is paid the wages of both classes of Fellow-Crafts, those with Marks and those without; he is paid in specie and he is paid in kind.

Were Freemasons ever better paid than now? Were their wages ever larger. We would rather be a Freemason to-day than to have been one in the days of King Solomon. We would rather enjoy the labour and refreshment of the lodge now, than that which our primitive brethren enjoyed. The best times are these times, all that is said about the "good old times" to the contrary notwithstanding. All Freemasons are entitled to receive their wages, and if they do not, it is owing to the wilful neglect of their duties; it is their fault, and not the fault of the craft.—*Ex.*

## Leading Principles of Masonry.

Belief in God, who will reward virtue and punish vice.

Fraternity, or the brotherhood of men.

The obligation resting upon all men to obey the moral law.

The exercise of that toleration which grants to others the same right to entertain and express opinions which we claim for ourselves.

The equality of all men before God and in natural right and in the eye of the law, and the exercise of that liberty of action, opinion and speech, which, regulated by wise laws, is necessary to the pursuit of happiness.

The promotion of peace and the amicable adjustment by arbitration of all difficulties, State or individual, where possible, by mutual friends instead of a resort to law or to arms.

Respect for and obedience to the civil government and the laws under which we live.

The cultivation and practical application of that broad charity which "thinketh no evil," and bestows upon the needy with open hand.

On such principles, all men disposed to be just, and inclined to peace, may unite and together work for the good of all. This institution does not build its platform of principles so high that none but such as are already saints having wings can get up to it, nor so narrow that few can stand upon it when they get there; but it is made for mortal men, full of infirmities, and is broad and strong, and may be reached by "all sorts and conditions of men" who are worthy and desire to be made wiser and better and to do good to others.

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## The Difference.

Cardinal Gibbons says: "We hold that if a man joins a society swearing never to reveal any of its workings no matter how criminal, and to obey the dictates of its officers blindly, he surrenders his personal liberty, becomes a slave to his fellow-man, and cannot partake of the sacraments of the church. On the other hand, if a man joins an organization swearing to keep its working, with the proviso that nothing therein shall be contrary to the laws of the land, his conscience and religious tenets, we hold that his action is perfectly justified."

Now, as any Masonic obligation comes under the latter conditions, as a Mason is taught that nothing is to interfere with his duty to God, his country, his neighbour, or himself, the Cardinal must approve our order as "perfectly justified" to be consistent and true to his own utterances.

## Home News.

The following are the officers elect of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, for the ensuing year:—

At the last quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the Special Committee appointed on the subject of the "Mark," reported that in answer to several communications reported by Grand Secretary, it was agreed to recommend to the Grand Committee to rule that "it is incompetent under the Scottish Constitution to work the Mark in so-called Mark lodges with office-bearers other than those of the Craft lodge, and having separate books and accounts, but that the degree shall be conferred on Master Masons as a section of that of the Fellow Craft, and that all such admissions to the Mark shall be recorded in the ordinary minute book of the lodge. Further, that it is competent to lodges to give the mark to regularly recorded Master Masons of other lodges under the Scottish Constitution, as well as to their own qualified members." This was approved.

The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England has just granted warrants for the following new lodges: The Ruahine Lodge, Woodville, Hawke's Bay, and the Lodge of Harmony, Otahuhu, Auckland.

We referred some time ago to the position that the *Mark o* occupies amongst the recognised Masonic Degrees, under the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The matter has again been considered by that body. The Grand Committee has ruled that "it is incompetent, under the Scottish Constitution, to work the Mark in so-called Mark lodges, with office-bearers other than those of the Craft lodge, &c., also that the Degree shall be conferred on Master Masons as a section of that of the Fellow Craft and that all such admissions to the Mark shall be recorded in the ordinary minute book of the lodge. Further, that it is competent to lodges [Craft] to give the *Mark* to regularly recorded Master Masons of other lodges under the Scottish Constitution as well as to their own qualified members." The position of the Scottish Mark Degree, or ceremony, is thus unique. It is recognised by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the subordinates of which are permitted to work the Degree so long as the *Craft* minute book is used for its records, and Master Masons of Scottish lodges are eligible for "advancement," even in lodges to which they do not subscribe as members. The fiction of its being a "section of the Fellow Craft" is still persisted in, but that is not of much moment. Then the Mark Degree is recognised by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland, it being a necessary prerequisite for "exaltation;" and, the two Grand Bodies having agreed to work the same ritual, should a Mark Master of Scottish lodge a desire to join a Royal Arch Chapter, his being in possession of the Degree thus conferred in a Craft lodge renders it unnecessary for him "to take it a second time"; so that the Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter work most amicably together though they both exercise jurisdiction over Mark Masonry in Scotland. Had it not been for the "Articles of Union," it is just possible a somewhat similar arrangement would have prevailed in this country, but as it is, the Mark Degree cannot be actually recognised by the Grand Lodge of England. It has, however, all the recognition that is desirable by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales being the Grand Master of both organizations. We fail to see what more can possibly be wanted, and have little patience with those who rail at "unrecognised Degrees," yet would tolerate any ceremony which obtained recognition, however modern, useless, or un-Masonic in character.—*The Freemason*.

The *Chaine'd Union* says—A Masonic ball, in aid of the poor at Constantinople was held recently at the new theatre in that city; 450 persons were present, including many Masonic notabilities, and the affair was a great success; 600 Turkish lire were netted, including a donation of 100 lire from the Sultan.

## Lodge Meetings.

In reporting the meetings of the various lodges, etc., we intend to follow the lines laid down by the *Freemason* and *Freemasons' Chronicle*, therefore our readers need not be surprised when they read the names of the initiates into our order, and the brethren who are advanced. It appears to us that whilst in an ordinary journal it would be certainly inadvisable to publish either the names of candidates or brethren seeking preferment, in a Masonic Journal, which is presumably not read by outsiders, the case is entirely different. Brethren in all parts of the colony have *every* right to know what manner of men are being introduced into the order, and there is no doubt that a number take the deepest interest in the proceedings of either their mother lodges or lodges to which they may have belonged. In a community like ours, where a large proportion of the population are continually shifting their residence, it does not require much argument to prove the desirability of our following the procedure of the English papers. Whilst on the subject of reporting meetings it may not be out of place to remark that whilst we will at all times devote as much space as possible to giving fair reports of lodge and chapter meetings, the brethren may rest assured that nothing detrimental to the interests of the craft will ever appear in our columns.

MASONIC SERVICE.—The annual Masonic Service in connection with the Port Chalmers Marine Lodge, 942, E.C., was held at Holy Trinity Church, Port Chalmers, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 9th ultimo. A number of the Dunedin brethren were present, and the District Grand Lodge was represented by W. Bro. C. de Longueville Graham, and several of the officers. The brethren having marched into the church, "Hail eternal by whose aid," was sung as a processional. Bro. the Rev. W. Ronaldson (W.M. of 844 E.C.) officiated and he chose as special Psalms, Nos. 121 and 133. The first lesson was taken from Isaiah lx., and the second from I Corinthians xiii. The Rev. Bro. preached an eloquent and impressive sermon upon "Charity," taking for his text the well-known words—"Now abideth Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the greatest of these is Charity." "Lead kindly light," O Lord how joyful it is to see," and "Holy, holy, holy," were the other hymns. During the service a "Lewis" in the person of Peter George Schumacher, infant son of the Z. of the Joyce Chapter, was christened, the W. President of the Board of General Purposes acting as one of the sponsors.

LODGE OTAGO KILWINNING, 417, S.C.—The ordinary monthly meeting of this Lodge was held in the Masonic Hall, Dunedin, on January 13. There was a good attendance of visitors, including a number of eminent brethren. The business of the evening was the "raising" of Bro. Newton, and R.W.M. Bro. Raffils performed the ceremony, (including the lecture on the tracing board), in a very satisfactory manner, more especially when the

fact that it was his first night in the chair was taken into consideration. S.W. Bro. Price presented the working tools of the degree. At a small social meeting held after the business had been concluded, P.M. Bro. Malcolm, of Lodge Crown 675, S.C., and several of the local W.M.s and P.M.s stated that they had never seen the degree better worked, and gave unqualified praise to Bro. Raffils and his officers.

S. ANDREW, 472, S.C.—The regular monthly meeting of this lodge was held in the Masonic Hall, Dunedin, on the evening of January 11th. The lodge having been opened, Messrs John Duthie, Edward Duthie, and George Brown were proposed as candidates. The ballot having resulted in their favour, R.W.M. Bro. D. Cherrie, initiated them into the mysteries of the craft. P.M. Bro. S. Peden gave the lecture on the tracing board, Bro. J. Ogg, J.W., the working tools, and Bro. P. Wilson, S.W., the final charge. The working was all that could be desired, and reflected great credit upon Bro. Cherrie and his officers. An application for relief from a North Island Lodge was, upon the motion of P.M. Bro. Jeffrey, referred to the District Grand Lodge, as it was considered that all applications for relief from outside lodges should come through the D.G.S. instead of direct to private lodges. The lodge was closed in peace and harmony at 10.30 p.m.

PORT CHALMERS MARINE LODGE, No. 942, E.C.—The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, January, 13, at 7.30 p.m., the W. Bro. D. Leech, I.P.M., in the chair. There was a good attendance of the members, and several visitors were present. The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and confirmed, and several accounts passed for payment. The W. Bro. C. de Longueville Graham, P.M., mentioned that a new Masonic journal was about to be established, and urged the brethren to aid in its success. It was, he said, "a felt want," and added that the greatest care would be taken by the Editor in its compilation, no personalities would be permitted, and all correspondence must appear with the signature of the writer. This he considered was a step in the right direction, for nothing could be more opposed to the principles of the craft than an anonymous system of correspondence. The lodge was afterwards passed and raised, and Bros. F. G. Downes and J. Allardice admitted to the sublime degree of M.M., the traditional history and working tools being effectively rendered by the W. Bro. Graham.

LODGE DUNEDIN, 931, E.C.—The regular monthly meeting of this lodge was held in the Freemason's Hall, Dunedin, on Tuesday, Jan. 18th. The lodge was opened at 7 45 p.m., by W.M. Bro. Hodge, there being a large number of visitors present, presumably out of compliment to the members of Lodge Dunedin, on the occasion of their having altered their night of meeting to a more suitable one. Bro. Bernat Rotter was "passed," the ceremony being excellently performed by W.M. Bro. Hodge and his officers, P.M. Bros. D. Cameron, and T. A. Peterkin (Lodge Otago), and S.W. Bro. Solomon, and J.W. Bro. S. W. Gibbs taking various portions of the work. Fraternal greetings having been conveyed the lodge was closed in customary form, at 8 45 p.m. A small supper was afterwards held, when the usual toasts were honoured, and several of brethren contributed songs and recitations.

LODGE CELTIC, 477, S.C.—The regular monthly meeting of this lodge was held at the Masonic Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on the evening of the 20th ultimo. The lodge having opened, a number of visitors were received, including the R.W.M. officers, and some of the brethren of Lodge Otago Kilwinning, 417, S.C. The ballot was then taken for mems John Greenwood, and Cornelius A. Reeves, and it having been declared clear, these two gentlemen were initiated into the mysteries of the E. A. degree. The ceremony was creditably performed by the R.W.M., Bro. Colin Macandrew; P.M. Bro. J. Baxter giving the lecture, and J.W. Bro. R. Sinclair the final charge. It was agreed to support the *N.Z. Masonic Journal*, and a case of relief was referred to the committee. After the usual greetings had been conveyed to the R.W.M., the lodge was closed. The customary re-union was afterwards held, and after "The Tyler's Toast" had been given, the brethren left, a dirge being played by the lodge piper.

HIRAM LODGE OF INSTRUCTION, E.C.—The regular meeting of this Lodge of Instruction was held in the Freemason's Hall, on the 17th inst., when there were present: Bros. H. A. Reynolds, W.M., 2008; W. M., W. Hatton; S.W., S. W. Gibbs, J.W.; M. Walker, S.D.; C. J. Ronaldson, J.D.; W. McAdam, J.G.; J. M. Hunt, Secretary; also Bros. H. Eldridge, P.M., 844; Rev. W. Ronaldson, W.M., 844; and Bro. Niven. In the absence of Bro. T. A. Peterkin, P.M., Bro. J. M. Hunt acted as preceptor. The lodge was opened in due form, and the minutes of the last regular meeting read and confirmed. The ceremony of initiation rehearsed by the W.M., Bro. Niven, acting as the candidate. Bro. Rev. W. Ronaldson, W.M., 844, assumed the chair. Bro. Niven offered himself as a candidate to be passed to the second degree, and answered the usual questions. The lodge was opened in the second degree, and the ceremony of passing rehearsed by the W.M., Bro. S. W. Gibbs presenting the working tools. The lodge was closed in the 2nd degree. The W.M. rose for the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd time, and nothing further offering for the good of Freemasonry in general, the lodge was closed.

THE ALLIED DEGREES.—A Council of the Allied Degrees will shortly be opened in this district. The W. Bro. Charles de Longueville Graham has received intelligence from the Grand Secretary that the Supreme Grand Council will issue the rescript for the formation of a Council for New Zealand South. In all, seven degrees are conferred under this rite.

WATERLOO ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER.—A communication of this Chapter was held on Monday, 10th Jan., to receive an official visit from the M.E. Grand Superintendent of R.A. Masonry in N.Z., Companion Court. A good number of Companions were present, and the distinguished visitor, who was accompanied by Companion Neill, Scribe E. in the Provincial Grand Chapter, was received in due form. E. Companion Elliott's propositions "That the Standing Committee revise the by-laws," and "that the sum of £5 be voted to the Wellington Hospital fund," were seconded and carried. M.E.Z. Williams addressed the Companions present in a few well chosen remarks, and expressed the very great pleasure he felt in welcoming the Grand Superintendent. M.E. Comp. Court returned thanks for the kind manner in which his name had been mentioned, and stated that his visit, besides being one of inspection, was also in order to appoint a deputy in the North Island. He therefore asked the members of the Chapter to nominate a Companion for the honourable position of H. in the Provincial Grand Chapter. M.E. Companion Powles, P.Z., was unanimously selected to fill the post, but as he was unavoidably absent, a special meeting of the Chapter was held on Thursday, 13th inst., at which he was duly installed by M.E. Companion Court. We tender M.E. Companion Powles our best wishes.—*N.Z. Mail.*

OTAGO KILWINNING CHAPTER, 116, S.C.—The regular communication! of this Chapter was held at the Masonic Hall (Dunedin), on the evening of the 24th ult. The business of the evening was the "exaltation" of a brother belonging to Lodge 662, S.C. M.E.Z. Comp. W. Caldwell presided, and assisted by E. Comp. S. Peden, P.Z., performed the ceremony in his usual capable and impressive style. The minor offices were all well filled, and the officers are to be congratulated upon having reached such a state of proficiency. A candidate for the Chapter having been nominated, the proceedings terminated in the customary and ancient manner.

NEW ZEALAND PACIFIC LODGE, 517, E.C. (Wellington.)—The regular monthly meeting of this lodge took place on Monday, Jan. 10. There was a good attendance of members and visitors, and three brethren were passed to the Second Degree. Bro. Young, the W.M., performed his share of the work in a very efficient manner, the lecture and charge being given by the S.W. and J.W. respectively.

DISTRICT GRAND LODGE, E.C. (Wellington.)—The regular quarterly communication was held on Thursday, Jan. 13. R.W. Bro. C.J. Toxward, D.G.M., presided, and there was a fair number of brethren present. The usual amount of business was transacted, and the balance-sheet of the D.G. Lodge was read and approved. Bro. Robertson, D.G. Organist, moved "That an address be presented to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen on the occasion of the Jubilee, such address to be signed by the D.G. Master and his officers, also by the W.M., S.W., and J.W. of every Lodge under the E.C. in the Wellington District." The motion was carried, and an influential committee was appointed to further the matter. Hearty good wishes were tendered by the R.W.D.G. Master, Auckland, E.C., and by Bro. Robertson on behalf of the Grand Orient of Italy.

WATERLOO LODGE, 463, S.C. (Wellington.)—The regular monthly meeting took place on Jan. 11. There was a good attendance of brethren, it being the R.W.M. Bro. Harton's first meeting since his installation. Bro. M'Morran was raised to the sublime degree of a M.M., the I.P.M., Bro. Greg ably assisting the R.W.M. in carrying out the duties. After transacting some further business the lodge adjourned for refreshments at 10.30 p.m.

## Correspondence.

*Whilst at all times we shall be only too willing to insert correspondence upon matters pertaining to Freemasonry, we have decided upon adopting the following rule:—*

*Where any letter reflects in the slightest degree upon any lodge, chapter, or brother, the writer must attach his name and the name of his lodge for publication.*

## The Freemasons' Hall.

(TO THE EDITOR).

SIR,—The question of liquidating the debt on the Freemasons' Hall in Dunedin, is one which calls for immediate consideration. Owing to the depressed state of the times, members of the craft generally, cannot give largely in aid of the building fund, and three courses might be suggested:—1. That the wealthy members might immortalise themselves by liquidating the debt; 2. That a special programme be arranged so that all members of the craft and their friends could contribute, say by means of a popular carnival; or, 3. That the proposed Protective Policy be adopted by the colony, so that we could have "the boon of prosperity" anticipated by both protectionists and freetraders, as the immediate result of that policy, and members of the craft might themselves comfortably liquidate the debt. At the request of several friends, I have ventured to bring this subject under your notice. I may state that the number of protectionists in New Zealand is rapidly increasing, and my third suggestion may be regarded as appropriate.—I am etc.,

W. A. W. WATHEN.

Dunedin,

January 27, 1887.

A Masonic pound weighs 16 ounces, and is at least evenly balanced,

A Masonic bushel contains 231 cubic inches, and is filled brimfull.

A Masonic yard is 36 inches, and it is not shortened by the handling of the stick.

A Masonic ton is 2,000 pounds, and is not roughly judged, but conscientiously handled.

## Gems.

Even true Mason is constantly in search after light, in search for Divine truth. This, and this only, is the Mason's work, and in obtaining it he receives his reward.

A true Mason is a quiet and peaceful citizen, true to his government and just to his country, nor will he in any way countenance disloyalty or rebellion.

A true Mason will be honest and upright in all his dealings. The square and its teachings will be the rule and guide of his conduct in all of his transactions, and in every respect he will be careful to avoid all unjust censure or reproach.

A true Mason will be ready at all times, so far as lies within his power, to assist a needy brother; he will consider his welfare as well as his own; in all his aspirations to Deity, his sorrows and his secrets will be respected. He will at all times speak as well of a brother behind his back as when in his presence; and when he is falling in character and reputation, be ready to render him assistance and support, kindly reminding him of his errors and aid in his reformation.

The true Mason believes in a Supreme Intelligence which pervades and animates all nature—the Infinite One—and will pay him that reverence due from a creature to his Creator. Nor will he use the name by which He is known to us in a light and trifling manner.

## Miscellaneous Articles.

### Objections to Freemasonry.

First, its secrecy consists in nothing more than methods by which the members are enabled to recognise each other; and in certain doctrines, symbols, or instructions, which can be obtained only after a process of initiation, and under a promise that they shall be made known to none who have not submitted to the same initiation, but which, with the exception of these particulars, have no reservations from the public; and secondly, of those societies which, in addition to their secret modes of recognition and secret doctrines, add an entire secrecy as to the object of their association, the time of their meetings and even the very names of their members. To the first of these classes belong all those moral or religious secret societies which have existed from the earliest times. Such are the Ancient Mysteries, whose object was by their initiation to cultivate a purer worship than the popular one; such, too, the schools of the old philosophers like Pythagoras and Plato, who in their exoteric instructions taught a higher doctrine than that which they communicated to their esoteric scholars. Such, too, are the modern secret societies which have adopted an exclusive form, only that they may restrict the social enjoyment which it is their object to cultivate, or the system of benevolence for which they are organized to the persons who are united with them by the tie of a common covenant and the possession of a common knowledge. Such, lastly, is Freemasonry, which is a secret society only as respects its signs, a few of its legends and traditions, and its method of inculcating its mystical philosophy, but which, as to everything else—its design, its objects, its moral and religious tenets, and the great doctrine which it teaches—is as open a society as if it met on the highways beneath the sun of day and not within the well-guarded portals of a Lodge. The great error of writers who have attacked Freemasonry on the ground of its being a secret society, is that they confounded Freemasonry with political societies of revolutionary times whose object was the overthrow of governments. Masonry does nothing of the kind.—*Detroit Freeman.*



# Teach the Young Mason.

When a brother is initiated into Freemasonry he should not be allowed to wander onward alone, but should be figuratively taken by the hand and instructed in the wondrous mysteries of the royal art. Too many Masters of lodges after they give a man a degree allow him to find out for himself any further information he may desire, or satisfy themselves with simply teaching him to answer a series of "set questions," and allow him to suppose—This is Masonry.

Now, we hold this is altogether wrong. The Entered Apprentice should be instructed in the principles of our fraternity, and its true character should be explained to him. By this means the neophyte is interested in the proceedings of the lodge, and instead of becoming a drone, as so many do in the Masonic hive, matures into an incessant worker.

If Freemasonry only consisted of degreeism, as so many think, then indeed we could allow our younger brethren to wade through the series as quickly or as slowly as they pleased, but the Freemasonry of the nineteenth century is something more than formalism and ceremonialism—it is the sister and hand-maid of religion, it is the living example of the purest system of practical morality that ever was known on earth, it is a philosophy that draws the mind of man to God, and a science that teaches man to study the wondrous attributes of the Fountain of Life and Light. This is what we have to teach the young Mason.

Now, when we contemplate these things, how important it is that we should only select fit and proper material for the Temple of the Lord, and when once selected, how equally requisite is it that the mind should be trained to grasp the great truths that, like the priceless diamond, lie deep and low beneath the surface of the order.

We are in search of more light from the day of our initiation till the hour of our death. Freemasonry is a study that no man yet or ever can fully master, because the science only ends with the grave, and the proof of its theosophy can only be discovered "beyond the river." God said "Let there be light," but the light he gave was only the reflection of his countenance, and so it is with the moral truths, the light of Freemasonry, it is only the reflected light of the glorious light of the hereafter.

This is the Freemasonry we have to teach our younger brethren. Train them, of course, in the work of the lodge, explain to them our hidden mysteries, but above all things make them thoroughly understand that Masonry is practical and requires something more than a parrot-like exactness of ritual. We want men in the fraternity who really appreciate the wondrous attributes of the Deity, and who can perceive in every pebble on the sea shore, every grain of wheat, every flower that blooms, every reptile that crawls and fish that swims, every bird that flies and animal that breathes, the wondrous handiwork of the Creator—a Creator above sect and creed, a God not made by man, but a God of Gods, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent.

## So mote it be.

We love this quaint old response. To us it means unity born in harmony; which is the key to heavenly enjoyment. It says we have sat together on the Level, and profit has been its fruit, that we are better men for so doing, and as little things make up our natural Temple, so these meetings from time to time, build up our spiritual. It should be our aim to make those words golden. Let them be an echo from the heart. They are a benediction born of a charity which has its sustenance from a world unseen by mortal eyes,—the source of inspiration. For centuries this Masonic saying has been borne heaven-ward as incense. We trust, as the years roll by, they will be dearer, as the sun of the land of rest begins to shed its lustre over the mountain peaks which look upon a landscape where a weary footfall is never heard, and tears and sighs are aliens. Amen. So mote it be.—*Portland Masonic Journal*.

## Why a Woman cannot become a Mason.

At the late anniversary celebration of the Masons of Austin, Nevada, the orator of the day thus discoursed upon this question:

"Woman sometimes complains that she is not permitted to enter our lodges and work with the craft in their labours, and learn all that there is to be learned in that institution. We will explain the reason. We learn that, before the Almighty had finished his work, he was in some doubt about creating Eve. The creation of every living thing had been accomplished, and the Almighty had made Adam (who was the first Mason), and erected

for him the finest lodge in the world, and called it Paradise No. 1. He then caused all the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air to pass before Adam for him to name them, which was a piece of work he had to perform alone, so that no confusion might thereafter arise from Eve, who he knew would make trouble if she was allowed to participate in it if He created her beforehand. Adam, being very much fatigued with his first task, fell asleep, and when he awoke he found Eve in the lodge with him. Adam, being Senior Warden, placed Eve as the pillar of beauty in the South, and they received their instructions from the Grand Master in the East, which when finished, she immediately called the craft from labour to refreshment. Instead of attending to the duties of her office as she ought, she left her station, violated her obligation, and let in an expelled Mason, who had no business there, and went around with him, leaving Adam to look after the jewels. This fellow had been expelled from the Grand Lodge with several others some time before. But hearing the footsteps of the Grand Master, he suddenly took his leave, telling Eve to go to making aprons, as she and Adam were not in proper regalia. She went and told Adam, and when the Grand Master returned to the lodge he found that his gavel had been stolen.

He called for the Senior and Junior Wardens, who had neglected to guard the door, and found them absent. After searching for some time he came to where they were hid, and demanded of Adam what he was doing there instead of occupying his official position. Adam replied that he was waiting for Eve to call the craft from refreshment to labour again, and that the craft was not properly clothed, which they were making provisions for. Turning to Eve, he asked her what she had to offer in excuse for her unofficial and unmasonic conduct. She replied that a fellow passing himself off as a Grand Lecturer had been giving her instructions, and she had thought it no harm to learn them. The Grand Master then asked her what had become of the gavel; she said she didn't know, unless the fellow had taken it away.

Finding that Eve was no longer trustworthy, and that she had caused Adam to neglect his duty, and let in one whom He had expelled, the Grand Master then turned them out, and closing the lodge, set a faithful Tyler to guard the door with a flaming sword. Adam repenting of his folly, went to work like a man and a good Mason, in order to get reinstated again. Not so with Eve; she got angry about it, and commenced raising Cain.

Adam, on account of his reformation, was permitted to establish lodges and work in the lower degrees; and while Eve was allowed to join him in the works of Charity by his side, she was never again to be admitted to assist in the regular work of the lodge. Hence the reason why a woman cannot become an inside Mason."—*Exchange*.

## A Grip.

As a general thing grip folk are very careful about fooling around the police station, but in this "vale of tears" it is not an unfrequent error to miss the path of safety and stray into the fold of the wicked. Friday afternoon when all was quiet on the avenue, a Gripper made his way down Felix, and would perhaps have journeyed on to the Union depot had not his attention been arrested by observing city Marshal Ritchie leading a "forlorn hope" into the Recorder's sanctum. Arriving at the court room, and finding the Recorder occupied for the time being, the Marshal began to question his charge, when the following interesting dialogue ensued, the questions being asked by the Marshal and answers returned by the man he had under arrest:

"From whence came you?"

"From a town down the river, to the west, called Atchison."

"What's your business here?"

"To learn to subdue my appetite and sponge my living from an indulgent public."

"Then you are a regular tramp, I presume?"

"I am so taken and accepted wherever I go."

"How do you know yourself to be a tramp?"

"In seeking food, by being often denied, but ready to try again."

"Will you be off or from?"

"With your permission I'll be off very quick."

"Of what are you in pursuit?"

"Work, which by my own endeavours and the assistance of others I hope I shall never be able to find."

"Where were you made a tramp?"

"In a regularly organized country, where only the rich enjoy life, and the labouring man was considerably below par."

"How were you prepared to become a tramp?"

"By being divested of everything I possessed of value, reduced to poverty and thrown upon the world barefoot and hungry."

"How gained you admission to this town?"

"By the assistance of *a.* tie pass over the Missouri Pacific."

"Had you the pass?"

"I had it not; my chum had it for me."

"Whither art thou travelling?"

"As soon as I get out of your clutches I'll journey eastward, and that too, at a lively pace."

"On entering this town how were you received?"

"On the end of a policeman's billy, applied to my naked off ear, which was to teach me that, as the ear is the most tender organ in cold weather, so might the recollection thereof ever be to my mind and conscience should I again attempt to enter a strange town without the necessary money to pay for a night's lodging."

"What did the policeman say to you?"

"He asked me, ' Who comes there?'"

"Your answer?"

"A poor weary traveller, who has not tasted food for days, and though he is short on funds he is long on walk, and will travel many blocks further upon the assurance of being able to encounter a free lunch."

"What followed?"

"I was directed to wait with patience until the City Marshal could be informed of my deplorable condition, and his answer returned."

"What answer did he return?"

"Let him enter the station and we will endeavour to feed him and permit him to work out his board bill in the zoological garden spot."

Here the city Marshal discovered that he and his ragged partner had an audience, and the "peace keeper" murmured, as the two moved on .—"That's a Gripper; let's go."

## The Secret.

The secret is out at last, and it will be no use our pretending any longer that the proceedings of a Masons' lodge are hidden from the knowledge of the public. Such an idea may have held good formerly, and even now it may pass current for the truth among the inmates of Bedlam or the aborigines of Central Africa; but civilised people, and especially those dwelling in the favourite counties of Limerick and Tipperary, know better. A Mr R. H. Cotter has written a letter to a journal circulating in those parts, in which he describes, in all its diabolical hide-ousness, the whole ceremony of Masonic initiation. Mr Cotter is by no means scrupulous about the use of strong language, there being almost innumerable "damns" and "devils" introduced into his description of the scene, but he supports his statements by frequent references to articles and reports in the "Freemason," and therefore there can be no doubt about the authenticity of his facts. At all events, our readers who have gone through the dread ordeal of initiation know from experience what "devilish" cruelties were perpetrated at their expense by the "incarnate fiends" who performed the ceremony. They know, alas! but too well, that one of the most important features in a properly furnished Masons' lodgeroom is the "rough ashlar;" or "rock," of half a ton or more in weight, ballasting the goat or tracing board," to which the candidate is tightly strapped, and on which he lies in a paroxysm of terror, the big beads of perspiration dropping from his forehead, while one "devil" prods him with a dirk or poniard "in the left mammary region," just over the heart, and another "devil" extorts from him the oath of allegiance to the "devilish" principles of the craft. of course, too, if he were slow to utter the words of that "nefarious oath," he has a most vivid recollection of how those "devils" kept prodding him more and more sharply by command of the "thundering devil" in the "chair of A—," till "broken down in spirit for all time, if not for eternity," he at length "caved under to that incarnation of Satan in those depths of Hell." Even now probably he feels "a certain sensation" "go through him and down to his legs," and shudders fearfully at the bare recollection of that awful scene. For ourselves, we have done nothing else than shudder since reading Mr Cotter's letter, and as the blood-stained garments in which we underwent the ceremony are "still religiously preserved among our ancient archives," we fear we shall go on shuddering for the rest of our days. But this is by no means the sum total of Mr Cotter's disclosures, derived as he tells us, from a journal, which is published "with the special sanction of the Prince of Wales," and such other trustworthy sources as "Kenning's Cyclopaedia," &c. He recounts, among other things, that "the process of initiation is so cruel that even the devils themselves are obliged to have 'lodges of instruction' in order to get their hand steady—and one devil acts as sham candidate for the rest to practise on." He explains that a "Lewis" is "the son of a mason devil father who has 'the privilege' of murdering his own son in body and soul at the tender age of eighteen!" and that whenever an event of this kind takes place "'the sponsor' announces that 'a new creature' is born into 'the mother lodge.'" Further on we read—and on our own authority, too—that Cain was our "first Grand Master," and that he (Cain) "made a bungling attempt to make a Freemason of his brother Abel and failed." It appears also that

when Nebuchadnezzar, who was a Sovereign Grand Conservator of the rite, tried "to make Freemasons of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, he *smelt fire*, and repented." Well, we suppose we must content ourselves with the wise reflection that this is an age in which—to use a hackneyed phrase—"we live and learn." We, of course, and our readers, have known all these things from our initiation onwards, and can therefore vouch for their perfect truth. Now, thanks to Mr Cotter's exposition, the profane world knows them likewise, and is doubtless edified. To the phantasies in green, the studies in black and white, the blue devils, the devils in red, must be added henceforth this "alto relieveo" in terra *Colter*, in which the artist has delineated in all its devilry the only true mode of initiating Freemasons. We are much obliged to Mr Cotter for giving publicity to our ceremonies, and we hope he will follow up his first success by others still more astounding. The one thing that surprises us is that the editor of any journal, especially if he is under the necessity of disclaiming all knowledge of the craft, should have allotted so much space in his correspondence columns to these Masonic "devils." They must have "played the very devil" with the nerves of his more sensitive readers.—*The Freemason*.

## Masonic Mysteries—the True Story of Morgan.

"Batavia, my friends," said the fat passenger, "is the home of the late lamented Mr Morgan. Mr Morgan in his day was a goat rider of considerable celebrity. But he went back on the goat. Here is the office of the *Advocate*, one of the weekly papers of Batavia. In this print-shop, in the days of the *Advocate's* ancestor, Mr Morgan printed a book and told all about the bad habits, the deceitful tricks, and the wicked ways of the goat. He gave the frolicsome animal of the lodge away bad. He described his amusements; he told how he did it and what he called it. He just told all about it, and literally took the goat by the horns, which, Mr Morgan averred, were not the only kind of horns taken in the lodge.

The dejected animal brooded over his wrongs. He felt that Mr Morgan's offence was rank. It couldn't have been much ranker than the goat; but the goat didn't think of that. He thought only of revenge. He had his revenge. One summer night the goat backed out of his closet, got out of a window in the lodge room and slid noiselessly down the lightning-rod—we can see the same lightning-rod a few blocks further on. That very night the doomed and recreant brother Morgan was out taking a walk in the starlight. The great exposé strayed carelessly down one street and another, his hands clasped in meditation, his head bent in thought. As he walked with an uneven gait his back swayed to and fro with what an ordinary goat might have considered a challenging gesture. He did not look around, and so did not see a terrible figure that followed him—a gloomy, fearful, threatening shape—a part of the night, but not of it. Now, and then, as it came close to Mr Morgan, it would raise itself up in the air with its head bent down as though in mockery of its victim's attitude, and for a brief second it would retain this attitude, looking in the gloom like a shadowy letter S with legs. Then it would let down, and pause to eat a circus-poster; and having finished this frugal lunch, it would hasten on after the doomed Morgan.

By-and-bye the traitor stood on the bridge over the Towanda. He folded his arms, crossed his legs, and leaned easily on the parapet. At that instant the goat ran up to short range, unlimbered and went into battery, action rear. He straightened himself up like a lightning-rod, then he curved himself into an interrogation point, then he shot himself out straight horizontally and came down in one time and two motions.

He butted Mr Morgan. He only butted him once; but once was all the bill called for. It was an immense success. The doors weren't open ten minutes before the house was crowded so that there wasn't standing room, and the last man that came in had to leave his cane outside. The goat's neck cracked like a torpedo with the concussion, and it is on the records of the lodge that he wore a porous plaster on his back for the next two weeks. Nothing like it had ever happened in his family since his great grandfather hired himself out to Augustus Caesar for a Roman catapult.

As for Mr Morgan, he was amazed and pained and disappointed. Disappointed because he could not die right way and have done with it. He was at a loss to know just what had happened, and was surprised that no one else felt the shock of the earthquake. When he landed against the side of the mountain about four miles the other side of the creek, he began to realize the terrible truth. He was seized with an intense sickening fear of all goats, and no wonder. The next day, when he was standing at the mantel-piece, eating his dinner, he laid his hand on his heart, which had been knocked clear up into the back of his neck, and took a solemn oath that he would go where he never again could see, hear, feel, or smell a goat—especially feel. Mr Morgan seems to have been a man who didn't have any too much regard for the sanctity of an oath, but circumstances assisted him in keeping his vow. He started to escape from the presence of goats the next day.

Naturally, when he hid himself from the nod of the headstrong and erratic goat, he disappeared from the eyes of men, he couldn't help it. Wherever he found men, there were goats. If he slept in the stable the goat was there, breathing sweet perfume from his cashmere locks. He found them on the dreary mountain side, fattening

on the dried moss of centuries. If he went to the crowded cities, the goat, while he chewed bits of twine and tomato-can labels, looked at Mr Morgan convivially, as if to say, "brother Morgan, you has my eye." If he went away into the pathless desert, the goat met him and hospitably invited him to "have a cactus." And so he fled, speeding with wings of fear, and bones of aching memory to spur him on, far, far, from the haunts of men and goats. And he never was seen again, and he never came back again. This is the true story of Morgan's disappearance, for are we not here in the very village where he lived? Are we not standing on the very ground where it all occurred? Do not we know since we are here? It has been said that his fate was an awful one, one that may not be told. It has been said that the Free and Expected Masons ate him up; that they ran him through a straw-cutter; that they bought his boy a tin horn; that they told his wife his gun wasn't loaded, and then buried him at a lonely spot in the dark forest, where two cross-roads meet, with an ash stake driven through his heart. Many are the wild and unreal stories told of his disappearance, but——"

The sad passenger paused impressively.

"But?" the fat passenger said interrogatively.

"Butt!" the sad passenger said conclusively.—*Burlington Hawkeye.*

## Masonic Literature.

Those who have taken Masonry to heart, with whom it is a living, vital, actual reality, with whom it is a spirit of love and charity, truth and good-will flowing out from the heart into all the employments and intercourse of the world, will not be satisfied with the mere forms, nor feel that they have performed the duty required of them when they have simply taken part in the outward and visible ceremonial and then laid Masonry away till next lodge night. They will not be content to labour for the lower wages of the unskilled workman, and spend their strength for a reward inadequate to their own sense of devotion, energy, and power.

The field of Masonic study is so vast, the subjects of study and investigation are so many and so varied, that no common mind can hope to master them all and become a skilled workman in either at will; and therefore, as in the operative arts, a division of labour seems to be the necessary and proper conclusion. Hence, let brothers give attention to no more than they can profitably master in the line of Masonic investigation, but let their reading be of that character that will plant them safely on Masonic foundations and keep them advised of the Masonic events of the day. Good Masonic literature is healthful food for the mind, for it stimulates the best promptings of the heart and elevates the thoughts by the inculcation of maxims that have been approved by centuries of experience, enforced upon the attention by an enchanting symbolism.

Masons should be readers, and in their own libraries and among their own books there is ample and rich store of intellectual treasure. It is only requisite that the brethren select judiciously and read carefully.—*Masonic Record.*

## Notices.

We will be happy to hear from any brethren who are in a position to act as agents for the N. Z. MASONIC JOURNAL. Liberal commissions allowed.

Secretaries of Lodges are again earnestly requested to furnish us with reports of all meetings of Lodges, Chapters, &c. All copy should reach us by the 20th of each month.

## Our Premiums.

To those brethren who would prefer premiums in lieu of cash discounts for clubs, we offer the following:

For 10 subscribers, we will send free copy of the N. Z. MASONIC JOURNAL for twelve months.

For 20 subscribers, we will send a handsome gold masonic token for the watch-chain.

To any Lodge sending us 30 subscribers, we will send as a premium a book of well-printed clearance forms.

## Late News.

## Meetings.

LODGE OTAGO, 844, E.C.—At the January meeting of this Lodge there were present W.M. Brother the Rev. W. Ronaldson, the officers, and a fair number of members and visitors. The business of the evening was to "pass" Brother B. McGregor Wright, and this ceremony was performed in an efficient manner by the W.M., assisted by P.M. Brother Gordon (a Canterbury visitor). A motion relative to the bye-laws! was discussed and further adjourned. The Lodge closed at 10 p.m.

LODGE HIRAM, 2008 E.C.—The ordinary monthly meeting of this Lodge was held on Tuesday, the 25th ult., at St. Peter's Schoolroom, Caversham. In the unavoidable absence of the W.M. and S.W., P.M. Brother A. Westwood, and Brother S. W. Gibbs, both of Lodge Dunedin, 931, E.C., filled these offices. Brother Hunt, of 844, E.C., acted as I.G. Mr Joseph Anning Kirby having been elected a member of the Lodge, was initiated into the mysteries of the E. A. degree. The ceremony was ably performed by the acting W.M., assisted by P.M. Brother Peter-kin, who gave the working tools and final charges. After hearty good wishes had been given by the visitors, the Brethren separated in peace and harmony.

LODGE ST. PATRICK, 468, I.C.—The usual monthly meeting of this lodge was held at the Rattray Street Hall, Dunedin, on the 26th ultimo. W.M. Bro. C.E. Thomson presided, and there was a fair attendance of members and visitors. There being no particular business on, a number of matters pertaining to the lodge affairs were discussed at considerable length.

## Installation.

Lodge St. John Kilwinning, 662, S.C.

The annual meeting, installation of R.W.M., and investiture of officers of the above lodge took place on the 27th ultimo, at the Masonic Hall, North-East Valley. There was an excellent attendance of visitors, the lodge-room being crowded. Amongst the distinguished brethren in the E. were W. Bro. Sir Robert Stout, D.D.G.M., E.C.; the R.W.M.'s of Lodges Dunedin, Celtic, and St. Andrew, and about a dozen or more P.M.'s of various lodges. The visitors having been received, the lodge was passed, and the Installing Master, R.W. Bro. Wm. Caldwell, 33, G.S. of the Grand Lodge of Scotland assumed the chair. The R.W.M. Elect, Bro. Charles Allen, was then presented, and after the necessary formula a Board of Installed Masters was formed, Bro. Allen being installed in the chair of K. S. for the ensuing term. The brethren then paid the customary honors to the newly-installed R.W.M. The following officers were invested I.P.M., Bro. Jas. Farquharson; D.M., Bro. Thomas Short; S.M., Bro. Brown; S.W., Bro. Fredk. Smith; J.W., Bro. Thomas S. Jeffery; Treasurer, Bro. Wm. S. Howrth; Secretary, Bro. G. W. Williams, P.M.; Chaplain, Bro. Henry R. Clarke; S.D., Bro. John P. Bell; J.D., Bro. Geo. W. Connolly; I.G., Bro. Geo. J. Bertin-shaw; Stewards, Bros. Jack and S. Burton; Tyler, Bro. Thos. Johnson. The Installing Master then addressed the R.W.M., wardens, officers, and brethren at some length, and, referring to certain events which had recently occurred in the lodge, gave them some sound advice. The R.W.M. thanked the Installing Master, visitors, and the brethren of the lodge, in a neat and appropriate speech. The ceremony was conducted in that efficient manner which W. Bro. Caldwell is noted for. P.M. Bro. E. J. Schlotel made a good D. of C., and the D.G. Organist, Bro. A. T. Barth took charge of the choir. Before the lodge closed Bro. Caldwell, on behalf of the officers and members, presented the retiring R.W.M., Bro. Jas. Farquharson, with a P.M.'s jewel. In making the presentation Bro. Caldwell referred to the fact that the custom of giving P.M.'s jewels was becoming very common, and in several instances the recipients had done nothing to deserve them. Bro. Farquharson, however, was not one of these, and during the couple of years that he had been in the chair, had done his work well, and always studied the interests of the lodge. He had therefore much pleasure in presenting him with the jewel. P.M. Bro. Farquharson thanked the officers and members of the lodge for their present, and in so doing said he would always do as much in the future as he had done in the past for Lodge St John Kilwinning. Apologies were received from the W.M.'s of Lodges Otago and Hiram. A special vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Barth for his services at the harmonium. The customary congratulations and good wishes having been paid, the lodge was closed.

A banquet was afterwards held in McGrath's Hotel, when the following toasts were honoured:—"The Queen and the Craft," "H.R.H. the Prince of Wales," "G.M. of the Grand Lodge of England," "The Three Grand Lodges, coupled with the name of Bro. Caldwell, G.S. of the G.L. of Scotland," "The District Grand Lodges and Bro. Sir R. Stout," "The Visiting W.M.'s," "The Newly Installed R.W.M.," "I.P.M. Bro. Farquharson," "The Visitors," "The Officers," and "The Tyler's Toast." Songs, etc., were interspered with the toasts, and the brethren separated at midnight after having spent a very pleasant evening.

## CLIPPINGS.

California writes the date of initiation, etc., under the flaps of the apron given to the candidate. Some lodges *present* "a lamb-skin apron" made of flimsy cotton, and demand its return inside of five minutes—if not sooner.

A Masonic library is about to be established at Naples, Italy, and contributions from American brethren are solicited. Visiting brethren will be welcomed at the lodges, etc., held under authority of the Supreme Council, 33 degs.

Through a typographical error Mr J. M. HUNT's name in his advertisement appears as J. M. Hurst.

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## **Craft Lodges.**

### **E. C.**

#### **Lodge Otago, No. 844.**

Founded in 1860, meets at the Freemasons' Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on the first Wednesday in each month, at 8 p.m.

#### **Lodge Dunedin, No. 931.**

Founded in 1862, meets at the Freemasons' Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on the third Tuesday in each month, at 8. p.m.

#### **Lodge Hiram, Caversham, No. 2008.**

Founded in 1883, meets at St. Peter's Schoolroom, Cargill Road, on the fourth Tuesday in each month.

#### **Port Chalmers Marine Lodge, No. 942.**

Meets at the Masonic Hall, Wickliffe Terrace, Port Chalmers, on Thursday on or after lull moon, at 7.30 p.m.

### **I. C.**

#### **Lodge St. Patrick, No. 468.**

Founded in 1881, meets at the Rattray street Hall, Dunedin on the fourth Wednesday in each month, at 7.30 p.m.

### **S. C.**

#### **Lodge Otago Kilwinning, No. 417.**

Founded in 1861, meets at the Masonic Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on the second Thursday in each month, at 7.30 p.m.

#### **Lodge Celtic, No. 477.**

Founded in 1867, meets at the Freemasons' Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on the third Thursday in each month, at 8 P.m.

#### **Peninsula Kilwinning Lodge, No. 696.**

Meets at the School house, Portobello, at 7.30 p.m. on Thursday nearest the full moo.

## **Cargill Kilwinning Lodge, No. 632.**

Meets at Port Chalmers on first Wednesday after the full moon, at 7 30 p.m.

## **Royal Arch Chapters.**

### **E.C.**

#### **Otago Chapter, No. 844.**

Founded in 1878, meets at the Masonic Hall, Dunedin, every quarter.

#### **Joyce Royal Arch Chapter, No. 942.**

Meets at Masonic Hall, Wickliffe Terrace, Port Chalmers, on Tuesday after regular meeting of Port Chalmers Marine Lodge at 7.30 p.m.

#### **S. C. Kilwinning Otago Royal Arch Chapter, No. 116.**

Founded 1866, meets in the Masonic Hall, Dunedin, on the fourth Monday in each month, at 8. p.m.

No bell can ring so loud as a good Advertisement. People will believe what they can see rather than what they hear.

The mere number circulated of a journal is not the only, nor always the best test that should guide an Advertiser. Some journals, owing to the peculiar character of their circulation, would be far more profitable to an Advertiser with a circulation of *one thousand* than others with a circulation of *ten thousand*. This is particularly the case with class journals.—*Literary Year Book*.

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All ADVERTISEMENTS in this Journal were obtained through the medium of THE COLONIAL ADVERTISING AGENCY, 69 PRINCES STREET 69 DUNEDIN. BOX 315. He looked as wise as an owl, did he, His tricks were well adjusted; He declined to advertise, you see, And in a year he busted Estimates given for all kinds of Advertising, in any Newspaper, Periodical, or Magazine throughout the Colony, at Lowest Rates. PATENT AGENCY.

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GEORGE SCHLUTER, HORSESHOER AND GENERAL BLACKSMITH, STAFFORD STREET, DUNEDIN, (Next to New Zealand Express Company's Stables). G. S. begs to intimate that he has started business as above, and is prepared to execute work in the best style and at lowest prices. Prompt Attention and Workmanship Guaranteed.

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# "Fiat Lux." The New Zealand Craftsman and Masonic Review:

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## Masonic Courtesy.

THIS is a subject to which we ought to draw the attention of the Craft, because it is time a great many of its members were awakened to the fact that, if there is a necessity for practising this accomplishment in business and private life (and none but the ignorant will ignore this truism), there is much more necessity for its possession and practice within the Masonic circle; indeed, in the absence of it, we cannot see how true Masonry can exist. It is a constituent part of the cement of brotherly love, without which the superstructure of our Temple cannot stand. Therefore it is not only necessary but *vital* to the structure. We may possibly say with some truth that no other member of the Fraternity gets so much evidence to forcibly bring this to mind as the editor of a Masonic periodical. During the time we have edited and managed the NEW ZEALAND CRAFTSMAN, we have had experience both painful and pleasant in this respect, the former greatly predominating. The want of courtesy on the part of those from whom you expect most, necessarily brings disappointment, and consequently pain. When we started this magazine we naturally looked for help and assistance from brother Masons, no matter in what part of the colony they resided, and we immediately set about to correspond with every Lodge in the colony soliciting their aid and support. One would imagine they could surely reckon on an answer of some kind, either a letter of encouragement, or one courteously declining to subscribe, but it is astonishing in how many cases this simple duty was entirely ignored, or for some months neglected. In the endeavour to establish agencies, we took the liberty of forwarding a few copies of the CRAFTSMAN to W.M.'s of Lodges, requesting them to hand them over to some reliable Brother who would act as agent on the usual business terms. We sent these parcels out month after month to some Lodges without a reply. Eventually some acknowledged the receipt, but others have never to this day put themselves so much about. We were under the impression that we might trespass so far on Masonic courtesy and kindness, but one W.M. undertook to enlighten us to the contrary; he considered it an insult I and would have none of it. An insult indeed to be asked to assist in the spread of Masonic literature! And this from one who occupied the "eastern chair." What shams we suffer to hold "the chief seats in the synagogue!"

There were others who were full of Masonic courtesy, and wrote the most congratulatory letters even before we published our first number, wished us all sorts of success, and promising to do all in their power to assist in getting subscribers and forwarding reports, or writing articles, &c. These letters were very welcome and gave us much pleasure; but, alas! how fleeting were our expectations. We have never heard from them since, although we have written to some of them several times. No doubt we have been voted a bore, and our missives put behind the fire. This kind of courtesy, like many other things Masonic, is exceedingly evanescent in its character, and fades

*"Like the fabric of a vision leaving not a wrack behind."*

If it were business and there was money "hanging" to it, answers would come freely, but then you know it is only Masonry! and who can be bothered with that outside the Lodge-room? This goes to show what vicious habits will do with the best of us. For generations it has been the habit for "respectable" people to go to church, mumble through the form of service with a seeming air of attention but really with indifference, uttering the most solemn promises quite unconsciously, and after the service is over come away satisfied they have done the proper Sunday routine, but on Monday morning, or indeed before the Sabbath is well over, they have broken half the vows they made without a thought or without a care. This sort of thing has penetrated even into Masonry. In the church-going case there may be some excuse, men go because it is the fashion, and hundreds of them have never joined the church canonically speaking, but go in a *pro forma* way that fills up the Sunday and because it is "the thing," or, what is more likely, from motives of trade connection. But with Masons the case is different. No man goes to a Masonic Lodge but he who has entered its portals in the manner prescribed. No man has become a Mason but he who has pledged his honor *as a man and a Mason* to uphold its principles, hence the Mason who is indifferent to his vows in this connection has already perjured himself, and is less than

a man. We should leave the outside world and the churches to talk about "the weakness of human nature," &c. As Masons we should be ashamed to forge such an excuse, at least we should nobly strive to overcome it, and in that strife, if honestly carried on, the very weakest will come out victors.

\* \* \*

Our present number will bear witness of the result of one form of Masonic courtesy—supplying reports of ordinary Lodge meetings. We have written until we are tired asking brethren to supply us with a few lines of their monthly transactions, but with varying success, some not vouchsafing an answer, others sending once or twice and then dropping it, and only the "faithful few" with whom it is indeed a pleasure to correspond) continuing to do their duty. For duty we conceive it to be, and have ever conceived it long before we consented to edit a Masonic journal. It is strange what ideas Masons have on this question. We were making this complaint in conversation with a P.M. the other day, who told us he was strongly of opinion that it was very wrong for us to expect Secretaries of Lodges or other brethren to supply us with reports *gratis*. It was our duty to obtain these reports in the same way as an ordinary newspaper—by paying for them. If this were not so important a matter, we could have laughed at him. Pay for a small Lodge report! when we ourselves labour on from month to month, late and early outside our regular business hours, to provide a literature for Masons, and at the month end put our hands in our pocket to pay the printer's bill!! This is exceedingly good, and from a Mason who has vowed to aid and assist in all good works of Masonry! from a P.M. who is supposed to have correct views above his fellows of Masonic duty. Well, we live and learn; and it seems we have yet to learn the direction of Masonic courtesy.

\* \* \*

We are aware that we are not the only sufferers in the cause; but that does not make it any the less imperative that we should speak out. There is one good friend and Bro., George Robertson, 1521, E.C., and 517, E.C, fired with a zeal to become useful to the Craft, determined on bringing out a "Masonic Pocket Calendar" for 1885, with a lot of useful information and data for Masons, he wrote to Lodges, Chapters, &c., and was happy in the promises of support obtained, but he had to *get the information* first; and now he is "a sadder and a wiser man." Although he commenced his labours in what he considered sufficient time last year to publish about the first of January, yet up to this date he is unable to go to press because of the lack of information that he has written and telegraphed for over and over again, and which a Secretary may provide him with in a few minute, so this useful venture that promised at first to at least pay expenses new holds out a certainty, if it can even be completed, of being a loss to him of several pounds. Brethren, it is not pleasant to grumble, but he who goes on to "labour in vain and spend his strength for naught," without uttering a word in defence of his position, is but a fool and a dullard at the best.

## **District Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Canterbury, New Zealand,**

UNDER THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

### **Proceedings of the Quarterly Communication of the District Grand Lodge of Canterbury, N.Z.**

*Holden at the St. Augustine Freemason's Hall, Manchester Street, Christ church, on Thursday, January 15, 1885, at 8 p.m.*

PRESENT W. Bro. W. Deamer, D.D.G.M., (acting) D.G.M. in the chair; W. Bro. C. A. C. Hardy, D.G.S.W.; W. Bro. T. A. Peterkin, (acting) D.G.J.W.; W. Bro. R. C. Bishop, D.G. Treasurer; W. Bro. Francis J. Smith, D.G. Registrar, (acting) D.D.G.M.; Bro. Keith Wilson, Assistant Secretary; W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, D.G.S.D.; W. Bro. William Sansom, D.G.J.D.; W. Bro. W. H. Messenger, D.G. Organist; W. Bro. M. Sandstein, D.G. Pursuivant; Bro. E. F. Haskins, D.G. Steward; Bro. George Adams, D.G. Steward; Bro. R. Stevens, D.G. Tyler; W. Bro. R. Smith, P.D.G.S.D.; W. Bro. E. Williams, P.D.G.S.D.; W. Bro. H. F. Arnold, Unanimity Lodge, No. 604; W. Bro. W. Hamson, Unanimity Lodge, No. 604; W. Bro. S. Derbidge, Unanimity Lodge, No. 604; W. Bro. T. W. Rentoul, Unanimity Lodge, No. 604; W. Bro. Geo. M. Douglas, St. Augustine Lodge, No. 609; W. Bro. P. Murray, St. Augustine Lodge, No. 609; Bro. R. B. Robinson, St. Augustine Lodge, No. 609; W. Bro. J. P. Cooper, Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048; Bro. J. G. L. Scott, Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048; Bro. Geo. Davies, Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048; W. Bro. W.T.C. Mills, Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048; Bro. R. W. Park, Progress Lodge, No. 1651; W. Bro. J. J. Robinson, Ashley Lodge, No. 1877; W. Bro. E. Mulcock, Ashley Lodge, No. 1877; W. Bro. R. Atkinson, Ashley, Lodge, No. 1877; W. Bro. J. Baldwin, Conyers Lodge, No. 1916; W. Bro.

R. Walker, Conyers Lodge, No. 1916; Bro. E. W. Just, Conyers Lodge, No. 1916; Bro. C. R. Bossence, Conyers Lodge, No. 1916; W. Bro. W. W. C. Karslake, Ionic Lodge, No. 1917; W. Bro. F. Jamieson, Ionic Lodge, No. 1917; W. Bro. J. C. Revell, Lincoln Lodge, No. 1918; W. Bro. J. W. Anderson, Lincoln Lodge, No. 1918; W. Bro. G. H. Morley, Concord Lodge, No. 1925; W. Bro. W. S. Smith, Amberley Lodge, No. 2007.

The District Grand Lodge was opened in due form, with solemn prayer, at 8.15 p.m.

The minutes of the Quarterly Communication, held in October the 16th, 1884, were read and confirmed.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from the following Worshipful Brethren, viz.:—The Rev. H. East, D.G. Chap.; James A. Bird, P.D.G. Treasurer; Jubal Fleming, P.D.G.J.W.; Thomas Stapleton, P.D.G.J.D.: C. E. Briggs, P.D.G. Sword Bearer; H. W. Felton, P.M., 1811; W. H. Gundry, D.G. Sword Bearer; J. Joyce, P.D.G.S.W.; H. McLellan, P.D.G.S.W.; James Bradley, P.M., 1811.

The District Grand Treasurer, W. Bro. R. C. Bishop, stated the balance to be,—Cr. Current Account, Union Bank, £50 3s. 5d.; Cr. Deposit Account, Post Office Savings Bank, £390 11s. 5d.: £440 14s. 10d.

The Roll of Lodges was then called, with the following result:—Unanimity, No. 604, 5; St. Augustine, No. 609, 6; Southern Cross, No. 760,—; Canterbury, No. 1048,8; St. John's (Timaru), No. 1137, —; Lodge of Progress, No. 1651, 1; Winchester, No. 1737, —; Somerset (Ashburton), No. 1811,—; St. George (Temuka), No. 1856, —; Rakaia, No. 1857, 1; St. John's (Ashburton), No. 1858, —; Ashley, No. 1877, 4; Conyers, No. 1916, 4; Ionic, No. 1917, 2; Lincoln, No. 1918, 2; Malvern, No. 1919, —; Concord, No. 1925, 3; Phoenix, No. 1959, —; Amberley, No. 2007, 1; Visitors, —: total, 37.

The minutes of the proceedings of the following Grand and District Grand Lodges were laid upon the table:—Quarterly Report of the Grand Lodge of England, June, 1884; Quarterly Report of the District Grand Lodge of Shanghai, September, 1884; Quarterly Report of the District Grand Lodge of Queensland, December, 1884; Quarterly Report of the District Grand Lodge of Auckland, October, 1884.

The following correspondence was read and received:—

From the Committee of the Mount Egmont Lodge, No. 670, E.C., asking for pecuniary assistance in aid of the widow and children of the late Bro. L. H. Cholwill.

From Bro. J. J. May, M.M., Conyers Lodge, No. 1916, respectfully soliciting assistance from District Grand Lodge to enable him to pay his Lodge arrears.

From the District Grand Secretary, Malta, forwarding a circular letter with particulars *re* Bro. Julius Edward Cohen, who has been adjudged guilty of un-Masonic conduct. The D.G. Secretary was instructed to have the information conveyed to the W.M.'s of the private Lodges in the district.

From the Secretary of the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, E.C., forwarding for the information of District Grand Lodge that the several brethren have been struck off the roll of the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, for non-payment of dues.

From the Secretary of the Conyers Lodge, No. 1916, E.C., forwarding for the information of District Grand Lodge that the several brethren have been struck off the books of the said Lodge for non-payment of dues, Ac.

From the Secretary of the Concord Lodge, No. 1925, E.C., intimating that owing to the night for Standing Committee falling upon the said Lodge's night of meeting the Worshipful Master could not attend.

From the Secretary of the Christchurch Benevolent Association asking if District Grand Lodge would repeat its action of last year in reference to augmenting the Association's funds on Charity Sunday, November 15, 1884.

From the D.G. Secretary, Westland, apologising for not replying earlier to the invitation to attend the ceremony of the District Grand Master's Installation.

From the Secretary of the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, E.C., applying for a refund of a dispensation, £2 2s. W. Bro. W. H. Messenger, D.G. Organist, moved,—"That the application of the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, for a refund of £2 2s., dispensation fee, be acceded to." Seconded by Bro. R. B. Robinson, 609. W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, as an amendment, moved,—"That the application from the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, be referred to the Standing Committee for its report." Seconded by W. Bro. F. J. Smith, D.G. Registrar. On being put, the amendment was declared carried. On the amendment being put as a substantive motion, W. Bro. F. J. Smith, D.G. Registrar, moved as an amendment,—"That the application of the Canterbury Lodge, No. 1048, for a refund of the dispensation fee of £2 2s. be not granted." Seconded by Bro. C. A. C. Hardy, D.G.S.W., and carried. The amendment was then put as a substantive motion, and agreed to.

The report of the Standing Committee, held on January the 2nd, was read, and, on the motion of W. Bro. F. J. Smith, D.G. Registrar, seconded by W. Bro. George M. Douglas, 609, was received. Clause 1. W. Bro. James Booth's application for assistance. Your Committee beg to recommend that £10 be voted. Agreed to. Clause 2. That with reference to the application for assistance from the Committee of the Mount Egmont Lodge, No. 670, E.C., New Plymouth, on behalf of the widow and children of the late Bro L. H. Cholwill. Your Committee beg to recommend that the sum of two guineas be voted to this fund. Agreed to. Clause 3. That with reference to the application from Bro. J J. May, Conyers Lodge, No. 1916, E.C., asking for assistance from D.G.L. to enable

hire to pay his Lodge arrears, we respectfully beg to recommend that this petition be no; granted. Not granted. Clause 4. That with reference to the circular letter from the D.G. Secretary, Malta, *re* Bro. Julius Edward Cohen being adjudged guilty of un-Masonie conduct, we beg to recommend that a copy of such letter be forwarded to each Lodge in the district. Agreed to. The Standing Committee's Report was, on the motion of W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, D.G.S.D., put as a whole for adoption, which was seconded by W. Bro. Geo. M. Douglas, 609, and declared carried.

W. Bro. R. C. Bishop, D.G. Treasurer, placed before District Grand Lodge a duly audited statement of the receipts and expenditure for the period ending December 31, 1884, which, on the motion of W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, D.G.S.D., seconded by W. Bro. Francis J. Smith, D.G. Registrar, was received and adopted.

The annual report of the Masonic Board of Benevolence for the Canterbury District was read, and, on the motion of W. Bro. Francis J. Smith, D.G. Registrar, seconded by W. Bro. Geo. M. Douglas, 609, the report was received.

On the motion of W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, D.G.S.D., seconded by W. Bro. Richard Smith, P.D.G.S.D., W. Bro. R. C. Bishop was elected District Grand Treasurer for the ensuing year.

The following W. Brethren were elected by D.G.L. to act as Standing Committee for the ensuing year, viz.:—W. Bro. A. R. Kirk, W. Bro. M. Sandstein, W. Bro. Jubal Fleming, W. Bro. S. Derbidge. And the following Brethren were appointed by the District Grand Master:—W. Bro. W. T. C. Mills, W. Bro. Geo. M. Douglas, W. Bro. C. P. Hulbert, W. Bro. R. D. Thomas.

The District Grand Master appointed the following W. Brethren as his officers for the ensuing year:—W. Bro. E. Williams, D.G.S.W.; W. Bro. W. B. Allwright, D.G.J. W.; W. Bro. Rev. H. East, D.G. Chaplain; W. Bro. F. J. Smith, D.G. Registrar; W. Bro. W. R. Mitchell, D.G. Secretary; W. Bro. Wm. Sansom, D.G.S.D.; W. Bro. C. P. Hulbert, D.G.J.D.; W. Bro. H. S. Hobday, D.G. Superintendent of Works; W. Bro. C. E. Briggs, D.G. Director of Ceremonies; W. Bro. M. Sandstein, Assistant D.G. Director of Ceremonies; W. Bro. S. Derbidge, D.G. Swordbearer; W. Bro. W. McN. Lyttelton, D.G. Standard Bearer; W. Bro. R. Webster, D.G. Standard Bearer; W. Bro. W. H. Messenger, D.G. Organist; W. Bro. W. S. Smith, D.G. Pursuivant; W. Bro. J. Baldwin, Assistant D.G. Pursuivant; Bro. R. Stevens, D.G. Tyler.

The appointment of Stewards was deferred till the next regular Communication. The D.G. Secretary was instructed to communicate with the W. M.'s of the following Lodges, requesting a nomination from each, viz.:—Lodge of Southern Cross, Kaiapoi, No. 760; Lodge of St. Augustine, Christchurch, No. 609; Lodge of Canterbury, Christ-church, No. 1048; Lodge of Conyers, Sydenham, No. 1916; Lodge of Malvern, Spring-field, No. 1919; Lodge of Concord, Papanui, No. 1925.

W. Bro. W. T. C. Mills, P.M., 1048, gave notice to move, in District Grand Lodge, at its next Quarterly Communication,—"That D.G. Lodge take into consideration the desirableness of extending the powers of the Masonic Board of Benevolence, so that widows and children of deceased brethren, and members of private Lodges, may be relieved, as well as those for whom the fund of benevolence was originally intended, and that the District Grand Lodge By-laws be amended in the direction indicated."

Nothing further offering, the District Grand Lodge was closed in due form, with solemn prayer, at 10 p.m.

W. R. Mitchell,  
District Grand Secretary.

## **(CIRCULAR.) District Grand Lodge of Malta.**

Masonic Hall, 27, Strada Stretta, Valletta, Malta,

October 22nd, 1884.

*Re Bro. Julius Edward Cohen.*

W. SIR AND BROTHER,—

The above Brother, who was initiated in the Zeland Lodge, Malta, No. 515.E.C., on 24th August, 1882, has been accused of making, or attempting to make, Masons, clandestinely, at Tripoli, in Africa.

Information has also been laid before this District Grand Lodge that not only in Malta, but in several other places, Bro. Cohen has borrowed money—in some instances to a considerable amount which he has failed to repay, and has also left his hotel bills unpaid.

The District Grand Lodge is using every endeavour to call Bro. Cohen to account for these offences, but, as he frequently changes his residence, all efforts up to now have been unavailing. It has therefore warned the Lodges in the district not to receive him as a Visiting Brother, nor to accept him as a Joining Member, should

he present himself to them.

As he was last heard of at Reading, where he borrowed money but did not repay it, and as it seems quite possible that he may continue this practice, so discreditable to Freemasonry in every respect, the District Grand Master of Malta has issued this circular to all Provincial and District Grand Lodges, in order to put the Brethren on their guard, trusting at the same time that they may consider it advisable to adopt in their Lodges the same steps he has directed to be observed by the Lodges in the District of Malta.

You will oblige by bringing the contents of this circular to the notice of all Brethren in your district.

I am, Sir and Brother,  
Yours truly and fraternally,

JOHN W. STARKEY,  
District Grand Secretary.  
To District Grand Secretary, Christchurch,

New Zealand.

INSINUATORS.—Dogs bark at the moon, but the moon goes on all the same. There are people who are always growling, snapping and snarling at everything. You cannot please them. It is impossible to reason with some people because they are unreasonable. The most unreasonable people are those who indulge in inuendoes—insinuations, without making any direct charge, and is therefore regarded as one of the basest resorts of malice and falsehood. They have something against another and are not manly enough to say out what they mean. They live in all communities. There are such in this city. They are unhappy people, generally have the dyspepsia. We feel sorry for them, but we shall move along just the same, doing our duty. Who ever heard of the voice of authority being silenced by the kicks and plunges of violaters of the law. They may threaten to destroy the government and society; do they ever do it? A plunge may be violent, but the pain is soon over. Let no man imagine he is essential to anything. Cæsars, Napoleons and Washington as leaders of men are very scarce now.

—*The Freemason, Detroit.*

## Work With Dignity.

WE noticed on many occasions a lack of dignity on the part of officers and members while conferring degrees that is far from becoming. One of the degrees is designated "sublime," and there is an old adage that "there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

How often is this step taken in many of our lodges?

To the candidate first impressions are the most lasting, and levity at the beginning impresses him with the belief that the forms and ceremonies are not matters of solemnity, but mere farcical necessities in order to make up a form of initiation. We have seen candidates who have acquired these impressions in the ante-room, maintained them in the preparation room, and could not divest themselves of them even during the solemn ceremonies of the lodge-room. The reason of this has been the folly of members who profess to be the friends of the candidate, but who really, for the purposes of Masonry, are exactly opposite.

Some men are sensitive. Masters of Ceremonies should remember this, and perform their duties with such dignity as would impress the candidate with the solemnity which is expressed in the words of the Senior Deacon when he bids him enter the lodge room. To use levity outside and beyond the eye of the Master is to treat him with a disrespect which would not be allowed in his presence, and at the very outset give the candidate a bad impression. Men of refined tastes become shocked, while those who are of a different frame of mind are illy prepared to receive those valuable moral lessons which Masonry is designed to teach.

How much more so is this the case when those who are engaged in the "floor work" of the "sublime degree" forget the lesson which is the true interpretation of the allegory? What integrity can be expected from one who has been made the victim of a farce? And yet it must appear so to those who, having been the first to go through the ordeal and have the opportunity of seeing their companions pass along the same road, when tiny notice members in their seats "enjoying" the mishaps of their fellow man, apparently without considering the lesson taught thereby. Can it be wondered at that the subsequent instruction is not attentively listened to on such occasions?

Work then, with dignity, so that each lesson may make its proper impression and become lasting.—*New York Sunday Times.*

BLUE WATER.—From the fact, determined by W. Spring, that the colour of pure water in great bulk is blue, M. Ch. Montigny explains the predominance of this colour in the scintillation of the stars just before and during wet weather. The luminous rays, he argues, traversing the air with large quantities of pure water, are necessarily tinged with the blue colour of this medium. The excess of blue thus becomes an almost certain means of predicting rain. This theoretic conclusion corresponds with the results of his observations continued for several years past on the appearance of the stellar rays in connection with the state of the weather. During the few months of fine weather in the last year blue has been much less conspicuous than in the corresponding months of previous years since 1876, when wet weather prevailed. It also appears that green, which had always coincided with clear skies during the fine years before 1876, has recently again become predominant. Hence he thinks it probable that we have got over the cycle of bad seasons, and that dry weather and more normal summers may be anticipated, at least for some time to come. The above is from *Nature*, and the same number contains an abstract of a paper by Professor C. Mitchie Smith, on green-coloured suns, in which he concludes that this phenomenon is due to the presence of unusual quantities of watery vapour in the atmosphere.

## Secret Societies Of The Middle Ages.

THE VEHIQUE TRIBUNAL (*Masonic Monthly*, 1859).

WE cannot better continue to illustrate our subject (for to give a regularly connected history of the Vehmique Association, with the scattered materials at disposal, would be no easy task), than by presenting to our readers some more of the particulars relating to the Vehm, in the work from which we gave some extracts in our last paper; which is indeed, as it purports to be, "a romance of the secret tribunals." Should our space permit it, we also propose to give in this paper (otherwise on a future occasion), portions of what may be called the secret history of a family at whose very name Europe once trembled, some members of whom, if not absolutely members of this formidable association, were, nevertheless, sufficiently influential to secure the assistance and co-operation of some of its most powerful members, which they used for their own purposes in the most unscrupulous manner.

The scene of the present illustration lies in the same locality, and even the same house, which was the scene of the summons of a traveller, in our last paper; viz., the Black Swan Inn, at Kernberg.

A traveller has arrived (as before), who is an old personal friend of the landlord, and known to him from early childhood, when the landlord, Herman, is summoned by one of the chiefs of the Vehm, whom we will call by his own name of Father Anselm, who happens to be in the house, and has recognized the traveller on his arrival.

"Sit down, Herman," said Father Anselm, "you even now received a new guest. I recognized him from the window."

"Does your reverence know him?" exclaimed the landlord, with some manifestation of alarm; for he was by no means at a loss to perceive that there was nothing cordial in Anselm's manner, when speaking of the new arrival.

"Yes, I know him well. He is a malefactor, and his name is on the black page of the registry Vehm. Two months ago, at Vienna he received a summons by means of the cord and the dagger," continued Anselm, in a low but stern tone; "and he did not obey it. He has been judged and condemned by default. Chance has sent him this evening to the place where he must meet his fate. You will place him in the wainscot chamber to-night."

The countenance of the landlord fell. He dared not remonstrate against the command of a free count of the secret tribunal,—his oath of membership bound him to sacrifice all considerations of kindred, relationship, friendship, amity, interest, and love, to the service of the holy Vehm; and he was also well aware that any attempt on his part to save the young man, whom he really liked, would be visited on his own head by the signal vengeance of the bloody league.

He therefore assumed an air of composure as quickly as he could, and bowed his acquiescence to the commands of his chief.

"You may retire," said Father Anselm, "and see that you are cautious in your discourse with this man. Let not a word fall from you that may induce him to suspect my presence in the house."

Herman bowed once more and left the room with a heavy heart. The unhappy man hastened to his own chamber, and, throwing himself upon the bed, reflected on the order which he had just received.

"I have known the youth from childhood," he thought within himself, "and it is cruel that he should find his death beneath my roof. I cannot do it,—and yet I dare not save him; my own life would be the sacrifice! What can I do? If I warn him of his peril, and put him on his guard, I shall be suspected all the same. Woe to the day when I first joined the bloody league! It respects no Christian duties,—has no sympathy with any ties of the heart, however sacred! Alas! what can I do? To save him would be ruin to myself. He must die, then; he must

die I and it is my hand that will guide him to destruction!"

He was accordingly obliged to order the guest to be conducted to the wainscot chamber. We need not enter further into other details of the story than those which relate to the Vehmique Association; but in case any of our readers may be anxious to know of the escape of an innocent and independant man (as any one might well be called who slighted a Vehmique summons), even in a work of fiction.—we may inform them of the arrival (after the landlord had retired, and before the intended victim had sought his couch), of another traveller, who paid liberally, and who peremptorily insisted on having a room to himself. The last-arrived traveller was shown, by the servants,—who were unacquainted with certain peculiarities in that apartment which will presently be described, besides those with which the reader is already acquainted,—to the wainscot chamber, and shared the fate intended for the first guest, for whom a temporary couch was hastily made up in the public apartment.

At midnight, the panel which the reader has already heard of, was cautiously opened, and Father Anselm, with an attendant, passed into the wainscot chamber: that fatal room where many a traveller had received the dread summons of the cord and dagger; and where also many a life had been sacrificed to the sanguinary decrees of the secret tribunal. Not to give the particulars of a revolting murder, we may merely observe that the dagger did its work upon one for whom it was not intended; and that when the mistake was discovered, the chief of the Vehms, after having taken from the person of the deceased some papers of importance, the possession of which happened to be invaluable to him, gave the order that all traces of the deed should disappear in the usual manner.

The landlord obeyed the command with alacrity. He threw all the clothes of the victim upon the bed; and then taking a large key from a bunch that hung at his girdle, he applied it to a lock fixed in one of the bed-posts.

The key turned with a harsh grating noise, and an unseen bolt was shot backwards with a sharp ringing sound. The entire woodwork, which formed what may be called the platform of the bed, turned rapidly round on an axis, while at the same moment, and in obedience to the same skilfully-contrived machinery, a large trap-door opened downwards immediately beneath, so that corpse, mattress, sheets, blankets, and the garments of the deceased were precipitated into a yawning gulf under that fatal couch. There was a splash of water, and then all was still.

The landlord turned the key back again; the platform of the bed revolved once more on its axis, and returned to its proper horizontal position, and the trap-door closed. Another key opened a large closet communicating with the room; and thence the landlord conveyed another mattress and fresh sheets and blankets to the couch. These were arranged in such a manner as to have the appearance of having been slept in. Thus all traces of the assassination disappeared, and the landlord now felt relieved from a most oppressive load, for he knew that it would be easy to satisfy his niece in the morning relative to the disappearance of the traveller, by the simple excuse that he had taken his departure at a very early hour.

The contrivance of the fatal couch, adds the author, was by no means singular to the Black Swan. Germany at that time (the date of the narrative is between 1493 and 1517) abounded with taverns whose landlords were devoted to the interests of the bloody league, in which particular chambers were provided with secret avenues of communication, and with beds so fashioned as to afford a facility for effacing all signs of the dark vengeance of that tremendous tribunal.

But it was not intended by the members of the holy Vehm that their victim should escape them, though they had accidentally despatched another person instead of him; and a servant of the Vehm was accordingly sent forward to intercept him on the road, which he had in the course of conversation at the inn declared his intention of taking. An accident, however, deprived the servitor of the Vehm of his life, in the very act of attempting the life of the traveller; and a few words uttered in penitence before he died, a warning against Aselm, and the significant dagger with a cord twisted round the handle, still borne in the hand of the dying man, showed the young man whence this attempt on his life originated—that the vengeance of the Vehmique tribunal was not yet satisfied, and would be satisfied with nothing short of his life.

Another incident in this narrative in connection with the subject of the Vehm, was the assassination of an imperial courier in 1595, who had left Vienna one evening, charged with despatches for the governor of Laybach. The unfortunate man had been discovered in a wood about five miles from the capital, stabbed to the heart with a dagger, the handle of which was surrounded with a cord. To that cord was fastened a slip of paper, whereon the following words were written, and to which the usual symbolical signature of three daggers was appended:—

*"Let all who mediate mischief against the members of the holy Vehm, take warning from the fate of this man! The holy Vehm strikes alike those that plot evil designs against its authority and those that bear the commands of such as so conspire. "†††."*

The courier's money and weapons were all safe about his person; but his despatches had disappeared.

That these despatches contained matter in some measure hostile to the Vehm, is evident from the above passage itself, as it is certain that those who would so readily commit a murder, would not hesitate to open



imperial despatches by force, as they would attempt any other violent action, if through their extensive ramifications they were not by some means able beforehand to obtain a knowledge of their contents; but it seems to be confirmed by the strange fact that on the morning after the courier had left Vienna, when the emperor awoke, his eyes fell on a dagger sticking in a table near his couch. The weapon had the symbolic cord twined round the handle; and a slip of parchment, fastened to it, contained the single but expressive word, "Beware!"

These incidents are explained by a conversation which we find in the next chapter, between the chief of the Vehm aforesaid, Father Anselm, and one of the family we referred to in the early part of the paper—no less a person than the celebrated Cæsar Borgia.

"You are determined, then, to leave Vienna to-night," said the latter.

"Yes, my lord," answered the priest, "the German capital is no place for me. A chief of the secret tribunal should never linger in the capital, the place where the power of the Vehm is most abhorred, and where it has least influence."

"And yet you contrived to fill the emperor himself with alarm, oven in the midst of his own palace, and in the privacy of his own chamber," returned the other, laughing heartily.

"Fortunately for the interests of the holy Vehm, my lord," replied the priest, "one of the imperial pages is devoted to us; and it was his hand that planted the sword and dagger on the emperor's table."

"But it was not his hand that stopped the progress of the courier, to the governor of Laybach," said Father Anselm's companion, again laughing.

"No, my lord," answered the priest, solemnly; "that duty was performed by my own hand. The chiefs of the Vehm must, at times—on important occasions—fulfil the functions of subordinates. It was necessary that we should ascertain the precise nature of the commands sent by the emperor to the governor of Laybach; and by waylaying the courier myself, I incurred no risk of losing those important documents of which he was the bearer. We have thereby discovered that the governor was instructed to inundate the defiles of the Julian Alps with his troops; and the map furnished him by this means would have taught him how to plant his forces in such points that all supplies of provisions would have been cut off, and the convent, impregnable as it is to an entire army, would be compelled to yield to famine."

"And are you determined that your adherents shall abandon the convent altogether?"

"No, my lord; but by the steps which I have taken—by killing the courier, and paralyzing the energies of the emperor for at least a few days, by means of that warning symbol of the sword and dagger, I have gained time for our two dependents who effected their escape from the imperial prison last night to reach the convent, and lay in provisions necessary to enable the place to stand a siege that may weary out the patience of the Governor of Laybach; and within a couple of hours I shall also be pursuing the path towards Carniola."

Our readers may wonder at first in what manner a great deal of this narrative may be connected with the Vehm, no less than feel no inconsiderable amount of surprise at the narrative itself. We can answer them, that this connection, which will be fully explained, is closer than may appear immediately, and that the circumstances mentioned are historical facts,

"And, to-morrow, I shall quit Vienna with my sister," said the priest's companion. "Fortunate was it for Walstein (one of the dependents of the Vehm who had escaped from prison), that private affairs of our own happened to bring us, under fictitious names, to this city at a moment when his folly had involved him in such a serious embarrassment. I have, however, often smiled at the impudence of the man, in availing himself of his extraordinary likeness to a certain baron, to personate him, and thus obtain possession of his property."

"And I, my lord, have never forgiven him, for keeping all that fortune to himself," was the laconic answer of the priest. "Moreover, that very imposition has led, by a chain of circumstances, to the release of the baron, and whatever were the motives of your lordship and her highness, your sister, for consigning him to close and perpetual imprisonment—"

"Have I not before informed you?" interrupted Cæsar, "that this baron penetrated one evening into our mansion at Venice when we were residing there for a few weeks under a strict *incognito*, while we plotted certain schemes, which raised my father to his present eminence: this baron, I say, penetrated into our mansion, and there beheld the interior of a particular chamber, with whose secrets you are not unacquainted. Walstein was in the house at the time, and he had just been giving an account of his former adventures, and of his intimacy with that identical baron, when my sister suddenly remembered that the door of the secret chamber had been unlocked. She and Walstein proceeded thither, for Walstein was anxious to possess a bottle of *acqua Cantarella*, always an useful drug for those who serve our family. Scarcely had they reached the door, when they perceived a person in the room. Walstein instantly retreated; and my sister advanced to demand an explanation of the intruder. She was immediately struck by his likeness to Walstein, and was therefore not greatly astonished when he informed her that he was in fact the very baron of whom Walstein had been previously speaking. He gave an explanation of his presence in that room, which might, or might not, be a

correct one. It was certainly true that my mother

Rosa Vanozza.

had been chastising a female dependent, for you know, holy father, that the Spanish blood of my maternal parent frequently boils to a temperature which overpowers her patience; and the baron alleged that the screams of some women in distress had led him into the house. Now, surrounded with spies as we were at that time, and watched by so many enemies who were all jealous and suspicious not only of my father, but of all our family, it was natural that we should adopt precautionary measures. Thus it was that my sister and myself instructed Walstein to consign the baron to your custody in the convent: but we did not desire him to take advantage of his accidental likeness to personate his lordship in Vienna," added the priest's companion, laughing.

"Your lordship never explained to me so fully the reasons of the baron's captivity," observed the priest. "But I now perfectly understand them. At the time the baron penetrated into the penetralia of your mansion at Venice, the interests of your family might have been seriously compromised by the revelation of what he had seen there."

"Assuredly, father, and but that my sister would not consent that we should subject him to the penalty of the cord and dagger, never would he have quitted that louse alive after having beheld the mysteries of that chamber, although, for our safety she agreed to his perpetual captivity. Thus a woman's caprice spared him, and he is now at large to publish all he knows—as he did yesterday at the tribunal—of the secret chamber."

"The cord and dagger can reach him still, my lord," said the priest, with a significant glance.

"No, let him live," was the reply. He is totally unaware of the names of those who occupied the house wherein he beheld such objects; and moreover," added the speaker, proudly, "our house is now too powerful, too highly placed, to care about such revelations. No, I say, let him live."

"As your lordship pleases," was the meek reply. "I have received too many benefits at the hands of your lordship's family to disobey a command from your lordship's lips."

There are now the following points to be explained to the reader, the history of the Borgia family, the mysteries of the secret chamber, and the nature of the stronghold of the Vehm tribunal above referred to.

We take the subject of the Borgia family first; and cannot better commence the history of this extraordinary house than by describing the election of its head Roderic, or Roderic Borgia, commonly known as Alexander VI., to the high office of pope. The manner of electing a pope has remained unchanged for centuries; and as the same ceremonies are always observed, we cannot lay before our readers a better or more elegantly written account than that of Cardinal Wiseman, of the election of Pope Leo the twelfth.

Recollections of the Last Four Popes, p. 209.

"The interval between the close of one pontificate and the commencement of another," says the cardinal, "is a period of some excitement, and necessarily of much anxiety. There is no interregnum in successive monarchy; but in elective monarchy, and in the only one surviving in Europe, there is of course a space of provisional arrangements, foreseen and predisposed. Time is required for the electors to assemble from distant provinces, or even foreign countries; and this is occupied in paying the last tribute of respect and affection to the departed Pontiff. His body is embalmed, clothed in the robes of his office, and laid on a coach of state, within one of the chapels of St. Peter. These preliminaries occupy three days; during which rises, as if by magic, or from the crypts below, an immense catafalque—a colossal architectural structure—which fills the nave of that basilica, illustrated by inscriptions, and adorned by statuary. Before this huge monument, for nine days, funeral rites are performed, closed by a funeral oration. The body of the last pope, has a uniform resting place in St. Peter's. A plain sarcophagus, of marble stucco, will be there seen, though hardly noticed, by the traveller, over a door beside the choir, on which is simply painted the title of the last pontiff. On the death of his successor it is broken down at the top, the coffin is removed to the under-church, and that of the new claimant for repose is substituted for it. This change takes place late in the evening, and is considered private.

"In the afternoon of the last day of the *novendiali* as they are called, the cardinals assemble in a church near the Quirinal palace, and walk thence in procession, accompanied by their *conclavisti*,

Two persons allowed to each during the conclave.

a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the gate of that royal residence, in which one will remain as master. of course the hill is crowded by persons lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye, or figure, or expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, one will be sovereign, and the others his subjects. This is a singular and a deeply interesting moment, a scene not easily forgotten. The conclave, as the assembled body of cardinals are called only when "locked up together" for the election of a Pope (when assembled for other purposes they are called a consistory), used formerly to take place in the Vatican, but has been subsequently held in the Quirinal Palace. This noble building, known by the name of Monte Cavallo, consists of a large quadrangle, round which run the papal apartments. From this stretches

out, the length of a whole street, an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently or occasionally by persons attached to the court.

During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the Cardinals, each of whom lives apart with his attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the *turns* and lattices, through which alone anything, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that retreat. For a few hours the first evening the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and in fact all presentable persons may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that, all is closed; a wicket is left open for any cardinal to enter who has not yet arrived; but every aperture is jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges, and prelates, of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, so that no communication may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks, is barricaded, and guarded by a picquet at each end; and as, fortunately, there are no private residences opposite, no inconvenience is thereby caused."

X.

## The Higher Law.

THE Grand Lodge of Ohio is reported to have ordained the sale of liquor to be "unmasonic conduct," and as such to disqualify a postulant from admission into the mysteries, and possibly other Grand Lodges may be induced to imitate the Ohioan example. We apprehend that in endeavouring to define the morality of a man's business Ohio has committed a grave and gratuitous error, inasmuch as it is not the province of Masonry to uphold special legislation, but to deal in general ethical principles. We are aware that in some States, where the doctrine of prohibition has obtained legislative sanction, the sale of liquor has been declared to be illegal under certain circumstances. Still, we cannot perceive that transgressions against the law of any one or two local districts can be made punishable by the general laws of the Craft. The jurisprudence of Masonry should be universal in its character and specific in its nature, equitable, and not interfering with personal or individual rights. As the order is cosmopolitan so should be the spirit of its laws. Masonic offences are already defined in the ancient landmarks and elucidated in usages immemorial, constituting, like the common law of the land, an unwritten code of our universal procedure. When a man commits a wrong upon himself or his neighbour his transgression is readily recognized upon general principles, and he is a criminal throughout the Craft.

Of late years grand bodies have occupied themselves entirely too much in the work of legislation upon extraneous subjects other than the general welfare of the Order, and in this wise they have endeavoured to supplant practice of usages by statutory enactments. We have no right to trespass upon the observance of ancient customs; on the contrary, it is our duty to sustain them intact in their pristine purity. For instance, it might be deemed indecorous for a lodge to hold its regular convocations in a tavern, still this is a mere question of taste, dependent upon the sentiments of the profane on the place of the lodge's location. But let a Grand Lodge enact a statutory prohibition against the assemblage of Masons under the roof of an inn or tavern and it usurps an authority not guaranteed to it by the spirit of Masonry, inasmuch as in all countries, save our own, the inn or tavern is naturally regarded as being the most appropriate place for lodge meetings, and particularly when the attendance of sojourners is solicited. We do not deny that the Grand Lodge of Ohio possesses an inherent right to recommend any disqualification of a candidate its wisdom may suggest as a local precaution, still we emphatically deny its power to legislate upon a vital point in our ancient jurisprudence. Rejection of a candidate implies moral imperfection of such a character as to debar entrance into the Order here, there and everywhere, and such ostracism should be based upon fundamental usages.

—*Masonic Chronicle*,

## The Revelations of a Square.

BY THE REV. G. OLIVER, D.D.

### Chapter V.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 299.)

THIS R. W. M., whose name, for various reasons, I have purposely omitted to mention, as if determined to give the Lodge its *coup de grâce*, introduced a contest for superiority between the old and several young

members who understood very imperfectly the true principles of the Order, and entered warmly into the dispute for the sake of excitement and mischief. The juniors were at first always defeated in the numerous motions and subjects of discussion which they nightly poured forth upon the Lodge with as little judgment as Sancho Panza exhibited in the application of his proverbs; but being encouraged by the Master, they succeeded in procuring an accession to their numbers by the introduction of candidates for initiation, till at length, the old members were in a minority. The undisguised marks of triumph which the juniors displayed, so disgusted their more sedate Brethren, that they dropped off gradually, until the Lodge was left to the sole management of the injudicious Master and his superficial associates. I need not tell you the result. After the pæns of victory had subsided, and the excitement of the contest was at an end, these boon companions found Masonry but a dull affair, and soon followed the example of those worthy Brethren whom they had driven from the Lodge, by discontinuing their attendance; until at length, we received a summons, dated 17th October, 1766, and signed 'Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary,' requiring us, under the penalty of erasure, to show cause, at the ensuing Quarterly Communication, why the Lodge had not been represented in Grand Lodge for the last two years, and no subscriptions paid. Fortunately, the remaining few members who had faithfully adhered to the Lodge amidst all its fluctuations,—if not by actual attendance, at least by continuing on the books,—interfered, and by inviting an active and scientific member, Bro. James Hesletine, who had served the office of Warden under Bro. Entick, to take the chair, restored the peace and unanimity of the Lodge.

"Many of the continental fancies and innovations, extracted from the Jewish Talmuds, and introduced into their surreptitious Masonry, were much talked of in our Lodges at this period; and some of them were absolutely incorporated into our symbolical ritual, which was one reason why an authorized mode of working was considered by all genuine Masons to be essentially necessary. The rage for *something new* in England, as formerly in Athens, was not easily suppressed, and a knowledge of these traditions was deemed indispensable for every Brother who was ambitious of enjoying the reputation of being an adept in Masonry. One of these traditions you will like to hear, as it continued for a great length of time a cherished figment amongst us. It refers to the history of the Foundation Stone of Solomon's Temple, which was traced in the legend from Enoch through Noah, Abraham, and Solomon to the apostate Emperor Julian by the following process. They described it as a double cube, every side, except the base on which it stood, being inscribed. The first face of the cube was said to have been engraved by Noah with an instrument of porphyry when the Ark was building; the second, by Abraham, with *the horn of the ram*—credat Judæus!—which was substituted for his son on Mount Moriah! the third, with a porphyry tool of Moses; the fourth, by Joshua; and the fifth by Hiram Abiff, before it was deposited in its final bed at the north-east angle of the Temple. Having been placed by Enoch in the basement of his subterranean edifice, it was discovered by Noah, and used as an anchor to fix the Ark on Mount Ararat. Abraham took it thence to Mount Moriah, where it constituted the altar on which he offered Isaac. It formed the pillow of Jacob when he saw the celestial vision of the ladder, and accompanied him in all his wanderings. He bequeathed it to Joseph in Egypt, who directed it to be placed over his grave. Moses took it with him, at the great deliverance, into the wilderness of Arabia. He stood upon this remarkable stone when the Red Sea was divided, and when the Amalekites were defeated: knelt on it when the Tables of the Law were delivered on Mount Sinai; and finally commended it to the care of Joshua, who built his altar on it at Mount Ebal. It was deposited in the Sanctuary at Shilo until the Temple was erected at Jerusalem, when Solomon directed it to be placed in the foundation as the chief corner-stone. Here it remained undisturbed either by Zerubabel or Herod, as it was destined to defeat the insane attempt of Julian to rebuild the Temple, which it effected by destroying his workmen through the agency of fire.

These legends are equally apocryphal with those of the Scottish fabulists about the same stone. They feign that, from the time of Jacob, who used this stone for a pillow, it was preserved in Spain till Gathol, king of the Scots, ruled over Gallicia, and that he used it for a throne. That Sitmon Brech, another Scottish monarch, about 700 years before Christ, or about the time when Rome was built, conveyed it into Ireland, where it remained for three or four centuries before it was translated into Scotland. When there, it was installed in the Abbey of Scone, as a palladium, and enclosed in an oaken chair by king Kenneth, on which the following verse was engraven:—

*"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum.  
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."*

This stone and chair were deposited in Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1296, where they still remain. *Utrum horum mavis accipe!*

A similar fiction about the Rod of Moses was also imported from the Continent, which was traced from the Paradisiacal Tree of Knowledge;

This legend may be found in the Hist. Landmarks, vol. ii. p. 599.  
another about the institution of Templary, which, as it was said, had its origin in Egypt before the Exodus;  
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 24.

that Moses and Aaron, having been initiated into its mysteries, brought it with them into Judæa: that thence it passed through the two St. John's to the Crusades, &c.; and a fourth, about the imaginary travels of Peleg, and the erection of his triangular Temple.

Ibid. vol. i. p. 63.

We had another, which recounted the pseudo-history of Hiram Abiff; and many similar ones, which it would be a waste of time to mention. It may be necessary to add, that these fables were not countenanced by any but some young and inexperienced Brethren, who were ambitious of being accounted cleverer and brighter Masons than their fellows. And you would have been astonished to see the absurd airs of importance which the possessors of these fabulous conceits assumed when the conversation of a Lodge happened to turn upon the abstruse subject of cabalistical acquirements."

My tongue itched to inquire into the particulars of the history of Hiram Abiff, and I had some difficulty to restrain my curiosity. My companion observed the movement, and interpreted it correctly. "You wish to learn something of the reputed private history of this eminent Freemason," he said; "but I am not quite sure that I shall be able to gratify your curiosity for conjecture, after all, is no great authority. You shall hear some of the legends, however, if it will afford you any satisfaction. Our continental Brethren identified Hiram Abiff with Jesus Christ, and endeavoured to prove that his history was an allegory of the Crucifixion. They contended that \* \* \* *He that existed from all eternity*—T. G. A. O. T. U.—Christ; and asserted that in ancient times seven days was the legitimate interval between the ceremony of raising a candidate, and communicating to him the secrets of a Master Mason, in allusion to the period of mourning for his death, which amongst the Jews was seven days, as in the recorded instance of the lamentations of Joseph for his father Jacob; and the same period intervened between the resurrection of Christ and his public appearance to his disciples to remove the unbelief of Thomas. And, in recounting the history of Masonry, they feigned that the art and mystery of the Order was first introduced at the building of the tower of Babel; and from thence handed down by Euclid, a worthy and excellent mathematician of Egypt; that he communicated it to Hiram Abiff, under whom, at the building of the Temple of Solomon, was an expert architect called Mannon Grecus, who, travelling westward after the Temple was completed, taught the art of Masonry to Carolus Marcel, King of France, from whence it was transplanted into England in the time of Athelstan, who commanded the Brethren to assemble annually in the City of York.

"They further stated that the Stylus with which Hiram Abiff drew his plans and designs, and engraved that mysterious diagram on the foundation-stone of the Temple, which is now known as the 47th Proposition of Euclid, was found on his person at his raising, and was ordered by Solomon to be placed in his monument. I omit the fable of his marriage with the sister of Prince Adoniram, his death, burial, monument, obelisk, with its circles, squares, and columns, and Solomon's bitter mourning, together with the distraction and suicide of his widow, because I dare say you are heartily sick of this absurd jumble of truth and fiction, where Euclid is made contemporary with the dispersion from Shinar, and Hiram Abiff brother to the Carthaginian Hanno.

"Our brethren, however, amidst all their fondness for continental innovations and Jewish legends, were not so ungallant to the softer sex as to introduce that graceless illustration of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or the holy ground on which the Lodge is placed, that was used by the French Mason's viz., as 'a place of peace, harmony, and concord, where cock never crows, women never brawl, nor lion ever roars.'"

"The ladies of France amply revenged themselves by instituting a Freemasonry of their own, and every principal town in France soon exhibited its Lodge of Adoption.

M. DIEULAFAIT ascribes the origin of the phosphates of lime in the south-west of France to the action of saline waters during the tertiary epoch, analogous to, if not identical with those of the lagoons of the present time. The saline and concentrated waters of these lagoons, which certainly existed in tertiary times, performed a twofold function in the production of the natural phosphates of lime. In the first place they attacked the limestone rocks far more actively than ordinary water could have done, and then they contributed directly phosphoric acid, which is still being deposited in the shallow lagoons of the Rhone delta.

## Presentation to Bro. Andrew Dunnett, I.P.M.

WINCHESTER LODGE, No. 1737, E.C.—A very pleasing ceremony took place at the above Lodge on Monday, the 16th inst., when I.P.M. Bro. Andrew Dunnett was made the recipient of a Past Master's Jewel by the members of the Lodge.

Brethren from all the sister Lodges in the neighbourhood were present in large numbers.

The presentation was made by the W.M. Bro. Samuel Gould, who in a few well chosen remarks expressed the pleasure it gave him in presenting this special mark of the esteem in which Bro. Andrew Dunnett was held

by the brethren of the Lodge, and as further evincing the entire satisfaction he had given while Master of the Lodge, and hoped that Bro. Dunnett might be spared many years to wear the jewel.

In reply, Bro. Dunnett said: "He felt at a loss for words to adequately express his appreciation of their, kindness, and of the honor they had put upon him in making him the recipient of a gift of this nature, one so valuable, and one so prized by a Mason. Nothing he assured them, that he could receive, would please him more than this, for not only should he always be proud of the jewel, but would at all times look upon it as a souvenir, that carried with it the kind feelings and hearty good wishes of his mother Lodge, and as such it could never fail both to remind him of the brethren and to recall many pleasant reminiscences. He felt however that he had not fully earned it, for although he may have performed the ceremonies of the various degrees in a manner that may have pleased himself, and perhaps in a way that may have satisfied the brethren, yet he had felt on more occasions than one when dealing with other matters that came before the Lodge during his term of office, that he lacked the wisdom, and perhaps the tact too, that such matters required. He could, however, only say that he ever endeavored to do his best, and it gratified him now, beyond measure, to be told that his humble endeavors were appreciated. Although he had left the district, he would still remain on the books of the Lodge. Again thanking the brethren for their gift, Bro. Dunnett concluded by wishing prosperity to his mother Lodge.

The jewel, the design of which was much admired by the brethren, was made of colonial gold, and of the orthodox form of the square, and the 47th prop, of Euclid hanging from the internal angle, the broad face of the square being richly chased with beautiful scroll work, the edges being raised and burnished, as was also the problem itself, the square was suspended from a blue ribbon upon which were three bars bearing respectively the words, Winchester Lodge, No. 1737. The letters and borders of the bars being raised and burnished upon a "frieze" back, and a pierced monogram of the recipient was also attached to the ribbon, an appropriate inscription being upon the back of the square, and was from the well-known firm of Coates & Co., of Christchurch, which is of itself a guarantee that both the workmanship and quality of the material were of the best description.

## Hebrew Almanac

FOR 1885 INDICATING THE FIRST DAYS OF THE MONTH WITH THE CORRESPONDING DATES OF THE VULGAR OR COMMON ERA, TOGETHER WITH THE FEAST DAYS TO BE OBSERVED BY CHAPTERS OF ROSE CROIX.

## Poetry.

### Giordano Bruno.

Burnt For Asserting Plurality Of Worlds, By Order Of The Church, February 17th, 1600.

(From the *Scotsman*.)

"With greater fear you now pronounce my doom  
Than I unyielding take it from your hands."  
He stood before them in the council room  
Erect and free despite their iron bands.

No cause he pleads upheld by people's voice,  
No fiery impulse heats a martyr's brain,  
Alone and calm abides he by the choice  
Of weary years of bondage and of pain.

A page divine lay open to his sight;

He found the truth because he questioned why;  
And it was writ in characters of light  
By God's own finger on the midnight sky.

He followed truth; proclaimed his purpose high  
With constant lips, and with unfalt'ring breath—  
He followed truth and Godlike dared to die,  
And thought immortal triumphed over death

Some had supernatural joys before their sight,  
And felt a Saviour's hand within their own;  
He had not this, but fought the final fight,  
And went into the darkness all alone.

Raise high the faggots! ye would "shed no blood,"  
Oh holy charity! Oh Christianlike grace!  
Thought ye as 'mid the raging flame he stood  
This damning he would shield ye from disgrace?

He came, a greater gift than priest or king.  
Ye robed and crown'd him with devouring flame;  
Behold the rolling years avenging bring  
To you and to your heirs undying shame.

What need of monumental stone to thee?  
Within the heart of truth art thou enshrined,  
And in the heart of all that seek to free  
From priestly craft and creed, the bondaged mind.

Our sympathies are spreading far and wide;  
The sun that shone upon the stake has set;  
Our churches multiply on every side;  
But have we room for Bruno even yet.

The light is breaking! see the hill-tops high  
Enkindling with the brightness of that sun!  
The light is breaking that will never die;  
And science and religion shine in one.

L. J. NICOLSON.

# Science Cleanings.

PROFESSOR SCHEIBLER, of Berlin, has invented a process for the production of phosphoric acid from the slag made in the Thomas Gilchrist method. The slag, having been roasted in an oxidizing flame, is pulverized and sifted. The powder is dissolved in hydrochloric acid, and the solution saturated with lime-water. The resulting product contains from 35 to 37 per cent, of phosphoric acid in the form of bibasic phosphate of lime, and a second roasting yields a substance in which the content of phosphoric acid is as high as 45 per cent.

A DESCRIPTION is given in the *English Mechanic* of what appears to be a novel electric bell. The battery is contained in a cylinder of brass, inside which the line wire can be coiled by turning a little winch handle, and the gong is carried at one end of the brass case, serving as a cover for the magnet, etc. The case is provided with legs, so that the arrangement can be placed in a horizontal position, and there is also a ring, which enables it to be suspended wherever it may be desired. The outside dimensions of the whole apparatus are six inches by four inches.

ONE of the best electric light systems was recently introduced into the Court Theatre at Stuttgart. Quite unexpectedly the orchestra immediately showed signs that they disapproved of the new means of illumination, and they have petitioned the management to restore the old oil lamps. The orchestra state that the brilliancy of the electric lights has an unpleasant effect upon the nerves, and that it has become difficult to follow the baton of the conductor. To ascertain whether there may not be something substantial in these alleged grievances a committee of oculists and disinterested musicians have been officially appointed.

Two grand engineering schemes, fraught with far-reaching social and political influences of much greater consequences than those which appear on the surface, are attracting attention in Europe at present. The one is the proposed railway tunnel, through the Pyrenees, the convention for which has been signed by the Franco-Spanish International Railway Commission. The other is for the formation of a company to construct an international railway connecting Europe with Persia, India, Burmah, and China.

IN a glassworks near Paris air stored under pressure supersedes blowing by the mouth, except in a few cases. Some such recourse has been a desideratum. Glass blowers are very susceptible to various diseases of the lips and cheeks, besides being peculiarly pre-disposed to tumors and rupture. Boys employed at an age when their growth is still rapid, and the general system weak, are frequently permanently injured by their efforts in glass blowing. But it has been found far from easy to make mechanical take the place of natural means in this art.

AN ELECTRICAL NOVELTY.—One of the electrical comicalities, says the *Scientific American*, of the Philadelphia Exhibition was the illuminated coloured gentleman who politely distributed cards to astonished visitors. The Edison Company conceived the idea of so locating one of their lamps that it could be seen by all, and to do this most effectually, they placed it upon a helmet surmounting the head of the coloured party. Two wires led from the lamp under his jacket, down each leg, and terminated in copper discs fastened to his boot heels. Squares of copper of a suitable size for him to stand naturally upon were placed at intervals in the floor, and were electrically connected with the dynamo. So, with each heel in contact with a plate, he was enabled to make and break the circuit leading to his lamp, the movement required being so slight as not to attract attention; and his hands being free to handle the cards. Many nervous persons were startled by the sudden flashing of the light and so great were the crowds that continually surrounded this individual that he was frequently obliged to change his quarters in order to keep the passages open. As a further improvement it was the intention to place copper strips under a carpet and provide the heels with sharp points, so that each step would be illuminated. This simple exhibition led many folks from the rural districts to enquire as to the cost of such an appliance, as it was just the thing they wanted "to carry around the house."

# American Reports On Correspondence.

FROM the "Voice of Masonry" we this month again select interesting matter gathered from official reports: nothing seems to come amiss to our American brethren in the way of moralizing on the different aspects of a problem either social or religious. It is very amusing to mark the wide difference of opinion in these official utterances on similar questions. It is evident when this occurs someone must be wrong, but who is it?

## Gurney's Reports, 1884.

"Masonic correspondence has become a great feature of the Masonic Institution, and he who does not



carefully read and study the respective annual reports fails to acquire inestimably valuable Masonic information, and deprives himself of inexpressible pleasure. Drummond, of Maine; Simons, of New York; Gurney, of Illinois; Parvin, of Iowa; Pierson, of Minnesota; Hedges, of Montana; Vincil, of Missouri; Meed, of Washington; Staton, of Kentucky; Wheeler, of Connecticut; Wait, of New Hampshire; Singleton, of the District of Columbia; Vaux, of Pennsylvania; Hammond, of Nevada; Inglesby, of South Carolina; Richards, of Ohio; Chadwick, of Oregon; Innes, of Michigan, and others are great lights in this service of the Fraternity, and merit high commendation. Probably Simons is the most conservative and Gurney the most sensational. Anyway they thus appear to us. The latter dearly loves to find a topic to thrust through and through, but none is truer to what he conceives to be strictly Masonic, nor more zealous in upholding and defending the Ancient Craft banner. His reports of 1884 are very important and are eliciting unusual attention and criticism. His special report to the Grand Lodge of Illinois on the Memphis and the Ancient and Primitive Rite appeared in this magazine last month, and hence now is passed by. His regular report to the Grand Lodge is most important and will first receive review.

"REPORT TO GRAND LODGE:—Heretofore Bro. Gurney has mercilessly condemned the unanimity theory of forming Grand Lodges, and he still dissents to it, yet nevertheless in the opening of the report now under review he unwittingly demonstrates its correctness and proves that it is 'the accepted law of organization.'"

\* \* \*

"MINORITY THEORY.—Bro. Gurney finds no reason for endorsing the minority theory, and with his trenchant pen he cuts it all to pieces. Under the caption 'Grand Lodge of Victoria,' he says: 'In 1863 and 1876 unsuccessful attempts were made to organize a Grand Lodge. April 13th, 1883, a preliminary meeting of brethren, not lodges, was held in Melbourne to once more inaugurate the undertaking, and, so far as the common law of organization dictates, with a like want of success attending previous efforts. On the 19th day of June the convention was held, fifteen lodges being represented. There were also present bodies of Masons from two other lodges, who were as would appear, in sympathy with the movement. At this point we find, upon page 27 of "proceedings," that "Masonry has been established here some forty years, and, according to recent returns, the lodges under the three constitutions (English, Irish and Scotch) number ninety-five, with probably five thousand members." The facts are, therefore, that fifteen lodges, with about eight hundred members, assume to dictate an organization for the whole Fraternity of the Colony. Our brethren of Victoria rest their claims to legality upon the declaration of our late Bro. Mackey, that three lodges are authorized to consummate the organization. This is true if such lodges constitute a majority of the lodges of a defined territory. This is what that distinguished author says: (*Vide Mackey's Jurisprudence*, pp. 423 and 42.) "The fact is, that there is no ancient regulation on the subject; but the necessity of three lodges concurring is derived from the well known principles of the civil law, that a college or corporate body must consist of three persons at least. Two lodges could not unite in a Masonic college or corporate body, nor form that corporate body known as a Grand Lodge. But not more than three are necessary, and accordingly the Grand Lodge of Texas, which was established in 1837, by three lodges, was at once recognized as regular and legal by all the Grand Lodges of the United States and other countries.\* \* \* The Grand Lodge thus formed, by the union of not less than three lodges in convention, at once assumes all the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, and acquires exclusive Masonic jurisdiction over the territory within whose geographical limits it has been constituted. No lodge can continue to exist, or be subsequently established in the territory, except under its authority; and all other Grand Lodges are prohibited from exercising any Masonic authority within the said territory.'

"We give both quotations to show that the presumption cannot be entertained that he intended to insist that a minority of lodges, fifteen, could formulate an organization for ninety-five; because not in all the annals of the Institution has it ever been recognized that a minority of lodges or Grand Lodge, could determine legislation for the majority. If Bro. Mackey had been of the opinion that three lodges could have controlled, notwithstanding the presence of twenty others in Texas, he would have so said; but the facts are, that the three lodges who instituted that Grand Body were a majority of the lodges of that particular domain, and if memory is not at fault, they constituted the entire Fraternity of the jurisdiction."

The Royal Arch Degree comes in for its share of dissection, and it is very proper that "light" should be cast upon the early history of this so-called portion of Ancient Craft Masonry. Bro. Gurney puts it forward very plainly and briefly, and we think his remarks will be interesting to our readers:—

"Turning first to the chapter. In all monitors and hand books of that body is found, substantially, the following declaration: 'This degree (Royal Arch) is indescribably more august and sublime and important than all which precede it, and is the summit and perfection of ancient Masonry. It impresses on our minds a belief of the being and existence of a Supreme DEITY, without beginning of days or end of years, and reminds us of the reverence due His holy name. It also brings to mind many essentials of the Craft which were, for the space of four hundred and seventy years, buried in darkness; and without a knowledge of which the Mason's character cannot be complete \* \* \* \* This section furnishes us with many interesting particulars relative to the state of

the Fraternity during and since the reign of King Solomon,' &c. Vide Webb, 1818; McCoy. 1859, and other writers.

*"This, brethren, is the class of food with which the masses of the Fraternity have been served from time out of mind, and it is not, therefore, suprising that Masons not particularly interested and instructed in foundation stones, should accept as orthodox, whimsical assertions so boldly put forth, because of the absence of a bold, truthful, popular literature so necessary to dispel impositions upon credulity.*

*"Now, what are the facts relating to the origin of the degree in question, and its subsequent relations to the Fraternity. Before further discussion it should be stated that the appendant degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master, are of American origin; at least so far as their association with the chapter is concerned. They are entirely unknown to the English system, and have been connected therewith.*

*"The Royal Arch was not known prior to, or at the revival of 1717. Neither Anderson, nor contemporaneous authors, allude to it; neither is it mentioned prior to its attempted introduction into the English Masonic system, about the year 1740. Up to that time, as the late Bro. Mackey says: 'The essential elements of the Royal Arch constituted a component part of the Master's degree, and was, of course, the concluding portion; that as a degree it was not at all recognized, being but the complement of one; that about that time it was dissevered from its original connection and elevated to the position and invested with the form of a distinct degree by the body which called itself the 'Grand Lodge of England according to the old constitutions,' but which is more familiarly known as the Dermot or Athol Grand Lodge, and frequently as the 'Ancients,' that in 1776 a similar degree, fabricated by Dunkerley, was adopted by the constitutional Grand Lodge, or the 'Moderns,' and that in 1813 it was formerly recognised as a part of the York Rite by the United Grand Lodge of England.*

*"Bro. Mackey further says: 'It is evident that the existence of the Royal Arch as an independent and distinct degree, dates at a comparatively modern period. In none of the old manuscript records of Masonry is there the slightest allusion to it, and Anderson does not make any allusion to it in his history of the Order. The true word, which constitutes the essential character of the Royal Arch degree, was found by Dr. Oliver in an old Master Mason's tracing board of the date of about 1725; and hence he concludes 'that the word at the time had not been severed from the third degree and transferred to another'—in other words, that the Royal Arch degree had not been fabricated. We hope the reader will keep the foregoing in mind for the day, if it comes, when the lodge will demand its own.*

*"We are aware of the fact that distinguished authors reject the theories of Bro. Mackey, but when it can be made plain that the 'word' was lost and subsequently found in an organization that did not exist in 1717, and in a degree fabricated after the establishment of the first Grand Lodge, then we will review the conclusions of the author quoted.*

*"There is not a reasonable doubt but that the Royal Arch originated in the fertile brain of Chevalier Ramsey, who made the unsuccessful effort (1740) for its introduction. It was, however, seized upon by Dermot and Dunkerley, who again emasculated the third degree, that it (the Royal Arch) might be the 'summit of Ancient Craft Masonry;' and wherein might be found the 'lost word' (!) that a craftsman could possibly secure if found worthy of the confidence of the usurpers of his heritage.*

*"There is much more of history upon this subject that could be produced, but enough has been shown to fix the correct birth of the fundamental degree of the chapter.*

## **Vincil's Report, 1884.**

Justly, we think, Right Worshipful and Rev. John D. Vincil, of Missouri, may be classed as one of the ablest, most vigorous, most positive, and most zealous of the reporters on Masonic correspondence. Sometimes he errs in his judgment of what is Masonic, but ever firmly upholds what he believe is right. His report for 1884, to the Grand Lodge, fills two hundred and six pages; and, in his opinion, is not the best he has prepared. He expresses disappointment with it. We do not view it as he does. He hopes to be comforted with the verdict, "It might have been worse." We think it could not easily be improved in thought or in sentiment, and have it remain *Vincilian*. of course it is not *Drummondian*, *Parvinian*, *Piersonian*, *Innesian*, *Singletonian*, nor *Wheelerian*, and not best from those standpoints, nor by those standards is it to be judged." \* \* \*

\* \* \*

"A MAN IN ROME.—Alluding to an oration of a certain Grand Orator, Bro. Vincil says: 'The chief staple of the brief address was an answer to a man who lives "in Rome, and who does as Rome does." The aforesaid man is said to dislike Freemasonry. Very likely. There are many others of the same class elsewhere. We see no reason for alarm or making ourselves unhappy because of such dislike. We have not heard of the death of any lodges or downfall of the Institution of Freemasonry since the man of Rome has been delivered of his Bull. Nor do we expect any increase of the integrity and stability of Freemasonry in consequence of any defence made by Grand Orators. We could not listen, with patience, to a dissertation upon the statement that "the sun shines."'

Free-masonry is a grand institution and very solid, but its light and beneficence are not as apparent as the sun at 'meridian height.' Many people are wrongly prejudiced against it, among them Leo, Pope XIII., but not all are so intelligent as he. Some need light, others more light, and what are Grand Orators for if not to impart it? We remember well the first time we ever saw Bro. Vincil was while he was out on an oratorical expedition. What he said then was not new to some of his hearers; but to others it was an intellectual feast. So the orator whom Bro. Vincil criticises gave needed intellectual food to most of his hearers. We read the oration with real interest, and naught but the lack of space for it prevented us from reprinting it."

\* \* \*

As we said before, nothing comes amiss to the Masonic reportist. Here is a choice bit of theological dogma discussed with true American vivacity. What would be said of one of our District Grand Secretaries who should attempt to entertain his Lodge in similar manner?

## The Resurrection.

Bro. Richards, of Ohio, while reviewing a report of Bro. Howry, of Mississippi, said, "We confess to some surprise on reading in his preface the following as a part of his creed: 'We believe in GOD, *the resurrection of the body*, and the immortality of the soul.' The resurrection of this frail, worm-eaten body, after it has lain for years—nay, centuries—until the last remnant of flesh, bone and sinew, has mingled with its kindred dust? Incredible! Possibly we do not understand such things; but we give the plain English of it, and that is the best we can offer. Bro. Vincil answers his objection thus: "We confess to some surprise on reading the 'surprise' of Bro. Richards over the part of the creed quoted from the report of the venerated and erudite Howry. Bro. Richards writes as though the doctrine of the 'resurrection of the body' was 'some new thing' he had just met with. He reminds us of the 'philosophers' at Athens, when the great scholar and thinker of that age proclaimed the doctrine Bro. Howry inserted in his creed. The surprise' of Bro. Richards and the Athenian philosophers belongs to the same family. They 'mocked' and he cries 'incredible!' And we think if he had said 'impossible' it would have expressed no more than he felt and believed. The other language used is equivalent to impossible. He evidently discards and scorns the 'resurrection of this frail, worm-eaten body, after it has lain for years—nay, centuries—until the last remnant of flesh, bone and sinew, has mingled with its kindred dust.' 'Incredible.' We express no 'surprise' that the philosophers of Athens 'mocked' when they heard, for the first time, the doctrine of Bro. Howry's creed. But we must express some little 'surprise' that a good Mason like Bro. Richards should expunge the doctrine of the 'resurrection of the body' from the Masonic 'creed.' We think he believes a physical 'resurrection' impossible. It must be so or he would not say 'incredible.' He judges the doctrine in the light, and by the laws of nature. His postulate is the one common through the ages—'Resurrection is a miracle.' 'Miracle is contrary to the laws of nature.' 'Therefore resurrection is impossible'—'incredible.' Is there no GOD in your creed, Bro. Richards? Do you acknowledge the God of the Bible? Then, we ask, 'Why should it be thought a thing 'incredible' with you that GOD should raise the dead?' The GOD of Nature must be above and superior to the laws He gave to nature, or else he is subordinate to His own works. Will you so affirm? Then the laws of nature are not in the way of GOD when He would perform a miracle, admitting that 'the resurrection of the body' is a miracle, *per se*. Is there nothing prophetic to Bro. Richards in the struggle going on between the life-principle and the death tendency in the universe? In the huge grapple between the law of life and the law of decay; does he hear no 'speaking voice' or 'bathkol,' prophesying of the ultimate triumph of the vital force, called life, over decay? Does not life, springing out of death, everywhere in nature, tell him, there must be a time when the mightier force shall prevail, and nature under the direction of the Lion of the tribe of Judah—creation's Head—wheel into line and harmony with the Original, Normal-law of the universe, when the grand acclaim shall be raised, 'There shall be no more death.' Candidly, Bro. Richards, do you not believe that the life power is mightier than the decaying and dying condition in the vast empire of being? If not, death would over-run all things and all life would become extinct. The life power holds the law of decay in check, and the struggle must end by the weaker antagonist yielding to the stronger. Life is the normal law of the universe. GOD lives and He is the life of all things. The law of decay must yield and universal life be restored and become the ruling condition, as in the glorious morning of time. 'There shall be no more death,' is a prophesy of nature in its vernal glories and floral beauties, and this prophesy is affirmed by the revelations of GODS and inculcated in the lofty lessons of Masonry. If Bro. Richards accepts the Bible as from GOD, and believes in the religion of Nature, or natural religion, he will revise his' creed and incorporate therein the declaration of the able jurist and conscientious Masonic Judge Howry, of Mississippi, whose last writings on earth declared: 'I believe in the, resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul.' Our venerable Bro. Howry since formulating the above creed, has passed to the realm of the living and beyond the scene of the dying. He has tested the soundness of his creed. By a pure and godly life he won peace and hope here, and lost nothing by such a life, if there be no future for him hereafter. So, Bro. Richards, you and your brother correspondent, must

soon meet similar conditions and destinies. The creed of Bro. Howery is not unworthy our intelligence and nature, and will do us no harm here and may serve us admirably hereafter. 'I speak as unto wise men. Judge ye what I say.'" In Bro. Vincil's report we find much more which is well worth reproduction, but the foregoing must suffice now.

## Masonic Picnic.

YESTERDAY morning a special train left town for Foxhill, conveying a number of Masons and their families, who spent the day in the most enjoyable manner possible. About eighty left town, and at Wakefield they were received by Brethren of the Forest Lodge, and the Wakefield Brass Band, but after a brief stay they proceeded on to their destination, accompanied by a number of their Brethren of the Forest Lodge. The day was spent in the grounds adjacent to the Foxhill Hotel, and whilst every conceivable amusement was provided for the juveniles, croquet, cricket, and a number of sports were entered into by the elders of the parties. A really excellent dinner was provided by Host Gaukrodger in his usual admirable style, and it is almost superfluous to say that it was done good justice to. In the afternoon various amusements were entered upon with increased zest, and in the evening an impromptu dance on the green sward was enjoyed by nearly the whole company for some two hours. The special train, which had been delayed at the request of the Masons, left Foxhill at eight o'clock, and the picnickers reached town a little after nine, thoroughly delighted with their very successful holiday, during which not a single hitch or unpleasantness occurred.—*Nelson Colonist*, Feb. 13.

## Grand Lodge of Missouri.

MISSOURI occupies a justly eminent Masonic position. Many of the brightest and best of the Crafts have bowed at her Masonic altars and labored under her ægis. From her, Illinois and other jurisdictions received Masonic light and authority to work, and her fraternal influence has extended around the world, thus becoming an endless chain of Masonic union. Her moral standard is high, and ably she defends what she believes is right.

The sixty-fourth annual communication of the Grand Lodge was held in St. Louis, October 14th, 1884, October 16th, 1884, and it was an occasion of much interest and importance. Most Worshipful Lee A. Hall, Grand Master, presided, and two hundred and seven lodges were represented. The Grand Master especially directed attention to the action of the Grand Lodge, in 1882, concerning saloon-keeping by Masons, and reported a circular thereon, issued by his order to the lodges. The substance of the matter appears in the following: No one who uses intoxicating liquors to excess is in any sense worthy to be a partaker of our mysteries, nor should he be allowed to remain among us if he persists in doing so. This brings us back to the proposition that drunkenness and saloon-keeping are cognate offences, both alike foreign to our law, and to the spirit and principle of Freemasonry. This being true, the only conclusion to be deduced from the premises is, (1) That Masons who are saloon-keepers are guilty of un-Masonic conduct, for which they are liable to be expelled from the Order. (2) If those already members were liable to be expelled, certainly it was not proper that the petition for initiation of any person engaged in saloon-keeping should be received. I therefore instructed the lodges that no consideration would justify the lodge in making a saloon-keeper a Mason, and a petition from such a person should not be received. I also instructed our lodges that no brother engaged in saloon-keeping should under any circumstances, be selected to fill any office in the lodge, or to represent it in any way, on the ground that our officers are our representatives before the public, and will be so regarded. The Grand Lodge therefore cannot and will not allow anything to be done that will tend, even in the slightest degree, to bring Masonry into disrepute."—*Voice of Masonry*.

## A Masonic Temple Burned.

THE Masonic Temple, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was destroyed by fire on the morning of December 24. The first portion of the temple to burn was the valuable scenery, organ and properties of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, acknowledged to be the most complete in the West, or perhaps in the United States. The Temple is the property of Nova Cæsarea Lodge, and cost upwards of 200,000 dollars, but it was insured for 125,000 dollars, which is deemed sufficient to fully restore the loss sustained by the fire on the building. The principal item of loss is that of the Scottish Rite, which is estimated at 50,000 dollars to 75,000 dollars. Also the library of Bro. Enoch T. Carson, containing the most ancient and valuable collection of Masonic publications that existed in this country. The collection was valued at 10,000 dollars, and uninsured. Many valuable works have

thus been destroyed which it will be impossible to replace. In the destruction of the valuable library of Bro. Enoch T. Carson the Craft at large has met with an irreparable loss. What then must be the effect of this sudden disappearance of the accumulation of a life-long labour of patience and care devoted to the collecting and preserving of rarest and costly gems of Masonic antiquity on the indefatigable Brother? With him we deeply and truly sympathize, fully appreciating this great loss to him and the fraternity. Yet with the energy he has always shown and devoted to Masonic labours in the past, we are inclined to believe that he may in part be consoled by an attempt to build up another lasting remembrance of his Masonic usefulness in replacing a portion of this valuable collection, in which work we will cheerfully aid and assist.—*Masonic Chronicle*.

THE *Lancet* can see no rational basis for the popular belief that natural mineral waters are better than the artificial. One of its writers mentions the curious fact that an enormous trade in ærated waters has arisen since Byron, in 'Don Juan,' commended the virtues of soda-water."

## Tasmania.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LAUNCESTON,

February 3, 1885.

THE annual installation of Officers of the Tasmanian Operative Lodge No. 345 I.C. (the oldest Lodge in the colony) took place in the Masonic Hall, Hobart, on the evening of January 28, when there was a very large muster of members and visitors. Amongst the Past Masters who occupied seats on the dais were Bros, the Hon. Adye Douglas (Premier and Chief Secretary of Tasmania) and the Hon. W. H. Burgess (Colonial Treasurer). Bro. W. Conway, W.M. of St. John's Lodge 346 I.C., Launceston, officiated as Acting Provincial Grand Director of Ceremonies. The Lodge having been opened in due form by W.M. Bro. J. Stump, the ode "Hail, Eternal, by whose aid" was rendered by the choir. At 8 p.m. the R.W. Provincial Grand Master (Bro. Harry Conway) was announced, and entered attended by the officers of Provincial Grand Lodge, all in full regalia. Next came the R.W. District Grand Master of Tasmania, E.C. the Rev. R. D. Poulett-Harris, attended by a number of his officers. The Chair was taken by P.G. Master Bro. Conway, and Bro. J. Bidencope having been presented as the Worshipful Master Elect, was then installed in due form as Master of the Tasmanian Operative Lodge, 345 I.C. Subsequently the following brethren were invested as officers of the Lodge for the ensuing Masonic year:—S.W., Bro. G. Judge; J.W., Bro. C. G. Eady; Treasurer, Bro. B. Webb; Secretary, Bro. S. Rheuben; S.D., Bro. J. W. Watchorn; J.D. Bro. Stabb; Director of Ceremonies, Bro. Stewart; I.G., Bro. Finlayson; O.G., Bro. Beaumont. The general and final addresses were delivered by D.G.M. (E.C.) the Rev. R. D. Poulett-Harris. At the conclusion of the ceremony Bro. S. Rheuben was presented with a handsome medallion as a slight recognition of his valuable services as Secretary to the Lodge for the last three years. A telegram was read from Bro. Major Aikenhead, W.M. of the Lord Wolseley Temperance Lodge, Launceston, conveying congratulations to the newly installed Master, and apologies for non-attendance were read from several other brethren. The ode "Now the evening shadows closing" was then sung by the choir under the direction of Bro. Steinbach, acting Pro. G. Organist, and afterwards the Lodge was closed in harmony. An adjournment was then made to the banquetting room down stairs, where, at the invitation of the W.M., about a hundred brethren sat down to a sumptuous repast. Toasts and music followed, some excellent speeches being delivered. In the course of some remarks the Pro. Grand Master (Bro. Harry Conway) said he hoped to live long enough to see a Grand Lodge of Tasmania established, and he was in hope of soon celebrating the jubilee of Irish Freemasonry in Tasmania.

The opening of the H.R.A. Chapter at the Forth has been postponed until next month.

A craft Lodge under the Irish Constitution is to be established at Upper Ringarooma during the current month. Masonry is making great headway in all parts of our "tight little island."

## Disgusted.

GA. SALA in his "America Revisited," relates a good story. A gentleman from the Eastern States, whom he met in the train across the continent, held forth upon the difference between reality and guide-books:—"There ain't no bottling up of things about me. The overland journey's a fraud, and oughter know it. Don't tell me its not a fraud. This ring must be busted up. Where are your buffalors? Perhaps you'll tell me that them cows is

buffalers. They ain't. Where are your prairie dogs? They ain't dogs to begin with, they're squirrels. Ain't you ashamed to call the mean little cusses dogs? But where are they? They're ain't none. Where are your grizzlies? You might have imported a few grizzlies to keep up the name of your railroad. Where are your herds of antelopes scudding before the advancing train? Nary an antelope have you got for to scud. Rocky Mountains, sir? They ain't rocky at all—they're as flat as my hand. Where are your savage gorges? I can't see none. Where are your wild Injuns! Do you call them loafing tramps in dirty blankets wild Injuns? My belief is that they're greasers looking out for an engagement as song and dance men. They're 'dead beats', sir, dead beats'; their 'pudcocks,' and you ought to be told so.

*"AND he kicked you into the street—weren't you mad? "I did feel considerably put out"*

## **A Church Of England Minister Converted To Buddhism.**

A Correspondent writing from Colombo to the *Madras Mail*, o December 18th, said:—"An interesting ceremony took place Robinson-street, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon, on the 17t instant, consisting in the public acceptance of Buddhism by Christian minister of the Established Church of England. The [unclear: Re] Charles Webster Leadbeater (clergyman from Hampshire, England, an curate of a church in which he but recently expounded the doctrine of Christianity), thereby formally severed his connection with the sect [unclear: t] which he belonged, and promised to dedicate his services to the promulgation of the truths of that high philosophy which, although expresse in various allegorical shapes in all religious systems, are so plainly an unequivocally laid down in the teachings of Gautama Buddha. It was a sigh. heretofore seldom seen—a Christian minister seated at the feet of the yellow-robed priests of the followers of Buddha, and solemnly repeatin after them, 'I take my refuge in Buddha! I take my refuge in the law; take my refuge in order.' The 'Pansil' ceremony was administered b the high priest, the Rev. H. Sumangala, principal of the Vidodaya College at Colombo, who was assisted by the Rev. T. Amaramoli, a Buddhist pries and a learned and eloquent speaker, both of whom recited the 'pirit (blessings) used on such occasions. There were present many of the prominent native citizens of Ceylon. On being requested by the high priest state his reasons why he desired to become a follower of Lord Buddha, M: Leadbeater stated that it was his desire to arrive at the truth, and that [unclear: b] had found the truth expressed in a purer form in Buddhism than in and other system with which he was acquainted. He further stated that, which the Christian doctrines were all based upon hearsay evidence and upon doubtful authority, and required him to believe many unreasonable thing, the teachings of Gautama Buddha, which stand forth most prominently, as that we should believe nothing which our reason cannot accept as true, because faith, to be lasting, must be based upon sound reason and comma sense."

THE Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons, afterwards known as "Athol Masons," originated the secession of a large number of brethren in 1738, in consequence of innovations ad departure from the old landmarks by the Grand Lodge of England. These have been a matter of study and interest to all Masonic students. There appears D doubt concerning the existence of some cause, sufficient to create the rupture. The Masters of the six Lodges that are in the earliest records seem to have conjointly acted is Grand Master, and were authorised to grant dispensations and issue warrants. The senior private Lodge, according to Gould, appears to have been the "Grand Committee" which developed into the Grand Lodge in 1753, when Robert Turner. W.M. of Lodge N. 15, was elected the first Grand Master.

THE quarterly communication of the Grand Lodge of Scotland was held on the 5th November last at Edinburgh; Bro. Col. Sir A. C. Campbell, Bart., Deputy Grand Master presiding. The Earl of Mar and Kellie, G.M., in a letter declining re-nomination, statd as one of his reasons for withdrawing that he thought three years long enough for a Grand Master to sit. Bro. Col. Sir A. C. Campbell was elected G.M. £175 was reported as having been granted during the past two months from the Fund of Benevience.

## **Proposed New Hall For Wellington.**

THE Wellington Freemasons' Hall Company, Limited, have now been offered by the New Zealand Pacific Trust, the present Masonic Hall in Boulcott-street, and the site on which it stands, for the sum of £1,100, and the Company have accepted. This is a cheap property at the money, and should be looked upon as giving the new Company a start, which we trust will be continued until success is assured. Now is the time to render valuable assistance to the Craft, by taking as many shares as will be necessary to ensure success. We hear Bro. C. P. Powles, P.M. is to be the Secretary of the Company. For the information of our readers, we append the Prospectus The Wellington Freemasons' Hall Company, Limited. Capital, £5,000; 5,000 shares of £1 each.

Prospectus. This Company has been duly formed and registered, and the first Directors—are Bros. C. J. Toxward, Sir E. O. Gibbes, Bart., A de Brandon, jun., E. H. Crease, A. Lindsay, Robert Scott, and James Paterson, who hold office until the first general meeting of the Company, to be held under 'The Companies Act, 1882,' within four months from the date of registration of the Company. Until Adoption of Articles of Association by the Company, it will work under Table A. of 'The Companies Act, 1882.' The Directors have resolved to purchase the Boulcott-street Hall for the sum of £1,100, at which price it has been offered to them, and they are now issuing shares for the purpose of enabling them to complete the purchase and to repair and add to the present buildings. Arrangements having been made whereby the Company will be enabled to borrow part of the purchase money on mortgage at a low rate of interest, it is anticipated that no more than Five Shillings per Share need be called up if the whole number are subscribed for. The Directors will not allot any Shares without the consent of the applicant, until applications have been received for at least 4,000 Shares. A sum of 2s. 6d. per Share will be payable on application, and a further sum of 2s. 6d. per share will be payable on allotment. Should any further sums be required, calls will be made at intervals of not less than one month, and for not more than 1s. per Share at a time. Applications for Shares must be sent in to the Directors, addressed to them at Box No. 36, Post Office, Wellington, after payment of the deposit to the Company's account at the Bank of New South Wales, Wellington. In the event of the required number of Shares not being subscribed for, the deposit moneys will be returned in full, but without interest.—SECRETARY."

It is with very great regret we notice that the publication of our Adelaide contemporary has been discontinued during the past two months, with the possibility of its not again appearing. The editor and proprietor states in a final appeal to the Masons of South Australia that for the past five years he has been endeavouring to keep the journal going in the hope of better times coming, and that it was naturally to be supposed that the formation of the Grand Lodge of South Australia would give such an impetus to Masonry as to induce a more active support of Masonic literature. He complains, however, that while to a certain extent this has been the case, yet the increased support is not sufficient to enable him to continue the publication of the journal; for although, apparently, the paper pays, yet, from the fact that such a large amount of subscriptions remain unpaid year after year, its production is not profitable. We sympathise with our contemporary and have had ourselves to deplore the utter want of thought on the part of subscribers, who appear to imagine that newspapers never require money, or if they do, that the proprietary must go to the expense of collecting the small subscriptions owing. We regret to say that we have had occasion to write a number of subscribers off our list rather than go to the trouble, bother and expense of hunting them up for payment of small amounts due. There are others, also, who do not scruple to make use of the most paltry excuses to avoid payment of the trifling debt incurred by *themselves* and for which they have had full value. Knowing the trouble and vexation of spirit incurred in producing a Masonic journal, we heartily sympathise with our contemporary in the unpleasant position he finds himself in, and can only hope for the credit of the Craft in South Australia it will not be recorded that, just when emerging into full manhood by the erection of a Grand Lodge, it allowed the only Masonic paper in the colony to die from want of support. In these days, when every section of the community is represented by its press, surely the powerful and wealthy fraternity of Freemasons, that is wont to plume itself on its pride of place in the societies of men, will not permit a most useful and well-conducted journal, that has existed in its midst, doing good work, for the past five years, to drop out of existence by a starving process. Let us hope that such will not be the case, and that the *Rough Ashlar* will yet continue to afford light to the Craft for many years to come.

## Correspondents.

### To Correspondents.

We shall be glad to receive contributions from brethren on Masonic and similar subjects, either original or selected. Careful attention shall be given them with a view to insertion if suitable, but we cannot promise to return MS if rejected.

To Secretaries of Lodges, and other brethren, we shall feel obliged for reports of meetings obituary notices, and masonic events, and would wish them forwarded not later than 20th of each month. The Editor does not hold himself responsible for the opinions expressed in the open column. All communications are to be addressed to the "New Zealand Craftsman Publishing Company," Box 188, Wellington."

Agents for the CRAFTSMAN would oblige by informing us of the number of their sales as early as possible that we may make the necessary arrangements for our next issue.

## Special Notice.

All communications for either the Editor or Proprietors of this magazine must be addressed to them (and *not* to the Printers), "Box 188, Post Office, Wellington.

## Answers to Correspondents.

STELLA AUSTRALIS.—1. There is no doubt but the retiring W.M. should hold the chair until a successor be installed in his place. 2. The Wardens can only date their services from investiture, so must necessarily await the installation of the Master. 3. The retiring W.M. cannot invest the new officers. In fact there is no retiring W.M. until the Master *elect* has been installed, and there can be no new officers to invest. 4. This opinion is a sound one. 5. A dispensation from Grand Lodge could not be got to indemnify the Wardens for short service. The necessity of a Warden serving for one entire year to qualify him for eligibility to the chair is a landmark, and cannot be swept away. 6. This opinion is a sound one. General interests should be conserved before individuals are thought of. A District Grand Master has power only within his district. You do not say if that portion of the minutes referring to the election of the new Master has been confirmed, which is one important point in the case. We read a short time since of a W.M. *elect* of a Lodge in America who was sick receiving his Installed Master's degree in bed, his officers afterwards being invested by the Installing Master in the Lodge-room. It is from America generally speaking that one gets their "eye-openers," but we can scarcely agree with the desirability of following this example.

WE regret we have not time or space this month to answer our esteemed correspondent Bro. G. Adams with regard to Lodges of Sorrow, but will give a sketch of what we think should be done in next month's issue.

### (TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW ZEALAND CRAFTSMAN.)

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,—Can you tell us through the medium of your magazine the way in which Lodges of Sorrow are carried out. One was held in Dunedin in memory of our late Brother Nathan, but we cannot get at the details.

Yours fraternally,

G. ADAMS, Secretary,

1048, E.C.

FURTHER evidence of the kindly favour with which our efforts are received in countries far away from New Zealand we have just received as we go to press from Bro. Dr. M. Mathison, of Arumac, Queensland. He writes: "Mr. L. Bruske, of Sydney, N.S.W., sent me a copy of THE NEW ZEALAND CRAFTSMAN AND MASONIC REVIEW, with which I am highly pleased. I must say it is the only Masonic publication in the Southern Hemisphere that is worth subscribing to as far as I have seen of them. I wish it every success and prosperity, and may the number of its subscribers increase daily." Now, brethren, will you not help us to promote this reputation that New Zealand is getting for respectable Masonic journalism.

## Reports of Meetings.

NEW ZEALAND PACIFIC LODGE, 517, E.C.—The regular meeting of the New Zealand Pacific Lodge, was held in the Masonic Hall, Boulcott-street, on the evening of Monday, the 23rd instant, at 8 p.m., the W.M. Bro. Samuel Brown presiding. The evening was a wet one, rain commencing just previous to the hour of meeting, which no doubt kept some Brethren from attending, still there was a fair attendance of members. On the dais were P.M.'s Herbert, Hammerton, Binns, and Powles; also, Bro. Charles Braid, P.M., Lodge of Dunedin, 931, E.C. The principal work of the evening was the making of an Entered Apprentice. This was done in Bro. Brown's usual careful manner, good service being rendered by Bro. George Robertson, Organist. Bro. J. Young, S.W. gave the Entered Apprentice charge to the candidate, in a way pleasant to listen to, evidently impressing the newly-made Brother with a due sense of his responsibility. After the ceremony, the Auditors' report and balance-sheet was read and adopted. A report from the Bye-Law Committee, also from the Igglesden Presentation Committee, and the Masonic Scholarship Committee were read and received. The Lodge was



closed about 10 p.m. in ancient form; and the Brethren with their visitors adjourned to the refreshment-room to enjoy each others company. Among the visitors, were Bros. J. S. Todd, W. B. Hudson, Cecil Keyworth, 1,521, E.C.; Arthur Clothier, 469, I.C.; T. Tiderson, 942, E.C.; John Harrison, Social Mother Lodge, Sydney, N.S.W.; T. W. F. Marsden, 1646, E.C.; and Thomas Hearn, 670, E.C. Some excellent songs were given, and a recitation by Bro. Cecil Keyworth was a treat to listen to.

THE ST. ANDREW KILWINNING LODGE, NO. 481, S.C., held their regular meeting on Thursday, the 12th February, in the Masonic Hall, Ridgway Street, Wanganui, at which the R.W.M. presided. One candidate was successfully balloted for. Two candidates were initiated, and one Brother passed to the second degree. A motion was carried that all candidates who have been accepted three months, and have not come forward for initiation, unless they can show reasonable cause, shall have their proposition fee estreated, and shall require to be again proposed and accepted before initiation. It was reported that Brother——had been very ill, and the Secretary was instructed to write a letter of sympathy congratulating him on his return to health. After hearty good wishes the Lodge was closed.

LODGE OTAGO, KILWINNING, No. 417, S.C.—The regular monthly meeting of this Lodge was held at the Masonic Hall, Moray Place, Dunedin, on Thursday, 12th February, the Rev. M. Bro. P. McKenzie presiding, Bro. Mace, S.M., acting J.W., the other officers in their respective positions, and a large attendance of members and visitors. Amongst the latter were Bro. Bamfield, W.M., Lodge of Otago; Bro. Baxter, R.W.M., Lodge Celtic; P.M. Bro. Eldridge, Lodge of Otago; P.M. Bro. Cameron, Lodge of Dunedin; Bro. Blanchard, W.M., Lodge St. Patrick; P.M.'s Bros. G. W. Williams, and E. J. Schlotel, Lodge St. John, North East Valley; and P.M. Bro. Beresford. The business of the evening was to affiliate a Brother and to initiate two candidates. The ceremony was very ably conducted by the R.W.M., assisted by Bro. Mace, who presented the working tools. P.M. Brother Goldstein delivered the lecture on the tracing-board in his usual grand and impressive style, P.M. Bro. Nees ably delivering the final charge. The business of the evening being concluded, the Lodge was closed in peace and harmony. A goodly number of the brethren retired to the banquetting hall and enjoyed a social half hour.

UNITED MANAWATU LODGE, 1721, E.C.—The regular monthly meeting of the above Lodge was held in the Masonic Hall, Main Street, Palmerston North, on Friday, January 31, 1884, and was fairly attended, W.M. Bro. L. R. Bryant occupying the chair, supported by Bros. P. McKeeling and King. The Lodge having been opened in the usual form, the minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, after which the correspondence was taken. One Brother was raised to the high and sublime degree of a Master Mason. Nothing further offering, the Lodge was closed in the usual way, at 10.30.

JOHN NOORTHCOUCK, editor of the 1784 Book of Constitutions, commonly known as the Noorthcouck Constitutions, was a bookseller in London. He was born 1745, and died 1816.

## Plain Talk To Masters.

BY BRO. FRANK BAXTER.

IT is a well established fact that cannot be controverted, that as the officers, so the lodge; but I will go a step further and say, as the master, so the lodge.

A reading, thinking master and officers, and you will find a reading, thinking lodge; not a lodge simply in name, but one in reality; not a luke-warm one, but a genuine Masonic one.

With by far too many, the responsibilities attached to the office of Worshipful Master are underrated. They fail to understand that the master must be something besides a mere figure-head, a parrot, who simply is required to repeat certain set phrases at certain times and places. It requires something more than that; it requires for a successful master a brother of ability and brains. He must be a brother of good judgment, and possessed of good, sound, practical common sense. He must be a good ritualist, having the whole work at his tongue's end. He must be well versed in the laws of his own jurisdiction. He must render his decisions in conformity to those laws. He must also be capable of throwing aside all personal feelings, and work only for the best interests of Masonry. He should have a fair knowledge of Masonic history, and I can assure him, or anyone else, that it will not hurt anyone in the least, to *subscribe, pay for* and *read* any one or more of the Masonic journals that are published. He must also be able to intelligibly explain to the candidates the forms and ceremonies which he is passing through: not in that careless, slipshod manner so characteristic of many masters; he must let his light so shine that there will be no darkness where there should be light.

The candidate has paid his money for the degree; therefore give him value received as far as it lies in your power. Remember that you are moulding a new Mason; to him, for the time being, you are the important factor of the lodge. In time, that delusion will be dispelled; therefore, while it lasts, use your influence to make him a true Mason. Do not put off your lessons to that more convenient season which never comes, but do it now.

There is no time like the present. When the iron is cold, it cannot be welded; then strike while the iron is hot; do your duty when you should and while it may make an impression.

If your lodge is lifeless and on the down-hill side, you have a double duty to perform. It is for you to put your shoulder to the wheel and bring it out of the rut to its former standing. Do not get despondent and say that it *can't be done*. That word *can't* is no part or parcel of the English language. I say that you can, if you only have the will to do it. It may be hard up-hill work at first, but patience and perseverance accomplish all things; although I must admit that it sometimes wants considerable lubricating. Persevere, and you will surely bring system out of confusion; but in order to do so, you must put life and energy into your work; you must infuse the spirit of go-a-headitiveness into the slow blood of your brethren; be up and doing, and you will be astonished at the results.—*Texas Freemason*.

MUSIC in a Lodge should be cultivated as much as any of the sciences. It exerts an influence that is beautiful and holy, and lends a charm to the solemnities of the occasion.—*Hebrew Leader*.

## News and Notes.

THE editor and manager of this Magazine has had but very indifferent health during the last month, and many letters of a business character and otherwise have been left unanswered. The indulgence of brethren in this regard is asked for. During the month of March we hope to be able to pull up lost ground, and get ourselves straight with our constituents. This is no easy matter when we have first of all to attend to the daily bread-winning. It takes all the poetry out of it. The same reason will account to a great extent for a lack of original matter in this number. This, however, by some of our readers, may be considered not altogether a loss.

MASONIC.—Occidental Lodge, No. 40, A. F. and A. M., elected officers last evening (January 5th, 1885), as follows: W.M., W. L. Milligan; S.W., Thomas C. Fullerton; J.W., Wm. H. Stead; Treas., H. C. Nash; Sec., A. M. Hoffman; Tyler, Alex. Hanna. The senior and junior deacons, stewards and chaplains are to be appointed by the W.M. This being the 39th annual communication, the W. Master, W. L. Milligan, delivered an able and eloquent address on the early history of Occidental Lodge, of defining the duties of the brothers to the lodge, to each other and to themselves. He recommended that a memorial be presented to the Grand Lodge of this State, praying that body to endow a home for widows and a school for orphans of all Masons in Illinois. The address was well received, and the recommendation as to providing for widows and orphans highly approved and a committee appointed to act in the premises.

WE should be wanting in the proper feeling did we not specially acknowledge fraternal correspondence when coming from a long distance. We have before chronicled with pleasure the receipt of a letter from W. Bro. W. L. Milligan, of Ottawa, Ill., U.S.A. We are now favoured with a second letter from him, dated January 9th. Bro. Milligan has been the recipient of the highest honours within the gift of his brethren. He says: "I have held the office of H.P. of my Chapter four consecutive years, and was recently elected for the fifth year. And, as an evidence of their further appreciation of my labours, they have re-elected me, W.M. of my Lodge, H.P. of my Chapter. Thrice Ill. M. of my Council, and promoted me to the office of Generalissimo of my Commandery of K.T.; and I am the recipient of a certificate of honorary membership in Fortitude Lodge, No. 42, La Grange. Ky., my name having been proposed by my esteemed and venerable brother, the *Poet Laureate*, Dr. Rob. Morris. You may have thought it strange that one so far away, and unsolicited, should subscribe to your valuable Magazine; but let me tell you, in all sincerity, that next to God and my little family, I love the grand old society of free and accepted Masons. My devotion is universal, and not confined to the narrow limits of my own vicinity or country. I love to receive "glad tidings of great joy" from the faithful craftsmen who are labouring in the great quarries of brotherly-love in the Old World and the Isles of the Sea. Permit me to congratulate you on being able to present to the Craft such an able and intelligent literary production as the CRAFTSMAN. That "*God may speed thee on thy way*" is the earnest prayer of your "Distinguished brother of the Great Republic of the West." On the receipt of the November number, I forwarded my subscription, and requested you to forward back numbers of CRAFTSMAN, and receipt my subscription from date of first number. Wishing you a Happy New Year, I remain, fraternally thine, W. L. MILLIGAN, 32.° P.S.—In your complimentary note you mentioned my father's name, W. R. Milligan (*all honour to his silver locks*). I am first Deputy-Sheriff in his office.

A BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION.—Dr. Ward, editor of the *New York Independent*, and several Oriental scholars, have just left America on an expedition to the lower valley of the Euphrates for the purposes of exploration. The whole expense of this expedition to Babylonia is being borne by a lady named Wolfe, whose name the expedition bears, and the object is to discover some records of a people who were contemporary with Abraham.

THE Grand Lodge of England, with that stubbornness that characterises it, and which promises to endanger

its relationship with Masonry in the colonies generally, has met the again repeated request of Quebec to withdraw the three Lodges under English rule in Quebec with a refusal. It would be a graceful act on the part of such a powerful body as the Grand Lodge of England to concede the—to it—trifling affair, but which is to Quebec an all-important matter. The American Grand Lodges are pledged to support Quebec.

THE Grand Master of South Australia, Chief-Justice Way, is at present in Melbourne on a visit, and it was the intention of the Grand Master of Victoria, Bro. Hon. George Coppin, M.L.A., to have given a Masonic banquet in honor of the occasion to welcome the representative of the sister Grand Lodge. In consequence, however, of the recent death of Bro. Way's father, and at his request, the idea of the larger gathering has been abandoned; and Bro. Coppin has merely asked some dozen of the leading officers of his Grand Lodge to dinner at his private residence, Pine Grove, on Tuesday next, to meet the distinguished brother of S.A. Doubtless some interesting Masonic subjects will be discussed.

THE Masonic Grand Lodge of Ohio have adopted a resolution that selling intoxicants is a Masonic offence, and should disqualify the offender for membership of a Lodge.

DURING a recent visit to Skane, Bang Oscar of Sweden initiated two new Lodges of Freemasons.

WE should very much like to see a Masonic Veteran Association started in New Zealand, the early history of the Craft in this colony wants writing, for future reference, and no one can do this so well as those who were on the scene. Lodge minute books are generally meagre sources of supply for such a purpose. Will not some of our old veterans in various parts start a correspondence on this subject?

CHILDISH MASONRY.—We see it stated that the French Masons in San Francisco, Cal., of La Parfaite Union Lodge, No. 17, of that city, under the Grand Lodge of California, on November 6th inst., baptized thirty of the children of its members. Did they escape squalls? We have no patience with such a childish performance. The Orator for the babies was Jules Simon. He is beyond envy. And this was called Free and Accepted Masonry. We should like to hear from the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of California on this subject.—*Keystone*.

A LATIN MASONIC CONGRESS.—In the official organ of the United Grand Lodge of Colon and Cuba for October 1st, appears an invitation from that body to all Masonic bodies of Spanish nationality, in America and the Peninsula, which govern symbolic lodges, to a Spanish American Masonic Congress, to settle with binding force the landmarks and certain Governing laws of Masonry, including jurisdiction. Venezuela is suggested as a central point for assembling. We cannot but too highly approve such an assembly, as it can settle at once many important points which American Grand Lodges have spent half a century in reconciling.—*Masonic Token*.

THE centenary of the Swiss Grand Lodge, under the Scottish Constitution took place recently in the presence of a large number of Brethren and distinguished visitors. Bro. Duncommun gave a history of the progress made during the century, mentioning the dangers attending Masons and their meetings during the occupation of the country by foreign powers, when death was the penalty to Masons if found together, and ended a splendid oration by stating that Masonic funds on hand amounted to 240,690 francs, or about 9,000 pounds sterling.

THE Grand Lodge of New South Wales is making great headway in the matter of recognition by foreign Grand Lodges, notwithstanding the fact that the Grand Lodge of England still withholds its countenance. Amongst the latest recognitions are Delaware and Peru.

THE Grand Lodge of South Australia was recognised by the Grand Lodge of Montana on 1st October last. The Grand Lodges of Delaware and Ohio have also entered into fraternal intercourse and extended recognition. England has postponed the matter of recognition in its usual cold-blooded way.

ON the 3rd December, Bro. W. J. Hughan, P.G.D., and well known as a most learned Masonic writer, was the recipient of a presentation in recognition of his great ability and his efforts in the interests of the Craft. Sir J. B. Monckton, P.G.W., took the chair at Freemasons' Tavern, and proposed the principal toast of the evening, concluding with handing to Bro. Hughan a packet containing a cheque for £364, and also a very handsome writing table.

*Re* the difficulty, between the Grand Chapter of Quebec and the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons of England, the latter body has stated its willingness to assist in every way to induce the three Mark Lodges in Quebec to come under the authority of the Grand Chapter of Quebec as soon as the Grand Chapter has placed itself in a proper position, as recognised by the Government of Quebec.

THE Grand Lodge of England will not hearken either to the appeals or threats of Quebec and is determined—or perhaps it should be said its leaders are determined—to ram the British Lion down the throats of its own children. It is very bad when the lion has to roar at its own offspring. The Grand Lodge of England *might* have made a great point over this business, and won universal admiration by a little *give*.

**E. A. Chips.**

THE mills of the gods must needs grind very slowly and grind exceedingly fine, when nine mills in this country don't make a cent.

MR. PARVENUE: "James, how many t's in Boston?" Clerk: "Only one, sir," Mr. P.: "So I supposed. Hand me an eraser."

MRS. PARTINGTON, in speaking of her husband's humorous proclivities, says that he has lately made an attempt at a jugular vein.

A LADY, while looking at the collection of shells in the museum recently, remarked that "it must just be lovely to study shellology."

WHEN you see a man scratching himself don't imagine that he is full of personal magnetism. It may merely be old mosquito bites.

PROFESSOR in Moral Philosophy: "Mrs. R., what end has a mother in view when she punishes her child?" Mrs. R. blushed and sat down.

A SCIENTIFIC journal says that the ear of a clam is at the base of the foot. It must be funny to see a clam walk around listening for earthquakes.

LORD LYTTON is said to have dressed "five years in advance of everything." This must have kept the old chap waiting a long while for his dinner.

"JOHN, what is the best thing to feed a parrot on?" asked an elderly lady of her bachelor brother, who hated parrots. "Arsenic," gruffly answered John.

"Do not marry a widower," said the old lady. "A ready-made family is like a plate of cold potatoes." "Oh, I'll soon warm them," replied the damsel.

MISS BROWN who is no longer young, was chiding Miss Moire for her foolishness in carrying a parasol, which Miss Brown said was useless and a piece of affectation. "I never carry a parasol," she said. "No," replied Miss Moire, "people on the shady side of life have no use for them."

A COUNTRY critic at the opera: "From her clear bird-like upper notes, she would canter away down to the base racket, and then cushion back to a sort of spiritual treble that made every man in the audience imagine that every hair on his head was the golden string of a celestial harp over which angelic fingers were sweeping."

"ARE there any mitigating circumstances in the case of the man who is going to be hung to-morrow?" asked a stranger of the lawyer of the accused. "Yes. You see he is an unmarried man. How easy it would have been for him to have brought a wife and children into misery and distress, if he had not had consideration for them by refusing to get married."

"WHAT are you doing, Mary?" asked a Staten Island husband, addressing his wife. "I'm sewing on a crazy quilt," she replied. "Are there any buttons on it!" "No." "I thought not," he said; "it wouldn't be like you to be sewing on anything that needed buttons," and, drawing a deep sigh, he proceeded to fasten his suspenders with a half burned match.

OUR E. A flattered himself he had told that sparrow story in last month's number very nicely, but he has had the conceit taken out of him by two correspondents since, one of whom fails to see the "goak." The other indignantly writes:—"The P.M. alluded to objects to the term 'Old Growler,' he may be 'more than seven,' but he is a long way off seventy; he is neither 'bald-headed' or greyheaded, perhaps a little 'bricky,' but that's no matter."

"MY DEAR," said Mr. Snigginbottom to his wife one day at the table, as he valiantly struggled to carve a piece of meat, "Why do the butchers put these miserable wooden pins into the roasts? Every time I try to carve off a slice I strike on one of them." "I do not know, dear, unless the meat is more skewer that way," responded Mrs. Snigginbottom. "Maria, I think you had better see a physician at once. I am afraid overwork is affecting your mind."

A CERTAIN Minister of the Kirk of Scotland, now deceased, had prepared with great care a series of discourses on the parable of the ten virgins, and had made use of them oftener than some of his brethren thought he should. On the evening of a communion Sabbath, when assisting a brother clergyman in the same presbytery, he delivered one of his series which his friend had heard more than once. When the service was over and the two ministers were on their way to the manse, the one said to the other, "Man, John, I really think you should give up thae virgins; ye're fairly makin' auld maids o' them!"

## District and Provincial Grand Lodges.

- AUCKLAND (E.C.)—G. S. Graham, Esq., Dist. Grand Master; H. G. Wade, Esq., Dist. Grand Sec.
- CANTERBURY (E.C.)—H. Thomson, Esq., M.H.R., Dist. Gr. Master; G. Mitchell, Esq., Dist. Gr. Sec.
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- NEW ZEALAND (S.C.)—Sir F. Whittaker, Prov. Grand Master;—Slator, Esq., Prov. Grand Sec.
- NEW ZEALAND (I.C.)—George P. Pierce, Esq., Prov. Grand Master; J. Rees, Esq., Prov. Grand Sec.

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- Auckland H. G. Wade, Esq.
- New Zealand South T. S. Graham, Esq.
- Westland John Bevan, Esq.

## Provincial Grand Superintendent Royal Arch Chapters, E.C,

- Westland John Bevan, Esq.

## Provincial Grand Superintendent Royal Arch Chapters, S.C.

- New Zealand William Caldwell, Esq. (Dunedin).

# Appointments.

## Craft Lodges.

## Mark Lodges.

JNO. YOUNG, The Cheapest Ironmonger in Wellington. IMPORTER of ENGLISH AND AMERICAN HARDWARE FROM THE LEADING MANUFACTURING CENTRES. The most Complete Assortment of BUILDERS' IRONMONGERY, at the Cheapest Rates, in the City. A LARGE AND Stock of CARPENTERS' ENGINEERS' AND HOUSEHOLD TOOLS at Low prices. A Splendid Assortment of HOUSE-FURNISHING IRONMONGERY at Prices that cannot be equalled in Wellington. VERY GOOD BARGAINS MAY BE HAD IN THE FOLLOWING LINES: Bedsteads and Cots—Galvanised Tubs and Buckets -Tinware—Brush-ware, in large variety—Fenders and Fire Irons—Ranges and Register Grates—Mangles—Cabinetmakers' Sundries—Wringing Machines—Paints and Oils—Sash Weights and Lines, &c., &c., &c. Don't Forget! JNO. YOUNG, The Cheapest Ironmonger, CUBA-ST., WELLINGTON,

E. B. Haughton, SHOP FITTER, AND Glass Show Case Maker, WARRANTED DUST-PROOF. JOHNSTON STREET, WELLINGTON.

Canterbury Chamber of Commerce (Incorporated). President's Address

August, 1886..

Christchurch "The Press" Company, Limited, Printers And Bookbinders, Cashel St. MDCCCLXXXVI.

# President's Address.

THE PRESIDENT, MR. G. G. STEAD, in moving: the adoption of the report and balance sheet, said:—I purpose availing myself of the retiring President's customary privilege of reviewing the trade and position of the Colony. The Committee's report having fully dealt with the work of the Chamber and with our local trade I will not traverse the same ground again, but, so far as I conveniently can, will confine my remark to the following subjects:—

- The Colony's progress during the recent depression.
- Its present position, and
- Its probable future.

## The Colony's Progress During The Recent Depression.

No thoughtful observer of the state of commerce throughout the world during the years 1885 1886 can regard it with anything bat profound dissatisfaction, but in Now Zealand we have been cheered lately by a

welcome improvement in the price of our chief staple—wool, both in London and Antwerp, This improvement has been both substantial and progressive, and it leads to the hope that it may be the harbinger of a general trade revival in Europe and consequently of the advent of blighter times in New Zealand. To those who look forward thus hopefully it will be interesting to—so to speak—take stock and consider to what extent, if any, the colony has progressed in spite of the past four or five years of depression. This may also be considered a specially opportune time for an audit, as an eminent English author in a recent work asserts that we are retrograding so rapidly, and our financial position is so strained, that repudiation is a common topic amongst leading colonists. Another writer, in a London newspaper, goes rather farther, as after criticising most adversely the financial position of the colonies in general he concludes by asserting that New Zealand has mortgaged everything she possesses but her climate, and warns the British public against lending us any more British savings. It is incomprehensible how writers of repute can become to imbued with prejudice that they unhesitatingly make assertions which must tend to tarnish the commercial honor of the colonies from whom Great Britain has gained so much. Surely England's interests lie as much in the future welfare of her colonial possessions as those of the colonists themselves. Where indeed would Great Britain's boasted commercial supremacy have been to-day were it not for the markets she has found for her manufactures in her colonial and other possessions? Who but the British trader has reaped the benefit of the £1,700,000,000 worth of British manufactures and products that have been exported from the United Kingdom to British possessions during the past thirty years? Who but the British trader has received the £[unclear: 4]6,000,000 worth of Australian and New Zealand gold that has been laboriously dug out of the bowels of the earth during the same thirty years and sent to England to pay for British manufactures? Only a few years ago, namely in the quinquennial period ending 1874, the United Kingdom's annual average of exports of home products and manufactures to all countries was £235,000,000, out of which £60,000,000 worth, representing 25.5 per cent, of the whole, went to her colonial and other possessions. But, while the annual average exports to all countries for the quinquennial period ending 1881, had fallen to £234,000,000, the annual average exports to her colonies and other possessions had risen to £81,000,000 or 34.6 per cent, of the whole. The colonies and other British possessions have supplied and are still supplying the masses in the United Kingdom with cheap meat, bread, sugar, coffee, and other articles of food, as well as with cheap wool for clothing; and, had it not been for the enterprise mainly of colonists in raising these articles of necessity in such profusion as to bring them within the reach of all, the life of the working classes in Great Britain would ere now have become all but unbearable. Are not these facts sufficient to show that the colonies have been a mine of wealth to the British public? And yet large-hearted public writers appear to think that they are doing good work in warning the said British public to beware of us. Isolated as we lie from the great centres of thought and action, we are no doubt prone to shut ourselves up in our own insular ideas and to ignore the necessity for getting outside of them, and reaching a standpoint from which "to see ourselves as others see us." Bearing this in mind, though foreign criticism may seem to us sometimes to present distorted views of our condition and surroundings, we ought not to shrink from the duty of ascertaining whether it has not in reality thrown a new and clearer light on existing facts. But what are the facts, more especially with regard to the position of our own colony? It is true that we have not advanced "by leaps and bounds" during the past five years; yet it has been a period of comparative unprogression rather than of actual retrogression, as will be manifest from certain figures which I shall adduce, and which go to prove that we have not only made some progress, but that we have positively increased our national wealth.

In following up the contention that we have not actually gone backwards, I purpose comparing our position with that of some other countries, for, so long as our material and social well-being is intimately bound up with the progress and position of other nations upon whom, directly or indirectly, we have to rely as customers for our goods, so long will their prosperity or adversity be of vital importance to us.

Commencing with population, we obtain the following figures from the census returns of New Zealand:—

We here have an increase of 96,264 persons or within a fraction of 20 per cent, in the five years, and when it is remembered that the times have not been such as to attract immigrants, the increase may be considered fairly encouraging. In Australia and Tasmania the population increased from 2,252,490 in 1879 to 2,668,737 in 1884, or about 18½ per cent, for a similar term of five years, but this period included the prosperous times of 1880-1881. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature in these figures is that it is mainly owing to our healthy climate that we have been able to obtain this ratio of increase. On comparing the annual death-rate per 1000 of mean population in the Australian colonies and Great Britain, we find the following results:—New Zealand, 10.39; Victoria, 14.18; New South Wales, 14.52; South Australia, 14.83; Tasmania, 17.06; Western Australia, 17.93; Queensland, 18.82; Great Britain, 21.3. Now, as the death-rate in Great Britain is almost the lowest in Europe, we may conclude, even after making due allowance for the character and average age of our population, that we in New Zealand are blessed with the healthiest climate in the world—an important consideration, which is perhaps not sufficiently known or appreciated by the well-to-do classes that leave England to settle in the colonies. A climate such as ours has the additional merit that the better health enjoyed

by our people enables them to work to greater advantage than other nations.

Referring to the sheep returns we find that a considerable increase is taking place in our flocks, as shown by these figures:—

This increase in our flocks is eminently satisfactory, and it bears a most favorable comparison with the progress made by our neighbors, as well as with that of every other country. In 1880 the sheep in Australia and Tasmania numbered 59,175,024, and in 1884 they had only increased to 60,289,688, or by barely 2 per cent. In the United States, as shown by official returns, there were 50 350,244 sheep in 1884 and only 48,322,331 on 31st December, 1885, or a decrease in the twelve months of 2,037,913. The total number of sheep in Europe in 1884 was returned at 191,000,000, which shows a slight falling off as compared with ten years ago. The other countries of importance are the Argentine and Uruguay Republics, in the Argentine Confederation there were 61,000,000 sheep in 1880, 69,000,000 in 1883, and they are supposed to have increased to 73,000,000 in 1885, but there are no official returns to that date. This increase, however, vast as it appears, is only some 19.67 per cent, for the five years, as compared with 26.11 in New Zealand. In Uruguay there were 18,000,000 sheep in 1874, and the number had fallen to 14 536,000 in 1884, or a decrease of about 3½ millions in the ten years. It is thus seen that, with the exception of the Argentine Republic, New Zealand is the only country in the world that is increasing its flocks in any marked degree.

Whilst on this subject some reference to the production of wool may be permissible, and an examination of the figures giving the respective shipments of wool from Australia, the Argentine Republic and New Zealand, and the comparative values of wool per sheep from the Argentine Republic and New Zealand is still farther reassuring, as showing the rapid increase in our production and the advantages we possess over our South American competitors. The following figures give the exports of wool from the countries named for the years specified ending 31st December:—

The official figures of the number of sheep in New Zealand in 1880 and 1885, and the corresponding shipments of wool, are as follows:—

Number of Sheep	31st May 1880.	Exports of wool for year ending 30th June, 1881	Ratio of wool per sheep.
Number of sheep,	31st May, 1885	Exports of wool for year ending 30th June, 1886.	Ratio of wool per sheep.
lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs
11,530,623	61,491,771	5.33	14,546,801
			88,265,339
			6.07

These figures show that there has been the marvellous increase in our production of wool of 26,770,568 lbs, or over 43 per cent, within the five years, and this increase is the more encouraging in that it is partly owing to the average clip having improved from 5.33 lbs per sheep in 1880 to 6.07 lbs per sheep in 1885. Now, when it is noted that the River Plate sheep averages only 3 8 lbs of wool against 607 lbs from the New Zealand sheep, and furthermore, when we find that the average price realised in Europe during 1885 is estimated at 5½d per lb for a Plata wool against 9d for New Zealand, we may reasonably infer that our farmers must enjoy far greater natural advantages than their congeners in South America. If also we estimate the expenses of selling New Zealand wool in London at the extreme rate of 1½d per lb., and the clip at 6lb, we have a net return to the farmer on these figures of 3s 9d per sheep, whereas, deducting only 1d per lb for expenses on the River Plate wool, there is left 4½d per lb for 3.8lb, or only a fraction ever is 5d per sheep.

In further considering the colony's progress, we cannot do better than examine the agricultural statistics, showing the land in cultivation and sown with grasses in March, 1881, and March, 1886, respectively From these I have collated the following figures:—

Holdings and acreage under cultivation, and artificially sown grasses.

Total number of holdings.	Total acreage in grain.	Total acreage in root crops.	Total acreage in artificially sown grasses.
Land broken up but not yet under crop.	Total acreage under cultivation.	Acres	1881 24,079
638,021	279,701	3,608,473	293,444
4,843,718	1886 31,763	621,503	362,990
5,505,461	219,276	6,740,993	

Thus, while the total extent of land under cultivation and broken up for crop in 1881 was 4,843 718 acres, it had increased in 1886 to 6740,993 acres, or by nearly 40 per cent. These figures are most striking when compared with the returns of 1885 for England, which show a total area under cultivation of every description, including permanent pasture, of only 21,880,307 acres. The comparative magnitude of operations in this country becomes manifest when it is noted that the ratio of cultivation in New Zealand is 11.65 acres per head of population against barely one acre per head in England.

A reference to the returns from our coal mines also reveals a rapid and sure progress, year by year, in this important industry. Here are a few figures extracted from various official sources, which may prove interesting:—

Number of Mines.	Tons of Coal raised in 1880.	Number of Mines.	Tons of Coal raised in 1886.	Ratio of Increase, Now Zealand
51	277,918	96	511,063	83.8
U. Kingdom	147,000,000	159,350,000	8.4	Hands employed in Collieries in the United Kingdom, 1885.
Tons produced per Collier.	Hands employed in Collieries in Now Zealand, 1885.	Tons produced per Collier.	520,632	306
1481	345			

This important industry is evidently expanding so rapidly that the day cannot be far distant when the West

Coast coal will rank as one of our most valuable exports. The bituminous coal of Greymouth is now fully recognised as one of the finest in the world for gas making, and that from her twin sister Westport is equally sought after for steam purposes. Perhaps it is not commonly known that one ton of Grey-mouth coal can be depended upon to yield 12,000ft. of 16½ candle-power gas, while the very best Newcastle coal will only yield 9000ft to 9500ft per ton, and the residuals from the Greymouth are the more valuable. These facts are gradually being recognised in Australia, and it is gratifying to know that the Ballarat Gas Company has contracted with the Brunner mine for all its present requirements and that Hong Kong has recently ordered 8000 tons of West coast coal. Any one giving a little consideration to the study of mineralogy must come to the conclusion that New Zealand possesses an important and valuable asset in her coal mines, and when the harbor works on the West Coast are sufficiently advanced to give security to ocean-going ships, we shall doubtless see a gigantic coal trade established to Australia and the East.

Another cheering feature in our statistical position is the rapid development in the exports of manufactures and miner products, as shown in the following table compiled from the official Gazette :—

Statement showing the comparative value of the exports to various countries, of the principal manufactures and a few of the minor products of New Zealand for years 1880 and 1885.—

An increase of over 400 per cent, within five years in twenty article? of comparatively minor importance, though dealing with such proportionately large figures, is hard to parallel in the history of commerce.

Whilst on the subject of manufactures, I cannot refrain from enlarging to some extent upon the importance of our woollen industry. It may safely be predicated that the country which has the most varied industries is likely, all other things being equal, to be the most prosperous. It is, therefore, pleasing to observe the strides this country is making in manufacturing pursuits, No doubt there is a great deal to be done in this direction before we can aspire to be classed as a manufacturing country, but the progress that has recently been made in woollen and other industries is most cheering. When a purely agricultural country is compared with one that is half agricultural and half manufacturing, the latter has the best of the comparison Agriculture scarcely calls for the exercise of the highest faculties to the extent that manufactures do. To attain success in the latter a lengthened education of the hand, of the ear, of the eye, and of the brain must be gone through. I do not for a moment mean to disparage the intelligence that is needed to be a successful agriculturist, as a scientific farmer has ample scope to exercise the highest faculties, besides needing indomitable perseverance and ceaseless activity, but in a general way agriculture scarcely calls for the same amount of brain power from the farm laborer as is expected from the ordinary artisan. The higher qualities thus required in industrial occupations meet as a rule with better remuneration than that paid to the ordinary field laborer. Hence it is found that the artisan feels himself of greater importance as a factor in the commonwealth than the mere farm servant, and, consequently takes a greater interest in the political fortunes of *his* country. For this reason, it is often urged that a country should endeavor to increase its number of artisans in proportion to its farm laborers, as the better the class of electors the better it may be expected to be governed. Coming back to our own industries it appears that in 1880 there were 4 woollen mills in this colony, employing 350 hands, and putting through some 670,000 lbs weight of wool, the manufactured value of which was some, £170,000 sterling. In 1885 the number of mills had increased to 7, employing 790 hands, and using 2 100,000 lbs of wool in the year, the manufactured value of which has been estimated at over £450,000. Five of these mills use colonial coal, rope, twine and belting, and all of them use home-made soap, thus finding employment indirectly for a further number of hands, Some of them are now turning out splendid fabrics, and the estimate in which these are held in countries beyond our own waters is shown by the steady growth of the exports of New Zealand tweeds, blankets and other woollens. It is perhaps not too much to say that it was in making woollen goods England started upon her long career of manufacturing supremacy and the following statistics give some idea of the strides she has made in this pursuit :—

These figures establish the great economy of labor effected by improved machinery and the consequent reduction in the cost of the manufactured article to the consumer, even after allowing for increased remuneration to the factory hands. It is said that the climate of New Zealand is more suitable for dyeing wools than that of any other country in the world, and consequently a better color can be given to the highest qualities of tweeds and fancy coatings. If this is correct, it opens up a vista of prosperity for our woollen mills, the magnitude of which we cannot at present pretend to estimate.

The progress of the merchant shipping of a country is often accepted as a test and measure of its commercial importance and development, as, *ceteris paribus*, that country is usually most prosperous and progressive which has the largest dealings with the rest of the world. It must be evident that a command of the means of economical transportation of commodities from its own to other ports will, other things being equal, give the country possessing such means a decided advantage in the race for wealth. The following summary collated from Mr Giffen's and Sir T. Farrer's reports, as well as from the trade and Customs returns of the shipping in New Zealand and other countries is, therefore, of interest, as it shews that, with the solitary exception of Great Britain. New Zealand owns the largest steam fleet per capita of any country in the world.



Hailing Vessels. Steamers. Total. Number. Tonnage. Number. Tonnage. Number. Tonnage. 14,939  
 4,714,746 4852 4,159,003 19,791 8,873,749 1,130,000 172,000 1,302,000 2,173 398,561 505 498,646 2,678  
 897,207 2,424 863,611 509 110,061 2,933 973,675 1,465 169,609 706 91,135 2,171 260,744 429 60,156 163  
 35,545 592 95,701

The rapid increase of the merchant shipping of New Zealand in both steam and sailing vessels is mainly due to the enterprise of the New Zealand Shipping and Union Steamship Companies, and they can fairly boast that both in point of equipment and speed their favorite passenger steamers will compare with those of the most celebrated lines. We are, however, in need of a cargo-carrying service that can be worked at a minimum of cost to convey our bulky products, such as wheat and frozen meat, to the markets of the world. As giving some idea of the economy of the present time it may be mentioned that towards the latter part of 1885 shipbuilders on the Clyde were willing to contract for steel vessels at £9 10s per ton. They were also offering at a relatively low cost a class of steel steamers fitted with triple expansion engines, which steaming at a moderate speed, can accomplish a long voyage with an average consumption of half an ounce of coal per ton per mile. At this rate, assuming paper to be as efficient a fuel as coal, the burning of a half-ounce letter on board such a steamer would generate sufficient steam to transport one ton of freight one mile. A line of steamers of this description would carry our frozen mutton, wool, tallow, wheat, &c., to England at a much less cost than is possible by magnificently fitted-up passenger and mail steamers worked at the great cost which a high rate of speed involves.

As the volume of a country's correspondence may also be considered as a measure to some extent of its commercial activity, the following figures will serve further to illustrate the expansion of our commerce:

## THE PRESENT POSITION.

To come now to consider our present position. There can be no doubt that our progress has been much retarded by the serious fall in the price-level of our wool and wheat in European markets, and we have not made that headway which our previous experience has accustomed us to look for as a matter of course. We find ourselves with a foreign debt, on 31st March, 1886, of £31,688,349, the interest upon which has to be paid in gold, notwithstanding that its purchasing power as compared with our products has appreciated from 25 to 40 per cent, since the bulk of the money was borrowed. And it is here that a finger of warning should be held up, as until there is some certainty of a substantial advance in the foreign values of our leading products, and consequently an expansion in the value of our exports, it is absolutely necessary that our legislators should—to use the words of the Premier—"taper off" our future borrowings, or we may find that we have moulded a concrete debt difficult to liquidate. So long as our borrowings are strictly confined to really reproductive works there is not much to fear, but we cannot disguise the fact that in the past—the irretrievable past—an enormous sum of money have been squandered for which we got no return, and no thoughtful observer can regard the results otherwise than with great concern. We in New Zealand are not, however, alone in having incurred a heavy public burden, as is shown by the striking increase of the national debts of the world during the past thirty odd years. In 1848 the national debts of the twenty-four leading countries in the world amounted to a total of 1650 millions sterling. In 1880 they had increased to 5750 millions. In fact the national engagements of France have, it is estimated, risen from 223 millions in 1854 to 1434 millions sterling on 1st July, 1885; and those of Italy from 36 millions in 1848 to 438 millions in 1884; whilst the United Kingdom and her Dependencies now owe 1100 millions. The ratio of debt per capita in New Zealand has, however, slightly decreased of late, as on 31st March, 1881, the population was 482,019 against a debt of £27,108,269 or £56 4s 9d per head, while on 31st March, 1886, the population was 578,283 and the debt £31 688,349, thus reducing the ratio to £54 15s 11d per head. At the same time there is little doubt that foremost in the future troubles of New Zealand will be the question of further borrowing, as there are masses in this country who, reckless of the after consequences, demand the expenditure of borrowed money simply that labor may be paid for at a fictitious value, and would-be popular legislators are too apt to pander to this pressure in order to curry favor with a certain class of voters. The present has, however, been aptly termed the "age of hope," and doubtless it is this feeling that animates and encourages us to believe that without the aid of "heroic remedies," but with ordinary prudence and self denial, the recuperative powers of New Zealand are sufficiently great to enable us to put our finances on a solid footing, if we only make the effort to do so. The recent property-tax assessment returns strengthen this opinion, as, notwithstanding the many reverses we have suffered during the past four or five years, there is still a balance in our favor on the past three years' operations. The misfortune is that the balance is not nearly so much as it should be, considering the large sums of public and private money which have been spent in improving our "real estate" in the interval. The following figures however may perhaps encourage many of us to renew our efforts:—

# RETURN OF ASSESSED VALUE OF RATEABLE PROPERTY IN NEW ZEALAND

(Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, 12th July, 1886).

The serious complaints that have been made of both trade and agricultural depression during the past five years are not reflected in the above figures as much as might have been expected. On the contrary, they show a total increase of not less than £6,650,000 in the rateable value of our town and country properties during the past three years; and, when we remember that the valuations are practically assessed by the owners rather than by the assessors, we may reasonably infer that, as a whole, they have not been overstated.

Again, upon examination of the published banking returns, we find that there were in Australia and New Zealand on 31st March, 1886, twenty-seven banks of issue doing business in these colonies; that their capital and reserves amounted to £22,064,534, their total assets to £125,984,240, of which £13,941,060 was represented by coin and bullion, and their liabilities to £92,506,003, £86,577,371 of which consisted of deposits. On 31st March, 1881, on the other hand, the deposits with these banks amounted to £58,933,163, so that they have increased by the enormous sum of £27,644,208, or some 46·9 per cent, within five years. These figures show the strength of the chief financial institutions in Australia and New Zealand, and also that there must have been a considerable accretion to the wealth of the colonies as a whole during the five years under review. Of the six Banks doing business in New Zealand, three are practically branches, with colonial headquarters in Australia, so that it is impossible to say with accuracy how much of the 22 millions of proprietary capital is allocated to or owned by New Zealand. The official returns for this colony show, however, that deposits in Banks of Issue have increased from £9,293,497 on 31st March, 1881, to £10,602,934 on 31st March, 1886, or by £1,309,437. It is true this increase is only a trifle over 14 per cent, but none the less it is an actual increase of nearly one and a-half millions, and should help to show that our present position is very far from being desperate. In Great Britain the deposits, including those in the Bank of England, were £512,000,000 in 1881, and £559,000,000 on January 1st, 1886, or an increase only slightly over 9 per cent. These figures approximately make deposits per head in Australia (excluding New Zealand), £28; in New Zealand, £18; in the United Kingdom, £15. Passing to the Savings Bank returns in New Zealand we find that the deposits advanced from £903,765 in 1880 to £1,638,035 on December 31st, 1885, or over 80 per cent.—a result that speaks volumes for the thrift and general well-being of the industrial classes, from whose ranks the bulk of these depositors are derived. Looked at from the same point of view, the following figures lead to the conclusion that the working classes in this country are better off than in any of the three wealthiest European nations.

## SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS, 1885.

In considering the position of New Zealand we cannot well omit reference to its railways. On 31st March, 1836, New Zealand had 1613 miles of railways open for traffic, or a greater mileage per head of the population than any other country in the world, as may be seen from the sub-joined figures:—

This fact, however, may have led to our being reproached by certain English capitalists for having built railways in the hope that people would come here to use them, rather than for the purpose of supplying the wants, of an existing population.

As further evidence of the soundness of New Zealand's position, the following figures indicate that the volume of our foreign trade, unlike that of other exporting countries, has steadily increased in spite of the heavy fall in prices.

The visible improvement in the general industrial situation in America, and the signs of a revival of trade in Great Britain, lead to the hope that we shall before long see an expansion both in the volume and value of our trade. If we have been able to hold our own so well in the struggle for material advancement, or even make a little headway during a time of commercial quietude, it is not unnatural to expect that we shall move onwards more rapidly when the turn of the tide sets in.

Whilst considering our position I cannot refrain from a passing reference to the value of our timber industry. It is often alleged that our forests are being so fast depleted that in the immediate future the supply will be imperilled. But the experience of the world scarcely supports this view, as, according to estimates that have been made, the whole area annually felled is only nineteen millions of acres and may be increased to forty millions before reaching the annual average increase in the growth of forest trees in exporting countries. Hence, as the area of forest trees in New Zealand in proportion to that which is annually felled is probably equal to the area in the majority of most timber-exporting countries, we are entitled to infer that, with no material increase on our present consumption, we need not be much alarmed about impairing our capital in trees.

In concluding the consideration of our present position, it is a consolation to feel that, whatever may be said

about the condition of the commercial and agricultural industries, New Zealand has at least been able to maintain the great bulk of its industrial classes in a higher degree of comfort than any other country. There can be little doubt that the increased consideration which of late years has been given throughout the civilised world to the study of the social sciences, has had the effect of reducing the percentage of abject poverty in it. At the same time we must admit that so far we have been unable to remove entirely this blot upon modern civilisation. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, a certain amount of destitution, more or less severe, appears inevitable, but any impartial observer who has travelled must come to the conclusion that the percentage is very much less in this country than in any other, and that as a matter of fact gaunt hunger is practically unknown. We hear much about the unemployed, and doubtless, there may be a few who from time to time have to suffer through want of work, to say nothing of those who are unable to obtain what they consider remunerative employment, but the heart-breaking misery that may be seen in any of the larger cities in Europe or America and in a less degree in Australia does not exist in New Zealand. Indeed it has been well said that New Zealand is the working man's paradise, and in no other country are the poorer classes as a whole so well fed or so well clothed as they are here. It can be readily shown that per head of our population we consume far more meat, more bread, more sugar, more tea, more coffee, and more of all the everyday articles of food than any other known country, and also that the ratio of income *per capita* is greater, so that, whatever our burdens may be, the masses are not the sufferers therefrom. The fact is, that the present generation are not so well satisfied with their lot as their forefathers. There is now a days a greater tendency than formerly to exaggerate trouble. At any rate there are better opportunities for airing grievances, real or imaginary, and it is probably this facility for making complaints that causes us to imagine that our ills are very much greater than they really are.

## THE PROBABLE FUTURE,

In considering our future prospects, we should not lose sight of the opinion of eminent economists that the price of meat and dairy products has risen nearly 50 per cent, within the past thirty-five years, and that as the supply is not keeping pace with the general increase of population and wealth, prices of these products, in comparison with those of most other commodities, must continue to rise. Now, as the meat and dairy products of New Zealand are far greater than she can consume, any such rise in price must be to her advantage, especially as prices of nearly all the articles she imports in exchange have a falling tendency. Again, our great staple—wool—after falling to a point lower than has been known in the present generation, has revived considerably, and, although it may not regain its old level, unless indeed there be a general "boom" in trade throughout the world, yet the latest advices all indicate that prices are at least approaching a rate that will leave our producers a profit.

Our coalfields, as may be gathered from my previous remarks, are on the eve of being developed in a manner that very few are aware of. There is reason to believe that the coal resources of New Zealand, as compared with its area, are infinitely superior to those of most other countries, except possibly England, and consequently we may take it for granted that in this respect we are at least as well equipped for the industrial contest as other countries, and as likely to be able to take a good place therein.

With the introduction of the most recent scientific appliances for crushing and smelting gold there is every possibility of our increasing its present rate of production to a very considerable extent. With crude and faulty appliances our goldfields have already yielded some £42,327,907 sterling up to 1835, but this is nothing to what might be done if we keep pace with the times and introduce the most recent inventions. The old methods of smelting gold are now being abandoned in Australia in favor of American processes, as for instance the "Provost" furnace process, which is now generally used in the United States, and is said to have proved a great success. It consists in fusing the ore by means of a suitable flux, and with the addition of lead when that metal is not found in sufficient quantities in the ore. No doubt modern science and modern appliances will be introduced here with marked benefit to this industry, and it might be well worth the expense if our Government would adopt the suggestion thrown out by a gentleman in Auckland and send an expert to America to study the most recent inventions. It is, however pleasing to learn from the Minister of mines that our quartz mines yielded 111,432OZs of gold in 1835 against 88,299ozs in the previous year, or an increase of rather over 25 per cent.

As an agricultural country we stand alone amongst the Australian colonies in the productiveness of our soil, as the following figures demonstrate:—

	Average Produce Per Acre Of	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Potatoes.	Hay.	bushels bus.	bushels tons.	tons.			
Victoria	9.52	23.40	17.38	4.16	1.09	N.S.	Wales	15.27	21.87	21.16	2.52	1.24
Queensland	16.17	15.17	24.73	2.92	1.40	S.	Australia	7.53	12.20	13.48	4.10	9.93
W. Australia	13.00	18.00	16.50	3.00	1.00	Tasmania	19.20	28.65	29.58	4.37	1.24	
New Zealand	25.43	34.84	30.37	5.78	1.41							

Consequently with natural resources which, taken as a whole, are unequalled by those of any other country, it will indeed be our own fault if we do not succeed.

In looking to the future, however, it will be well for us to bear in mind that the want of scientific knowledge is one of our weakest points, as there can be no doubt that we are scarcely abreast of the times in this respect. It is scarcely necessary to point out how advisable it is for every one in this age of progress to acquire scientific knowledge, for on what nowadays does efficiency in the production, preparation, and distribution of commodities depend but the best use of methods fitted to their respective characters, and an adequate acquaintance with their physical, chemical or vital properties, as the case may be—that is, it depends on science. In this country, where minerals are so plentiful, a knowledge of mineralogy, for example, is of great advantage. And a large amount of capital has undoubtedly been sunk in hopelessly unprofitable gold and coal mining ventures through want of this knowledge, which, with it, might have been most profitably employed in these very pursuits. Even the farmer, in draining his land, manuring his crops, or feeding his stock to advantage, owes a debt to science. In short, just as fast as productive processes become more scientific, which competition inevitably tends to make them, so fast must scientific knowledge grow necessary to every one. The advantages of production on a large scale, as distinguished from a small one, are generally admitted. Mill shows that, "as a general rule, the expenses of a business do not increase by any means proportionally to the quantity of business," and he has pointed out some of the more important items of economy attributable to manufacturing on a largest scale, such as the advantage of having the largest number of machines that can be attended to by a single worker at one time, the economy of engine power, &c., &c. The general principles that apply to manufacturing operations on a large scale apply also, though perhaps in a modified degree, to agricultural and pastoral pursuits. An illustration of the advantages of turning out farm products on a large scale is supplied by some of the cheese factories in England. One of these, for instance, in Cheshire, converts into cheese the milk from 500 cows, and the dairy is worked by only two men and two women, with an extra man to look after about 150 pigs, which are kept to consume the whey. Thus not only is labor saved, but a more uniform quality of cheese is secured. At present in New Zealand we lie under the disadvantage of having too limited a population to produce many articles that can be profitably manufactured only on a large scale. Hence we are compelled to confine our industrial undertakings mainly to such as can be successfully carried on with small establishments. As it is generally admitted that countries which have acquired any great degree of preeminence in the economy of manufactures have invariably substituted large for small factories to enable them to reduce cost of production to a minimum, we must materially increase our population if we are ever to become a great manufacturing country. The difference between a great and a small production of any commodity, whether raw or manufactured, often represents the difference between profit and loss.

The undeniable relative depression of trade that is still unfortunately more or less experienced makes us too apt to forget the lessons of the past, and, while exaggerating present evils, refuse to recognise that they are simply counterparts of what have happened before and have ultimately proved self-corrective. When we see nothing but improvement behind us why should we expect nothing but deterioration before us? Within the past thirty-five years the Colony has made remarkable and continuous progress in all the essential elements of prosperity. The earnings of labor have increased absolutely and relatively, the cost of living has been generally reduced; education has been provided for the poorest; the incidence of taxation has been adjusted so as to press least heavily on the lowest incomes, and comforts and conveniences that were unknown in Europe only a century ago, except to the wealthiest, have now been brought within the reach of all. It is true that the struggle for success becomes keener and more severe, and in order to secure a fair share of the benefits which are to be obtained in the present age, men are required to be more competent, better skilled, and more alert than formerly. But notwithstanding this increasing difficulty in maintaining a good place in the contest, there is certainly far less absolute destitution in the world now than in former days, and we may rest assured that in spite of temporary deflections from the onward march of improvement there is a steady and continuous increase in wealth and prosperity in which we must fully participate, if, basing our anticipations upon the past thirty-five years' experience, we were—paraphrasing what Macaulay wrote half a century ago—to prophesy that in another thirty-five years New Zealand will have a population of five millions better fed, clad, lodged, and educated than the average well-to-do classes of to day, that scientific cultivation, [unclear: r]ich as a flower garden, will cover a great portion of these islands; that our debt, vast as it seems to us now, will appear to our children a trifling encumbrance; we might be deemed visionary. But when we consider what this young colony has already achieved, and bear in mind that it is inhabited by a tirelessly progressive people, who have the courage and endurance, the ambition and the determination, to succeed—for these are the qualities characteristic of emigrants—why should we not anticipate that progress at least equal to that of the past is destined to continue in the future?

Gentlemen,—My term of office now ends, and, although many of you, wearied with the length of my recent addresses, will doubtless give a sigh of relief, yet I would fain hope that our discussions, however incomplete they may have been, have not been quite without profit or entirely devoid of interest. I beg to move the adoption of the report and balance-sheet.

Mr JOSEPH GOULD seconded the motion. After the very able and exhaustive address the President had given them, it was not necessary for him to say much. He, however, quite coincided with the hopeful views expressed by the President, and heartily re-echoed the wish that the next year would see a marked revival in trade, and improvement in the general prosperity of the colony. [Cheers.]

The office-bearers for the year were elected as under:—President, Mr Joseph Gould; Vice-President, Mr F. Graham; Committee, Messrs F. Banks, W. Chrystall, M. Gard'ner, John Cooke, W. D. Meares, W. G. Rhind, G. G. Stead, A. C. Wilson, and Hon. E. W. Parker.

Messrs Waymouth and Humphries were elected as Auditors.

An alteration of the rules in the direction of reducing the entrance fee to country members outside the radius of five miles to two guineas, moved by the PRESIDENT, and seconded by Hon. J. T. PEACOCK, was carried, Mr P. CUNNINGHAM expressing his opinion that the alteration was not necessary.

The PRESIDENT requested the meeting to give the incoming Committee power to deal with the section of land belonging to the Chamber on Bedford Row.

After some discussion in which the Hon.

T. Peacock, Messrs W. D. Meares, Chrystall, Mitchell, Cunningham, and Banks, took part, it was resolved—"That the incoming Committee have power to deal with the section of land belonging to the Chamber, in Cashel street and Bedford Row, in any way they deem fit."

Hon. J. T. PEACOCK moved—"That a very hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the retiring President, Mr G. G. Stead." [Cheers.] They would all agree with him that Mr Stead had taken a most lively interest in the work of the Chamber 5 not only so, but he had brought to bear upon this work an amount of ability which it was impossible to overrate. [Cheers.]

The motion was put and agreed to.

Mr STEAD said, in acknowledging the vote, that what he had done was a labor of love. He took a great interest in the future of New Zealand, and could not but deprecate the practice of depreciating our resources and looking too much on the dark side of the picture.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the retiring Committee, the Auditors, and the Scrutineers.

Mr CUNNINGHAM asked whether the Committee were doing anything with regard to reduction of the cable charges between Australia and New Zealand. Elsewhere they were taking active steps in the matter.

The PRESIDENT said the Committee had been in communication with the Post-master-General, but nothing had come of it.

The meeting then terminated.

## Progress of the Colony.

The following letter and enclosures, which will be read with interest, have been laid on the table of the Chamber of Commerce for the information of members:—

"THE TREASURY,

September 1st, 1886.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by direction of the Colonial Treasurer, to enclose here-with statements giving statistical information asked for in your letters of 4th June and 21st July last, and at the same time to express regret that it was not found possible to send you the figures at an early date. There is an immense amount of labour involved in compiling both the Census and the Property Tax Returns, which cannot be done in a month or two, and even now as you will observe, some of the figures given are only estimated. It is thought, however, you may rely upon them as being pretty nearly accurate. The gold export and general import and export returns are not included, as they are published quarterly in the *Gazette*, in which probably you have already seen them. It is hoped the information is not supplied too late for your purpose.

I have, &c.,  
J. C. GAVIN,  
Secretary to the Treasury."

"G. G. Stead, Esq., Christchurch."

- Total number of Freeholders, 1886, 73,000,

- Value of Real Property (exclusive of Crown and Native Lands, Railways, Ac.), £96,832,640.
- Value of Real Property assessed for the year 1885, £112,000,000.

NOTE.—No. 3 is exclusive of Native Lands beyond five miles of any road suitable for horse traffic, and of all railways, telegraphs, and public works.

The total amount of personal property has not yet been ascertained.

(Exclusive of stock belonging to Natives).

Since 1870 an area of 4,273,000 acres has been purchased from the Natives in the North Island at a cost of £900,000, the value of which may be taken at least at £1,500,000; this is included in the £2,250,000 North Island, as above. The above estimates are for unsold Crown Lands, and do not include education reserves, endowments for High Schools, Universities, hospitals, harbours, municipalities, and other public purposes, the total value of which will be at least two or three millions more.

Reports on Insects Injurious To Hop Plants, Corn Crops, And Fruit Crops in Great Britain, Prepared for the Agricultural Department, Privy Council Office,

By Charles Whitehead, Esq., F.L.S., F.G.S.

1885.

(No. I.—Insects Injurious to Hop Plants.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of her Majesty.

coat of arms London: Printed By Eyre And Spottiswoode.

To be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from any of the following Agents, viz., Messrs. HANSARD and SON, 13, Great Queen Street, W.C., and 32, Abingdon Street, Westminster; Messrs. EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, East Harding Street, Fleet Street, and Sale Office, House of Lords; Messrs. ADAM and CHARLES BLACK, of Edinburgh;

Messrs. ALEXANDER THOM and Co., LIMITED, or Messrs. HODGES, FIGGIS, and Co., of Dublin.

1885

[C.—4534.] *Price Twopence.*

Barming House, Maidstone,

August 13th, 1885.

SIR,

IN accordance with the intimation conveyed in your letter of the 22nd of May last, that the Lords of the Council had accepted my offer to prepare for presentation to Parliament Reports on Insects Injurious to Hop Plants, Corn Crops, Fruit Crops, and Root Crops, I have the honour to forward the first Report of this series: namely, Insects Injurious to Hop Plants.

I am now engaged on the Reports relating to Insects Injurious to Corn Crops and Fruit Crops, which will, I hope, shortly be ready. The Report upon Insects Injurious to Root Crops will be finished early next year.

I have, Sir, the honour to be,  
Your obedient servant,

Charles Whitehead.

The Clerk of the Council,  
&c. &c. &c.  
Agricultural Department,  
Privy Council Office.

## Report.

No. I.—Insects Injurious To Hop Plants.

### Introduction.

There is an increased and increasing risk of loss and destruction from injurious insects to many of the cultivated crops of this country.

Thus, corn of all kinds, fruit trees, hop plants, clover, turnips, and mangel wurzel are continually attacked by insects, both of kinds well known and long known, as well as of kinds that are new, or whose ravages have only been recently noted, and which in certain cases, as the mangel wurzel fly, *Anthomyia Betae*, seem to have been imported with the plant. The mischief caused by this fly has become greatly intensified even within the last five years. Curtis, writing of it in 1859, thought that its injuries would not be of much consequence. Again, the "turnip fly" or "flea," *Phyllotreta nemorum*, has enormously multiplied with the extension of turnip culture, and in some seasons has caused very heavy losses to farmers. Originally feeding upon charlock and other cruciferous plants, it leaves these now for more grateful food, and breeds rapidly in these favourable circumstances.

Naturally this increase of insects follows *pari passu* the extension of culture and the distribution of the plants which are the special subjects of their attacks. But it is found that in the case of wheat, and clover, and other crops, which have been cultivated in due rotation in the same fields new injuries from insects have been noticed. It must be remembered, however, that the number of observers among agriculturists has increased of late, and the manner of observation has been changed and improved. It is of course quite possible that the supposed new insects may have been working unnoticed for generations.

Admitting to an extent the advance of intelligent observation and the spread of entomological knowledge, it is quite clear that not only is the destruction occasioned by insects larger than ever it was, but that there are insects at work in the fields which were not there in the times of our forefathers. One reason for the progressive increase of insects is that a larger supply of food encourages the proportional propagation of insects fond of and living upon it. Another undoubtedly is that the systems of land treatment have completely changed, and become more artificial, by which the balances of nature, "the aggregate action and" product of many natural laws," as Darwin has it, have been disturbed.

Insectivorous insects, for example, may have been diminished by changed methods of management. High and altered farming may have made certain crops more delicate and liable to insect attack. The slaughter of insectivorous birds and animals is most wholesale and indiscriminate. The hand of every one, to take an instance, is against moles, and yet farmers wonder that wireworms become more abundant each succeeding season.

With regard to new insects there are continuous opportunities for their introduction into England in all kinds of agricultural produce from all kinds of climates and soils. Insects are probably imported into as they are exported out of England. Fortunately the climate of this country does not suit the habits of most foreign insects. The dreaded potato bug, *Doryphora decemlineata*, would have without any doubt gained a settlement here if the conditions had been suitable. But on the other hand it is tolerably certain that the hop aphid was taken to America in hop roots or sets sent from England. Until 25 years ago, Professor Lintner states, this insect was unknown in the American hop plantations, and now it is becoming a serious trouble. Several other insects destructive to corn, hop, and fruit crops have been brought into America from Europe with seeds, plants, and fruits, and are threatening to become more troublesome in this "home of insects," as America has been called by entomologists, than they ever were in their native land. America has retaliated by exporting the Phylloxera into the French vineyards, to the utter confusion and indescribable loss of the wine producers. Within the last few years scale insects have appeared in the Californian orange groves from Australia, and orange, citron, and lemon growers in other parts of the world have lately been exercised in their minds by the appearance of pests of this species.

Seeing then these dangers from the spread of indigenous insects, and the fear of the introduction of new species from foreign countries, it is most desirable to diffuse entomological information as to the habits and life-history of injurious insects in a simple and intelligible form, for the use of farmers, fruit-growers, market gardeners, and all who cultivate the land, and at the same time to give practical modes of prevention, and remedies against their attacks.

The hop plant in particular has many insect enemies. Some of these are most dangerous and destructive, and if not prevented or checked will soon ruin the crop. It appears as if the liability of hop plants to be attacked by insects has considerably increased during the past 30 years, and it is believed by hop planters that some of the insects which now vex them were not known in the hop plantations until recently. As the planters are anxious to learn what has been ascertained regarding the insects affecting hop plants, it is considered desirable to publish this record of 10 species of insects more or less injurious to them, giving descriptions of each insect, together with its life history, its modes of attack and the results of its injuries, also an account in some detail of methods of prevention, and of measures which have been found efficacious in stopping or alleviating injuries.

## **THE HOP FLY. *Aphis humuli*.**

## FIG. I.

1 & 2. Winged female Aphis; 3 & 4, larvæ; or lice, nat. size and mag.

This is a species of the large tribe *Aphidini*  $\alpha$ , of the genus *Phorodon*, thus distinguished because its species have toothed frontal tubercles, most developed according to Mr. Buckton, in the wingless viviparous females. Very many of the cultivated and wild plants of this country are infested with peculiar species of aphides, which in some seasons favourable for their development and increase are infinitely destructive. Rose growers know how often these flowers are spoiled by the rose aphis. Fruit producers often suffer much from the species which attack currant bushes, plum, damson, and peach trees. The lime tree, whose blossoms are delightfully fragrant, is constantly so beset by the *Pterocallis tili*  $\alpha$  that it is unpleasant to sit under its shade on account of the showers of honey dew that fall from the legions of insects on its leaves.

The losses to hop planters occasioned by the hop aphis have been almost incalculable. Hop plants have been liable to its attacks for at least 200 years. It appears from records of these attacks, "black blights," that they have been of more frequent occurrence during the last 50 years. It would be difficult to give accurate estimates of the losses to hop planters and to the whole community caused by the ravages of aphides. In the last serious blight in 1882, not a hop was picked in many important hop-growing parishes, and it was estimated that the whole produce of the hop land in England, 65,619 acres in 1882, did not exceed 114,832 cwts., or an average yield of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cwts. per acre. The annual average yield of the English plantations is about 7 cwts. per acre, or a total yield of 459,333 cwts. upon the acreage of 1882, which at 7*l.* 7*s.* per cwt., the average price of English hops, taking the 20 years previous to 1882, would represent a total value of 3,370,177*l.* The picking of an average crop of hops upon the acreage of 1882

The hop acreage in 1884 had increased to 69,258 acres.

would cost from 350,000*l.* to 380,000*l.*, whereas the cost of picking the crop of 1882 did not amount to more than 155,000*l.*; so that the labourers who depend upon the hop picking suffered considerably.

## MODE OF ATTACK AND RESULTS.

The hop aphis appears upon the hop plants generally about the beginning of May, and if the conditions of temperature and of the plants are favourable it propagates with astonishing rapidity. The never-ending still-beginning swarms live entirely upon the sap of the plants, and suck it up by a kind of pumping process with their monstrously long beaks, attacking first the youngest and smallest leaves of the leading shoots, which are more succulent than the older leaves. After a week or two the growth of the plants is checked and they struggle in vain to reach the tops of the poles. Their juices are exhausted by the continuous suckings of these insects, and the respiratory action of the leaves is stopped as to their under surfaces, upon which the aphides always congregate and feed, by their filth and exuviæ, and upon their upper surfaces by the "honey dew," a peculiar glutinous sweet secretion ejected from the bodies of the aphides; this falling upon the leaves effectually prevents them from absorbing oxygen into their tissues. After this, which, as a rule, happens from three weeks to a month after the appearance of the insects, the plants give up, the leaves turn black and fall off, and all chances of a crop are lost. Heavy thunder showers often give renewed vigour to the plants at this stage by cleansing the leaves and partially restoring respiration, and this makes country folks say that lightning kills the aphides.

Sometimes it happens that aphides do not appear upon hop plants, or at least, not in dangerous numbers, until the cones are formed; in this event they get inside the cones and increase with greater rapidity than ever, blackening and disintegrating these so that they cannot be picked. This is the most feared kind of attack, as no remedies can be applied when the cones are formed, nor can the insect enemies of the aphides get at them easily.

With regard to the liability of hop plants to be blighted by aphides, there is no doubt that arrested growth and sudden checks from change of temperature predispose them, as vines and other plants are predisposed, to receive insect attacks, as well as various disorders. It is deemed expedient, therefore, by practical planters, as by practical vine cultivators, not to dress or cut the plants too early in the spring, because young shoots, especially, as Dr. Sachs says, when the parts of the plant are of small size and have a large hairy surface, as is the case with the leaves and internodes of the hop plants, are particularly liable to be injured by radiation in the clear cold mornings of the spring season.

In 1882 the advantages of late dressing were apparent. Severe white frosts in the beginning of April much injured the forward vines and made them stunted and brittle, while those dressed late and therefore untouched by the frosts, escaped injury to some extent, and in several remarkable instances were comparatively unharmed by the blight.



## LIFE HISTORY.

Entomologists have not absolutely decided as to the manner in which the life of this aphid is carried on through the winter; but there is every reason to believe that it is continued by eggs deposited in the autumn by wingless females, as well as by hibernating aphides, at least in suitable winters. Wingless (apterous) females invariably produce the eggs, and wingless females are, it is believed, also the direct products of the eggs. These are important facts leading to valuable suggestions of means of prevention, for they prove almost conclusively that the egg is placed upon or near the plant upon which its depositor has been nourished. In the case of the hop plant which is cut down nearly close to the ground in September, the aphid deposits its eggs in the ground hard by, or upon the short pieces of bine that are left upon the hop stocks, and upon the bines that are subsequently carried away for litter.

The larva extruded from the egg is nearly as large as the full grown larva, or louse as it is commonly called in the hop districts (Fig. I.1), but it presents certain differences of form, and particularly in respect of its cornicles. It is very active, having an enormous beak or rostrum, which it uses at once, and if conditions of food and temperature suit it begins to propagate its species after the extraordinary manner of reproduction of successive broods of larva; or lice, like itself, without sexual coition and influence of the male. Professor Owen writes of this as follows:—"This larva, if circumstances of food and warmth be "favourable, will produce a brood and indeed a succession of "broods of larvae like itself, without any connexion with the "male. In fact no winged males have appeared at this season. "If the virgin progeny be also kept from any access to the male "each will again produce a brood of the same number of aphides; "and carefully prosecuted experiments have shown that this pro-"creation from a virgin mother will continue to the seventh, "ninth, or eleventh generation, before the spermatic virtue of the "ancestral coitus has been exhausted." Reaumur has stated that one aphid may be the mother of 5,904,700,000 individuals during the month or six weeks of its existence. With this amazing power of increase it is not wonderful that the hop plantations are devastated, nor that the hop planters anxiously seek information, and methods of prevention and remedies against these attacks.

A general distribution of aphides is made throughout the hop plantations by means of winged females carried by the wind. These are perfect insects (Figs. I., 1,2) which are viviparous, and they appear from time to time in circumstances and from some causes not clearly ascertained, among the broods of wingless larva upon the leaves. Buckton remarks that a change takes place in the larva of the aphides. Swellings occur on the sides of the meso- and meta-thorax with which the wings of this future imago or perfect insect, are developed. These altered forms constitute the pupa which often shows considerable difference both in markings and colour.

It is certain that when food begins to fail upon aphid infested plants, batches of winged aphides appear and fly away to fresh fields and pastures new.

There is a regular general migration, or movement of winged females, early in the season, between the 20th and 31st of May generally, which can hardly be caused by a failure of food, and a large migration in the autumn when all the generations of viviparous larvæ are exhausted. The male comes on the scene, always in winged form, towards the autumn and pairs with the wingless oviparous female from which coition the innumerable swarms are generated, to blight and ruin the hop crop of the next season.

Miss Ormerod is of opinion that a variety of hop aphid *Aphis mahaleb* also infests the hop plants equally with the sloe and damson trees, and that in blighting seasons winged females of this variety migrate from these to the hop plants. Miss Ormerod points out that these are very slight varieties of the common species, and are so similar in habit as regards injury to hop plants that for all practical purposes they may be considered one. This adds very much to the chances of blight, as damson trees are very largely cultivated in all parts of Kent, and in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, on all sides of the hop plantations.

## PREVENTION.

One of the best modes of prevention in the case of aphides is undoubtedly to put caustic substances, as lime, soot, lime ashes and others, round the stocks, or plant-centres, during the winter. Bines should be carefully collected and removed from the hop gardens before February. All dead pieces of bine should be cut away from the stocks and burnt or taken away. The outsides of the hop gardens should be kept brushed, and weed growth prevented. If damson trees near are infested with aphides—not the ordinary plum aphid (*Aphis pruni*), which is distinct from the hop aphid, but the Mahaleb variety, which so closely resembles it—they should be washed with soft soap and water, to prevent the migration of flies to the hop plants.

## REMEDIES.

No remedy for aphid blight in any way effective was discovered until about 35 years ago, when washing the

plants was adopted to disturb the insects and to cleanse the leaves. Water alone was used, without much effect. Then soft soap was used with the water, and sometimes a little tobacco juice was added. This mixture is fairly efficacious if applied properly and often enough, but the best mixture is water, soft soap, and quassia. Quassia and water will not answer without soft soap, as the aphides have the power of resisting liquid without soap. It simply runs off and over their bodies, as water runs off and over the backs of water fowls. When soap is mixed with water and quassia the detergent nature of the soap neutralises their oily secretion and exposes them to the action of the liquid, and fixes the bitter of the quassia on the leaves, making them unpalatable. The soft soap also acts as a lubricator of the pumps of the machines employed for washing the plants.

The best composition is—

This wash is sent up, squirted up and over the hop plants—the play of the jet being directed to the under surfaces of the leaves—by means of large garden engines with strong pumps and long flexible hose, and jets held under the leaves by men. Large planters employ washing machines

The horse washing machines have recently been much improved.

drawn by horses between the rows, whose pumps are worked by the wheels and force the wash up and over the plants through a series of tubes perforated at intervals.

This washing process in order to be perfectly successful must be commenced directly there is any deposit of lice upon the leaves, and continued systematically until all of these have been cleared off. In some seasons fresh flies are continually wafted to the plants, and in this case it will be necessary to wash frequently and watch the plants with great care.

The advantages of washing hop plants for aphid blight were clearly shown in 1882. Planters who washed grew crops of from 7 to 9 cwts. per acre, while those who did not wash then plants grew nothing or next to nothing.

In connexion with remedies against aphides it should be pointed out that the chief natural enemies of the hop aphides are the little spotted beetles commonly called ladybirds, *Coccinellæ*, and that these should be religiously preserved in all hop districts. They have been known to avert an impending blight, coming in countless quantities and devouring the aphides as fast as they were generated. In America insects and animals that destroy insects injurious to crops are encouraged and protected. Among one of the remedies for the attacks of insects given by the entomologist of the State of New York is "Colonising" lady bugs, the Coccinellidæ, upon house plants and other "vegetation infested with plant lice."

A. small spider-like insect of a red colour has been exceedingly active in clearing off the hop aphides this season. It is not yet determined as to its exact species.

## THE HOP CONE FLY, FEVER FLY. *Dilophus vulgaris*.

### FIG. II. DILOPHUS VULGARIS.

Female Fly, magnified and nat. size, flying round Hop cones.

This is one of the numerous species of *Tipulidæ*, of the sub-family *Bibionides*, according to Westwood. Several of those species do much injury to plants both in their larval state, in which they bear more or less resemblance to the larvæ of the common Daddy Longlegs, and in their winged state. According to Taschenberg asparagus, ranunculi, barley, rye, and other plants are attacked by different species. Curtis speaks of this larva as injuring potatoes. The larvae of the *Dilophus vulgaris* were found in hop roots in Kent, as Miss Ormerod reports; and the flies were found in hop cones at Rainham, in Kent, towards the end of August. Hop cones were sent to the writer from the neighbourhood of Maidstone full of these flies, which had evidently much injured the cones. The male fly is black and smaller than the female, whose colour is rather lighter. Miss Ormerod says that this fly sometimes appears in large swarms, especially upon the Norfolk coast in 1862, when it was recorded as hanging in millions on flowers, and in bunches on grasses.

### PREVENTION.

It is supposed by Curtis and considered most probable by Miss Ormerod that the eggs of this fly are laid in manure. In this case the grubs or larvæ are taken with the manure close to the roots of the hop plants. Manure heaps or mixens lying in the neighbourhood of recent attacks, or where flies have appeared, should be carefully turned and treated with lime.

### REMEDIES.

When it is ascertained that the grubs or larvae of the hop cone fly are doing mischief to the plant-centres,

dressings of lime, soot, lime ashes, or of sawdust or ashes steeped in paraffin oil should be put as closely as possible round them.

In America about one quart of paraffin oil is put to a wheel-barrow load of ashes, and very carefully mixed. It is important to prevent the development of the flies, as there is no remedial measure that can be applied when these have established themselves in the cones.

## THE HOP WIREWORM. *Elater lineatus*, Curtis.

### FIG. III.

1 and 2, *Elater lineatus*; 3 and 4, *E. obscurus*; 5 and 6, *E. sputator*, nat. size and magnified; 7, larva of *E. sputator*; 8 and 9, larva (wireworm) of *E. lineatus*, nat. size and magnified; 10, pupa (lines show nat. length).

This is one of the most destructive insects known to agriculturists. It is especially injurious to wheat, barley, oats, rye, turnips, grass, and hops. It is well known in Germany and other continental countries, where it does much harm to most crops, and to young hops. According to Harris and Professor Lintner there are allied insects in America, which work and destroy in the same manner as the European wireworm, though differing in certain respects.

Wireworms are most troublesome in newly-formed hop plantations in England, particularly in those which have been made upon recently broken up grass land. Planters do not, and very naturally, like to pare and burn the turf or sward with the rich stores of humus, this is therefore ploughed deeply in, and legions of wireworms with it. These being deprived of the roots of the grasses attack the newly planted hop sets, boring into their stems, sucking out the sap, and gnawing off the shoots as fast as they make their appearance, as it would seem in mere wantonness. It frequently happens that the plants die from the attacks, or are only able to put forth weakly and useless shoots. Sometimes wireworms do infinite mischief in established plantations, causing injuries which are frequently attributed to natural decay, or to the soil or subsoil, as the insects bury themselves into the stocks, and are not easily discovered. This cannot be said to be a new foe to hop planters by any means. Lance speaks of it, though he confounds wireworms with centipedes. Curtis also alludes to it as injuring hop plants. But without doubt it has been very much more abundant during the last five years, and in the present year its ravages have been unusually great in various places in all the hop-producing districts.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The wireworm is the grub or larva of the click beetle, *Elater lineatus*, of the family *Elaterid*  $\alpha$ , sub-tribe *Serricornes*, of the order *Coleoptera*, according to the rational classification of West-wood. It is called "click" because the beetle, if placed on its back, has the power of giving a mighty spring in the air ten or twelve times its own length, at the same time emitting a snapping or clicking sound. The grub, or wireworm, is sometimes confounded by agriculturists with the grub of the Daddy Longlegs, *Tipula oleacea*, which is quite a different insect.

The perfect winged insect, which may be noticed frequently in meadows and by hedge sides in August, lays very small eggs on the stems or leaves of grasses and other plants, and the lower parts of the hop bines. From these eggs a grub, or larva, is produced, which begins at once to feed upon the plants, generally attacking the most vital point just above the root, and in hop plants at the base of the shoot springing from the fibrous part of the hop set. The grub is very tiny at first, a little white worm, as Curtis describes it, and hardly perceptible; it grows very quickly to the full size of the wireworm stage, in which it remains five years. Some entomologists say that it keeps in this state longer than five years: Taschenberg says for many years. Miss Ormerod thinks the term depends probably on the supply of food; but it has been proved to live for years in larval condition. It is yellow, with a smooth horny skin enabling it to move in the earth, and to go down very deeply into it with ease and rapidity. It changes to the chrysalis state in the earth, as Taschenberg says, without a cocoon, and makes its way to the light, emerging in perfect winged form, to pair, and to deposit eggs upon the hop plants, or herbs, or plants, or weeds near.

### PREVENTION.

In old hop plantations it is somewhat difficult to prevent the attacks of the click beetle, especially in small fields and those surrounded with woods and hedgerows. Where hop plantations are in masses the injury from this source is usually comparatively inconsiderable. It is most desirable to keep the land clear from weeds upon which the insect might deposit eggs; also the out-sides well cleaned and closely brushed and free from grass and nettles. This weed is, it should be stated, very attractive to many insects hurtful to hop plants, and should

therefore be studiously eliminated from their neighbourhood.

Caustic substances dug in round the plant-centres will prevent, or, at all events, retard an attack from outside or below, but will not prevent the action of wireworms generated close to and upon the plant-centres. Opening a trench in the autumn, after the poles are down, and forming a ring close round the plant-centres, and putting in earth, ashes, or sawdust saturated with paraffin oil is an excellent plan in the case of plantations that are badly infected. Hard frosts do not affect wireworms since they go down into the earth to a depth of nearly 15 inches.

Before planting pasture land or meadow land with hop plants it is most necessary that it should be kept well fed down by sheep up to the time of ploughing in the autumn. With regard to arable land taken for hop plantation, this should be freed from weeds during the summer. A crop of white mustard might be taken with much advantage before planting, as the wireworms cannot live in this, and would be starved out.

Planters who suspect the presence of wireworms very frequently set a row of potatoes between the rows of hop plants in order to draw the wireworms from the young hop plants.

Birds should be encouraged in infested fields. Rooks devour quantities of these insects. Pheasants, partridges, and many small birds also greedily eat them. Moles are especially devoted to them. Instead of every farming man's and every farming boy's hand being set against moles, instigated thereto by a reward of 2*d.* per tail, farmers, and hop planters in particular, should rather encourage their increase. In the United States the State entomologists recommend the protection of the disagreeable skunk on account of the service it renders the hop planter by discovering and destroying the grub of the otter moth, which attacks the roots of the hop plants, and many other insects upon which it feeds. The barbarous traps for killing moles should be prohibited, and when it might be necessary to banish moles, in gardens and where small and delicate plants are cultivated, traps might be made for catching them alive and transporting them to insect affected spots.

Miss Ormerod states that special traps. "mole pots," are made in Gloucestershire for catching moles alive. These are earthen jars, which are let into the ground, level with the runs of the moles. They fall into these and cannot get out, and may be taken out alive.

In a young hop plantation this year potatoes were set between the rows of plants. Upon hoeing the potatoes it was found that moles had made a subterranean gallery up almost every row of potatoes in search of their favourite food.

## REMEDIES.

When wireworms have once become settled in a hop plantation it is a most difficult matter to dislodge them. They have a stronghold in and around the plant-centres, in which they ensconce themselves, and they cannot easily be got at. Nitrate of soda, guano, lime, soot, and other manures of a caustic nature have been put as near the plants as it would be safe to put them, and in most cases without much success. The wireworms work upon and in the young shoots, to which it would be most injurious to apply substances that would affect the insects.

It is almost impossible to move them from their position by cultivation. They are frequently moved, at all events temporarily from wheat, oat, and turnip plants by heavy rolling and harrowing, but it will be seen that such remedies cannot be applied in hop plantations. Digging or prong-hoeing round the plants might be advantageous, though the grubs actually upon them could not be directly reached.

In young hop plantations of the first year it has been found practicable and efficacious to make a ring very close round the plants with the little short hoe used for covering in after dressing, and to sprinkle earth, ashes, or sawdust saturated with paraffin oil in these, taking care not to put too much oil, so as to kill the shoots. Planters will see that this cannot be so easily done in the first year of poling and afterwards, still with care and contrivance it might be managed, even when the full complement of poles is set up. But the best and most sure means of dealing with wireworms when at work upon hop plants is to put baits near them, two or three inches below the ground, in the shape of pieces of mangel wurzel, turnip, carrot, potato, or rape cake. These should be taken up once a week at least, and wireworms attracted by the more pleasant food from the hop plants, will be found imbedded in them, and may be taken out and destroyed. As many as 150 wireworms have been caught in this way near one plant-centre. Continental and American entomologists and planters highly commend this method.

Dressings of rape dust dug in round infested plants will also draw the wireworms, relieving them for a time, but also tending to collect the wireworms round or near the plant-centres. Rape dust is employed as a manure for hop plants in enormous quantities, and this without doubt has caused the increase of wireworms in hop plantations, as they are particularly fond of it. The common notion that rape dust is a remedy against wireworms, because they eat so greedily of it that they burst their skins, is without any foundation at all.

## THE HOP JUMPER. *Euacanthus interruptus*, Linn.

### FIG. IV. EUACANTHUS INTERRUPTUS.

Hop Jumper, winged and in early stage, magnified; lines showing nat. size.

This insect is often confounded with another species of the same family, *Cercopid æ*, distinguished as *Aphrophora spumaria*, because the larvæ are covered with a frothy liquid, vulgarly called "cuckoo spit," or frog's spittle, and supposed to be caused in some mysterious manner by cuckoos and frogs. Professor Westwood states that the ancients believed that these insects were generated by the above-mentioned animals, and the tradition has been handed down to the present day. Although the frog flies, or cuckoo flies, *Aphrophora spumaria*, live by sucking the juices from plants and trees in the same way as the veritable jumper (*Euacanthus*, Westwood; *Amblycephalus interruptus*, Curtis; *Euacanthus interruptus*, Linnæus), and have the same wonderful powers of leaping, these insects are specifically distinct.

An allied species, much smaller than the hop jumper, attacks rose trees: another is found upon lime trees. Two other species, also smaller, the *Eupteryx picta*, and the *Eupteryx solani*, infest potato plants, and Curtis found the former upon mint, burdock, and nettles.

In America a species of leaf hopper, belonging to the same family, does enormous mischief to grape vines by puncturing their leaves and exhausting the juices of the plants.

Old writers upon hops, as Reynolde Scott, and Bradley, do not allude to this insect, nor do Lance and Rutley, who wrote 47 and 35 years ago, notice it as injuring hop plants. It is only within the last 20 years that the planters have seen it in their plantations, or, at least, have connected it with the sickly condition of the plants in certain seasons. Since this time it has rapidly increased, and occasionally during the last six years it has caused most serious mischief, especially where the plants have been naturally weakly or backward.

Upon banks and upon indifferently tilled land, as well as upon stony and light land, they are more troublesome, making onslaughts upon the hop vines, generally towards the middle of May, or when they have been tied up to the poles, by thrusting their beaks into the leaves and into the tender, juicy, leading shoots, from which the sap may often be seen exuding in large drops. After a while the weaker plants turn yellow; their growth is completely arrested. The stronger plants manage to struggle upwards, but their strength and powers of production are materially diminished by the continuous drain upon them. In seasons of slack delicate, or backward bine the consequences are very serious. When the bine is plentiful and vigorous it manages to grow away from its persecutors, but the jumpers remain and multiply, feeding upon it.

Many hop plantations were all but ruined in Hampshire and Surrey and in parts of Kent by its ravages two or three years ago. The leaves curled up, the leading shoots ceased to revolve, and no crop was produced.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The insects appear first upon the hop plants as small larvæ. When they have arrived at their full larval size they "moult," as the planters say, leaving their skins upon the leaves. Another moult occurs after the pupa stage, when the perfect winged insect is formed. In all of these stages the injury to the plants is continued. Pairing then takes place, and the female lays eggs and dies. It is not clear where the eggs are deposited, nor has it been ascertained whether the life of the insect is carried on by eggs through the winter, or by hibernating larvæ. Some of the species of this family deposit eggs under the rind of plants in the autumn, which are hatched in the early spring, as the *Typhlocyba Ros æ*. Another, *Jassus sexnotatus*, according to Taschenberg, lays them either in the ground or upon the roots of plants just below the surface of the ground. Harris speaks of a species, *Tettigonia vitis*, in America, whose larvæ retire for shelter during the winter beneath fallen leaves, decaying tufts, and roots of grass. Reasoning, then, by analogy, and from what is actually known of these jumpers, it seems certain that they are concealed in egg or larval form close to the hop plant-centres, in the ground or within the cracks of the poles, during the winter. Their continuity of existence is not carried on by means of eggs upon or under the rind of the hop plants, because these are cut down in the autumn and carried away. The plant-centres, or perennial stocks, remain, with pieces of bine upon them only a foot in length, and small pieces of bine get broken off and lie on the ground throughout the winter. Their rind shrivels up, and the eggs, if under it, would be destroyed. The poles, which remain upon the ground, stacked close to the hop plants, are said to be depositories of the insect, either in egg or larval form; for Miss Ormerod reports that a plantation was so much infested with jumpers that it was grubbed, and the poles were removed to another ground till then free from jumpers, this was soon after as badly troubled with them as the old plantation.

As its name implies, this insect, in common with others of the *Cercopid æ*, has wonderful powers of leaping, with hind legs disproportionately long and furnished with well developed muscles.

The colour of the perfect insect is yellowish, with markings of brown on the wings, head, abdomen, and legs, varying somewhat in position and intensity. In the pupa stage farther variations of colour may be noticed. Some specimens have been seen with crimson markings.

## PREVENTION.

The roots and stocks of hop plants, forming plant-centres or "hills," remain in the ground for many years, and consist of congeries of interlaced fibres, affording succulent food for the larvae, and convenient shelter for the eggs and larvae of insects. Though without doubt many of them would be affected and decreased by application of caustic and disagreeable substances dug in round the plant-centres, there are some which would escape; still it would be desirable, after a very bad attack of jumpers, to "open round" the plant-centres, that is, to clear away the earth from them, leaving a trench round the fibrous stocks, which would lie exposed during the winter. Planters adopted this course formerly after a visitation of mould or mildew to let the air in and to destroy the germs or spores of the fungus. Caustic substances could then be put close to the stocks, as lime, lime ashes, soot, nitrate of soda, sulphate of ammonia. Dressings of sand, sawdust, wood ashes, or finely triturated earth, with which paraffin oil should be mixed, might be sprinkled all round the stocks with very much advantage. Opening in the manner described would be very effective, but if this could not be done the soil all round the stocks should be well dug and pulverised as early as possible directly after the poles had been set up, and caustic substances put on before the digging operation.

## REMEDIES.

When the jumpers are in full force upon the hop plants the only remedy available, or that has been proved to be practical and effectual, is to hold tarred boards, or tarred sacking, on two sides of the plants low down in the alleys, and to have the poles tapped smartly with a stout stick. The insects, which are very timid, as may be seen by the way they dodge round the poles, take a mighty leap after this shock and jump into the tar, Thousands can be caught by this means in a day in badly infested plantations. Washing with soap and water does not seem to have much effect upon them.

## THE HOP FLEA (OR BEETLE). *Haltica concinna*.

### FIG. V. HALTICA CONCINNA.

1 and 2 Hop Flea, nat. size and magnified; 3, hind leg, magnified, showing tooth.

This insect to ordinary observers closely resembles the turnip flea proper, *Haltica nemorum*. Under the microscope it will be seen that it differs considerably. Its colour is brassy, whereas the colour of its congener is dusky or black, and its wing cases are striped. They both have wonderful powers of jumping. The former has a curious toothed formation of the tibia, or shank, with a set of spines, while the tibia of the turnip flea is without any curve. Curtis speaks of the *Haltica concinna* as infesting hop plantations. Taschenberg also alludes to its eating the leaves of hop plants in Germany. Harris gives an account of several species of *Haltica* in America as destructive to crops, but he does not mention this particular species.

In some seasons, more especially when the hop plants are backward and are kept back by cold unkindly weather, these fleas or beetles do infinite harm to them by eating the leaves and making many holes in them with strong jaws furnished with double sets of teeth, and made purposely for biting out and masticating leaf tissue. They also much injure the leaves, and thereby weakening the plants by the larvæ burrowing in the parenchyma or cellular tissue of the leaves. They follow the bines as they grow, but it rarely happens that they are able to do much harm after the plants have really made a good start in favourable climatic conditions.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The flea, in reality a winged beetle, passes the winter in the perfect state under clods, tufts of grasses, or weeds near the hop plants, or on the outsides of hop plantations. In early spring, directly the bines are ready to tie, they come up from the ground near the plant-centres, or fly from their retreats at a distance, and at once begin to eat and fret the leaves. Pairing takes place and eggs are laid under the leaves as well as on the smaller bines. Only one egg is laid daily by a female, so that these insects are not very prolific. In about eight or nine days larvæ, little white maggots, with six pectoral feet are hatched from the eggs, and immediately burrow in the leaves and feed upon their tissues. In about a week they become chrysalids, and in due time the perfect beetles appear again, and the life stages are repeated. Breeding goes on thus in favourable circumstances until

September. It is alleged that the flea deposits eggs within the hop cones, and that the larvæ mining the strigs, or stems, cause the decay and disintegration of the bracts. This has not been quite determined, but it seems very probable that the serious damage to hop cones, which has increased so much within the last 10 years, may be caused by fleas, together with another insect which is described further on.

## PREVENTION.

As the fleas rejoice in cloddy ground, or are at least always more plentiful when the soil is rough and unkindly, it is desirable to work well round the plant-centres early, and get a good season all over the plantation as quickly as possible after poling. Weeds should be banished, both in the plantations and round the outsides. Pieces of old bine should be carefully collected and carried away when the ground is dug in the late autumn and winter, and when the plants are dressed the bits of bine should be taken away from the ground at once.

These pieces of bine being hollow afford retreat and shelter for insects of many kinds.

Thorough cultivation up to picking time is essential to keep the soil well moved and to prevent weeds, especially near the plant-centres. After a bad attack lime, or soot, or lime ashes, or guano should be put round the plant-centres in October and worked well in.

## REMEDIES.

When hop plants are troubled by these fleas it is often very useful to put soot over and round the plants, and after a day or two to prong hoe the soil close to them and pulverise it as much as possible. They jump off the plants when disturbed and take refuge in the clods. In cases where the injury is very great, tarred boards or sacking should be held near the ground under the plants and the poles tapped with a stick, so that the fleas jump into and are retained by the tar.

## THE OTTER MOTH. *Hepialus humuli*, Stephens.

### (FIG. VI.)

1 and 2, Eggs, nat. size and magnified; 3, caterpillar; 4, chrysalis; 5, male; 6, female.

This is known as the Otter moth, so called on account of the peculiar shape and size of its larva. It is also called the Ghost moth, because the wings of the male are white and in its nocturnal flights, according to Westwood, it has a singular "pendulum like" movement which gives it a somewhat ghostly appearance. The body of the male is rather dusky, while the body of the female is lighter, and she has wings of a yellowish colour with orange markings.

It is known in Germany. Taschenberg and Kaltenbach both speak of it as destructive in German hop plantations. Near Aix its attacks were so severe that whole hop plantations were rendered unproductive. Harris describes it as the "hop vine caterpillar living in the roots of the hop," in his report upon American insects. The larvæ or caterpillars of this moth injure the roots of the hop by feeding upon them, biting the outside skins, and piercing through the interior of the roots with their strong jaws, but the extent of their mischief is not realised as they work so low down in the earth, and their action in killing or weakening the plant is frequently attributed to other causes. As it is most abundant in this country planters sustain more loss from this insect than they are aware of.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect appears about the middle of June. The female soon begins to lay eggs. Though these are very plentiful they are only deposited singly. After fourteen days the larva or caterpillar comes forth and crawls to the root of the hop plant, or other plants, as the dock, and burdock, where it remains feeding with great appetite until April. At this time it assumes the pupa stage and emerges from the ground as the perfected imago.

## PREVENTION.

It is obviously most difficult to prevent the attacks of this insect, as the eggs are deposited at night and are so minute that they cannot be discovered. As in the case of wireworms application of caustic substances might prevent the attack if it were suspected. All docks, nettles, and burdocks should be removed from the immediate neighbourhood of the plantations. Moles are fond of this larva, and should be encouraged in hop plantations.

## REMEDIES.

The only remedy of certain efficacy is to examine the roots of hop plants that are showing unaccountable symptoms of flagging just below the crown of the plant centre. The larva is a huge caterpillar, from an inch to an inch and a half in length, of a dull yellow colour, easily discernible and therefore might be picked out.

## THE THOUSAND LEGS. *Julus Londinensis*.—*Julus Guttatus*.

### FIG. VII.

1, *Julus Londinensis*; 2, 3, *J. guttatus*; 4, *J. terrestris*; 5, horn; 6, 7, *Polydesmus complanatus*; all magnified; and 2 and 6, nat. size.

The hop sets, or young plants, are rugose and knotty, affording much shelter or cover for the eggs, grubs, and pupae of insects. Planters usually plant two or three of these sets together to form one plant centre. These, while keeping a separate or distinct existence, become much inter twisted, having many knots and cavities, hiding places, which are made use of by many species of the Julidæ or "thousand legs." These are very frequently found in such cavities and in great abundance, especially where any decay has commenced. This they intensify, if they do not actually cause it, and if they contrive to penetrate into the softer more sappy parts of the plant-centres they rapidly occasion dangerous rotting. It is commonly held that these thousand legs are merely attendants upon decay and do not themselves create it; but the formation of their jaws adapted for gnawing and biting proves clearly that they are active sources of injury to plants. The thousand legs, millipedes, must not be confounded with the species of another family of Myriapods, known as *Scolopendridæ*, or, familiarly, centipedes, whose jaws are quite differently formed and live on insects and animal matter. The two species commonly found injuring various crops in England are distinguished as *Julus Londinensis* and *Julus Guttatus*. Similar species are known in France, Germany, and America, where they injure beans, peas, cabbages, many corn crops and hop plants. The mischief, or rather the source of the mischief, which these creatures occasion to hop plants is not at first apparent, and it would be desirable that planters should examine the roots of the plants closely when they flag or show symptoms of disease.

## LIFE HISTORY.

Strictly and scientifically speaking the thousand legs are not insects, though they are generally considered and may be treated here as such. They undergo no transformation like wireworms and other insects proper, and have only two stages of life, viz., the egg stage, and the caterpillar, or worm stage.

From the end of December to the beginning of May the female lays eggs in considerable numbers under stones, in decaying wood, and vegetation, in the roots of the hop plants, and in other retreats where there is dampness. When the young emerge from the eggs they have at first only three pairs of legs, according to Taschenberg, but the number of legs increases. They are not full grown, Curtis says, until they are two years old, changing their skins, or moulting, five times during this period and feeding actively throughout. It is believed that like wireworms they live four or five years from the time they come from the eggs.

## PREVENTION.

It is essential for every reason that hop land should be drained. For the prevention of thousand legs this is most desirable since they love moisture.

All vegetable rubbish and decaying matter should be removed from hop plantations which would serve as a harbour for them.

Frequent and thorough cultivation by digging round the plant-centres, and the application of nitrate of soda, soot, lime, or lime ashes, to be dug deeply into the soil close round them will be found very beneficial.

## REMEDIES.

Traps of pieces of carrot, turnip, mangel wurzel, or vegetable marrow put round the plant-centres might be advantageously employed. This is done in Germany. Vegetable marrow is the best medium, being soft.

In the case of a serious attack the use of the paraffin saturated materials recommended in many other cases would be beneficial. Curtis talks of lime water being used with effect as well as of nitrate of soda being washed in. This would hardly be practicable.



## THE HOP BUG. PLANT BUG. *Lygus umbellatarum*. *Lygus Solani*.

### FIG. VIII.

1 and 2, Potato bug, *L. Solani*; 3 and 4, pupæ; of do., nat. size and magnified; 5 and 6, *L. umbellatarum*, nat. size and magnified.

This insect gets its livelihood by extracting the juices of plants, into whose stem and leaves it thrusts its pointed beak or sucker. Many of them may be seen upon hop plants between June and September dodging quickly and craftily behind the leaves and vines to get out of sight. If the vines are examined it will be found that they are punctured in various places, from which punctures sap is issuing freely. This naturally weakens the plants and renders them unhealthy. In 1880, and in two previous years, considerable weakness was caused by the action of the hop bug in some of the Kent plantations. The *Lygus umbellatarum* is the principal offender, but specimens of *Lygus Solani* have also been seen upon hop plants, apparently feeding upon their juices, side by side with those of the other species. The former species is of a greenish colour, while the latter is more red and ochreous. Much damage is occasioned to various plants in America and Germany by plant bugs answering to the description of these English species, according to Harris, Lintner and Taschenberg.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect hibernates in the ground in crannies of poles or bark, in litter or rubbish near the hop plants, or in the outsides of hop plantations. It is believed that the females deposit eggs when they arrive on the plants, whose larvæ begin to feed at once; the pupæ and the perfected insect also feed upon the plants in the same manner.

### PREVENTION.

In the case of winged insects, and those having rapid locomotive powers, prevention is somewhat difficult. To keep the outsides of hop plantations well brushed and to have the brushings burnt late in the autumn is one of the most practical means. Also to let the ground in the plantation be free from weeds.

### REMEDIES.

The only remedy at all likely to be effective is shaking the poles, under which tarred boards are held. Though the plant bugs do not jump, like the "jumpers," many would be shaken off into the tar.

## THE RED SPIDER (*Spinning Mite*). *Tetranychus, telarius*.

### FIG. IX.

RED SPIDER. Hairs on the foot (from Claparede). Webs with eggs in dry and moist state, much magnified.

This is a species of the order *Acarina*, or mites, in which are included many familiar and unpleasant creatures, as ticks, cheese mites, itch mites, among others. A familiar but disagreeable acquaintance of country people—the harvest bug, *Tetranychus autumnalis*—is another species of the genus of spinning mites.

Gardeners know the *red spider*, as it is commonly called, which is found on the under leaves of many plants both in the open air and in greenhouses and frames, and make lamentations over the great mischief it causes. It is not a spider, being essentially different in form, as will be seen by the above figure, though it spins a kind of web upon the under surfaces of the leaves of the plants it infests, for its protection, and it has a peculiar arrangement of stiff hairs with round terminations, as shown above, for the purpose of spreading and fixing this web. Nor is it always red. Its colour is also sometimes green, sometimes brown or brick red, varying, as some naturalists think, according to its food. Upon hop leaves it has been found of many shades of colour, ranging from green, with tiny black specks on the sides of the mite, all through the variations between brown and bright red, upon the same leaf, rather indicating that the differences in colour are hardly attributable to diet, but to degrees of age. It is difficult to detect the presence of red spiders even when they are bright red, and almost impossible to see them when green or brown without a glass, so that casual observers or persons in any degree shortsighted do not discover them upon hop plants until considerable injury has been done.

Indeed for some time the work of these mites upon hop plants was mistaken for the effect of drought and heat, particularly as the injury was first noticed upon badly drained spots, where drought would naturally show

its results. This supposed disorder was called *Fireblast*, because the leaves turn bronze-coloured at first, then they become yellowish red, as if they had been burnt. In Germany the hop planters term it *Kupfer-Brand*. As red spider is only troublesome to hop plants in hot, dry seasons, it is easy to understand that its action may be mistaken for that of heat and drought.

Many would think it impossible that this tiny mite could work much harm upon the masses of vegetation in hop plantations. In 1868, when the summer was excessively hot and almost without rain, the crop was utterly ruined by red spiders, upon thousands of acres in England and upon the Continent. In Tasmania it is frequently very troublesome, so that the planters irrigate the hop land to destroy it in the ground before it can get to the plants. There was a sharp attack in England also in certain localities in 1872. During the late cycle of wet summers there was no sign of red spider. In 1884 there were clear indications of an attack in parts of Kent, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire. The weather changed, however, becoming damp and cool, and the mites could not work.

At this time (August 1885) the red spider is doing much injury, being favoured by the long drought.

In 1868, at the beginning of July, the lower leaves of the hop plants became discoloured, "fireblasted," as the labourers said. This discoloration rapidly spread upwards, extending even to the lateral shoots. After a time the leaves fell off, the plants being quite exhausted of sap, and it was impossible for them in most cases to form any hop cones. Where these were formed they quickly shrivelled up and dropped off. Upon close examination of the leaves they were found to be desiccated. Their juices had been sucked out by myriads of mites, whose fine webs covered their under surfaces with countless filaments. Many plantations which in June were green and flourishing looked at the end of July as if a scorching fire had passed over them.

Not only do the mites exhaust the juices of the plants by means of the barbed suckers with which their mouths are fitted, but they hinder their respiration with their webs and excrements.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The red spiders pass the winter in the perfect state, either in the ground near where they have fallen with the leaves they have injured, or in other convenient places of shelter. They have frequently been found under stones. Kaltenbach states. In the case of hop plantations they also retire into the cracks of the poles, and they have been found upon the hop bines after they have been stacked for litter, as well as upon the ends of bines left in the hills or stocks during the winter. The females lay eggs which are rather large, spherical, and colourless, and are glued to the silky webs under the leaves. These are hatched in seven or eight days. The larva has six legs, but after the pupa, or nymph stage, there are eight legs, the full complement.

## MEANS OF PREVENTION.

As English hop planters cannot irrigate the hop land, as is done in Tasmania, the only means of prevention are to apply hot lime or other caustic and pungent substances, as soot or lime, round the hop stocks in the late autumn after an attack, taking care that this should be put over the stocks and pieces of bine left on them. After an attack it would be of course desirable that the poles should be treated with a solution of paraffin or petroleum to kill the mites in their cracks. Practically, however, as hop planters would agree, this is almost impossible.

In the case of poles that are fixtures in the ground to carry wires or strings, according to the new methods of training hops, so much adopted in Germany and extending in this country, it would be well after an attack of red spiders to wash these poles with a strong solution of soft soap and water, with quassia added, or with paraffin or petroleum solutions brushed well into the crevices.

Poles should be well shaved before they are set up, as their bark harbours these mites and many insects injurious to hop plants.

## REMEDIES.

Kaltenbach, the German entomologist, says that washing with water containing solutions of sulphur and tobacco may be advantageously employed. This was tried in 1868 in England without much benefit. The only effectual remedy would appear to be washing the plants by means of hand or horse engines, with a composition of water, soft soap, and quassia, in the following proportions:—

- 100 gallons of water,
- 4 to 6 lbs. of soft soap,
- 4 to 6 lbs. of quassia (extract after well boiling).

Water alone would be effectual, only it runs off the web-covered leaves. The soap fixes it on them, and the bitter of the quassia makes them unpleasant to the tastes of the red spiders.

## THE HOP CONE-STRIG MINER (*Psylliodes attenuatus*; or *Agromyza frontalis*?).

During the last few years the hop cones in many parts of the hop-yielding districts have become rapidly red or rust-coloured some days before they were ready to be picked, and after a short time they have dried up, and their bracts have fallen to pieces. This was at first attributed to red mould or to red rust, but upon careful examination it has been found that the strigs or stalks of the cones had been bored or mined by an insect throughout. Moreover, in many of these mines little white maggots, the larvae of an insect, were found.

It is a moot point as to what kind of insect these larvæ belong. Some are of opinion that they are the larvae of a species of flea-beetle, of the tribe *Psylliodes*, either *Psylliodes attenuates* or *Psylliodes chrysocephalus*, which, to a casual observer, resembles the common hop flea beetle, *Haltica concinna*. According to Taschenberg the larvæ of the latter commonly bore into bulbs or stalks of plants. Others hold that they are the larvæ of a species of fly, *Agromyza frontalis*, which are also known to be leaf and stalk miners. Miss Ormerod reports of some larvae forwarded to her, together with the injured strigs of hop cones, that they decidedly were those of a dipterous insect, that is, of some two-winged fly. Miss Ormerod kept these larvæ, hoping to witness their transformation, but unfortunately they lost their vitality.

It is hoped that planters will send specimens of these to Miss Ormerod or to the writer, in order that they may be identified, and that means of prevention and remedies against their attacks may be prescribed, as the injuries caused by them are serious, and are, as it appears, on the increase.

C. W.

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By Charles Whitehead, ESQ., F.L.S., F.G.S.  
1885.

(No. II.—Insects Injurious to Corn, Grass, Pea, Bean, and Clover Crops.)

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## Report.

No. II—Insects Injurious to Corn, Grass, Pea, Bean, and Clover Crops.

## INTRODUCTION TO REPORT NO. II.

It will be seen by the above title of this second instalment of the series of reports upon Insects Injurious to Agricultural Crops that its scope has been somewhat extended. Originally it was intended to confine this Second Report to insects injurious to corn crops, but as the work progressed it was found desirable to include those destructive to grass crops, as some of these insects are common to both. Again it seemed well while dealing with cereals to treat also of pulse-peas and beans—and to describe the principal insects that affect them, especially as some of these crops are liable to be attacked by the same insects. Besides there would hardly have been enough materials for a separate report upon insects injurious to pulse alone, and it is important that their history should be given. A description also of a genus of insects injurious to various kinds of clover is added as being the most important enemies of this order of plants. There are other insects more or less injurious to clover crops, and many others which at times are troublesome to cereal and pulse crops. It would be impossible to include these in a work of this kind, which is intended merely to give a short account of insects that most frequently attack cultivated crops.

Some explanation is necessary as to the arrangement of the monographs in this Report. It would have been

difficult to arrange them alphabetically, or according to the recognised scientific classification of insects, and it has been thought better to group them under the respective headings of Corn and Grass, Peas, Beans, and Clover, and to take the insects in each group as far as possible in the order of their injurious effects.

It may be objected that as the *Julidæ* and the *Vibrio*, or *Tylenchus tritici* are not insects in the scientific acceptation of the term they should not have been included in this series. But these reports are written to convey useful and practical instruction to the cultivators of land, and are not intended to be solely for scientific readers. And it is only following in the footsteps of the great agricultural entomologists John Curtis and Dr. E. L. Taschenberg to describe these creatures destructive to crops in company with true insects. There are other insects which are destructive to the various crops dealt with in this report. It is, however, deemed desirable to treat only of their chief pests, and those which give most trouble, and occasion most loss to cultivators. With regard to these it has been endeavoured to collect all the information that is known about them, and to bring this down to the latest date. It is believed that each monograph is a resume of all that is known of its subject, of its life history, and the means of prevention and remedies against it. It is admitted that in several instances the information is still imperfect, and in compiling this series of reports I have been more than ever impressed with the necessity of enlisting skilled workers in this cause, as well as of urging and encouraging habits of observation among those who superintend the cultivation of the land, and those who work upon it.

CHARLES WHITEHEAD.

Barming House,  
Maidstone,

December 1885

# Insects Injurious to Corn and Grass Crops.

## THE CORN APHIS. *Siphonophora granaria*. Kirby.

### FIG. I.

1, Winged aphis; 2, nat. length and wing-breadth; 3, wingless, mag.; 4, nat. size.; 5, *Aphidius avenæ* (parasite), mag.; 6, nat. length and wing-breadth; 7, *Ephedrus plagiator* (parasite), mag.; 8, nat. length and wing-breadth.

In some seasons this aphis is very injurious to wheat plants. It, with kindred species, is also found upon oats, barley, and rye, but the wheat plant is the chief object of its attack in this country. It is found upon the plants in the early spring, at this time usually in small numbers, wandering about restlessly and singly until the ear is formed, after which time, in favourable conditions, there is a rapid increase in its numbers. The ear, with the sweet juices destined for the support of the forming grains, is evidently its great attraction.

Upon an examination of ears infested with aphides, generations of all sizes, and in all stages—larvæ, pupæ, and perfect insects, commonly known as flies—will be seen actively engaged in sucking the juices from the stems within the ears and from the bases of the grain clusters.

Directly the plant begins to change for ripening and its tissues harden, the aphides cease because they are compelled to cease from active effect upon it, but their excrement and exuviae mixed with "honey-dew"

"Honey dew" is a glutinous sweet liquid secreted by many species of aphides, and ejected by them upon the plants they infest.

hinder respiration, and in a degree affect the development, and tend to spoil the colour of the grains. Aphis affected ears of corn frequently have light and imperfectly shaped grains, and in bad and persistent attacks the sample is thin, shrivelled, and, especially in the case of white wheat, discoloured. In the last season (1885) wheat plants were attacked by aphides in many parts of the country, as were many other agricultural and horticultural crops, with forest and ornamental trees, and in not a few localities much damage was sustained from loss of weight and imperfect shape of the corn, because in the abnormally cold weather in August the plants changed for ripening most slowly, so that the aphides had an unusually protracted time for work.

The com aphis has been long known in this country. Curtis speaks of it as infesting wheat ears in 1797. Serious injury is also caused to wheat plants, as well as to oats, barley, and rye plants in America and Canada

by aphides, which, according to the description of Fitch and Thomas, well-known American entomologists, and of Bethune, in Ontario, appear to belong to the same species as those in this country. A species of aphid is destructive to grain crops in Germany, described by Taschenberg

*Praktische Insekten Kunde*, von Prof. Dr. E. L. Taschenberg.

as identical with the English corn aphid, minutely delineated, with an elaborate illustration, by Buckton in his *Monograph of British Aphides*. As in America and Germany, so in England, aphides are found upon various corn plants and in many kinds of grasses, among which may be mentioned cocks-foot, *Dactylis glomerata*; soft grass, *Holcus lanatus*; some of the Poas; rye grass, *Lolium*, and couch grass, *Triticum repens*.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The life history of this species of aphid, like that of many other species of aphid, is not yet completely clear. It has not yet been accurately ascertained as to whether the continuity of existence is maintained by eggs laid up during the winter, or by hibernating larvæ. It is believed that it is carried on by larvae, because larvae have been seen very early in the spring on the stems of the wheat plants, and upon the stems and blades of couch grass, close to the ground. Drs. C. Thomas and Asa Fitch and other American entomologists have also seen the larvae of this aphid at the roots of wheat plants during the winter, together with the females producing them.

The winged female insect is light brown in colour, with the abdomen green, with legs of a dark yellow hue with black knees and feet. The eyes are red and the cornicles black.

In colour the larvæ or lice—wingless females bringing forth successive generations of live larvae (Fig. I. 3, 4)—differ from the perfect insects, being green or dark green with brown antennæ, having, however, legs of the same shade of yellow and black. Their beaks or rostra are short, as in the case of the perfect insects.

The winged, egg-laying female (Nos. 1, 2) is not developed until late in the season, but winged females bringing forth live larvæ are generated at various times and intervals, as in the case of the hop aphid, *Aphis humuli*, when, as is commonly supposed, the food supply fails and the insects become too thick to thrive.

## PREVENTION.

After an attack of aphides the wheat stubbles should be scarified or cultivated and the rubbish burnt, or the land should at once be deeply ploughed. If the succeeding crop is to be tares, trifolium, potatoes, turnips, or mangels, thorough cleaning and destruction of couch and other grasses would be sufficient. A succeeding white straw crop should be avoided after a bad attack, as the aphides infest all crops of this character. Deep ploughing and thoroughly and deeply burying the stubble might prevent their recurrence. It would be safer to take another crop.

After an attack care should be taken to extirpate grasses and grassy growths from the fields and from the outsides of fields. It is usual in some counties for wheat to follow rye grass and clover ley, one or two years old, after oats, or after wheat. Should aphides have infested the previous oat or wheat crops, they might be carried on, and would probably be carried on, to the next corn crop by the rye grass and other grasses in the leys. This would be detected by observation and if aphides were found measures should be taken to circumvent them by altering the rotation, or by closely feeding the ley with sheep and treading it well before it was ploughed.

It may be suggested here that a strong magnifying lens for the pocket is a necessary part of a practical farmer's equipment in these days when insects are so numerous and rampant, and that it is as requisite to carefully examine the roots and lower stems of plants and the surface soil around them when walking round the farm, as to observe their upper parts within more convenient reach, or as to watch and note the signs of the weather.

## REMEDIES.

Obviously it would be impracticable at all events to farmers generally, to apply remedies for aphides actually *in situ* upon corn plants when in ear. In cases where watchful and well-timed observations have shown that larvæ—lice—were present on the blades and stems close to the ground early in the spring, dressings of soot, guano, gas lime, or agricultural salt would check their progress. Where the plants were not too forward harrowings and rollings would interrupt them considerably. Feeding off with sheep would be remedial where the state of the plants and the condition and nature of the land allowed this to be done.

Lady-birds, *Coccinellæ*, called by the French peasants *Bêtes à Dieu*, or *Vaches à Dieu*, and in Italy *Bestioline del Signore*, are the natural and inveterate destroyers of these and all other species of aphides, as well as of other insects. These should be regarded as sacred by all agriculturists and cultivators of every description. It is firmly believed that they eat fungi also, as they have been found upon hop cones and rose leaves affected with mildew which they appeared to be eating. The enormous benefits conferred upon agriculturists by the

*Coccinellidæ* as devourers both of insects and fungi injurious to crops, and as scavengers of refuse, are described in a most graphic and interesting manner by Professor Forbes, State Entomologist, Illinois, U.S.A., in a paper entitled the *Food Relations of the Carabidæ and Coccinellidæ*.

The grain aphid has fortunately dangerous enemies even more destructive than the lady-birds, in two parasites, Ichneumon Flies, known respectively as *Aphidius Avenæ*. (Fig. I. 5 and 6), and *Ephedras plagiator* (Nos. 7 and 8). These parasitic flies have long ovipositors with which they insert their eggs into the bodies of the aphides. In a short time the eggs become larvæ and feed upon their bodies until nothing but empty skins remain. They lay many eggs and only one in each larva, so that they deal destruction wide-spread among these foes to the wheat crop.

## THE WHEAT MIDGE. *Cecidomyia tritici*. Kirby.

### FIG. II.

1, Floret with larvæ;; 2 to 5, larvæ;, nat. size and mag.; 7 and 8, parts of antenæ, mag.; 9 and 10, perfect insect, nat. size and mag.; 11 and 14, parasite fly, *Pltygaster Tipulæ*, nat. size and mag.; 12 and 13, parasite, *Macroglenes penetrns*, nat. size and mag.

In most seasons quantities of these midges—tiny flies—are seen late in the evening flying near wheat fields in the early part of June, just at the time when the wheat ears are beginning to appear. Later on many will be found within the wheat ears, evidently depositing eggs there. These change quickly into maggots which may be seen with their heads thrust into the stigmata of the flowers of the wheat plants. It is supposed by Köllar and some other entomologists that they live upon the pollen after it has been shed from the anthers, but Professor Henslow considers it more probable that they subsist upon the juices secreted in the ovary; and there can be no doubt that they do suck out the sap from this and the adjacent parts of the flower, thereby hindering the perfect development of the grains. The prejudicial effect of this insect was first noticed in England by Mr. C. Gullet, and described in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1772. Mr. Marsham, the Secretary of the Linnæan Society, investigated this subject in the *Proceedings of the Linnæan Society* in 1796.

Very much injury is frequently occasioned by the *Cecidomyia tritici*. Curtis speaks of it as very destructive to wheat crops as far back as 1828. Professor Henslow gives instances where ears of corn were found having only very few perfect grains within them, and he quotes Kirby as stating that in a certain field of wheat the loss was equal to a twentieth part of the crop. He also gives an instance of a third part of the crop being lost, in Perthshire. Other observers have found larvæ of these midges in almost every ear they have examined in certain fields. Mr. C. S. Read, in his *Report on the Farming of Oxfordshire* in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, says that in 1858 "the damage caused by the wheat midge was something fearful." More recently it has been very destructive occasionally. In 1883 and 1884 it caused considerable losses in wheat fields in various parts of the country, particularly in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Kent. It is supposed that it was first introduced into this country in Kent, and that it came from France originally, where it is much dreaded. M. Herpin, a distinguished French entomologist, says that it is a native of France. M. Rendu describes it at some length in his *Insectes Nuisibles à l'Agriculture*, under the head of *La Cécidomie des blés*. Taschenberg says that it is well known to agriculturists as doing much harm to wheat plants in Germany, while in America it is even more harmful than in England. Professor Lintner remarks that steps have been taken in America for the importation of wheat midge parasites from France in order to check this pest. It is gathered from various reports of entomologists to the Commissioners of Agriculture in Canada that the wheat midge is often very troublesome in that country.

In this last season, 1885, several complaints have been sent as to injury from this insect, and samples have come to hand containing quantities of larvæ and showing serious damage. One sample of Square-head from Bedfordshire was especially affected. Samples of *Velvet White* and *Red Lammas*, from Kent and Hants, were also much affected. Miss Ormerod, among other affected samples, received one of *Essex Wonder* very full indeed of larvæ and imperfect grains, and relates that Golden Drop wheat plants growing in an adjoining field were comparatively free from injury.

This midge is also found upon couch grass and upon other grasses in England as well as in France, in Germany, and America. Mr. Carruthers, the consulting botanist of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, reports that he has found its larvæ in the heads of meadow foxtail, *Alopecurus pratensis*, to the considerable injury of the seed.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect (Nos. 9 and 10) is of a pale yellowish colour, with six legs. Its wings are of a light

yellow. It has a remarkably long ovipositor, and its antenna; are hairy. It appears first about the second week in June and places its eggs in the ears in a somewhat remarkable manner as soon as they are put forth. The fly rests upon one of the florets of the ear and deposits its tiny yellow eggs within the sheaths or husks, hereafter to be chaff, of the corolla, and close to the embryonic grain, by means of a long tube projected from its body. The female lays from ten to twenty eggs.

The larvæ (Nos. 2 to 5) appear in about eight days. At first they are yellow. After a time they become more of an orange tint as they approach the pupa stage. At this time M. Rendu and M. Bazin state they have the power of springing to the ground from the ears, and Köllar says that they have powers of jumping.

Naturgeschichte der Schädlichen Insekten, von V. Köllar.

It is certain that the greater part of them get to the ground in some way, either by springing or falling down. They bury themselves about an inch in the soil and are then transformed into pupæ, in which state they remain until the end of April or the beginning of May, according to the circumstances of season and the general surroundings. Some of the late hatched larvae remain in the ears of corn by the hardening of the chaff, in ripening. These are carried with the corn into ricks and barns and are thrashed out with the wheat, and if they are placed afterwards in suitable conditions they turn to pupæ and produce flies in due time. The larvæ have great vitality, and though they may seem to be quite dried up and dead they will revive upon being placed in water. In 1881 upon taking in a wheat stack enormous quantities of these larvæ were found in the chaff, and a good deal of the corn was thin and light. There must have been as many as six gallons of the larvae in the box under the "seed" sieve of the thrashing machine. In the early summer numbers of tiny flies, or midges, may be seen hovering over any lumps of chaff, or "cavings," that may have been left in rick-yards or places where corn has been thrashed in the fields. It is supposed that pairing takes place directly the flies come from the pupæ.

It has been thought by some entomologists that the *Cecidomyia* on first emerging from the pupa stage lays eggs in various grasses, and that it is the broods from these which infest the wheat. Though this has not been proved, it is most probable that two or more broods are produced in each season.

## PREVENTION.

The sole practical means of prevention is to cultivate the wheat stubble, or "gratten," as it is called in Kent, directly the corn is carried, where the crop has been affected, so as to bury the larvæ deep in the ground. A dressing of hot lime might be applied with good results, but in this case the land should be very lightly scarified with one of Coleman's lightest scarifiers in order to bring the lime into close contact with the larvae. After some days the land should be deeply ploughed to bury them and effectually prevent further transformation, at least to the imago form. Couch grass must be eradicated and hedge-sides and out-sides of fields carefully brushed. It should be remarked here that brushing hedge-sides and all outsides, grassy roads, waste corners, and headlands should be done systematically, twice if possible, once early, before grasses seed and insects hatch out, and again in the autumn when insects are hibernating upon grasses and hedge-side and outside rubbish, either as perfect insects or in the egg stage. And it is of not much use merely to brush, the rubbish should be burnt or carried away to be mixed.

As a proportion of the larvæ in some seasons remain in the ears and are taken to the ricks and barns it is most important that the chaff, after the corn is thrashed and cleaned, which is not wanted for the horses, should be burnt or put in a mixen or under cattle in yards. The "cavings" and rubbish from barn-floors, rick staddles, and where the thrashing machine has stood should be similarly treated. "Cavings" and chaff should not be suffered to lie about in rick-yards and corners of fields, or at least not after March.

In Philadelphia, Maine, Massachusetts, and other American States, after a bad attack of *Cecidomyia*, the farmers give up putting in winter wheat and sow spring wheat, which does not come into ear until after the flies have ceased to a great extent from troubling. But this would not answer in this country, as late sown spring wheat and wheat coming late into ear are not satisfactory, and spring wheat sown at the right time is not much later in flowering than winter sown wheat. In Canada the farmers make large fires round corn fields to stifle the flies or to drive them from the neighbourhood.

## REMEDIES.

Under this head there is hardly any suggestion that can be made of any practical value. Agriculturists will see at once that it would be very difficult, if not almost impracticable, to apply lime or any such substance to check or kill the larvæ when the wheat plants are in ear. Even if they were applied it is questioned whether they would be of much avail. Fortunately, however, the *Cecidomyia*, like so many insects injurious to crops, has natural and relentless enemies. Two of these especially tend to diminish, and even entirely to stay its attacks in some years; viz., the *Platygaster tipulæ*, Nos. 11 and 14, and the *Macroglenes penetrans*, Nos. 12 and 13.

These are species of Proctotrupidæ and Chalcididæ, families of parasites which live on other insects. The first named of these lays its eggs within the eggs of the Cecidomyia, being enclosed in a very long thread-like tube three or four times its own length, which is projected from its abdomen for the purpose of reaching and penetrating the eggs of its victim lying within the florets of the ear. The other, *Macroglenes penetrans*, having a comparatively short ovipositor, puts its eggs within the bodies of the larvæ of the midges. The eggs soon change to larvæ, which make short work of the carcasses of their hosts.

## **THE BARLEY MIDGE. *Cecidomyia Cerealis*. *Tipula Cerealis*. Sauter.**

This is another species of Cecidomyia peculiar to barley plants, whose stems and leaves it attacks. It is larger than the *Ceci-domyia tritici*, and of a reddish brown colour. The larva is much larger and of a red colour. The same means of prevention are applicable as in the case of the *Cecidomyia tritici*.

## **THE RIBBON-FOOTED CORN FLY. *Chlorops tæniopus*. Curtis.**

### **FIG. III.**

2, Fly of *Chlorops tæniopus*, nat. size; 3, same map.; 4, 5, 6, larvæ and pupa; map. and nat. size; 7 and 8, parasite Fly, *Calinius Niger*, nat. size and mag.; 9 and 10, *Pteromalus Micans*, parasite Fly, nat. size and mag.; 1, 11, and 12, stem of corn plant with larvæ *in situ*.

This fly is often most injurious to wheat, barley, and rye plants. It is called ribbon-footed because it has a band of light hue upon its dark feet. It is of a yellowish colour, with dark brown bands running down its back, and is thick and inelegant in shape. The larva or grub, the cause of the injury, is light yellow with a pointed head with rows of points placed diagonally upon the upper part of the body, and without legs, yet having considerable powers of locomotion. This grub, about the eighth of an inch in length, bites its way down the stems of corn plants, from the base of the ear to the first joint, causing the disorder known to agriculturists as gout in the joints, from the swollen and distorted growth of the stems and sheathing leaves. It has been noticed that stems of wheat having these larvæ within them rarely develop ears containing perfect grains. Barley plants also suffer in some seasons from these *Chlorops* maggots, which appear directly the plants begin to stock out, and burrowing in the stem hinder the formation of ears. Miss Ormerod states that in 1841 the barley crop in Lancashire was very seriously affected by their attacks. Again, in 1845, from half to two-thirds of this crop was destroyed in various localities in the east of England by the *Chlorops*. This insect is known and dreaded in America, Germany, and France.

### **LIFE HISTORY.**

The perfect insect, the fly, makes its appearance usually about the beginning of May and lays eggs, one or two white eggs at a time, on the outsides of the leaves of the corn plants enwrapping the shoots containing the embryonic ears. The larva is hatched in a few days after the deposition of the eggs, and pushes into the shoot in which it forms burrows, making for the ear upon whose sweet juices it feeds. In due course, and generally after the plant has become irretrievably injured, the larva becomes a pupa and the perfect stage is assumed about the beginning of August. The pupa is of a darker, more of an orange, yellow than the larva, and has a hard stiff case. It is yet a moot point as to the form in which, and where, the winter is passed. Taschenberg holds that there are two generations, that of the winter and that of the summer, and that the flies found in August lay eggs upon grasses from which larvae are hatched, and thus pass the winter in the stalks, and penetrate even to the crown of the roots for shelter. Curtis also thinks this is probable.

### **PREVENTION.**

Clean farming and high farming are, as in many cases, the principal means of prevention. The first tends to prevent the propagation of the corn flies by the removal of weeds and grasses in the fields, and by the sides of fields. The second tends to make the plants vigorous and healthy and less liable to be attacked. Though these are flies, having ample wings, it would seem that they do not get very far from their birth places, or winter retreats, except when carried away in harvested corn; therefore cultivating stubbles and removing rubbish, and deep ploughing after a bad attack would tend especially to prevent a recurrence. Where corn stems are badly affected with gout, the straw, ears, "cavings," and chaff should be examined for the presence of flies and larvæ, and dealt with if these are present. After a bad attack, if the sheaves of wheat and barley are shaken when taken



from the rick, many of these insects will fall from the cars and straw. Care should be taken in these cases to destroy all the rubbish, after taking in, or thrashing a rick.

Small fields of corn, and those surrounded with hedges and ditches are far more liable to be attacked by the Chlorops than large corn fields far from possible shelter. Wet places in fields are most liable to be attacked by this insect, therefore drainage is essential for this as for every other consideration. In one instance a farmer had the plants in a wheat field infested with Chlorops pulled up and carried away and burnt. Affected plants are easily seen, and may be pulled up without difficulty, but the expense would be considerable.

## REMEDIES.

Remedial measures are obviously almost impracticable. The onslaught of the Chlorops comes usually at a time when it is difficult to deal with the corn plants in any way likely to dislodge or to destroy it. When the attack is noticed early, and this requires careful and constant observation, dressings of stimulating manure would force the plants along rapidly. But this, of course, could not be done safely or easily after they had got high. Blading, or "flagging," the plants when an attack threatened to be severe, if done promptly and before they were too far advanced, would remove many eggs.

## PARASITES.

Nature, in this dilemma, comes to the assistance of the farmer when he can hardly help himself, with timely parasites which feed upon the Chlorops' larvæ. These are, first, *C ælinius Niger* (Nos. 7 and 8), a dark brown fly, nearly the fourth of an inch in length, rather larger than the Chlorops. It lays an egg in the body of the Chlorops' larva, and changing into a larva lives upon it. Having eaten the contents of the body of its host it becomes a pupa, and soon after a perfect insect, flying to fresh fields and pastures new. Second, *Pteromalus micans*, so called because of its refulgent green colour. This parasite, Nos. 9 and 10, about the size of the Chlorops, or rather less than the sixth of an inch in length, also places an egg in the body of each Chlorops' larva, and becoming a larva in a very short time lives upon its substance, and reduces it to a mere empty skin. The *Pteromalus* is fortunately very plentiful.

## THE LINED CORN FLY. *Chlorops lineata*.

This is another species of Chlorops almost identical in appearance with the *Chlorops tæniopus*, as well as in its destructiveness to corn crops. It is, however, found most frequently upon barley plants. The remarks above as to the life history, means of prevention, remedies, and parasites apply equally to this insect.

## THE CORN SAW-FLY. *Cephus pygmæus*. Curtis.

### FIG. IV.

1. The fly, mag.; 2. Length and breadth across wings; 3. Corn stem with larva *in situ*; 4 and 5. Larva nat. size and mag.; 6. Its parasite, *Pachymerus calcitrator*, mag.; 7. Length and breadth across wings.

This is one of the very numerous species of the family of *Tenthredinidæ*, or saw-flies, of the order Hymenoptera. Many of these species are most destructive to farm crops-corn, turnips, grasses, fruit trees,-and to forest trees. This species, *Cephus pygmæus*, or rather its larva, lives within the stems of wheat, and other corn plants more rarely, and sometimes gives rise to considerable mischief. It is said by Curtis that it occasionally attacks rye plants very seriously. French and German entomologists report that this *Cephus* is destructive both to rye and wheat plants, not unfrequently causing the loss of a fiftieth, or even a sixtieth, part of the crop.

Grave complaints of injuries were made to me from Gloucestershire, Cheshire, and Worcestershire in 1883 and 1884. It was mentioned that in several wheat fields from twenty to thirty per cent. of the stems had become yellow, not yellow as of ripening straw, but a pale sickly yellow, while the other plants had not begun to change, and would not in the natural course change colour for some time. Several stems were sent for examination. The ears of these had no signs of grains in them. Upon cutting down these stems it was discovered that the knots or joints had all been bored or pierced through, and the inner membranous substance of the stem had plainly been eaten away, which had made the stem prematurely blanched or etiolated. Near the foot stalks legless, or apparently legless, maggots were found nearly white, but in some cases rather inclining to cream colour. Later on more specimens of affected corn stems were sent; in these it was seen that the stem had been cut round just above the ground, and the farmers who forwarded them said that much of the straw had broken off at the base of the stalk and was lying upon the ground, and that the fields looked as if a flock of sheep or

other animals had been driven through them, because so much of the straw was broken and lying on the ground. Various accounts of similar damage have been sent from time to time. Fortunately the injuries of this insect have not hitherto been very generally extensive.

## LIFE HISTORY.

This *Cephus pygmæus* in its perfect form presents the appearance of a tiny wasp. Its body is nearly black. The legs of the male are chiefly yellow. Those of the female are ochreous with thighs black, except at their upper parts, and feet mainly brown. The wings are transparent, with dark articulations. About a dozen eggs are laid by each female, which deposits them singly in the steins of the plants, not far from the forming ear, whose situation is calculated with wonderful instinct. To effect this tiny slits are made in the outer cuticle of the stem by means of a wonderful apparatus consisting of a double set of saws, like carpenter's fine saws, as they have been described by Professor Westwood, with which the abdomen of the female is furnished. When the slit has been made the ovipositor is inserted, so that the egg is thrust deeply into the inner membrane of the stem. After ten days the larva appears. It is of a white, or creamy white shade of colour, shaped like a caterpillar (Nos. 4 and 5), having upon microscopical investigation six most rudimentary thoracic feet. In this respect this genus differs from other saw flies, whose larvæ are furnished with many feet. It has very strong jaws adapted for biting; with these it bores through the knots, devours the internal tissues of the stem, and gradually makes its way down to the bottom of the stalk; this it proceeds to cut through almost level with the ground, but a little distance above its chosen resting place on the crown of the root, where it spins a fine web, and soon puts on the pupa state, in which it remains until the spring ensuing. The perfect insect is seen first in the beginning of May.

## PREVENTION.

It is obvious that as the pupa passes the winter in the lower part of the stems of the wheat plant, the stems or stubble should be got off from corn land when injury has been sustained on account of this insect. This may be done by well working the ground with scarifiers, or cultivators, with sharp, broad tines or plates, so as to cut up all the stubble. This should be burnt at once. To plough the ground deeply immediately after the harvest would be effectual, if care were taken to bury all the stubble.

## REMEDIES.

Again, as in the case of other insects productive of similar harm to corn crops, there is no practical remedy which farmers can adopt. There is a natural enemy in the form of a parasite Ichneumon fly, known as *Pachymerus calcirator* (No. 6 and 7). This is about the same size as the *Cephus*, dark coloured, with a long exerted ovipositor as in most of these species of insects. With this it places its eggs in the bodies of the larvæ of the *Cephus*, from which eggs larvae are soon developed. These quickly eat up the victimised entertainers of strangers unawares.

## THE FRIT, FLY. *Oscinis vastator*. Curtis.

### FIG. V.

12 and 13, *Oscinis vastator*, nat. size and mag.; 8 and 7, larvæ, nat. length and mag.; 10 and 11, pupæ, length and mag.; 6, 5, and 9, larvæ; in stem of corn plant.

This is another small fly, of the family Oscinides, as defined by Westwood, which works in a somewhat similar manner to the *Cephus pygmæus*. Curtis gives it the designation *Vastator* because of its serious injuries, and he considered it a far worse enemy to cereal crops than the *Cephus* or the *Chlorops tæniopus*. He says that the ten or twelve stalks of corn he opened were filled only with powder at the base, every portion of the young ear being consumed; the destruction was complete.

The larvæ of this fly burrow within the stems of cereal plants and live upon their parenchyma or internal tissues, and utterly prevent the development of the ears.

Serious injuries are often occasioned by this insect in America, France, Germany, and Sweden.

Specimens of wheat plants were sent me from Worcestershire in 1883 in the first week in June, in which it was seen that the inner leaves or blades were yellow or light brown, and were manifestly dying. The farmer who sent these reported that many of the plants in the field from which these were taken were similarly affected. Upon searching a tiny yellowish maggot was discovered at the lower part of the stem, as shown by Nos. 5 and 9. The blades were yellow or brownish at the tips and could be easily pulled away from the stem. It

was clear that in a short time the whole of the stem would have been rendered unfruitful and useless. Other affected plants were sent later on, in which the larvae of the Oscinis had completely destroyed the nascent ear, and had left nothing within the stems but a little dust.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect fly is greenish black, with a somewhat shiny appearance. It comes first at the beginning of May, and deposits eggs upon the underside of the leaves. When the larvæ are hatched they make their way speedily into the hearts of the stems. They are whitish maggots (Nos. 7 and 9). As the pupæ (Nos. 10 and 11) have been found in wheat stems in the middle of June, it is supposed that there are two broods during the year, and that the second brood again attack the wheat plants or grasses.

## PREVENTION.

As it is believed that the pupæ hibernate in the stems of wheat plants and grasses, it is important that all stubble, weeds, and rubbish should be burnt or ploughed in deeply under the soil.

## THE CRANE FLY (DADDY LONG-LEGS). *Tipula oleracea*. Linn

### FIG. VI.

1, larva; 2, empty pupa case; 3, perfect insect; 4, eggs.

Every one knows this long-legged awkward fly, called Daddy Long-legs. It is also known as the Crane fly, as Curtis says, on account of its beaked head. It is a general destroyer of crops, and an omnivorous feeder upon farm and garden productions, attacking all kinds of corn, grass, turnips, mangels, clover, peas, cabbages, strawberries, and others. There is also another and a smaller species known as *Tipula maculosa*, or the spotted Crane fly, having spots on its body, which is injurious to various crops. Its habits and history are similar to those of the *Tipula oleracea*, and the methods of prevention and remedies against it are the same. There has been a large increase of these insects during the past few years, and the injury caused to corn crops in England and Scotland has been very great. The wet summer season previous to 1880 favoured their propagation, as they delight in moisture and revel in damp, marshy, boggy places, in which they prefer to deposit their eggs.

It is the larvæ or grubs that injure plants of corn and grass by attacking them with their strong jaws and eating into them just beneath the surface of the ground, so as either to kill them or to make them weak and sickly. In the early spring, if wheat plants which show signs of failing are examined, large ashgrey grubs, or maggots, will often be found close to the affected plants. Oats and barley are equally liable to harm from these grubs, not perhaps quite to such an extent as autumn sown wheat, and especially wheat sown after clover leys. One instance may be given here of serious loss in a large wheat field in Kent after clover ley, well ploughed and duly pressed, with a deal of sward turned in. The plant which was forward and very vigorous looked like yielding five quarters per acre. In February it began to fail, but the actual cause was not ascertained until the middle of March, too late for any effectual remedies. Only about four sacks per acre were obtained from this field. A field of oats sown on the 1st of March, after clover, was attacked by these grubs. Although it was an even strong plant it was soon nearly half devoured, and instead of nine quarters per acre being obtained, as might have been expected from the state of the land and the circumstances of its cultivation, and the produce of other land hard by, only about four quarters per acre were grown. It is computed that the loss in this case amounted to 80*l*. Upon a farm in Essex, in 1882, the bean crop was materially reduced by an attack of these Crane Fly grubs; and on a market garden farm near Rainham, in Essex, early peas were almost entirely ruined by them. Grave complaints of great injury and of heavy losses to corn have been rife from many parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland during the last six years.

Pastures have also suffered alarmingly in some places. The grubs seem to select the best and most succulent grasses and those of upright growth, such as cocksfoot, *Dactylis glomerata*. In pastures and meadows the amount of damage done by these insects cannot be estimated, as so much of it is unseen and unknown. It is stated that in pasture land known to be attacked by them as many as two hundred grubs have been taken from a square foot of turf. In 1884 Lord's Cricket Ground was seriously injured by the grubs of the Daddy Long-legs.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The life history of the Crane flies, both of the *Tipula oleracea* and its close congener *Tipula maculosa*, is simple. The eggs are small oval, conical grains, shining and black as ebony, as Curtis writes, forming a mass

which occupies nearly the whole of the abdomen. As many as three hundred have been found in one female. These are deposited in the autumn upon grass and herbage, and more frequently in the ground. Wet undrained meadows and marshy and damp places are preferred by these insects, and the conditions of such spots are probably favourable to the preservation, and the ultimate hatching, of the eggs. This hatching takes place in the early spring, directly the weather becomes mild. Taschenberg reports that they have been found as early as January and February in mild winters.

Miss Ormerod relates that they may be found as early as February, for in 1880 they were destroying hundreds of acres of autumn sown wheat on heavy land, after clover, at that date. After hatching, the maggots, or larvae, grow fast until they become an inch in length (No. 1). Labourers call them "leather jackets" because of their tough skins. Their colour is of the earth, with a slight dash of grey or ash colour in it. Although they have no legs they are able to move rapidly from place to place and burrow in the ground. It is in this grub form that they do mischief to crops, and they remain in this stage of their existence until the beginning of July, at which period they change into pupæ under the surface of the soil. After a while the pupae work their way up to the light by means of the hooks or recurved spines shown at No. 2, and in a short time the Crane flies appear, and soon unfold their long wings and fly away to commence a new series. Most persons are acquainted with these insects in their perfect forms, but it may be stated that the females are about an inch long, with wings two inches across. Their colour is light brown; they have six legs, and a long tapering body, with nine divisions or segments. The male insects are not so large as the females. Pairing takes place in the beginning of August. In fields and meadows infested with Crane flies thousands of empty pupa cases can be seen sticking half out of the ground. It should be mentioned that in some seasons the flies may be seen as late as October.

## PREVENTION.

Spots where there are long inter-twisted herbage and weed growth, wet ditches, the wet sides of hedgerows, and damp headlands, undrained meadows, and marshes, are congenial habitations of the Crane flies. These being their head-quarters and chief breeding places, an obvious means of prevention is to keep ditches well brushed and cleaned out, to abolish hedgerows where possible, or to keep them well and closely trimmed up, also to drain wet land. Wetness and decay, as is affirmed by Miss Ormerod, Curtis, Taschenberg, and Kaltenbach,

Die Pflanzenfeinde aus der Klasse der Insekten, von. J. H. Kaltenbach.

are natural to them, and long immersion in water does not destroy their eggs.

In very many instances the attack of Crane flies upon field crops is where these follow clover or artificial grasses, whose herbage has served as shelter for the eggs. The necessity of keeping clover and other leys down close before they are ploughed cannot be too strongly urged, not only as a means of prevention against crane flies, but also against many other injurious insects. However well ploughed, however well pressed down the land may be, some eggs will be left in circumstances in which they can be hatched out if there are long stalks and much herbage. It is also important to plough leys early in order that the eggs may be buried deeply, so that they may be prevented from changing into larvæ. It goes almost without saying that weed growth in fields serves equally as a harbour for the eggs. The clean and careful fanner, as a rule, is not so liable to attacks from insects as he who is slovenly. As the eggs and the grubs of these flies are without doubt carried out on to the land in farm yard manure it is very desirable to keep old mixens clear from weeds, and to turn mixens that have laid some time three weeks or so before they are carted out, that the eggs and grubs may be destroyed by the renewed heating. Old mixens are a very fertile source of insect attacks of many other kinds. Weeds should not be allowed upon them. They should never be carried out when their heat has been long exhausted. But old mixens are altogether a mistake from all points of view.

## REMEDIES.

In the case of wheat plants suffering from a bad attack of Crane fly grubs the following treatment was adopted with much success in 1883. Early in February the grubs were found at work in numbers in a strong piece of wheat, after clover. It was horse hoed well and side hoed as soon as the land was dry enough for these operations. A few days afterwards two hundredweights of nitrate of soda were put on and a heavy roller was applied. This checked the grubs and gave time to the plants to grow away and produce a fair crop, though the grubs were very numerous as seen at first.

In 1882 a field of wheat was losing plant fast at the beginning of March. One and a half cwts. of nitrate of soda mixed with four cwts. of soot were broadcasted over the plants, and as the soil was a little unkindly it was ring rolled both ways. Growth was stimulated. The soil was pressed well round the plants. Eventually a crop of four and a half quarters was grown. Oats attacked badly have been much helped by hand hoeings and

horse-hoeings, and dressings of soot, salt, and nitrate of soda, and guano. Frequent horse-hoeings at the right time have materially benefited peas and beans which appeared to be giving way fast. Hand picking by women and boys following hoers where labour is plentiful has been of great service. In market garden farms and market gardens crops have been saved by careful hand picking, also by means of stimulating manures hoed in. Chemical manures act as deterrents, but obviously it is difficult in large fields and in large cultivation to get them directly in the paths of the grubs. Applications should, if it is practicable, be sprinkled up the drills or rows of plants instead of being broadcasted in the usual way, in order that the application may be close to the grubs; not that these act directly upon their leathern jackets, but they are offensive to them.

Moles, rooks, starlings, peewits, plovers, and gulls are natural remedial agents, devouring these grubs wholesale, and should be encouraged and protected.

## **THE WIREWORM. *Elater lineatus*. Linn. *Agriotes segetis*. Westwood.**

### **FIG. VII.**

1, Length, and breadth across wings of perfect insect; 2, mag.; 3, larva; 4, mag.

The wireworm, the larva of the *Elater lineatus*, of the order *Coleoptera*, division *Herrieomes*, family *Elateridæ*, is an universal crop destroyer, and may fairly be held to be the first and foremost insect enemy of farmers and gardeners. It has already been described in the first part of this series of Reports as greatly injuring hop plants. It is even more injurious to corn crops of all descriptions as well as to grasses.

There are several species which also feed upon the roots and stems of corn plants and grasses, among other crops, but the wireworm proper, the arch enemy, the typical destroyer of the race is the *Elater lineatus*, known also as *Elater segetis* and *Agriotes segetis*. Its larva is larger than that of other species and is well known to all cultivators as long, yellow, and tough-skinned, almost as tough as wire, from which its familiar name is derived. This insect is known in America, Germany, and indeed in all Continental countries.

Upon light soils it is usually more abundant and destructive, though in some seasons it has been most troublesome in the Fens of Lincolnshire and in the clay soils of Essex. In the friable chalk soil in certain districts of Wilts, Dorset, Hants, and East Kent corn and other crops often suffer severely from its ravages.

The attacks of wireworms are always more frequent and serious in districts where clover leys form a part of crop rotation, and especially where these remain down two or more years, also where sainfoin is grown, in which case the land usually remains laid down from two to five years. It often happens that wheat after sainfoin ley ploughed and pressed in the ordinary manner loses plant disastrously and yields but little corn. To take an instance in East Kent in 1882. Ten acres of land after sainfoin were sown with wheat in October. Even before Christmas, as the weather was mild, it was noticed that the plant was getting thin and that it got small by degrees and beautifully less, and it was finally reduced to less than half a plant, the other having been eaten by wireworms. After this crop trifolium was taken and cut for horses and cattle. Turnips followed and were very much damaged by wireworms, so that the farmer estimated his losses upon this field in the two years at over 90%.

Oat plants suffer even worse than wheat plants, because the wireworm works more actively in the spring when oats are sown, so that the plants have less chance to grow away from them. Large bare places may be seen in many oat fields particularly in light land counties in almost every season, in which upon examination wireworms may be seen at work in numbers. Barley plants are also very liable to receive injuries from wireworm. Curtis relates that a certain farmer employed boys to pick wireworms from an infested barley field, and that 18,000 were collected on 1½ acres.

In short, in England, Scotland, and Ireland the wireworm is a continual source of harm to corn crops of all descriptions. This insect also does much mischief in pasture land and meadows, often undiscovered and unsuspected. The finer grasses especially are chosen, and their stems and root crowns are bored into and eaten away by the wireworms. In the case of newly sown grasses very much and irreparable damage is caused. Failure of grass seeds to take and form pastures in due time is more often occasioned by these larvæ than is dreamed of. Many complaints have been made of mischief to beans. It appears that the wireworms attack these directly the seed has become soft and has commenced to send forth radicles and plumules. The mode of procedure of these wireworms is to fix their heads into the soft parts of the stem just at its junction with the crown, and with their horny jaws to bite away the tissues so that the stem dies, being bitten through and through, or so much bitten that the sap circulation is arrested.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect, or beetle, is of a tawny brown colour, having stripes or lines upon the elytra or wing cases. The body has also lines upon it. In this state it is believed that the beetles do no harm to crops. They may be seen in May flying, especially in damp places, and resting upon weeds and plants. Towards the end of June pairing takes place and the females helped by their long narrow shape place their nearly round, minute, white eggs on the stems of grasses, weeds, and the stalks of corn plants, close to the ground, as Curtis says, between the enveloping leaves or sheaths near the bases of the stalks. From the eggs larvæ are produced, of very small size, which grow slowly, and finally attain a length of about an inch. They are yellowish, having six thoracic legs, with their bodies divided into twelve segments, looking like coats of mail or the plates of an ironclad, under the microscope. There are dark coloured marks upon the terminal segment, characteristic of this species according to Westwood. The mandibles or jaws of the larvæ are perfectly adapted for gnawing roots and stems. Curtis states that these jaws are sometimes so worn at an advanced age that the apex is rounded, and the smaller teeth have entirely disappeared.

The larvæ remain in the ground, devouring what root, or stem, or bulb food may come in their way, for several years. Five years is the extreme limit according to some entomologists. Others say more. Miss Ormerod thinks that the limit is determined to some extent by the supply of food, and without doubt the quantity and quality of the available food much influence their life duration.

Before assuming the pupa state the wireworms go down deep into the earth for their transformation, which is accomplished in about a fortnight, and the perfect insects come from the ground. There is no cocoon enwrapping the pupa. Taschenberg is of opinion that some of the pupæ may remain in *statu quo* during the winter, but Bjerkander, the great authority upon these insects, does not support this, neither does Curtis.

## PREVENTION.

First and foremost among means of prevention is the abolition of weeds from the land and from the outsides of fields. This has been recognised and adopted long ago by some agriculturists, for we find the following passage in Vol. XV. of the Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, in an essay upon the farming of light land, which is always more liable to attacks of wireworm. "There is a farm in the neighbourhood of Guildford" which presents an instance of a perfectly clean farm, and kept "so by deep ploughing, unsparing use of horse and hand hoes. "It has often been remarked that root crops and corn are un-"molested by wireworms upon this farm. The owner asserts "that he starved them long ago by growing no weeds to sustain "them in the absence of a crop."

The habits of this insect do not take it far from its birthplace. It evidently prefers in its perfect state to crawl or climb on plants and weeds, and it may be constantly seen in the summer crawling on the ground in meadows and leys, and the duration of its life in this stage is most limited. In districts subject to wireworm clover leys should not be kept down two years. After the first cut of clover or "seeds" sheep should be put on and the herbage kept closely fed down until the autumn. Sainfoin should be omitted from the rotations in these circumstances until the wireworms have been starved out.

Following a bad attack in wheat, oat, and barley crops in which damage is plain and manifest (whereas in turnip and other bulb crops and grass it is by no means so apparent, and the presence of wireworms often passes undetected) a winter fallow is strongly recommended. It is highly important that the land should be scarified or cultivated immediately after harvest and kept moved as long as the weather will allow, that no roots or stems may be permitted to live. As soon as it is possible in the spring the soil should be again stirred and weed growth stopped. Tares may be sown then. Wireworms do not attack this crop for some reason. If there are doubts as to whether the enemies have been starved out a crop of mustard should be taken, either for folding off or for sailing. Wireworms cannot eat these plants, and if plenty of seed is put on so that there may be a thick plant, all weed and other growth is completely checked.

For oats after wheat on fields suspected of harbouring wireworms thorough cultivation immediately after the wheat has been carried, and a rigid destruction of all growth in the soil would be efficacious, in at least reducing the numbers of the destroyers. When barley is taken after wheat this course would be more likely to be effectual, since this grain may be sown in most districts much later than oats. It would be better still to put peas in after the wheat, late and after thorough cultivation, as wireworms, as at present believed, do not do much injury to this crop. But if the land is foul and full of water grass, couch, and other weeds, it would pay over and over again to give it a summer fallow with continual scarifying and cleaning.

## REMEDIES.

If wheat plants show signs of wireworm attack soon after they are up in November, from forty to fifty bushels of soot should be put on per acre, or seven or eight cwts. of gas lime. These and other applications of the same nature often tend to dislodge the wireworms and keep them away from the plants, as they feed just under the ground in the slightly bulbed bases of the stems, a little above the crown of the roots. A little nitrate of soda might be put on advantageously to stimulate the plants. In the winter, unless the season is mild, the wireworms do not trouble the wheat plants, but they commence operations again upon the first indications of spring. Directly therefore the land can be got upon it should be well rolled down with plain and ring rollers to compress the soil tightly round the plants. Nitrate of soda, or sulphate of ammonia, or guano should be applied at this time to force the plants along quickly. Treading light "hover" wheat land with sheep is useful occasionally, and beneficial to the plants in some circumstances. It is supposed that treading and rolling the land kill the wireworms, but this is a mistake, for these processes merely press the earth down firmly close to the plants, thereby hindering the movements of the insects; these are much too tough to be killed in this way.

When oats and barley are attacked the land should be well rolled, and dressings of stimulating manures put on before the rollings. Crops of these grains have been saved by broadcasting from six to eight cwts. of ground rape cake upon them. wireworms are particularly fond of this, and it takes their attention entirely from the plants which, in the meantime, can grow away from them. It was commonly believed formerly that rape cake killed the wireworms in some mysterious manner, but this is a complete delusion. If the ground be searched after such dressings of rape cake it will be found that the pieces are full of wireworms. Rape cake, however, should only be applied when other remedial measures have failed, and when it is necessary to attract the wireworms from the plants, for there is no doubt that the ultimate effect of rape cake is to greatly encourage the insects, as is the case in hop land.

When land is laid down with grass if there is any suspicion that wireworms are present it is most desirable to sow rape with the grass seeds to employ the wireworms until the young grasses have got away from them in some degree. In this case spring sowing is best. When newly sown grass plants are getting thin from the attacks of wireworms rape cake must be put on at once.

In meadow land beset with wireworms heavy and constant rollings are essential, with dressings of five or six cwts. of salt, or of from fourteen to twenty cwts. of gas lime, or fifty to seventy bushels of soot per acre. Liquid manure is also effectual in keeping them off, if plentifully used, and folding sheep.

The natural enemies of the wireworm are fortunately many. Rooks search for and devour them greedily. Their practised eyes note the "worm i' the bud," and they quickly detect the ailing plant and extract the cause of the evil. No doubt they pull up plants of corn in their search, but in all probability the plants they pull up would have died, and the wireworms are prevented from doing further mischief. It is believed that rooks do incalculable good; they should on no account be driven from corn or other cropped fields, except when the corn is sprouting and when it is ripening. Starlings do infinite good in meadow land. Plovers, peewits, gulls, and jays also eat wireworms with avidity. Moles love them dearly and should be carefully pre-served. All practical entomologists agree that moles render incalculable service to farmers by their wholesale destruction of the wireworms and many other larvæ which cause havoc among crops.

## **THE COCKCHAFER, OR MAY BUG. *Melontha vulgaris*. Stephons.**

### **FIG. VIII. FIG. A. FIG. B.**

Fig. A., perfect insect, nat. size; Fig. B., larra, nat. size.

This insect belongs to the order *Coleoptera* and to the family *Melolonthidæ*. It is endowed with an enormous appetite, and not of a discriminating or fastidious character. In its perfect state it eats the foliage of trees, shrubs, grasses, and corn plants. In its larval state it feeds upon the roots of corn plants, grasses, and other crops, and it is in this form that it is mainly injurious to agriculturists.

The perfect insect is known throughout this country, and called variously cockchafer, May bug, Boombug, Boomerbug. It feeds in this form for the most part upon the leaves of the oak, maple, thorn, beech, birch, apple, and pear trees. It flies and feeds in the twilight, and goes from tree to tree with heavy, awkward flight, and with a booming sound—"the shard-borne beetle's drowsy hum"—and remains upon the under part of the leaves of trees and shrubs torpid and dormant during the day. This is the insect which is tortured by cruel boys to this day. Tormenting cockchafers is practised now as it was in the time of the ancient Greeks, as we read in Aristophanes' *Comedy of the Clouds*. To trees in some districts and in certain seasons much destruction is occasioned by cockchafers. In France whole oak forests have been deprived of foliage by their attacks. Köllar says that in Germany they are often found in such numbers on oaks, willows, hazel, and fruit trees, that the branches bend with their weight. Occasionally in England they have been so numerous as to resemble a flight

of locusts. Miss Ormerod relates that eighty bushels of them were collected upon one farm, and Westwood, in his *Introduction to the Classification of Insects*, remarks that 14,000 cockchafer were collected in a few days by children and men near Blois, in France. About fifty years ago the Council of the Society of Arts offered a premium for the best means of destroying this insect, but without any satisfactory results.

The larvæ are most destructive in grass land, devouring the roots of the grasses and destroying the herbage. In these cases the grasses lie withered on the ground, looking as if they had been violently pulled up. The rooks have been often accused of doing this by ignorant persons, as well as of divers other imaginary delinquencies, simply because they have congregated in meadows and have been actively engaged in digging for these large grubs, which are savoury morsels to them. It is not by any means infrequent to find acres of grass land destroyed by these grubs. The soil is honeycombed by them and the grasses can be pulled up without any effort. Wheat, barley, and oats are frequently much injured by the cockchafer grubs which weaken the plants by gnawing their roots, and in some cases kill them outright. Flax also suffers often from their attacks. They are very destructive in fir plantations, biting the roots so as to cause the death of young trees.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The cockchafer is very nearly an inch in length, of a brownish colour, with light coloured scales. Its body is covered with a pubescence, or short down, like tiny scales. It is furnished with remarkable antennæ, having knobs at their extremities, which fold together like the divisions of a fan, or the folds of a screen. In the male there are seven of these folds, in the female only six. It has very powerful jaws adapted for biting foliage. There are large hooks upon its claws to enable it to cling to leaves and branches, and its legs, six in number, are strong and well adapted for burrowing in the ground for the purpose of egg laying. This takes place at the end of July. The female goes into the ground to the depth of seven or eight inches, and lays from thirty to forty eggs of a dirty white colour, and a long oval shape. She then returns to the earth and resumes her ordinary life for a short period. The larvæ are hatched from the eggs in about 5 weeks. They are thick, fleshy, and more than an inch and a quarter long when full sized, of a whitish colour, with the head slightly yellow, having jaws fitted for gnawing roots, and three pairs of short dark feet. The last segment of the body is larger and more developed than the others, appearing to be filled with a substance of a violet hue. At first the larvae grow slowly, as a rule congregating closely together just under the ground, feeding then upon the small and most tender roots. At the approach of frost and cold they go down to a depth of nine to twelve inches for hibernation, coming up in the spring full-grown to attack roots of all kinds. In this state they remain in the land three years at least: Köllar says for five years and even longer. The pupa state is assumed in the autumn, and retained until the spring, when the pupa case is cast off and the change is accomplished in about fourteen days, then in perfect beetle guise the insects come from the earth, and commence their depredation. The larva cannot exist above ground, and soon die when exposed to the air.

## PREVENTION.

One special means of prevention is to make a raid upon the beetles when upon trees in the summer, and in other feeding places. This is done in parts of France, and is called *le hannetonage général*, and might be performed in England in localities very much subject to incursions of cockchafers. It is such a dangerous and destructive insect that everyone's hand should be against it. Nets like those employed for sparrow catching at night, called bat folding nets, only larger, lighter, and with very small meshes, might be used with advantage. The branches of infested trees being beaten with poles the insects would fly to the light of the lanterns held behind the nets and become entangled in their meshes. Rooks, starlings, and jays are very fond of the beetles, and should on no account be driven from their haunts. These are farmers' friends, and should be encouraged. When they persistently visit fields under crops, or grass land, it may be assumed that there are larvæ or insects in some form or other at work pernicious to the crops, delicious to the birds. Moles, again, are wholesale devourers of the cockchafer grubs. Taschenberg speaks of the great services they render to farmers in this way in Germany; and French entomologists also speak highly of their invaluable benefits. In meadows moles are of great advantage in clearing off these grubs, among many other insects. It is admitted that mole "heaves" are unsightly and interfere much with mowing; but this is a slight disadvantage compared with the amount of good the moles do.

Meadows should be kept well rolled to prevent, if possible, the beetles from getting into the ground to lay eggs.

## REMEDIES.

As to remedial measures, it is somewhat difficult to apply these so as to be of direct and very apparent



benefit. When meadows are badly affected dressings of gas lime, or of earth, or wood or coal ashes carefully impregnated with kerosine or petroleum, should be tried.

About four to five quarts of oil should be well mixed with a cartload of earth, wood, or coal ashes or sawdust.

Liquid manure copiously applied has been of much avail on light land. Kainite of potash put on at the rate of half a ton per acre has been found to answer. Rolling heavily and frequently tends to close the ground, and to keep the grubs from the roots in some degree. It may be said that meadows reserved for mowing and not regularly fed by sheep should be rolled more than they are, particularly upon light land, which is more subject to the attacks of cockchafers and other insects than land of clay or other adhesive composition. Folding sheep on grass land long and heavily, especially ewes and lambs, with plenty of artificial food and swedes or mangels carted on, is an admirable remedy against these grubs. The land is made firm so that they cannot work, and it is soaked with liquid, which they cannot bear.

Corn crops are often attacked by these grubs after sainfoin leys, and clover leys that have been down longer than the usual period. In wheat land showing signs of loss of plant many grubs were discovered, though the finder had no idea what they were. He was advised to horse hoe well, and to put on five hundredweights of kainite of potash and one hundredweight of nitrate of soda, and after this to roll heavily. This treatment was effectual. Soot has been also found very useful chopped in with hand hoes, and the land rolled down tightly afterwards. Nitrate of soda was usefully employed by itself in another case after ring rolling both ways, and a heavy plain roll put on finally.

## **THE SMALL CHAFER. *Anisoplia horticola*. Curtis. *Phyllopertha horticola*. Kirby.**

### **FIG. IX.**

1, *A. Agricola*, mag.; 2, natural length. 3, *A. Horticola*, nat. size; 4, larva, nat. size.

This is a much smaller species of the same family (Melolonthidæ) as the cockchafer. Being so much smaller it escapes attention comparatively, yet it is very injurious to vegetation, and is especially troublesome in grass land and cultivated crops, working in the same manner as its larger congener. It feeds upon the leaves of forest trees and fruit trees, and upon the blossoms of apple and other fruit trees, in its perfect state; while in its larval state it attacks roots, tubers, and stems just below the ground. Köllar says that insects of a closely allied kind—*Anisoplia agricola* (1 and 2)—are found sometimes singly and sometimes three or four together, sitting on the ears and gnawing the still soft grains of rye or of wheat, which is still more to their tastes.

*Naturgeschichte der schädlichen Insekten*, von V. Köllar.

In the last summer it was reported that these insects had been seen upon wheat ears near Huntingdon, in exactly the state described by Köllar, and in the last few seasons complaints of injury to grass land have been made from various parts of the country, and grubs sent for examination which were undoubtedly those of this insect. In this year quantities of these chafers have been seen together upon various crops in Cheshire and Lancashire.

### **LIFE HISTORY.**

The perfect insect is dark coloured, with a tinge of metallic blue, or green, with yellowish or fawn coloured elytra. The legs are black, also with a blue tinge. It has dark coloured knobs at the ends of the antennae, with only three leaves or folds.

It may be seen in the spring upon limes, willows, beeches, and fruit trees, though not so high up in the trees as the May bug. Towards the end of August the beetles retire to the earth and lay eggs, from which larvæ soon come and attack the roots, remaining in the ground as long, and being transformed in the same manner as those of the larger cockchafer.

### **PREVENTION.**

The same modes of prevention should be observed as in the case of the cockchafers.

### **REMEDIES.**

Heavy rollings to make the land firm round the roots of corn plants, with or without dressings of artificial manure, should be tried. In grass land frequent rolling must be tried, and watering with liquid manure, or with

gas liquor mixed with water in the proportion of one tenth of liquor to nine tenths of water. Watering with strong decoctions of quassia would be useful and folding the land with sheep.

## THE MOLE CRICKET. *Gryllotalpa vulgaris*. Latr.

### FIG. X.

4. Perfect insect; 1, eggs; 2, larva when first hatched; 3, larva after first moult.

This is the largest insect common to Great Britain, and though it cannot be said to be very destructive to farm crops, it lives entirely upon roots and stems under the ground, and devours indiscriminately those both of cultivated and wild plants. It is abundant in some districts, preferring sandy and peaty soils. Notes have been sent as to injury caused to pasture land in Bedfordshire and in Ireland. This was at first attributed to the larvæ of the Daddy Long-legs, *Tipula oleracea*, but on further inquiry it was proved that the mole crickets were the offenders. The roots of the grasses had evidently been bitten through and through, and the most succulent parts eaten, and the ground was strewn with dying and dead herbage in patches here and there.

Again, an observer noticed that wheat plants had been attacked in a light loamy soil in Kent, as he said, in a manner different from any attacks he had noticed before. Upon careful search he discovered mole crickets. Injuries to peas and beans have been traced to these insects, for they were seen emerging from the ground in pea and bean fields for their summer life. Kirby and Spence speak of them as troublesome to cultivators.

*An Introduction to Entomology* by W. Kirby and W. Spence.

Köllar states that they do a deal of damage to young corn in Germany, and in France they are much dreaded by farmers and gardeners.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect is rather over two inches in length. It is brown or chocolate, becoming rather ochreous under its body. The elytra are whitish, and the wings are also whitish, membranous and ample when spread. Curtis says that this constitutes the sole difference between the sexes, though Taschenberg holds that there are slight distinctions in the arrangement of the eight rings of the body. The fore feet are very stoutly made, proportionally short, but very strong and thick, like those of the mole, admirably suited for burrowing in the ground. They can fly, jump, and dig, and possess the power of running backwards as well as forwards, to facilitate which the end of the abdomen is furnished with two bristles, or filaments, to serve the same purpose as antennæ or feelers.

In May and the early part of June the female lays from two hundred to three hundred eggs of an ovoid shape, and dirty yellow colour. Latreille says from two hundred to four hundred are laid by one female. These are placed in a cluster (No. 1), within a nest a few inches under the ground "in a kind of chamber," as Gilbert White describes it in his *Natural History of Selborne*, "with many caverns and winding passages." There is a communication between the nest and the surface by means of a passage. From the eggs larvæ of the size of that shown at No. 2 come resembling black ants, which begin to feed at once upon roots of corn plants, grasses, and vegetables. These have no wings, but grow fast, moulting four or five times until they are about one and a quarter inches in length (No. 3). They remain in this state for three years, and in November go down deeply into the earth away from the effects of cold.

### PREVENTION.

In meadows and pastures watering with liquid manure, in which there is an infusion of quassia, would tend to prevent egg laying. Dressings with earth, ashes, and sawdust mixed with petroleum would also clear the insects away from their accustomed haunts.

### REMEDIES.

When it is found that these insects are present in corn land, thorough cultivation would disturb them. It must be remarked that they are principally found in small fields and plots. Where they attack peas and beans frequent hoeing routs them; and it will be found that dressings of ashes, mould, or sawdust mixed with paraffin would be very useful, in the proportion of a quart of oil to a hundredweight of ashes or mould, and three pints or two quarts to a hundredweight of sawdust, as these insects are very sensitive of smell. In meadows where their presence is denoted by withered and yellow patches, waterings with infusions of quassia, mixed with a little soft soap, would keep the larvæ from the surface.

## THE THOUSAND LEGS. *Millipedes. Polydesmus complanatus*, Linn.

### FIG. XI.

1, nat. size; 2, mag.

Though these are not insects in the strict scientific meaning of the term, as having no wings, nor undergoing any transformation, and not having bodies divided or cut, they must be described here, as having the habits of insects and habits injurious to cultivation. Linnæus classified these among the order *Aptera*, and Mr. Murray in his Hand Book of Economic Entomology follows this classification and treats them as insects. These thousand legs are utterly distinct from, first, *Wireworms*, with which they are sometimes confounded; second, *Centipedes, Scolopendridæ*, of which there are many species not coming within the scope of this work, as living mainly upon animal substances.

The thousand legs eat wheat, oats, and barley plants, but they are not nearly so destructive as wireworms, and several other root eating insects. They do much harm also to bean and pea crops, and are most injurious to French beans and broad beans in market gardens, and market garden farms in Essex, Bedfordshire, Surrey, and Kent. The species shown above, *Polydesmus complanatus* is perhaps the most troublesome to farm crops generally, but all the species are more or less injurious to vegetation.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The female lays eggs in the spring in damp places under stones and decaying wood and leaf rubbish. From these tiny worms come, which do not attain their full growth and power of reproduction until two years. They have only three pairs of legs at first. In course of time these are multiplied even to as many as one hundred pairs. They live for five years, and always under ground. This species is about nine lines, or three quarters of an inch in length. Other species, as *Julus guttatus*, are an inch long.

### PREVENTION.

As the Polydesmi, as well as the Julidæ, like dampness and moisture, wet land, and boggy, marshy places should be drained. A good dressing of hot lime should be ploughed into land infested with them early in the spring to destroy their eggs. Rubbish and decaying matter must not be allowed to lie about in fields.

### REMEDIES.

When corn is attacked dressings of soot, lime, nitrate of soda and guano may be used with some advantage, especially if soaking showers follow the applications. In cases where peas and beans are suffering from their onslaughts, horse and hand hoeing should follow dressings of these manures. In market gardens pieces of swedes, mangels, or vegetable marrows, if procurable, should be put between the drills to attract the Millipedes from the growing crops, as they burrow into these like wireworms, and can be taken from them and destroyed.

## THE ANTLER MOTH. *Charæas graminis*. Stephens.

### FIG. XII.

1. Perfect insect, nat. size; 2. caterpillars.

The antler moth, so called because of the markings of its fore wings, resembling the branches of antlers, occasionally ravages meadow land. Its attacks have increased in parts of England in the last five years, and in Wales also. For example there was much injury caused by them in 1882 in the grass lands on an area of about ten miles not far from Bridgend. Curtis speaks of the *Charæas* as hurting grass land in Keswick, and relates that the grass on a large portion of one side of Skiddaw appeared dead, and multitudes of the caterpillars of the antler moth were crawling about. They eat the shoots of the grass as well as the roots.

Taschenberg says that these are sometimes most destructive in Germany and North America. In Sweden, so long ago as 1741, their ravages were so great as to be almost a national calamity. It appears that the attacks of this insect are principally confined to grass land in high situations, and especially to rough pastures and to mountain districts. Köllar relates that in 1816 and 1821 entire hills in the Hartz territory which were covered in

the evening with the finest green were found bare the next morning, and the ruts in the roads leading to them were filled with caterpillars. Miss Ormerod in her *Report of Observation of Injurious Insects* for 1885 gives a most interesting account of the Charæas, and its modes of attack, and a description of its extraordinary onslaughts in Glamorganshire.

## LIFE HISTORY.

This moth, as shown by No. 1, has broad and rather short upper, or fore-wings of a reddish brown with three light or whitish streaks or rays; while the lower wings are yellowish grey with pale fringes. In the summer the moths may be seen in some places in swarms, and the caterpillars appear also to congregate and move in masses like locusts. Miss Ormerod well describes this habit of moving on in bodies, clearing away the vegetation as they proceed.

The female moth lays from one hundred and fifty to two hundred eggs in small quantities at a time upon the stalks and blades of grasses. After three weeks the larvæ come forth and go into the ground and live on the roots of grasses, hibernating in this state, and changing to the pupa and moth forms in the summer.

## PREVENTION.

After the appearance of numbers of these moths in any locality it would be well to brush off all rough herbage upon which the eggs might have been placed, and burn it before the hatching took place.

## REMEDIES.

As the caterpillars have a habit of advancing in battalions, and it is in this manner only that they are productive of serious harm, the rough grass should be set alight in front of the hosts, so as to check their progress. This should be done at night, as the caterpillars move and feed then. Köllar suggests that the attacked places, where the ground permits, should be surrounded with shallow ditches, or furrows, made deeply with ploughs and as broad as possible, to check them. Pigs, he adds, should be turned in to these enclosures to eat the caterpillars.

## THE CORN THRIPS. *Thrips cerealium*. Haliday.

### FIG. XIII.

1, Female walking, mag.; 2, nat. size; 4, female flying, mag.; 3, nat. size.

Although very small indeed this little creature does an infinity of harm to wheat, oat, and barley plants in some seasons and in some localities. It is that tiresome insect which gets on the face and hands, and occasions much annoyance and even irritation of the skin, by running over these in the months of July and August.

It belongs to the order *Thysanura*, and to its family *Physopoda*, or bladder footed, so called from the shape of its feet.

Being so tiny its action upon corn plants is frequently unnoticed, and the results are attributed to other than insect agencies; or they are frequently called blight, or supposed to be due to an abnormal state of the plants.

Upon close examination of affected plants it will be found that the thrips have taken up positions under the covering, or case, or corolla, of the seed of corn, within the slits of the seeds, and are sucking the milky juices from them with their short stout beaks. They seem only to enter the ears of corn just previous to the blossoming period. It has been supposed that they are attracted by the pollen, but it is certain that their chief attraction is the sweet fluid of developing seeds. Their action upon the grains of corn renders them light and shrivelled. This insect is known in America, Germany, and France as very destructive to corn crops, and it has been unusually troublesome to wheat plants in England during the last summer.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect is only about a line-the twelfth of an inch,-in length. It is of a blackish or darkish brown colour, with long wings having long thick cilia or fringes. The antennæ are also fringed. The males are wingless. It is believed by Taschenberg that they pass the winter in decayed roots and in stubble, in the perfect state, emerging thence in early spring, and laying eggs on grasses and on corn plants, and producing many generations in the course of the summer. The larvæ are of a bright orange yellow colour, and may be distinguished from the larvae of the *Cecidomyia tritici* by being of a rather brighter colour and not quite so

large, and by the end of the abdomen being dark coloured; as well as by both the larvae and pupæ being furnished with three pairs of claw feet.

## PREVENTION.

After an attack of thrips upon corn the stubble should be burnt, or removed to cattle yards, and undergo fermentation in mixens. Grass must be brushed close on the outsides of the corn fields and the rubbish burnt.

## REMEDIES.

There appears to be no remedial measures against these numerous and almost microscopic insects. Earwigs feed upon them, but earwigs are not frequently found in white straw crops.

## THE EAR COCKLES (OR PURPLES) WORM. *Vibrio tritici* Tylenchus *tritici*. Bastian.

### FIG. XXII.

Adult *Vibrio*; eggs with worms escaping; section of gall; Floret with galls *it. situ*.

Although this is not an insect it causes frequent and serious injury to corn plants and grasses, and should it is considered be treated of in this Report. Curtis describes it in *Farm Insects*, and Taschenberg also in his *Praktische Insekten Kunde*, so that there are eminent precedents for this course.

The chief and most dangerous consequences of the attack of this Nematoid, or thread worm, a species of the order *Nematoide æ*, is the replacement which it causes of the grains of corn by a black or dark brown substance known as "ear cockle" or "purples," of a round shape. It is commonly supposed that it is the grain that is actually converted into this dark mass of cellular tissue; but it is in fact a foreign body, an excrescence, or gall, and contains what appears to be a mass of small fibres. This is, as the microscope reveals, a cluster of tiny thread worms.

Corn plants are also attacked by this, or as Mr. Carruthers, the Consulting Botanist of the Royal Agricultural Society, thinks, by another, species of Nematoid, in their stems, so that they are seriously weakened, and in some instances prevented from flowering.

Dr. Bastian found specimens of *Plectus Tritici* between the lower part of the sheaths of wheat-stalks at Broadmoor.

In the case of the ordinary attack in the ears of corn not only is the crop reduced but the sample is more or less spoilt, and besides there is the great danger of the extensive reproduction of nematodes from the galls being sown with the seed com.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The galls containing these worms are sown with the seed corn, or are carried by some means into the fields. Upon being moistened either by rain, or the natural dampness of the earth, they become active and penetrate into the stems of the corn plants. They were formerly supposed to permeate the tissues of the plants, as the worms of the *Trichinæ* permeate the flesh of animals; but it is held by Davaine, Bastian, and others, that the worms ascend with the growth of the plants to the flowers. Mr. Carruthers believes that the worms attack the flowers before their development is perfect, and suggests that, as in other cases, the gall is a simple excrescence caused by the abnormal flow of sap, probably to heal the injury occasioned to the plant.

After the gall is formed, and is yet soft or green, the worms within it pair, and eggs are laid in strings of five and six together, and worms are hatched from these. When the gall in course of time becomes harder, or ripe, no more eggs are laid, and when it is quite hard and dry, the worms are apparently lifeless. Upon moisture being applied they begin to show signs of vitality and wriggle about. They retain vitality for a long time when the galls are kept dry: Taschenberg says for many years. He also shows that they may be exposed to a heat of 123 degrees Fahr. without being affected. It is well known that the hardest frosts do not destroy them. They will also live for months in water. Those who wish to study the history of these and other Nematoids are referred to Bauer's descriptions, illustrated by most elaborate drawings, in the Department of Botany, British Museum, Natural History; and Dr. Bastian's paper on the Anguillulidæ, in part 2 of the *Transactions of the Linnean Society* for 1865, gives admirable accounts and figures of them.

## PREVENTION.

Each gall may supply tens of thousands of worms ready to prey upon the young corn plants. It is therefore most important to keep the seed wheat free from galls. To accomplish this careful screening or winnowing, is essential. Corn intended for seed should be "run down" as long as any of the black galls or cockles remain in the samples. Even when corn is not intended for seed these should be eliminated, as they may be the sources of disease to human beings or animals.

All the tail corn, and "chogs" especially, should be burnt, and not by any means given to the chickens, nor allowed to get into the yard where manure is made, as there would be the risk of the galls being carried out to the corn fields. In thrashing corn affected the chaff had better be destroyed, and the returns from the larger screens put through the fine screens of the hand winnower with the greatest care.

Another species of *Vibrio* is peculiar to oat plants, which it injures by attacking their stems and causing the main stem to die. New shoots are thrown out and these are in turn destroyed. Much injury was occasioned to oat plants in 1884 and 1885 by these *Vibrios* in various parts of this country. Mr. Carruthers reported upon this in December, 1885 to the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society, and remarked that the species was different from that which attacks wheat plants, and was in his opinion peculiar to oat plants. Dr. Bastian recounts in the paper alluded to above that he found several species of Nematoids lying between the inner sheaths of various kinds of grasses, among which was *Festuca elatior*.

## Insects Injurious to Corn in Store.

The next three insects to be described attack corn in granaries and warehouses, and not only hinder its germination, but materially lessen its weight and value. Their presence and their action upon corn of all descriptions are not uncommonly unsuspected, and the injuries occasioned in corn that has lain for some time unturned are frequently very serious, so that the vast importance of keeping granaries and all places where corn is kept, clean, well and frequently brushed out, aired and cleansed, cannot be too strongly insisted upon. The first of these is known as-

## THE CORN WEEVIL. *Calandra granaria*. Linn.

### FIG. XIV.

6, perfect insect; 7, much mag.; 2, pupa; 3, much mag.

This insect, of the order *Coleoptera*, family *Curculionidæ*, and division *Rhyncophora*, does considerable damage to corn stored in granaries. The mischief caused by it is not apparent to the casual observer, but as the larva of the weevil concealed in the grain lives upon its substance, the valuable properties and weight of the corn are much diminished, and much loss is caused to farmers and corn merchants.

It attacks all kinds of corn, as well as malt. Foreign corn is frequently much infested with it, as it likes warm climates, and cannot live, or, at least, does not propagate, in low temperatures. In the *Introduction to Entomology* it is said that "sometimes this insect becomes so infinitely numerous that a sensible man engaged in the brewing trade once told me, speaking perhaps rather hyperbolically, that they collected and destroyed them by bushels." It is well known in France and Germany and has been found to be very injurious in America. Dr. Fitch reports that it has been imported with Italian grain, also that it is very destructive to seeds in the collections of the New York State Agricultural Society. Mr. Cooke, the chief executive horticultural officer of California states that it is a formidable pest in storehouses and mills in that country.

## LIFE HISTORY.

This weevil is dark red, about the eighth of an inch in length, with six legs, and a very long beak or rostrum. It passes the winter in snug crannies and cracks in the floors and sides of granaries and warehouses, and comes out in the spring. Pairing takes place directly the weather is warm. The female gets into heaps of corn and deposits eggs in the grains, one egg in each grain. The larvæ, little white maggots, are hatched shortly, and eat the substance within the interior. The aperture made in the deposition of the egg is securely sealed up by

some material supposed by Kirby, Curtis, and Taschenberg to be excrementitious. The pupa stage is assumed and the weevils come from the grains when their contents have been pretty well cleared out, towards the close of the summer. Taschenberg holds that there are two broods in the season, but this has not been confirmed in this country. The weevils themselves may sometimes be found in the grains feeding upon their contents, as well as their larvæ.

## PREVENTION.

The best means of prevention are to have granaries and storerooms well brushed down with stiff brushes or brooms, and washed with soft soap and hot water. After a bad attack this should be done two or three times over, and the doors and windows left open all day and night, as the weevils are very susceptible to cold.

Corn lying in suspected places should be moved and turned over and over frequently when in heaps, at the approach of warm weather, in order to disturb the females in egg laying, and running it down through winnowing machines also prevents this.

## REMEDIES.

When it is discovered that corn is affected, or when beetles have been seen near corn heaps, drying with hot air, at a temperature of 130 degrees is efficacious, as the heat kills the weevils and their larvæ, but does not affect the quality of the grain or destroy its germinating power if the drying is conducted properly and the temperature gradually raised. Ventilation and the admission of cool air into places where corn is stored often have the effect of driving away the weevils. Long drain pipes put into heaps of corn cause circulation of air which is unpleasant to the intruders. Traps may be then set for them by putting grain in the corners of the granaries. Corn injured by this weevil may be easily detected by its lightness. To the unskilful no difference can be noted; but the experienced farmer, corn merchant, or miller will detect that something is wrong by taking up a handful and weighing it in his hand.

## THE CORN BEETLE. *Trogosita mauritanica*. Linn.

### FIG. XV.

1, Perfect beetle, mag.; 2, nat. length; 3, larva mag.; 4, nat. length of larva.

This is another grain boring insect, and belongs to the family *Tenebrionidæ*. Curtis says it was introduced from Africa, and that it is abundant in America, and in many European countries. In France it is called the Cadelle and Olivier alludes to it as doing great harm to housed grain in the south of France. It is of the same family as the meal worm and the worm which eats ship's biscuits. It is found in granaries and warehouses, and its larvæ sometimes greatly damage corn and other produce by biting the cuticle or skin, as it would seem in mere wanton mischief. At first sight it appears as if the corn lying in heaps had been nibbled by mice, but on close inspection the bran flakes are smaller, and bitten off differently. Sometimes when corn has been lying long, the quantity of bran which comes from the heap is surprising.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The beetle inhabits stores and warehouses among other places. It is about the third of an inch long, of a dark brown or chestnut colour, with six legs, and fairly sized wings. It is not known where the eggs are placed. The larvae live in the corn heaps, in which they go from grain to grain biting off the skin and consuming the flour. They are three-quarters of an inch in length, of a white colour, having dark brown heads. Their bodies are covered with short hairs or bristles, and have twelve divisions or segments, with six thoracic feet. The jaws are strong, pointed, and horny, adapted especially for biting hard substances. At the beginning of autumn they bury themselves in dust, and in cracks of floor's, and lie there until the early spring when they assume the pupa form and from thence soon come forth in beetle shape.

## PREVENTION.

As this insect is most troublesome in foreign countries, particularly in hot climates, constant suspicion should be directed towards granaries and warehouses where foreign corn is stored. After the presence of these beetles has been detected the floors and boardings all round should be scrubbed with water and strong solutions of soft soap well worked into the joints and cracks. All dust should be swept away and burnt, all ceilings whitewashed, and non-boarded sides must be washed with hot lime wash.

## REMEDIES.

When corn, English or foreign, is found to be infested with the *Trogosita* larvæ it should be frequently moved, and winnowed occasionally. If this does not prove effectual, kiln drying must be adopted to kill them.

## THE CORN WOLF MOTH. *Tinea granella*. Linn.

### FIG. XVI.

1, larva nat. size; 2, larva mag.; 3, moth mag.; 4, nat. length.

This pretty little moth belongs to the family *Tineidæ* of the group *Tineina*, according to Mr. Stainton, the great authority upon this division of *Lepidoptera*. It is called the wolf, and is so called because of its ravages to corn in granaries and storehouses, and is known in every part of the world. The manner of the injury done by the larva of this moth is much the same as that caused by the *Trogosita mauritanica*, only that it appears to consume much more of the grain. Its attack is often mistaken for that of the *Trogosita*. This moth belongs to the same genus as the clothes' moth, the carriage moth, and the fur moth.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The moth appears first towards the middle of May, and is seen flying towards dark in granaries, and warehouses, not only of corn but also of other commodities. It is about three-sevenths of an inch across the wings, and its body is less than half an inch in length. It is of a dull white colour with dark spots on the whitish wings. The female lays thirty or more eggs, yellowish, and so small that they cannot be seen without a glass. She places one or two upon single grains of corn-wheat, barley, oats, and rye. In the course of a fortnight tiny caterpillars with dark brown heads (No. 1.) come forth and attack the grain with their stout jaws. They are of a light buff colour with reddish heads, having thirteen segments, and are close upon one-third of an inch in length. They fasten several grains together with a kind of web. Sometimes heaps of corn that have been undisturbed for some time are covered with these grey webs, which Curtis believes are for their protection. In Kirby and Spence's *Introduction to Entomology* it is stated, "On visiting corn granaries at Bristol "we found the barley lying on the floors covered with a gauze "like tissue formed of the five silken threads spun by the larvæ "in traversing its surface." In due time the larvæ retire to chinks and holes in rafters, beams, and ceilings, and make cocoons covered with fine webs, and rest until the warmth of the spring sun tempts them forth. The larvae of this moth are frequently found in the fissures of the bark of oak trees and of fruit trees, from whence the perfect insects fly to the storehouses of grain.

## PREVENTION.

To prevent the attacks of this destructive moth all rooms and buildings used for storing grain must be kept well and constantly swept, and the whole places—sides, ceilings, and floors—cleansed. As it is said that the larvae bore into wood to make resting places for their transformation, it is important that all woodwork should be scrubbed hard and well so as to let the soap and water into every cranny. No lumps of dust or grain should be allowed to remain in corners, or on the ledges or window sills. Ceilings should be carefully and frequently whitewashed. Strong decoctions of quassia may be mixed advantageously with the soap and water used for



cleansing.

## REMEDIES.

When corn in store is found to be "moth eaten" and webs are seen upon the heap, it must at once be moved, and frequently. If possible it should be run down through the winnowing machine. Should the injury be great and evidently increasing kiln drying should be resorted to. Corn in sacks should be frequently examined as the moth and larvae work in sacks as well as in the heaps.

## INSECTS INJURIOUS TO PEA, BEAN, AND CLOVER CROPS.

### THE PEA AND BEAN BEETLES. *Bruchus pisi*. Linn. *Bruchus granarius*. Linn.

#### FIG. XVII.

1, *Bruchus granarius*, nat. size; 2, mag.; 9, *Bruchus pisi*, nat. size; 10, mag.; 4 and 5, larvæ; nat. size, and mag; 6 and 7, pupa, nat. size and mag.; 11, pea with *Bruchus pisi* escaping; 3 and 8, beans attacked by *Bruchus granarius*.

In very many samples of peas and beans of all kinds there are some of the pulse which have tiny holes in them, with dark edges. If these pulse are split open with a knife it will be seen that the insides are more or less eaten away, scooped out as it were. In some cases, although there may be no holes in them, the pulse look unhealthy and not of a proper colour.

Upon opening these a maggot will be found which is evidently feeding upon the contents of the pulse. The best sorts of peas for podding grown by market gardeners, and for seeds-men by farmers, are frequently much injured in this way, and it has been noticed that the large and broad bean known as the Mazagan is often seriously affected. Winter beans are more liable to be attacked than those spring sown. Foreign peas and beans are worse as a rule than those grown in this country.

Though the embryos of the pulse are most generally left intact by the larvæ or maggots within them, the vitality of the seeds must be greatly impaired, and the plants from them, if indeed they are able to produce these, will be weakly, inasmuch as the supply of starch stored within the cotyledons for the support of the embryo and the young plant is diminished, and the other essential functions of the cotyledon are materially impaired.

Samples of peas and beans have been observed in which from twenty-five to thirty per cent, of the pulse had holes in them, showing their former occupation by the larvae of these beetles. Obviously there would be a serious loss of plants if these seeds were sown, and a serious diminution in food value if they were consumed by animals. These insects are very destructive in America and Canada, so that in some parts of the latter country peas and beans cannot be cultivated. Harris states that the Pea beetle is supposed to be a native of the United States, and that it may have been introduced from there into England.

*A Treatise on some of the Insects of New England which are injurious to vegetation*, by Thaddeus W. Harris, M.D.

#### LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect Pea beetle, *Bruchus pisi* (Nos. 9 and 10), is about two lines, or the sixth of an inch in length. It is of a dark colour, nearly black, with light coloured spots upon the elytra. Its wings are fairly large. The elytra do not cover the abdomen. The Bean beetle, *Bruchus granarius* (Nos. 1 and 2), is rather smaller than the Pea beetle and slightly different in colour, being of a more shiny black and without spots, or at least spots so pronounced, upon the elytra, which cover the abdomen more completely than those of the *Bruchus pisi*. The female beetles appear first in May, and deposit eggs in the blossoms of peas and beans as soon as they are formed. From these eggs small larvæ are hatched in a few days. These are without legs, of a dirty white colour, with black heads. They bore into the young peas and beans as they are developed, and live upon their substance.

The larvæ change to pupæ in the autumn, and remain within the peas and beans until the next spring, when they come forth as beetles.

In mild weather and in some circumstances they come forth much earlier.

## PREVENTION.

Peas and beans intended for seed should be most carefully examined, and rejected if the samples contain any holes in them. In cases where it is suspected that pulse for seed is affected, it might be kiln dried, at a temperature not high enough to injure the germinating power.

Peas and beans, concerning which there are suspicions that they contain larvæ, though there may not at present be any holes in them, should be well winnowed or cleaned with special screens, so that the light insect-affected pulse may be taken out as much as possible.

Farmers and market gardeners should be especially careful to examine peas and beans and, indeed, seeds of all kinds before they sow them. Much direct disappointment and great losses are caused by sowing seeds injured by insect agency.

## THE PEA AND BEAN WEEVILS. *Sitona crinita*. Oliv. *Sitona*, *lineata*. Linn.

### FIG. XVIII.

1 and 2, *Sitona crinita* nat. size and mag.; 3 and 4, *Sitona lineata* nat. size and mag.

These are two species of weevils very destructive to pulse crops. Farmers and gardeners have constantly noticed that the leaves of pea and bean plants are full of holes and notches, and so much so as to affect their growth most materially in some seasons. These weevils cause this and are most dangerous when the plants are young, commencing their depredations in March, or as soon as the weather becomes spring like, they work until the end of July.

It is said that they do not attack the common pea that is grown principally for pigs and sheep, but this is not correct, for complaints have been made from several parts showing that these have not by any means escaped. From observation it is clear that they eat all kinds of peas readily, in field and garden, as well as Mazagan, tick, and broad beans. In some seasons, and when the seed is sown late, they fairly prevent the plants from starting, eating off the leaves directly they appear from the cotyledons. A large grower of peas for seed reported that in 1883 he sustained considerable losses by the onslaughts of the pea weevils, especially upon the Early Sunrise sort.

Clover is much destroyed by these weevils, as well as by a closely allied and almost identical species, known as *Sitona puncticollis*. The weevils eat the leaves, and the grubs or larvæ devour the roots of the clover. In 1883 there were many complaints made of clover dying in patches in various parts of England in October. It was thought at first this was due to clover sickness, or to a fungus. Upon close examination small maggots were found at the roots, which were living upon the juicy succulent parts. Again, in the early spring following, the mischief was continued. *Trifolium incarnatum* is also attacked frequently. Plant is lost quickly and mysteriously. It is said that the "worm" is in it. In Kent, in 1882, this happened in a large piece of trifolium sown upon wheat stubble without ploughing. After the plants had nearly all disappeared the cause of the loss was traced to the larvæ of the *Sitona*.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect—*Sitona lineata* (Nos. 3 and 4)—is about four lines, or the third of an inch in length, rather narrow in shape. It is of an earthy colour, with light stripes or lines down its back. The head is dark coloured. The wings are large. *Sitona crinita* (Nos. 3 and 4) is hardly so large as the *Sitona lineata*, and is of a somewhat lighter colour, and without any stripes or lines, but has hairs or bristles on its body.

When disturbed these insects get on to the ground, either by falling or jumping, and remain perfectly still. Being similar in colour to the earth it is difficult to detect them. The eggs are white and numerous. The larvæ are found at the roots of clover plants from October until March, and of peas towards the end of May, and change to pupæ in the ground during June. The larvæ are nearly a quarter of an inch long, white, without legs, and having strong jaws.

## PREVENTION.

After an attack the land should be cleaned from all rubbish and deeply ploughed at once, as the larvæ remain in the soil during the winter. A dressing of lime would be most advantageous in serious cases. Care should be taken not to sow another leguminous crop after an attack.

Clover fields literally swarm with these insects in some seasons. It would be highly dangerous to put peas, or beans, or tares in after clover in these circumstances, but this is an unusual course of cropping. As the weevils have been found in wheat stubbles after harvest, in land sown with wheat after clover, it is desirable not to put trifolium in after wheat without cultivation, as is often done. Trifolium crops have been materially injured by these *Sitonæ*.

Miss Ormerod recommends putting coal ashes saturated with soluble phenyle, diluted in the proportion of two table spoonfuls to ten gallons of water, into the drills or rows when peas and beans are sown. Ashes, sawdust, or earth saturated with paraffin would answer the same purpose, and might be used upon a large scale.

## REMEDIES.

A dressing of two and a half cwts. of guano per acre has been found to help peas and beans suffering from the attacks of the *Sitonæ*. If put on early when the dew is on the plants, or after a slight shower, this manure sticks to the leaves, and renders them distasteful to the weevils, and helps the plants along at the same time. In market gardens, and in gardens, it is very efficacious to send men and boys to walk with a foot on either side of each row of plants, to press the earth tightly and firmly close to the plants in order to prevent the beetle from moving again easily. Many are killed by this process. This might be extended to larger cultivation, as a gang of men would get over a good deal of ground in a day. Horse hoeing cannot be done too often, and side hoeing will be found very useful.

## THE PEA MOTH. *Grapholitia pisana*. Curtis.

### FIG. XIX.

1, larva on pea; 2, larva mag.; 3, moth nat. size; 4, moth mag.

It is very usual to find many of the peas in the pods at harvest time, and even while still green, half eaten, and surrounded with little particles of dust and dirt. In some instances as many as twenty per cent, are thus affected, to the great loss of weight and injury to the appearance of the samples. Much loss is sustained very frequently from this by seed-pea growers. Crops of valuable seed peas, worth from 10s. to 15s. per bushel, have been much injured by this pest in recent seasons in the pea fields in Kent, Essex, Surrey, Bedfordshire, and Lancashire, as well as in market garden farms, and in market gardens, and their value greatly reduced. The peas that are attacked cannot all be cleaned from the bulk, and buyers naturally think that the plants were unhealthy, and that it is dangerous to sow the seed. Sometimes the work of this moth is attributed to weevils and beetles, the *Sitonæ* and *Bruchidæ*. It is, however, entirely of a different character from this and is done at another period. This, insect is well known in France and Germany.

## LIFE HISTORY.

This moth is a pretty little insect belonging to the family *Tortricidæ*. It is dusky grey in colour, with wings slightly tipped with white. It flies in the evening, and may often be seen in large numbers upon tares and sainfoin, though it has not been ascertained actually that it attacks these plants in the same way as peas. It places two or three eggs upon the young pods before the calices have fallen. From these pale green, rather inclining to yellow, caterpillars come and pierce their way into the pods, and then bore into the tender peas. They are about four lines long, or a little over a quarter of an inch, when full grown, having several pairs of legs. When the peas get hard the caterpillars fall to the ground, and getting below the surface enwrap themselves in silken cocoons, in which they remain until they change to pupæ in the spring. Some of the caterpillars remain in the pods and haulm and are carried with the peas.

## PREVENTION.

Peas should not follow peas in the course of cropping on farms, or in market gardens and gardens, after an attack of this moth. After the peas have been carried in infested fields a horserake should collect the pieces of haulm left upon the ground, which should at once be burnt. The land must be deeply ploughed. When the peas are thrashed out at once it would be well to burn the "cavings" and rubbish; this should by no means be carried out to sheep in folds. In farms and market gardens where peas are picked green for market, it is important that

infested haulm should be got off directly the peas are picked, and carted away or burnt. A good dressing of lime or lime ashes is a good means of prevention.

## THE BEAN APHIS, OR BLACK DOLPHIN. *APHIS FABÆ*. Kirby and Spence. *A. Rumicis*. Linn.

### FIG. XX.

1. Part of bean plant with aphides *in situ*; 2, male, mag.; 3, length and wing-breadth; 4, wingless female, mag.

Bean plants are often noticed to be swarming at their tops with black insects some time before they come into flower. Frequently these are so numerous as to prevent the plants from developing flowers, and if the flowers do struggle forth they produce but few beans, and these of a small stunted description. If the heads of the bean plants in fields badly attacked are examined they will be found covered with black aphides, whose beaks are thrust into the tissues of the stalks and leaves, from which they are sucking out the juice. The leaves and stems below them are covered with a viscous fluid. After a time this becomes black from the admixture of the excretions of the numerous insects. This filthy composition hinders, or absolutely checks, the respiration of the plants. With their sap exhausted by the myriad suckers, and their leaf and stem tissues choked up, the plants soon languish and die.

In the last season—1885—the crop in many bean fields was almost ruined by these aphides. The beans were few and small, and the haulm short and almost useless. A sickly odour went up from the infested plants, such as is smelt oftentimes in badly blighted hop gardens. It may be remarked here that almost every species of aphis was plentiful and unusually destructive in 1885. Plants of corn, fruit, hop, and vegetables, flowers, and shrubs, trees, and weeds were all more or less attacked and injured by their peculiar aphis pests. The circumstances of the winter and spring seasons appeared to suit their hibernation and propagation; while the weather of the spring with its more than usual variation of temperature rendered their plant food particularly pleasant to their tastes.

From the quantity of saccharine matter in the honey dew, or secretions of the aphides, it seems that a large or abnormal quantity of sugar in the composition of the sap of plants is necessary to encourage and sustain their attack. Alternations of temperature tend to increase the amount of sugar in the juices of plants. The more delicate and susceptible plants are more quickly, and in a greater degree, affected in this respect, and become infested with aphides whose progenitors have migrated from less attractive quarters. Thus the bean aphis, which is common to the dock (from whose Latin term *Rumex* it takes its name) as well as to the broom and furze, forsakes these plants and flies to the bean plant, and if the bean plant is in a suitable condition it remains and multiplies upon it.

### LIFE HISTORY.

The perfect insect, the winged viviparous female, is quite black, of a somewhat shiny appearance. The male, which has wings, is also black.

Both larvæ—wingless viviparous females—and pupæ are at first of a lighter colour, but they soon become black.

At the end of the summer, or when the food supply has ceased, the generations of aphides are produced with wings and fly away to their winter retreats. Here they deposit wingless females, which lay eggs upon the leaves and in the axils of the leaves of the dock, broom, furze, thistle, borage, and other common plants, to be hatched out in the spring. From these eggs larvæ are hatched. These produce living larvæ endued with the power of reproducing living scions for several generations without coition. This parthenogenetic reproduction is continued for several generations. But when food fails, or is not appreciated, generations intervene having wings to carry them to fresh and more congenial plants. It appears that bean plants afford especially grateful food for these aphides, because in favourable circumstances they increase upon them with marvellous rapidity and soon ruin the crop; whereas upon their normal hosts—docks, thistles, broom, furze, and others—their ravages are seldom appreciable.

### PREVENTION.

Docks and thistles must be religiously excluded from fields and hedge-rows bounding fields.

## REMEDIES.

It is a frequent practice to top bean plants before they come into flower in order to make them throw out flowers low down the stems, and increase their fruitfulness. This should be done when aphides appear, but the leaves and tops thus cut off should be taken away. If they are left on the ground the larvæ will crawl up the stems. Horse hoeing would bury and destroy the greater part of them if the plants are set wide enough apart to permit this operation at so late a stage. Or the leaves and tops might be raked together with garden rakes, or picked up in baskets, and carried away.

In market gardens bean plants attacked by aphides may be washed with quassia, soft soap, and water in the proportion of four lbs. of soap, four lbs. of quassia to one hundred gallons of water, put on by means of hand syringes fitted in pails. This operation would be efficacious equally in large bean fields, but the difficulties and expense of application would be great.

## THE PEA APHIS. *Aphis Pisi*. *Siphonophora Pisi*. Buckton.

This is commonly called the "green dolphin," and frequently sadly injures pea plants. Like the black dolphin it is fostered upon common plants and weeds, as the Shepherd's purse, *Capsella bursa pastoris*, the common Nettle, and others. Its life history is the same as that of the bean aphis, and the sole means of prevention is the eradication of weeds from cultivated land and its neighbourhood as much as possible. Unfortunately there appear to be no remedies against this insect, or, at least, where peas are produced upon a large scale. In market gardens and ordinary gardens washing the affected plants with decoctions of quassia and soft soap, as recommended in the case of the bean aphis, might advantageously be adopted.

## THE CLOVER WEEVIL. *Apion Apricans*. Herbst.

### FIG. XXI.

1, Weevil mag.; 2, nat. size; 5, larva mag.; 6, nat. size; 3, pupa mag.; 4, nat. size.

This weevil belongs to the genus *Curculionidæ*, called *Apion* because of its pear-like shape, and is included in this report as being very destructive to clover, one of the most important farm crops.

There are two or three different species of *Apions* all injurious to clover of various kinds, but their economy is practically the same, and the modes of attack and the treatment to be adopted are the same, so that it is only necessary to describe the typical species, viz., the *Apion Apricans*.

The *modus operandi* of this insect is to bore into the seeds of clover and eat their contents. Heads of clover may often be seen decaying, looking rusty, and losing the flowers prematurely. Upon investigation they will be found quite devoid of seeds, and small punctures will be found in the calices which contain or have contained the larvæ.

Not only does this *Apion* do harm in this manner in its larval form, it also eats the leaves of the clover plant in its perfect or weevil shape. Complaints of the clover leaves being eaten by "little black bugs" have been rife in parts of Kent as well as in other counties. Examination was duly made, and it was plain that the sources of the evil were indeed little dark coloured "bugs," *Apion* weevils. In the same fields they had eaten the clover to a serious extent in patches. It was the second cut, the first cut having been carried for seed. Upon looking at the heads of the seed clover it was found that many of these had not properly flowered, and showed clear signs of having been pierced by the larvæ of the *Apions*.

## LIFE HISTORY.

The weevil is hardly more than the eighth of an inch long. In colour it is a very dark blue, with the upper parts of its legs a yellowish red colour. Its beak, as will be seen in the illustration, is very long indeed and slightly curved; it is terminated by strong jaws made for boring and biting. The weevils pair just before the clover blossoms, and the female lays her eggs within the blossoms, one at each place it is believed. Larvæ very small and of a dirty white hue are soon hatched from these, and bore into that part of the calyx which is close to the ovary, and consume the embryonic seeds. They lie curled up in the form shown at No. 5. They turn to pupæ and from this state at once become weevils, at least during the summer. At the end of the summer when the clover heads have vanished breeding ceases; then the weevils go to the ground and feed upon the leaves of the plants until the cold weather drives them to hiding places in the earth. They may be found on the outsides of clover stacks, and round these, having been carried thither with the flower stalks. It is supposed that it is only

those that are on the outsides or a little way in the stalk that survive the heating process that takes place ordinarily in clover made into hay. In the case of clover cut for seed there is of course hardly any heat, and many weevils may be preserved in this manner.

## PREVENTION.

Badly affected clover intended for hay should be put into a silo, where the fermentation would effectually settle the larvæ. Both first and second cuts should both be treated thus. Where seed clover is thrashed out all the refuse and flower heads knocked off should be burnt.

## REMEDIES.

There appears to be no remedy against these weevils when at work in clover heads. When they are discovered eating the clover plants in the autumn, feeding and folding sheep upon the leys would check them.

## THE DUTCH CLOVER WEEVIL. *Apion flavipes*. Kirby.

Another species of *Apion*—*A. flavipes*—injures Dutch clover. Another—*A. livescerum*, or *A. Onobrychis-sainfoin*; and yet another tares or vetches. The whole group of *Papilionaceæ*, indeed, are very liable to injuries from this family of insects.

C. W.

In Memoriam.

An Account of Visits to, And Crossings over,

The Ruahine Mountain Range, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand; and of the Natural History of that Region;

PERFORMED IN 1845-1847: *cum multis aliis*.

In Two Papers Read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, 1878: with Additional and Copious Notes.

By W. Colenso, F.L.S., Etc.,

*Member and Hon. Secretary of the Society.*

"For out of the old feldis, as men saieth, Comith all this newe come fro yere to yere; And out of oldè bokis, in gode faieth, Cometh all this newe science that men lere."CHAUCER.

"Similis—patrifamilias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et votera." *Bibl. Sacr.*

—"Quæ fuit durum pati meminisse dulce est."SEN.

New Zealand Printed at the "Daily Telegraph". Office, Tennyson Street, Napier, 1884

## To the Early Settlers in Hawke's Bay,

(WHO HAVE ALSO EXPERIENCED BOTH PRIVATION AND TOIL, INSEPARABLE ON THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN A WILD AND UNCIVILIZED COUNTRY,)

—And Particularly to those of them whom i have with Pleasure Personally known,  
And to their Descendants,—

IS THIS LITTLE BOOK HEARTILY DEDICATED BY THEIR PIONEER IN THIS LAND,

W. Colenso.

NAPIER, MAY 15TH,

The day—50 years ago!—that I left my native Home for New Zealand.—W. C.  
1884.

## Dedication.

As one who, walking in the twilight gloom,  
Hears round about him voices as it darkens,  
And seeing not the forms from which they come  
Pauses from time to time, and turns and hearkens;

So walking here in twilight, O my friends!  
I hear your voices, softened by the distance,  
And pause, and turn to listen, as each sends  
His words of friendship, comfort and assistance.

\* \* \*

Not chance of birth or place has made us friends,  
Being oftentimes of different tongues and nations,  
But the endeavour for the self-same ends,  
With the same hopes, and fears, and aspirations.

Therefore I hope, as no unwelcome guest,  
At your warm fireside, when the lamps are lighted,  
To have my place reserved among the rest,  
Nor stand as one unsought and uninvited."

(*Longfellow.*)

## Preface.

It is probable that some who may read this little book may very properly wish to know, why these two Papers were not published in the annual Volume of the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* for 1879? seeing they were written purposely for and read to the Members of the Hawke's Bay branch of the Institute at their ordinary meetings in 1878. This question can be briefly and truly answered.

The two Papers were duly forwarded to Wellington to the Manager of the New Zealand Institute; who, some time after, informed the Hawke's Bay Society, that the Board would only publish an *abstract* of them. This, however, could not be agreed to by myself as well as by the Society; and the Manager was officially informed, that the Hawke's Bay members of the N.Z. Institute greatly wished to have them published in their entirety; and, that if it were a matter of money (the cost of printing the whole), the surplus expense would be readily met by them: this overture was also refused by the Board. And, after some further delay, the two Papers were obtained from Wellington.

In their original state they were not so long as they are now; most of the copious Notes, and a few of the poetical extracts have been added; at the same time nothing has been omitted. The Poetry has been mainly taken from my favourite modern poet, Longfellow, (whose bust has lately been placed in Poet's Corner,) in the hope of their beautiful and expressive thoughts and language striking a latent and sympathetic chord in the hearts of some of our young Colonists; and possibly inciting them to seek to know more of the beauty of Poetry, and in particular of that of our National British poets. And it is still further hoped, that the Notes (particularly those in the Appendix,) will be especially appreciated by the Settlers of Hawke's Bay.—

In my longer journeys I always carried a few choice books with me, and among them a pocket edition of *one* of our Poets:—Ossian, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Thomson, Gray, Goldsmith, Burns, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Walter Scott, Longfellow, Tennyson, &c.

In my originally writing these two Papers, and in preparing them for the Press, it has again been my aim, to stir up the younger folks among us to the study of Nature's works, with which we are profusely surrounded, and wherein is a rich mine of intellectual wealth! of these studies it may be truly said in the impressive words of Cicero, (as I myself have proved and Am now Daily Proving.)—" *Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant*" = These studies invigorate youth and solace old age.

"Ye who love the haunts of Nature,—  
Love the shadow of the forest,

Love the wind among the branches.—

\* \* \* \*

Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,  
Who have faith in GOD and Nature;  
Who believe, that in all ages  
Every human heart is human,—  
That in even savage bosoms  
There are longings, yearnings, strivings  
For the good they comprehend not;  
That the feeble hands and helpless,  
Groping blindly in the darkness,  
Touch GOD'S right hand in that darkness  
And are lifted up and strengthened;—  
Listen to this simple story."—

LONGFELLOW.

## PAPER I.

Memorandum of My First Journey to the Ruahine Mountain Range, and of the Flora of that Region.

BY W. COLENZO, F.L.S.

[*Read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, May 13th, 1878.*]

With Additional and Copious Notes.

—"*One is useful to science, however, not only by work finished but also by work begun. I will therefore make a commencement, though I may advance but a few steps.*"

*Hist. Nat. Gen. des Règnes Organiques.*

ISID. ST. HILAIRE.

*"Pleon hemisu pantos." = The half is more than the whole.*

HESIOD.

BEING the only European who has crossed the Ruahine mountain range, and that several times, (and at an early date in the history of the Colony of New Zealand,) I have been often asked to give some account of what I had seen there.

It was in the summer of 1843 that I first saw this part of New Zealand (Hawke's Bay). In that year the late Bishop of Waiapu (Dr. Williams) and myself—as Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society—left Poverty Bay in a small schooner for Port Nicholson (Wellington), intending to make the unknown and somewhat adventurous journey from that place overland and on foot back to Poverty Bay. (I having, also, only then recently arrived at Poverty Bay overland and on foot from Wharekahika (Hicks' Bay); where, in landing in stormy weather, the ship's boat was upset in the breakers, and I had to swim for life to the shore; and shortly afterwards had the further consolation of seeing the vessel I had come in down the coast, that was at anchor outside, cut her cable, and sail away S. before the gale, leaving me behind!) But after a whole fortnight at sea, battling with the adverse winds and waves, and suffering no small hardship from want of water, to say nothing of peril, which on two occasions was imminent, (ship in great distress, every sail torn to rags, passengers battened down, helm lashed, and ship given over!) we were glad to be landed on the shores—any where—and this was effected at Castle Point, then wholly unknown, entering the little cove with a narrow entrance of only a few yards directly under "the Castle"; and this we only just barely managed to do with extreme difficulty, after several hours severe pulling against the strong West wind blowing off the land in our very teeth! with only 3 oars, (one having early snapped in pulling,) and ten men, a large dog, and two big watercasks in the boat! At first, we had made the high perpendicular and weedy

From sea-weeds with which they were densely covered.

cliffs of the islet (at high tide) Kapuaarangi, which forms the N. head of the little cove, and there, under its lee, we breathed a while, and our captain was for trying to scale the smooth and slippery precipice—all hands! not knowing what it might turn out to be to the N. and S. of that cliff, himself and his men (that I say not all in



the boat) being quite worn out; and afterwards, when we had landed on the sandy beach and the boat drawn up, the captain climbed to the top of "the Castle" to see after his ship, and lo! she was hull down! which caused him greatly to despair. It was, indeed, a time to be remembered. Landing, we named with gladness this snug *little* place, "Deliverance Cove"; being, as we supposed, the first Europeans who had trod its sandy shores. Then we anxiously sought about for water, which we had for some days greatly needed, and only found it by digging in the sand at the base of the cliffs, to which spot our attention was drawn by some small water-loving plants growing there;—little dreaming there was a small river a short distance further N. Our Captain having filled his two huge watercasks with water and sand, sailed away bravely before the wind into the main ocean in quest of his vanished ship! which he fortunately found. From that place, or rather from Mataikona,—a village where several Natives (nearly 100) were then residing, who received us very hospitably—though they had little to give us save pigs,—after a fortnight's sojourn among them,—we travelled on slowly to Ahuriri in Hawke's Bay, the present Napier. During our stay there we sadly needed several common necessaries,—as potatoes, flour, tea, sugar, soap, and *salt!*

have particularly emphasised "salt";—this was for some time our greatest want; we could not relish our unsavoury pork for want of it, and were beginning to feel the need of it. At length we hit on the plan of boiling down sea-water; the natives of the place having a tolerably good-sized iron pot, which they lent us. At first, however, we were puzzled with the mixing of the two salts,—crystals of Sulphate of Magnesia (Epsom salts) and of Chloride of Soda (common salt),—which made our *Salt* terribly bitter; but this we ultimately got over by watching for the exact moment of crystallization, as the salt of Soda crystallized earlier than that of Magnesia, and so, by quickly removing the pot from the fire, and pouring away the *bittern*, we succeeded in getting a little tolerably edible salt, at which we rejoiced! but it required several boilings and evaporatings to obtain even a small quantity; partly, perhaps, owing to the freshness of the sea-water along shore. When we got our salt and added to it the green fruit of the N.Z. Pepper (*Piper excelsum*), we wonderfully improved our cooking of pork! For plates and cups we used the large shells of the Paaua (*Haliotis iris*), plugging the holes with bits of wood; while, for not a few of other little common things, we realized, that "Necessity was the mother of invention." Our large company of travelling Natives from Poverty Bay, (who, from food and water falling short,

I may here also briefly mention how we came to be in want of water. During the first gale our large body of Maoris had to be battened down below in the hold (as we were also in the cabin), while confined there they were sadly in want of water, and finding the spare and full watercasks, pulled out the bungs to get at the water, and in the darkness and disorder lost and could not replace them,—and so the water all ran out! A scene followed when it was found out by the Captain.

had nearly all been landed long before at Pamoteao,—a bluff near Cape Palliser,—in the night when the W. wind went down, and who had thence gone on to Wellington, expecting to find the ship there), arrived at the end of a fortnight with a few supplies. It was during that journey, and while in Hawke's Bay, that I first saw the Ruahine range, looking sublimely grand under its crest of virgin snow! This, alone, was to me a strange unusual sight; for although I had lived 10 years at the N. (Bay of Islands), and had also visited the E. Cape district, and had twice travelled from Hicks' Bay to Poverty Bay by the coast, and from Poverty Bay through the interior back to the Bay of Islands, I had never seen snow in N. Zealand before. It was then, too, that I first heard of the natives living secluded in the interior, beyond the snowy Ruahine mountain range, in the country lying between it and the famed central volcanic mountain Tongariro.

On that occasion Bishop Williams and myself travelled together to Te Wairoa (Clyde of the present day) when we separated; the Bishop going overland to his home at Poverty Bay, and I going to mine in the far North, by a long inland circuitous and unknown route; first to Waikare Moana, Ruatahuna, and Te Whaiti; thence, returning again to the E. Coast, to Whakataane, Maketu and Tauranga; and thence again inland by a zig-zag route from coast to coast,—to Waikato (down the river to its mouth) and by beach to Manukau, thence to Kaipara, Waipu and Whangarei,—on to the Bay of Islands and Te Waimate. A copy of my dotted track on this occasion, which I had taken by compass and mapped, with the names and positions of places and rivers (till then unknown), was sent by Bishop Selwyn to London, and was subsequently engraved and published by Arrow-smith in the maps of New Zealand.

In the following year, 1844, I finally left the Bay of Islands, and came to Hawke's Bay to reside. During the summer I saw pretty nearly all the Maoris of the immediate neighbourhood, dwelling between Tangoio and Patangata, who were then numerous; and I also wished to see, or to know something more of, those dwelling in the inland Patea country, beyond the Ruahine mountain range, of whom I had formerly heard. Of them, however, I could learn but little, save that they were believed to be there, isolated completely from the outer world, and that no way, or track was open, or known, by which they could be reached, except the long roundabout one by way of Taupo lake; which, it was further said, would be of itself 2—3 weeks journey. For a long time I could not hear of a guide, or of any one who really knew anything of the mountain passes, which, evidently had never been visited from this (the Eastern) side. At last I found a middle-aged maori named

Mawhatu, who, when very young, had been taken away prisoner into the interior from Hawke's Bay by a fighting party, and who had subsequently escaped from slavery. Mawhatu had therefore gone twice (in going and returning) through the mountain forests; but, as several years had elapsed since, and the journey was difficult, for some time he was very unwilling to go. The resident natives, too, especially the principal chiefs, Te Hapuku, Tareha, Puhara, Te Moananui, and others, were greatly against my going thither, believing I should never return; representing the mountain passes as being frightful, where several maoris had from time to time been lost through attempting the journey; particularly a *taua* (an armed party), which had left Taupo to invade Hawke's Bay, south, a few years ago, and were all lost to a man in the dreadful passes on the snowy summits, where their bones now lay bleaching! And, also, though many years before,—a famed ancestor of theirs, named Te Rangitauira, who, in peacefully travelling from Patea, to Hawke's Bay, (and yet not by the summits,) had also miserably perished with his people in a snow-storm.

For a further notice of this event, and of this ancient chief, see "Transactions N. Z. Institute", vol. XI. p. 86. However, by dint of perseverance, I succeeded in getting Mawhatu, my *quasi* guide, and some other stout young natives to accompany me; and we were to start soon after the snow should be completely gone,—by which time I should also have finished building my chimney, a matter of very great importance to me. The snow was late that summer before it wholly disappeared; it was still there glistening white in the mornings' sunbeams up to the middle of January, 1845.

And here I would make a short digression, which may not prove uninteresting to Hawke's Bay settlers in general, however improbable such may seem to not a few of the later ones among them. I have mentioned the trackless mountain forests of the Ruahine range; but, if anything different, some of the open swampy plains near the sea in Hawke's Bay were worse,—all but impassable. I may particularly notice, in passing, the present well-known extensive grassy level plain lying between Farndon, or the sea, and Pakowhai, a long peninsula bounded by water on three sides. Words would fail me to shew the original state of that land! At this time I resided at Waitangi, a place near to what is now called Farndon,—the two large Fir trees (*Pinus pinaster*) and also the row of "Cabbage trees" (*Cordyline australis*), raised from seed and planted there by me, mark the spot. The principal native villages near me, were at Waipureku (East Clive), and Taanenuiarangi, Whakatu, and Pakowhai, on the banks of the river Ngaruroro; this last village though greatly reduced and altered still remains. In those days there was no communication *overland* between those villages and Waitangi, and Te Awapuni, (the large maori *pa*, or village, near by, on the W. bank of the Waitangi creek where Karaitiana and his sub-tribe long resided,) simply because it was almost impossible to travel through the dense interlaced old jungle of "Cutting-Grass," (*Arundo conspicua*,) and other swamp-loving plants, as the N.Z. Flax (*Phormium*) and several large *Carices*, which grew there. The maoris came generally in small parties, almost every day, (indeed, too often!) from those villages to the Station; everything being new and strange to them, and having nothing to do; but they invariably came and returned in their small canoes, taking advantage of the tide to paddle up and down the river. I have travelled a good deal in New Zealand, but I never knew of a worse piece of low country to get through; neither have I seen anywhere else "Cutting-Grass" of so large a size, and growing so closely together, and forming such a dense mass, so that a man, a cow, or a horse, could not be observed even in looking down from a height (as the top of a house or a long ladder, or a chimney), when among the immense tussocks. Hence, too, it was, that I lost some of my first few cattle, before the place got cleared.

See Note A, appendix.

The whole of the low delta, or tongue of land, lying between the two rivers, Ngaruroro and Waitangi, was rigidly tabooed (*tapu*) by the Maori owners, as a wild pig, and swamp hen (*Porphyrio melanotus*), and eel preserve; hence it had never been cleared or burnt off, and the sun did not shine upon the soil, which was just as wet at midsummer as in winter, with water and slippery mud in the narrow deep pig channels or ruts, and pools among the tussocks. I well recollect on two occasions, when out visiting sick natives at Pakowhai, having also domestic natives from the neighborhood with me, and having lost the tide were returning overland rather late in the day, we were actually obliged, after much fruitless effort and sorely against our wills, (being utterly unprovided with any thing,) to remain out in the swamp all night!—with wet feet, hungry, no fire, and sadly cut hands,—through not being able to find our way through the impervious jungle. I have often of late years asked myself, when contemplating from the hill (Scinde Island) the rising township of Napier, and the inland level grassy plains with their many houses, gardens and improvements, and the fast growing town of Hastings,—which of the two wonderful alterations, or changes,—the building of the town of Napier, or the great transformation in those swamps,—I considered the most surprising, and I have always given it in favour of the plains.—And this great change was brought about much earlier than I could reasonably have anticipated, through several causes operating together, *viz.*—my own few cattle,—the introduction of grass and clover seeds, and, also, of wheat for the natives,—and through the natives around generally embracing Christianity; the chiefs taking off the *tapu* from the land, and so burning off the jungle,—their catching their numerous wild

pigs which infested it, and their cutting and scraping the flax, for sale to the shipping and traders,—who soon after my residence came to Ahuriri to trade.

The question may reasonably arise,—Why did I make such a bad selection for a residence, seeing that at that early period I had the whole land open before me?—But *there was no choice in it!* And it was only after some days spent in talking over it, with the five principal chiefs of the S. side of Hawke's Bay and their relatives, that we (Bishop Williams and myself) got that small piece of land (10 acres) assigned at all. And it was gravely and perhaps (as things then were amongst them) judiciously decided, that I could only have a piece allotted me *there*; such being a tabooed spot (as I have already stated), and so belonging to them all, and therefore in residing there I should be equally open to them all; for if I had been located on a better site near to one of their *pas*, then I should be considered as belonging to that sub-tribe resident therein, and so not free to all,—especially in their often jealous squabbling among themselves; and as to my residing any where inland—away from one of their *pas*—such was not to be thought of, and could not be allowed. At the same time, my business was to be as much as possible among the bulk of the people.

But to return:—Having made ready all my little preparations, and got my travelling party of six baggage-bearers together on Monday, the 3rd February, the next morning at 8 we started from Waitangi,—and after a long and wearisome journey by Okokoro (near the present Pakipaki) and the Taheke (on the E. side of Poukawa lake

In those days the only narrow maori track inland lay on that side of the lake. No maori then lived at Te Aute, which was all a dense extensive forest; neither was there any road or track that way, from Te Aute (where Te Hapuku's *pa* and marble bust is) to Kaikoura and Waipawa.

), we gained the islet in the lake Rotoatara by 8 p.m., all hands being pretty well knocked up; the whole country being so rough and wet, and the slippery maori foot-track through the dense scrub so very *narrow!* (from their turning-in their feet, and, being without shoes, never deviating from it,) that it often caused me to slip, and to stumble right and left.

I noticed but few interesting plants this day; among them, however, was a *Veronica* with blue flowers, which grew in the water and was not unlike our English *Veronica Beccabunga*, or *V. Anagallis*; (I mention this particularly, as I fear, it has of late years quite disappeared from this district, not having seen a plant any where for more than 20 years;)—a couple of *Carices* which were new to me (*C. C. ternana*, and *breviculmis*);—the scarce fern *Nephrodium thelypteris*, var. *squamulosum*, which I had hitherto only observed in two places in N. Zealand, viz. near Paihia in the Bay of Islands, and in a bog near Mount Edgecombe in the Bay of Plenty; (this also has long disappeared;) the fragrant little New Zealand Mint (*Mentha Cunninghamii*), named by Bentham after its discoverer my dear Botanical friend Allan Cunningham,—this sweet little plant grew profusely on a grassy hillock at Te Taheke, I had not before seen it so far S.; but this year (1884) it was again detected by me in the 70-mile Bush, between Norsewood and Danneverke; and, in the same neighbourhood, in damp spots, *Mazus pumilio*, (or a smaller closely allied species,) and *Mimulus repens*,—both rare plants; indeed this sub-order of Antirrhinidæ is but poorly represented in N. Zealand;—and, also, a small peculiar plant, a new species of *Nertera* (*N. setulosa*), which I obtained at Okororo, and which is very rare; I never found it save in that one spot until last year (1883) when I again met with it at Whakaruatapu between Matamau and Danneverke.

After a restless night, the next morning I found myself too unwell to rise early, but as I wished to get over the range before Sunday (so as to spend that day quietly somewhere at Patea), we started afresh at 11 o'clock, and travelling slowly on in a Westerly direction halted at sunset on the banks of the river Mangaonuku, in Te Ruataniwha plain.

Thursday morning was ushered in by heavy rain! which, to my great regret, continued to pour throughout the whole day.—My situation here was very uncom-fortable, for my old tattered summer tent (as we were not near any forest and not carrying poles) had been but slightly pitched, supposing when we halted that we were only here for a few hours, and intending to leave early in the morning,—but there was nothing better. To add to one's misery was the oft-repeated statements of my natives,—that the rivers would be flooded and so prove impassable after this downpour!—they were already getting disheartened.

A night of heavy rain was followed by a dirty-looking lowering morning, but as we hoped the rain was over we started at 9 a.m., making directly across the great plain, through the long dripping grass, every now and then stumbling across some wild pigs, which here were both numerous and large, and in some instances were quite prepared to stand and shew fight! which they invariably did whenever we came suddenly upon them without their seeing us, or we, indeed, them. On reaching the river Waipaoa,—which we did not far from the present village of Tikokino,—(there were no natives residing in those parts then,) we travelled up its stony bed, wading across it with difficulty several times, as it was nearly three feet deep and rapid withal. At 3 p.m. we reached the junction of this river with the river Maakaroro, and proceeded up the stony bed of the latter until 6 p.m., when, it being nearly dark where we were, we halted for the night in the bed of the river.—

I was gratified in finding several new and interesting plants on the banks of this river. Here the drooping *Carmichaelia odorata* (which I had first detected in 1843, inland from Te Wairoa,) grew plentifully on the immediate banks of the stream, filling the air with its fragrance;—here, also, especially on low banks subject to winter floods, was the pretty *Euphrasia cuneata*, nestling in graceful little clumps among the larger shrubs and trees; this plant presents a really elegant appearance in its native homes, but I fear it will prove impatient of culture in the open garden; I often tried it and failed;—on the shaded cliffy sides of the river two or three species of the peculiar Orchideous genus *Corysanthes* (*C. C. triloba*, *rivularis*, and *macrantha*,) were more plentiful than I had ever seen them, and of large size, shewing that this was their true habitat; provokingly, however, they were mostly found in the cliffs over deep water, in the angles and bendings of the stream, where they were snugly ensconced in their mossy beds, and could not readily be got at;—while here and there among the cliffs, where ever a rill of water was found trickling down its stony and mossy bed, the elegant white *Oxalis* (fitly named by Allan Cunningham its discoverer, *catarractæ*,

*We had gathered it together at the Kerikeri waterfall in the Bay of Islands in 1838.*

) was to be found;—

*"Where flows the fountain silently  
It blooms a lovely flower;  
White as the purest virgin snow,  
It speaks like kind fidelity,  
Through fortune's sun and shower:"—*

this plant, said to be the same as a species found at Cape Horn, is now the *O. Magellanica* of Dr. Hooker's Hand Book. Although Sir W. Hooker, who knew the Cape Horn Plant, had published this species as a new one and under A. Cunningham's name of *O. catarractæ* in his *Icones Plantarum*, vol. V. pi. 418, (in 1842,) giving also a highly characteristic drawing of it. I also detected this graceful plant growing very near the summit of the range, among the snow in full bloom. The whole of the N.Z. species of the genus *Oxalis* need revision: I believe that several valid species will be found. A. Cunningham, in 1839, (who knew only the Northern plants,) made 9 species; those I also subsequently found, and I am pretty certain of having discovered two additional ones since here at the S. Dr. Hooker, however, gives only two species as belonging to N.Z., although he allows of several varieties. Further on, in the thickets on the river's banks, I noticed that pretty and neat species of Myrtle, *Myrtus pedunculata*, bearing a profusion of small edible fruit, its hard stony seeds however, are a great drawback to its use; growing with it was the very handsome Southern species (or variety, according to Dr. Hooker,) of *Hoheria*, (*H. populnea*, var. *lanceolata*,) which when fully in blossom is a most lovely flowering tree; here, also, it was that I discovered another species of *Carmichaelia* (*C. flagelliformis*), a tall shrub of peculiar growth, with long pendent thong-like branches, bearing only few flowers. Very fine specimens of the large leaved *Fagus* (*F. fusca*, var., = "Black Birch" of the colonists,) were also here, common on both sides of the stream; and the neat little species of *Arthropodium* (*A. candidum*), which I had first detected at Tolaga Bay in 1838, was not unfrequent in rocky spots on the river's sides; but wholly unlike its allied species, *A. cirrhatum*, in never being found growing in tussocks or clumps.

Early the next morning we resumed our journey, as before keeping in the bed of the river, and every now and then wading its cold stream from side to side, so as to escape the prostrate trees, and drift wood, and boulders, and to have a little easier walking. Several times, both yesterday and to-day, we were so dissatisfied with our course, from being continually wet and very cold from the icy water, and without the rays of the sun in the deep narrow bed of the river,—and also from the little progress we were making in spite of all our continued efforts,—that we tried to force our way through the thickets and "Bush" growing on the river's banks, but found that we could not get on that way, so had to take to the cold river again. At 3 p.m. we arrived at what appeared to be the immediate base of the upper mountain which rose steep before us; here two rivers met, each nearly of the same size, and coming from opposite directions; we tried both for a short distance but found their beds so narrow and steep, and partly choked with dead trees and shrubs, and masses of stone, that we gave up all thoughts of going any further in that way, and so prepared with a good heart to climb the face of the narrow tongue of land which lay between the two streams. It was easy to see, here, that our guide Mawhatu was at a loss; evidently he had been in the main river below before, but where to turn off from, or to leave, it, he knew not. About an hour before we had arrived at the fork, we had on a sudden a fine clear view of the summit towering high above us, yet, apparently, not very distant; it seemed a round-topped hill, and is called, by the old Maoris, Te Atua-o-mahuru.

See Note B, appendix.

This had been often pointed out to me when at Waitangi (it being one of the conspicuous peaks of the

range,) as the head over which our course lay; it had now, however, a slight coating of snow on it, no doubt from the late rains. There it stood alone, uprearing its proud crest in solemn grandeur!—

—*"Soaring snow-clad through its native sky,  
In the wild pomp of mountain majesty."*

But the sight of that snow there on the ridge before us did not increase our comfortable feelings and thoughts. As we were now leaving the river and entering into the dense mountain forest, I travelled with my pocket compass in my hand, having taken bearings occasionally during the day in the river, where also, we had, at times, seen for a few moments the sun peering down through the trees. It was of no use now (as it then seemed to us in our happy ignorance) to think of drawing-back, although had we known clearly what was before us we should certainly have done so,—therefore we persevered and kept on steadily in as straight a course as we could until 6 p.m., when, it being nearly dark, we halted in the forest, not knowing where we were; but believing we had not much further to go to gain the wished-for summit. I immediately sent two of my companions to seek for water, which we had greatly needed for the last three hours, and fortunately they found some in a declivity in the side of the spur not very far off. This spring, I afterwards learned, is called Te Wai-o-kongenge—fit name!—

That is, The spring, or water of weariness,—or, of being quite worn out!

Our journey this day was a very fatiguing and disagreeable one all the way we had come, for it lay in the river's bed, either in the water or along its stony and rocky banks, which gradually contracted. In some places the sides of the river were perpendicular, and in others impending, and from 100 to 250 feet high, with fine forests of *Fagus* on the top; the trees of which were continually falling down along with the earth into the river beneath. Here and there an immense mass of earth had slipped quietly down the upright cliffs bringing the large trees with it, standing as they originally grew; these had been arrested in their descent when about half-way down, and there they stood in the side of the cliff fair and flourishing; in two or three spots during the day I noticed a double slip or subsidence of this nature, in which there were two tiers of living trees so standing in the side of the cliff; adding not a little of a novel and picturesque nature to the scene. I had fully intended in passing-on to take on my return a sketch of this unique landscape, but (as it will be seen) pressing circumstances prevented me.

I had carefully examined the earth and stones throughout the whole journey up this river on both sides, and also for some short distance up the two smaller ones at the fork, but I found no indications of anything save the common rocks; the limestone formation of Hawke's Bay had long disappeared; the cliffs being composed of a yellowish argillaceous clay with red veins, reminding me of those of the Bay of Islands and of Pencarrow Head in Cook's Straits. In one place only in the Eastern bank did I discover a few traces of fossils, not however in limestone (as is so common in Hawke's Bay) but in a kind of dark indurated clay, resembling the clay formation of the East Cape; but though the matrix was not very hard, I could not get a single specimen perfect or nearly so; and as I knew I should return by the same course, I left them for my return journey down the river.

I noticed several pretty spots during the day: some under the fine large spreading Beeches (*Fagus fusca* = "Black Birch"), having the ground beneath dry and carpeted with their own deciduous leaves, and with a sheltering mossy bank and nook at hand, strongly reminded me of Milton's wish:—

—*"When the sun begins to fling  
His flaring beams, me, goddess, bring  
To arched walks of twilight groves,  
And shadows brown, that Sylvan loves,*

\* \* \*

*There in close covert by some brook,  
Where no profaner eye may look.—  
And may at last my weary ago  
Find out the peaceful hermitage,  
The hairy gown and mossy cell,  
Where I may sit and rightly spell*

*Of every star that heaven doth shew,  
And every herb that sips the dew.*"—

Other spots, where we briefly rested,—at the foot of a handsome tall Beech tree by the side of the brawling stream,—brought Gray's stanza fresh to mind:—

*"There at the foot of yonder nodding Beech,  
That wreathes its old fantastic roots so high,  
His listless length at noontide would he stretch,  
And pore upon the brook that babbles by."*

We passed several fine symmetrical Beeches of this species on the banks of this river both yesterday and to-day, some were of a very large size having straight clean trunks, while their foliage, etc., looked charming. The poet's truthful description of the Beech of the N. hemisphere has often appeared to me, on many occasions when travelling through the Beech woods inland, to be just as applicable here; for instance, when he says:—

*—"bursts are seen  
Of beauty on the beech tree; a rich shade  
Of crimson teeming life; buds sanguine hued,  
As though the sunset clouds had o'er them play'd  
Until they left their dye upon the cone  
Tipping each slender branch with beauty all their own."*

In Botany this day in the bed of the river I did but little: near the cliff at the fork I noticed a fine plant of *Dianella intermedia* with its lovely turquoise blue berries; the first I had seen since I left the Bay of Islands, where, in fern lands, it is not unfrequent; I welcomed it as an old acquaintance! A *Loranthus*, too, I detected parasitical in a tree in the side of the stream, which was new to me, of this I took a specimen, intending to take more on my return; this species is, I think, *L. tenuiflorus* of Dr. Hooker. On first climbing the steep ascent and entering into the forest I was surprised to find the sweet-smelling epiphytical Orchideous plant *Earina mucronata* growing very profusely on the damp fallen crags, where it had also assumed a short grassy appearance. Subsequently, at Cape Turakirae, (the S. Cape of Palliser Bay,) I again detected this Orchideous plant in similar situations in stony hollows among crags; and growing with it a closely allied genus, *Dendrobium*, (perhaps *D. Cunninghamii*, but with undeveloped flowers and apparently distinct,) both wearing the same low stunted cæspitose grassy appearance, but very healthy.

Of these two Orchids I have recently (1882) made two new species, *Earina quadrilobata* and *Dendrobium Lessonii*, having last year re-discovered them growing pretty profusely and in flower in a few spots in the "70-mile Bush." (*Vide* Trans. N.Z. Inst., vol. XV., pp. 325—328, for full description.

At first I thought it must be a new species, as I had never before found it off a tree, where it usually grows long. With it, also, grew plentifully, a species of *Astelia* bearing short leaves, which I considered new, and from its prominent markings I named it *A. trinerva*. This species is possibly included in *A. nervosa*, of Dr. Hooker, from which species, however, I think it will be found distinct. This peculiar and eminently N. Z. genus, greatly needs careful revision. Here, too, pendent from its tree, in which it grew parasitically, hung a most lovely species of *Loranthus* (*L. flavidus*,)—the elegant leaves of this plant are of a glaucous light-green colour with a dark margin, and greatly add to its unique beauty in its living state. I never found this species in any other locality; but, subsequently, (whenever I passed this way, which I did several times in the following years,) I took specimens repeatedly from this one plant; I was much pleased with this discovery. Ascending in those forests I found a new herbaceous *Senecio* (*S. lagopus*), with fine large yellow flowers and peculiar simple cordate leaves, growing plentifully. We soon left the large serrated leaved *Fagus* with its rough elm-like bark behind, and got among another species, *F. Solandri*, having small entire leaves and smooth bark; this is the common tree of those forests, its trunk is literally covered with elegant *Hepaticæ* and beautiful foliaceous and coralloid and other *Lichens*, of several genera and of many colours, and all charmingly healthy,—prominent among them are the genera *Sticta*, *Parmelia*, and *Sphærophoron*, with many smaller kinds. Linnæus has truly said,—"*Natura maxime miranda in minimis.*"—

"Some are reddish, some brown, some grey, and some black,  
And they are puckered, edged, button'd, or fringed, front and back:  
Some are lying like leather close under your feet,  
Some waving from trees in the forest you'll meet."—

MISS TWAMLEY. Lichens are perennial; they also grow very slowly and attain to an extreme age. It has been stated by eminent Lichenologists, that some species growing on the primitive rocks of the highest mountain ranges in the World, are estimated to have attained an age of at least 1000 years; and one author mentions, "after the lapse of nearly half a century, having observed the same specimen of *Sticta pulmonaria* on the same spot of the same tree." I myself have noticed in the mountain woods some that I had early marked, as having increased but very little in size during many years. This Order of plants, humble and minute though it appears to be,—

"Holds a rank  
Important in the plan of Him who framed  
This scale of beings; holds a rank which, lost,  
Would break the chain and leave behind a gap  
Which Nature's self would rue."—

On many of these trees grew parasitically another fine *Loranthus* (*L. tetrapetalus*) in dense bushes bearing crimson flowers in profusion, so that, in some more open spots among the closely-growing trees the whole forest wore a reddish glare, especially when such was so situated on a western slope as to become heightened by the beams of the setting sun. I have noticed this on several occasions in passing through those woods; and, also, that at, or near, sunset, all flowers or leaves of a red colour, throw out, as it were, a profuse kind of red glow at that particular hour: this I have also often observed here in our Napier gardens. Another peculiarity pertaining to this species of *Loranthus* was its generally being found at a pretty uniform height from the ground, some 15—20 feet, seldom lower or higher. At the spot where we halted I discovered a fine bushy Compositaceous shrub of stout diffuse growth, having peculiar dark-green leaves, thick broad and serrated, reminding me at first sight, of those of the *Hydrangea*; this plant has been named by Dr. Hooker *Olearia Colensoi*.

It was now Saturday night, and, our slender supper and prayers over, we sat for a while in the deepening gloom of the forest to talk, or, rather, to ruminate moodily over our position.

"Within the solemn wood,  
Solemn and silent everywhere!  
Nature with folded hands seemed there,  
Kneeling at her evening prayer!"

Our supply of food was running short, and there was nothing eatable in those forests. We, however, supposed and hoped we had not much farther to go ere we should reach the summit; and then to descend to the native villages on the western side, of which we had heard and where we looked for food and welcome, would not take us long. One of my party

The present well-known old chief, the head of his sub-tribe, Paora (=Paul) Kaiwhata; who was then a fine strong young native, and one of my baggage-bearers on that memorable occasion, and not unfrequently carried me on his back through the deeper waters of the river. He, also, accompanied me in a similar capacity on several journeys to Patea, Palliser Bay, and elsewhere, in after years, and did good and voluntary service to the Church Mission.

was distantly related through his mother with the Patea tribe, although he had not seen any of them for many years, if at all! And so, after some talk, we arranged, that he (Paora) and my *quasi* guide, Mawhatu, should rise at break of day and start away without any load over the mountain tops for Patea; and, if possible, get some of those natives residing there to come to see us, bringing a supply of provisions with them. We had also feared that the mountain passes if still under snow would prove impassable to my baggage-bearers.

Without doubt we all slept soundly that night, being helped thereto by the constant serenading of the Weka (*Ocydromus australis*) and the Owl (*Athene Novæ Zealandiæ*)! No other sound was heard, for there was no

wind, not even the plaintive *sough* of the night-airs; and I could not help thinking, with Cowper, that

"Sounds inharmonious in themselves and harsh,  
Yet heard in scenes where peace for ever reigns  
And only there, please highly for their sake."

And also, at intervals, that,— "Silence in its depth speaks."

We, who were to remain there, did not wake and get up till 10, a.m., and when we did we found ourselves completely invaded! A large blue-bottle fly inhabits that zone of forest in countless numbers, and is most audacious and teasing. Our blankets and woollen clothing had been attacked and were literally filled with its eggs; the hair of the natives' heads had also similarly suffered. We were not long in doing all we could to save ourselves, our provisions, and our clothing from this new foe, which I, in all my travelling, had not before met with. Had it not been for these blue-bottles we should have passed a most tranquil day of rest! everything there was so delightfully cool and still, fit emblem of the Sabbath; barring the plague of the flies, it literally was a

—"calm and secure retreat  
Of sacred silence, rest's eternal seat!"

We left the tent, &c., and retreated some distance into the dry woods, and there sat on the soft thick moss, where we held Divine Service,—in all likelihood the *first* Christian service on that mountain. Here "a dim religious light" was shed around; and though the scene might be deficient in some of those associations which are wont to add solemnity to the hallowed fane;—yet "He who dwelleth not in temples made with hands," is in very deed present within the solitude:—*so I have often felt.*

"The groves were GOD'S first temples. Ere man learned  
To hew the shaft and lay the architrave,  
And spread the roof above them; ere he framed  
The lofty vaults to gather, and roll back  
The sound of anthems,—in the darkling wood,  
Amidst the cool and silence he knelt down,  
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks  
And supplication. For his simple heart  
Might not resist the sacred influences,  
That, from the stilly twilight of the place,  
And from the grey old trunks that high in heaven  
Mingled their mossy boughs, and from the sound  
Of the invisible breath that swayed at once  
All their green tops, stole over him, and bowed  
His spirit with the thought of boundless power  
And inaccessible Majesty. Ah, why  
Should we, in the world's riper years, neglect  
GOD'S ancient sanctuaries, and adore  
Only among the crowd and under roofs,  
That our frail hands have raised!  
—————Be it ours to meditate  
In these calm shades Thy milder majesty,  
And to the beautiful order of Thy works,  
Learn to conform our lives."—————

We spent the day quietly, sometimes reading together (in the N.T. our only vernacular book), sometimes thinking on and talking of our two absent companions; no one caring to move about. The water too, of our little spring, taken a little higher up, was delightfully cool and good tasted,—indeed delicious. My poor companions, however, had suffered much from their long walk with naked feet over those horrid stones and so much wading! and having but little to eat, and tobacco not yet being in fashion among them, they preferred sleeping to talking; so I was left in great measure to my own resources.



"To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,  
 To slowly trace the forest's shady scene,  
 Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,  
 And mortal foot hath ne'er or rarely been;  
 To climb the trackless mountain all unseen,  
 With the wild flock that never needs a fold;  
 Alone o'er steeps and foaming falls to lean;  
 This is not solitude; 'tis but to hold  
 Converse with Nature's charms, and view her stores unroll'd."

Towards evening my friends were all on the *qui vive*, expecting every moment to hear the absent ones returning; but, after many false alarms, and no small display of superstitious fears on their part, dark night again enshrouded us, and they went to sleep,—leaving me once more to my meditations.—

*"There is a quiet spirit in these woods,  
 That dwells where'er the gentle land wind blows.  
 —————And here, amid  
 The silent majesty of these deep woods  
 Its presence shall uplift thy thoughts from earth,  
 As to the sunshine and the pure, bright air  
 Their tops the green trees lift."*

The next morning we were awake and up very early,—to escape our foes, which commenced their persecution with the sun, and to receive our absent friends, and, it might be, visitors; for no Maori likes to be taken unawares. Our scanty meal and prayers ended, we agreed to go on towards the summit, thinking it was near, and hoping soon to meet those whom we were so anxiously expecting. Leaving our tent and all baggage there, and taking our axe with us, (my natives each only wearing a shirt,) we started. Hour after hour, however, passed in arduous toil before we gained the top; the primeval forest being so filled with decaying trees and prostrate limbs and tangled shrubs and herbage, that we could scarcely get through it. We had some difficulty also in finding and keeping in the track of our two companions who had preceded us; this, in an untrodden forest is curious, and deserves mention;—the guide, or foremost one, (if he is right in his course,) every now and then half breaks through the top or conspicuous side branch of a shrub or small tree, and allows it to hang down; this operation, called *pawhatiwhati*,

That is, Touch and break gently.

is of great use to those behind, and to strangers and stragglers, who, of course, look out for it, taking care not to do the same. And these marked trees so remain and are of service for several years, as I have often proved. Care, however, must be taken not to confound those broken or bent purposely by man, with those broken accidentally by big falling branches of the higher trees, or bent down by the weight of the snow in the winter. Certain thick stemmed and tough shrubs, in particular those having large leaves, are well fitted for the purpose, and are always selected, if at hand;—as various species of *Panax*, and of *Coprosma*;—for the half broken and reverted branch dries gradually and so retains its leaves on it, which, after a little experience, is easily caught by the sharp eye of the Maori. At times (in after years) when puzzled as to our course in the forests, I have both known of, and joined in, a consultation over the broken branch of a shrub;—whether it was done purposely by man, or accidentally through natural causes; and times have been with me and my party when even life depended on it! In the event of branches wrongly broken, and so having to retrace one's steps and alter one's course,—first, the hanging branches are plucked away, and, secondly, a handful of tops of leafy branches, or big ferns is placed on the moss athwart that erring path or opening, which serves to warn those who come after; this also remains in tact for years.

There is yet another means of forming and finding a track through those mountain forests, particularly of those high up where *Fagus Solandri* is the common or only tree. For in those sub-alpine woods the trees sometimes grow widely apart, and there the ground is densely carpeted with an erect closely-growing perennial moss, resembling in texture a Turkey carpet. Some of those untrodden undisturbed spots have appeared to me so enchantingly beautiful, especially when extra adorned with the lovely compact *Hymenophyllum* ferns, that I have thought it a desecration to tread on or to disturb them. This moss if trodden on by a travelling party never afterwards rises to its former pristine state; not that it dies, or that the eye of man can detect the difference,—the

difference is detected only by the *touch*, by the practised *foot* of the woodsman. I was some years in learning before I succeeded in mastering it, but I eventually did so; but then I wore boots. Here, in this case, the only enemy is the wild pig; but, fortunately, he does not generally keep so high up on the mountains. [*Vide*, vol. I. "Transactions N.Z. Institute", *1st Edition*, Essay "On the Maori Races," by the writer, p. 6:—and, *2nd Edition*, p. 342.]

In our ascent we passed over two of the worst of the "passes," and they were bad indeed! frightfully so. One in particular, as if an avalanche of half the mountain's side had suddenly slipped down into the distant gulph below, leaving a ragged razor-back edge of loose loamy sandy soil at a very acute angle. On this, which extended for 300 yards, connecting two peaks, nothing grew, as the sand and earth was continually rolling down. The old Hawke's Bay natives had informed me, that the bones of a *taua* (a fighting party) composed of some 12—20 men lay bleaching at the bottom; the *taua* having attempted the pass when snow lay on it, through which they were carried off their legs down to the bottom and miserably perished! Some of my companions, whose hearts beat high on arriving at the famed spot where the deadly enemies of their tribe had been lost, declared, on gazing down, that they could see some of their white bones below jutting up! which tale they told with great relish and with many embellishments on their return. The stream which ran bounding through the narrow valley beneath was so far distant, that, though we could see its waters sparkling in the sun, we could not hear it. This pass was never attempted in the winter season, nor yet immediately after heavy rains or the melting of the snow, nor in windy weather

In after years I crossed and recrossed this pass several times, the last time being in May, 1852,—and always, by taking care and only travelling in the summer season, without loss or great danger. On two occasions, however, we met with little adventures, which may be here mentioned as illustrations of the place. One happened in returning late that season from Patea; we had seen from where we were at Maketu (a village of Patea), that snow had fallen on the range, (which fell as rain where we then were,) and so we had to wait a few days until it was melted; this taking place we started. On the pass, however, I, in boots, slipped down a yard or two, but holding my ground through my long and tough maori spear, which I invariably carried, was helped out.—The second also happened in returning to Hawke's Bay on another occasion,—when one of my maoris, who had often gone with me, seeing the pass looking so clear and firm and tempting, with the sun, too, shining on it, took a run down the high slope from the W. side leading to it, and keeping too much down was carried off his legs by the treacherous wet and slippery *debris!* for a moment we feared for him, but I called out to him to stop, if possible, and make no exertion, when, by joining hands and ropes and with my tent poles, we got him safely up on surer ground. He had a good fright, however, which was also salutary to him, and to all—for the future. I had ample proof of the deceptiveness and danger of the place; which fully bore out all the old maori relations of it.

Here, on the open western summits, we lingered until 3 p.m., (the natives with me not knowing what course to take, and all fearing to go astray,—for, after a gining the high table-land to the W. of the pass, we found it open, flat, and intersected with shallow snow-runs, and low bushes, and boulders, so that one might easily have proceeded in almost any direction,) and though we kept up a good constant look-out,—the maoris with their keen eyes, and I with my telescope,—we failed to discover any signs of natives approaching, or of any human habitation or cultivation, or fire or smoke, in all that enormous tract of open country of several score miles in extent, that lay like a desolate wilderness panorama before us!

"Far in the distance dark and blue,  
Each hill's huge outline you might view;  
Clothed with brown fern, but lonely bare,  
Nor man, nor beast, nor house was there.  
Yet even this nakedness has power  
And aids the feeling of the hour:  
There's nothing left to fancy's guess  
You see that all is loneliness:  
And silence aids,—voice sounds too rude  
So stilly is the solitude."

From Scott's "*Marmion*", Introduction to Canto II., altered to suit the scene,

We had, however, no doubt as to our two absent companions having passed on; here were their footsteps, plain enough on the pass; one, evidently, having had a rather ugly slide downwards, before that he recovered himself. We, being thus doubly warned, kept nearer to the ridge; but the earth was much firmer to-day at noon, than it was to them on yesterday morning. Being warned, however, by the declining sun, we, unwillingly and

with heavy hearts, and hungry and thirsty to boot, returned to our cheerless encampment, regaining it in silence by 6 p.m. Soon after, however, we heard voices! and our two absent companions bounded into our midst. We welcomed them heartily, but they sat down and burst into tears, crying bitterly yet quietly, in which we all more or less joined, as we knew the action was symbolic of bad tidings; and it was some time before the two newly-arrived ones could speak, they were so dreadfully exhausted. Having drunk a little water and recovered themselves, they soon told their sad tale. They had had nothing to eat since they had left us, save a few small cabbage-tree tops, they had found yesterday growing among the fern lands lower down the mountain, which they had broken off and eaten raw.

Or rather the small blanched bases of the leaves, which affords a scanty nutriment.

They had travelled all day yesterday from early dawn till dark, when they lay down wearied among the fern, without even the common solace of the pipe; arising again this morning by daylight to renew their tramp. In the whole of the country through which they had travelled (and they must have travelled many miles), they could not find a living being,—neither man nor beast. They had, indeed, gained an outlying eastern village of Patea, called Te Awarua, situate on the upper Rangi-tikei river, but it was without inhabitant, and without cultivations or stored food; the natives, evidently, had gone away some time before, they knew not whither. Paora wrote on a piece of bark with a bit of charcoal to let them know of us, and of his visit,—if, perchance, any one among them could read writing. They would not have returned, however, had it not been for me, left with their companions in the forest. Poor fellows! it was painful to look at them; they were sadly worn and torn, both in body and in mind, and in clothing, too, with their long journey over such a desolate and rugged country, and with their great exertions, and want of food. We soon got them a small supply out of our little rapidly lessening store; and, after they were refreshed, we considered our situation, and determined *una voce*, that as we had but little food left (a mere handful of rice), and the nearest village was at Te Rotoatara Lake, we would retrace our steps without delay, and hasten thither early to-morrow.—

I have told the story of our troubles, I will also give that of our joys,—or, rather, (speaking correctly,) of *mine*,—for I was quite sure that my companions shared it not with me,—quite the contrary;—so I had it all to myself.

On quitting our encampment this morning and ascending through the forest, the first novelty I discovered was a handsome fern a species of *Alsophila*, (*A. Colensoi*),—a genus new to N.Z., though plentiful in Australia; some specimens of this fern took the form of short tree-ferns, with a stem or trunk 2—3 feet high; while here and there, peeping amid the mosses, in little nooks at the bases of the larger trees, were those two pretty little plants, *Callixene parviflora*, and *Libertia micrantha*,—just as I had formerly found them on the mountains of Huiaarau, on the western side of Waikaremoana, in 1841. Several new species of *Coprosma* were also here in great plenty and variety, especially in the more open spots; indeed, they grew so compactly together in some places, more like a clipped old Hawthorn hedge, that it was impossible to get through them, and so we had to walk *on* them! (This reminded me of what Dr. Hooker and the officers of the Antarctic Expedition had told me, in 1841, they had found in Auckland and Campbell Islands.) In many places those shrubs bore our weight and tread pretty well, but in some we slipped, and then it was really awkward and disagreeable, for we could not touch the earth below with our feet, and with all our exertions could scarcely extricate ourselves; fortunately they were not prickly. Here, too, grew abundantly, Forster's original species, *Coprosma foetidissima*, on which he had founded the genus, and which well deserves its doubly odorous name! I had never seen it before; and the natives with me greatly disliked its smell, calling it *Hupiro*, = double-strong-stench, its name in the interior. The *Panax* genus was also well represented here, a few new species I detected,—*P. P. Sinclairii*, *Colensoi*, and *simplex*. Here, but only in one spot, I discovered that beautiful fern *Hypolepis millefolium*; the only place in which it has yet been found in the N. Island. As we neared the summit,—which we were constantly expecting to see, and which, as we had never caught a glimpse of it through the long forest, we could not help thinking we had somehow missed by taking the wrong spur; still, although we occasionally descended over undulating ground, we were gradually ascending, there was no mistake about that!—as we neared the summit, and also the end of the great forest, we fell in with many beautiful and novel shrubs of the genus *Veronica* (as *V. V. laevis*, *buxifolia*, *tetragona*, and *nivalis*). I was much gratified in finding *V. tetragona*, as I had long been in quest of it,—for I had sent a few years before a very small specimen of it (which had been given to me by Mr. Bidwell,) to Sir W. Hooker, who published a drawing of it with description in his *Icones Plantarum*, (tab. 580,)—before that, however, Sir William had received a *barren* branch of the same species from Dr. Dieffenbach, who had obtained it in Queen Charlotte's Sound (S. Island), a drawing of that specimen with description had also been given by Sir William in that same Botanical work (tab. 547), who then supposed it to belong to a Pine, and possibly a *Podocarpus*, naming it *P. Dieffenbachii*. In its barren state it very much more resembles the branch of a Pine, than it does any other known N.Z. plant. Here were, also, several species of *Pimelea*, (as *P.P. Gnidia*,

This is another plant I had long been looking out for, as it was originally discovered by Forster in the S. Island, when here with Cook, and on it he had established his genus *Banksia*, in honour of Sir Joseph Banks, (*B.*

*Gnidia*,) and it had not been met with since.

*buxifolia*, and *Lyallii*,)—while a large stout species of the ever-to-be-remembered genus *Aciphylla* was, for us, alas! far too plentiful; but of this very peculiar plant more anon. Here too in great plenty was *Fagus Cliffortioides*, another Beech,—a species of much lower and more diffuse growth than the other N.Z. species of that genus, which we had left behind us, in our ascent. But when at last we emerged from the forest, and the tangled shrubbery on its outskirts, on to the open dell-like land just before we gained the summit, the lovely appearance of so many and varied beautiful and novel wild plants and flowers richly repaid *me* the toil of the journey and the ascent,—for never before did I behold at one time in N.Z. such a profusion of Flora's stores! in one word, I was overwhelmed with astonishment, and stood looking with all my eyes, greedily devouring and drinking-in the enchanting scene before me. I had often seen what I had considered pleasing Botanical displays in many N.Z. forests and open valleys, particularly at the Kerikeri waterfall (Bay of Islands),—before it was rudely disturbed by civilization!—and in a sweet well-remembered glen near the E. Cape,—again at Lake Waikare,—and on the mountains of Huiarau and of Ruatahuna, far away in the interior,—but all were as nothing when compared with this,—either for variety or quantity or novelty of flowers,—all, too, in sight at a single glance! Splendid *Celmisias* and *Ranunculuses* in countless number, intermixed with elegant *Wahlenbergias* and beautiful *Veronicas*, *Ourisias* and *Euphrasias*, *Gentians* and *Dracophyllums*, *Astelias* and *Calthas*, *Gnaphaliums* and *Gaultherias*, and many others. Here were plants of the well-known genera of the Blue-bells, and Buttercups, Gowans and Daisies, Eyebrights and Speedwells of one's native land, closely intermixed with the *Gentians* of the European Alps, and the rarer Southern and little known novelties,—*Drapetes*, *Ourisia*, *Cyathodes*, *Abrotanella*, and *Raoulia*.—

"Flowers tell of a season when men were not,  
When earth was by angels trod;  
And leaves and flowers in every spot  
Burst forth at the call of GOD;  
When Spirits singing their hymns at even,  
Wandered by wood and glade;  
And the LORD looked down from the highest heaven,  
And blessed what He had made."

It was observable, also, that while all those plants already named with many others were small-sized dwarf plants, pretty nearly of a uniform height, only rising a few inches above the soil, and growing together as thickly as they could stow,—more indeed, in this respect, like short turfy Grasses, or Mosses,—there were also among them several new species of the common N.Z. genera,—the known species of which in other parts were mostly to be found as tall shrubs and small trees,—but here the new species were only of a very low rambling prostrate habit, resembling large trailing Mosses, almost hidden among the low herbaceous plants already mentioned; those new plants comprised *Myrsine nummularia*, *Pittosporum rigidum*,

Discovered by me 2 years before on the mountains of Huiarau, during my second long journey through the interior; but there only as a shrub 4—5 feet high, being at a much lower altitude.

*Podocarpus nivalis*, *Coriaria angustissima*, *Dracophyllum recurvum*, and several elegant Alpine species of *Veronica*, such as,—*nivalis*, *Lyallii*, and *catarractæ*.

Often, indeed, did the words of the great Teacher come to memory, (uttered, perhaps, by him when reviewing a similar Floral display as to beauty in the lovely liliated meads of Palestine,)—"Consider the lilies!" And more than once I exclaimed,—

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."—

Nor could I forget what is related of Linnæus,—who, on his arrival in England, and first seeing the wild broken country covered with the common yellow Furze in full blossom, fell on his knees in ecstasy at such a sight.

Having mentioned this, I may be permitted also to add, on the authority of our great English Botanist Sir J. E. Smith,—that Linnæus having taken a plant of our British Furze with him to Sweden, always lamented that he could scarcely preserve it alive through a Swedish winter, even in a greenhouse.

Sure enough I am, that I then *understood* Linnæus' action, and fully sympathized with him.—

But how was I to carry off specimens of those precious prizes? and had I time to gather them? These mental

questions completely staggered me for I realised my position well. We had left our encampment early that morning, as I have already said, thinking the crest of the mountain range was not far off, and, consequently, taking *nothing* with us; so we were all empty-handed and no "N.Z. Flax" (*Phormium*) grew there. However, as I had no time to lose, I first pulled off my jacket, or small travelling coat, and made a bag of that, and then (driven by necessity!) I added thereto my shirt, and by tying the neck, &c., got an excellent bag; while some specimens I also stowed into the crown of my hat. I worked diligently all the time I was there,—and, though I did all that I possibly could, I felt sure I left not a little untouched.

But probably secured in following years.

Fortunately the day was an exceedingly fine one, calm and warm, so that I did not suffer from want of clothing. That night I was wholly occupied with my darling specimens, putting them up, as well as I could, in a very rough kind of way, among my spare clothing, bedding, and books;

It may be worth recording for the N.Z. Colonist, and with the hope of encouraging the acquisition of specimens under difficulties, that of those specimens of Alpine plants obtained with difficulty on this occasion,—drawings of nearly 60 have been published, by Dr. Hooker, in his *Flora Novæ Zelandiæ*, and by his father Sir Wm. J. Hooker, in his *Icones Plantarum*, and *Species Filicum*; and, further, for many years those specimens were the only ones known of those plants to the Botanists of Europe. only getting about 2 hours sleep towards morning.

Of all the peculiar and novel plants which grew on that mountain the large new species of *Aciphylla* (*A. Colensoi*.) was the one which we were all the most likely to remember,—not only for a few weeks but for all time! It gave us an immense deal of unpleasantness trouble and pain,—often wounding us to the drawing of blood. I suppose, that each one of the party,—speaking quite within probability,—received at least 50 stabs from that one plant,—which my native companions (without boots or trowsers) justly termed, *infernal!* I will attempt to describe it from memory (although it is more than 25 years

Now, at date of publication, upwards of 32 years! *Tempus fugit!*

since I last saw it in its mountain home). Imagine a living circle of 5 feet diameter (the size of the full grown plant), with all its many harsh spiny ray-like leaves radiating alike outwardly from its carrot-shaped root, forming almost a plane of living elastic spears, composed of sharp and stiff points, or flat spikes, each several inches long, these make up the leaf, and many of them are set on each long leafstalk of nearly 2 feet in length; from the centre rises the strong flowering stem, an erect orange-coloured spike or stalk 5—6 feet high, containing many hundreds of small flowers, gummy (or having a varnished appearance,) and strong-scented. The general appearance of these plants, at times, reminded me of a lot of large shallow umbrellas opened and fixed upside down on the ground. Of course there were hundreds of smaller plants, also forming circles, of all sizes, from 3 inches diameter upwards; while some still younger were just pushing their needle-like points (not in a circle but drawn together) through the mossy soil. These plants rarely ever intermixed their spear-shaped leaves to any great extent; they seemed as if they just touched each other with their living circle of points, and when we should put our feet as warily as possible on some tolerably clear spot between them, we were often caught on all sides as if in a man-trap, and not unfrequently roared pretty loudly from the pain, while our vain attempts to extricate ourselves often increased it. More than once each one of us was so seriously caught as not to be able to move without assistance. On one occasion in particular we all (save *one*—the sufferer!) had a hearty laugh over an adventure with one of these plants:—one of our party had been pricked, or stabbed, rather severely by an *Aciphylla*, insomuch that the blood spurted out; at the sight of this he got enraged, and obtaining the long-handled axe, which another was carrying, he hastened toward the plant, vowing he would cut it up by the roots! the spear-like leaves, however, spreading-out all round like a circle of fixed bayonets,—being longer (including their big leaf stalk) than the helve of the axe and very elastic, quite kept him from doing any harm to the plant, which seemed to mock his impotent rage; so, after gaining a few more pricks for his labour, he was obliged, doubly vexed though he was at our looking on and laughing, to give up the unequal combat!

This story Was too good to be lost, especially to & *fighting* race like the Maori, and the joke was long kept up at the expense of the poor fellow!

I may here mention, that when I next came this way from Hawke's Bay, I took two extra natives with me specially armed with long-handled axes to clear the way a little; otherwise baggage bearers

My bearers, too, having been warned, some by experience and some by hearsay, took with them on this occasion sundry old cast clothing to use as defensive armour. Dr. Hooker, in his Hand Book N.Z. Flora, (1864), says:—"There are apparently two varieties,—both are called" [down S.], "Spear-Grass," and "Wild Spaniard". Sir D. Munro states, that it forms a thicket impenetrable to men and horses." p. 92.

could never have got over those spots which abounded with the *Aciphylla*. One of these little open hills bore the ancient name of Maunga Taramea (Mount Taramea

*Taramea* being the Maori name of this plant; meaning, *The rough spiny thing*; not unlike, in meaning, that given to it by Forster.

) from the plant growing so profusely there. The genus was founded by Forster, (one of the Botanists who accompanied Cook on his 2nd. Voyage,) on a plant they found at Dusky Bay (S. Island), which, however, is very much smaller in all its parts and with fine lax leaves, though sharp enough,—hence its fit generic name, *Aciphylla* = needle-leaved.

In a subsequent journey I brought away living plants of *Aciphylla* (with several other mountain novelties), which did pretty well in my garden at the Station at Waitangi for some 2—3 years, until a heavy flood came, when they (with many other Alpine plants) were submerged and killed by the thick deposit of silt. Five species are now known, and described by Dr. Hooker. Dr. Lauder Lindsay has also subsequently fully described *Aciphylla Colensoi*, with coloured drawings and dissections in his "Contributions to the Botany of New Zealand",—a work that I have only very recently seen.

Had our countrymen and fellow-colonists from Great Britain,—from

—————"the hills of the North,—  
Where bloom the red Heather and Thistle so green;"—

had they ever required an indigenous plant in N.Z. to supply the place of their National emblem—"Old Scotland's symbol dear"—the *Thistle*, this one would have nicely suited them. For such another could scarcely be found so highly adapted in every respect to bear their well-known motto,—"*Nemo me impune lacessit.*"

One other curious plant I should also like to mention; a plant in every respect the very opposite of the *Aciphylla*,—for it was small and soft (woolly), and only *one* was seen! not only on that occasion but on every other, for I have never met with it since, although I have often sought it diligently; nor has it since been found in the South Island (or any where else) save once by the late Dr. Sinclair; who, according to Dr. Hooker, met with it at Tarndale, at about the same elevation (5000 feet) and in a similar situation "growing in shingle." This little shrubby plant of only a few inches high, is a very peculiar one,—it scarcely seems like a living plant at all, being so dry and sapless and densely woolly, more like an artificial flower, or those which we may have sometimes seen projecting in *alto relievo* from thick floccose or rough dining-room wall papers. Every part of it, stem branches leaves and flowers, is alike covered with dense white wool, giving it a strange appearance. This plant, a species of *Helichrysum*, or *Gnaphalium* (*G. Colensoi*), grew on the edge of the top of the second ugly pass,—composed entirely of dry shingle of various sizes from big lumps to dust,—(which was continually falling from the cliffy height above, where the rock and stones were undergoing rapid disintegration through the incessant action of the elements,)—up this it was difficult to climb from the softness of the pile of natural "metal" and the great steepness of its incline, in which we sank to our knees at every step, and sometimes were carried down a few feet by the rolling shingle. A drawing of it is given in the *Flora Novæ Zealandiæ* under the name of *Helichrysum leontopodium*; the difference however between those two genera (*Helichrysum* and *Gnaphalium*) being so very slight and tending to separate closely-allied species, they are now combined by Dr. Hooker in his *Hand Book of the N.Z. Flora*. This little plant is allied to the celebrated *Edelweiss* of the Swiss Alps. Near to this plant grew another, a species of *Geum* (*G. parviflorum*), which, curiously enough, was also a *solitary* one of that species, it not having again been detected in the North Island,—though it has been found in similar localities in the South Island, both by Dr. Sinclair and by Dr. Hector; and Dr. Hooker also found it in the Auckland Islands group;

This plant was first described by Dr. Hooker in his *Flora Antarctica*, vol. I, as *Sieversia albiflora*; where a drawing of it is also given.

it is also found in S. Chili and Fuegia.

Single plants, like these two last mentioned, found *alone* in their natural habitat, each, too, bearing a profusion of flowers and seeds,—raise a curious question in Geographic Botany; one causing much thought and not easily answered.—

I must not omit to notice the Grasses of the mountain. Of them I found several species (more than I had expected) belonging to various genera, these have all been subsequently published by Dr. Hooker.

Plates of several of these Grasses are also given by Dr. Hooker in his *Flora Novæ Zealandiæ*.

A few of them are identical with some of our esteemed English pasture grasses,—as *Festuca duriuscula* (Hard Fescue), and *Agrostis*, species, and also *Hierochloe alpina*; while others of them are also found in Tasmania and Australia. Some are now, and have not yet been detected any where else in New Zealand; others of them have been since found in the South Island;—one, a new species of *Poa* (*P. Colensoi*), which I brought from the summit, is common in the South Island, and is said to be among the best of the indigenous food grasses of New Zealand;

Some time ago I received a letter from a friend, a Naturalist, travelling in the South Island; in it he says:—"For the first time I had some idea of the importance of those Grasses *Poa Colensoi* and *Festuca*

duriuscula to the stock feeder. Thousands of acres of poor stony land are covered, or, correctly speaking, carry little else than these Grasses, mixed sparingly with *Trisetum Youngii*, *Raoulia*, *Gentian*, and *Aciphylla Colensoi*; but the stock feeding on such pasture is everywhere in good condition."

—and, curiously enough, one species, *Catabrosa antarctica*, has only been hitherto met with in the far off antarctic islet Campbell Island, where it was also found by Dr. Hooker. None, however, grew thickly together forming pastures,—like the well-known native grass here on our Hawke's Bay hills, *Microlæna stipoides*, and the common grasses of our meadows,—except here and there around a few snow holes, and snow water courses of gentle declivity, where a very short pale grass grew thickly,

Said, by Dr. Hooker, to be a depauperated variety of *Festuca duriuscula*; found also on the mountains in the South Island.

but only extending a few feet each way; it always bore a half-withered appearance, no doubt caused by the snow and the sun. Nearly all of the various species of Grasses were found in single plants or small tufts scattered among other herbage,—except the one short turfy species by the snow holes before mentioned; and one other small grass, a species of *Erharta* (*E. Colensoi*), which grew in cushion-like patches, or large tufts, scattered here and there on the tops.

There were also several new species of Mosses, *Hepaticæ*, and *Lichens*, obtained on this visit, some of them being highly curious; a few I may briefly mention. On the bleak topmost crags I found two species of *Andræa*, (a peculiar genus of Moss,) nearly the colour of the dark rocks on which they grew; this is a small genus common in arctic and antarctic lands, and these were the first specimens of that genus discovered in New Zealand,—one of them was also a new species; neither of them have since been detected in this country, although both have been found in Fuegia and the South American Andes. I also found there, on those exposed stony summits, *Usnea melaxantha*, a remarkable and rare black Lichen of the Andes and of arctic and antarctic latitudes.—Growing with this was another curious plant, a fine species of *Stereocaulon* (*S. Colensoi*

Named by me *S. botryodes*, from its clustered fruit; but altered by Professor Babington, to its present name. And now, (1884,) finally removed to the genus *Pilophoron* (*P. Colensoi*), by Dr. Knight.—*Trans N.Z. Instit.*, vol. XVI. p. 400, with a drawing.

), both plants being highly indicative of rigour and exposure.

"This is the highest point.—

How bleak and bare it is! Nothing but mosses

Grow on these rocks.—

———Yet are they not forgotten;

Beneficent Nature sends the mists to feed them."

Numerous species of the beautiful Order of *Hepaticæ* I also managed to secure and bring away; the drawings of several of them with magnified dissections have also been given by Dr. Hooker in his *Flora Novæ Zealandiæ*; these, however, must be seen and studied in order to appreciate them; for, minute and insignificant as many of them appear to be at first sight, and to the untrained eye, no Natural Order of Plants more richly repay investigation, or more fully exhibit the wondrous and lovely variety skill and economy of Nature.

"GOD made them all,

And what He deigns to make should ne'er be deem'd

Unworthy of our study and our love.

———The man

Whom Nature's works can charm, with GOD Himself

Holds converse."

The view from the top on the Eastern and Northern sides was very extensive,—extending from Cape Kidnappers to Table Cape, and thence to Mount Tongariro and further. The whole of Hawke's Bay with all the interior plains appeared like an immense panorama spread out beneath us,—but much too distant low and flat,

and too dull in its colours,—of rusty fern, and dingy Raupo (*Typha*), and pale cutting-grasses, and dry withered plains, with a lead-coloured misty-looking sea in the distance,—to present anything of a pleasing appearance. In the view from the summits looking towards the East I was greatly disappointed.

Two kinds of birds which we saw peculiar to that region deserve a passing notice. One was the pretty little blue-grey mountain duck, or teal, the Whiio of the natives (*Hymenolaimus melacorhyncus*). This bird is common in most of the retired mountain streams of N. Zealand, and is a graceful quiet harmless creature; we met with it on almost every turn of the river, but always swimming. I often stopped to admire their graceful movements, as they allowed me to get pretty close up to them, owing to their innocence of Man! in all probability never before having been disturbed by him in their native haunts. Their flight is but short, and they often dive. It was a pleasing sound in the night silence to hear their plaintive sibilant whistle—*Whiio* (the Maori word drawn out), hence their name. From the sound of their cry, by night, it seemed as if they were being carried down by the current; and I fancied it was done by them to keep up their companionship with each other in the dense darkness. The other bird was a small brown one of the size of a lark, but with a white head,—which, together with its mute familiar habit, gave it a strange appearance. This bird was only noticed in the thickets near the top of the range, where, on our sitting down or resting, several would soon come closely around us, looking inquisitively, and noiselessly hopping from spray to spray. It was wholly new to me; and the natives with me did not know its name. I often, in my subsequent visits met with this little bird, but only in that one particular locality. I never once heard its note. We named it Upokotea, and Pokotea,—from its white head. I could not prevail on myself to kill any of them to carry away as specimens.

Two other small animals captured during this journey may also be briefly mentioned. One was a very singular Spider, which I obtained in the lower forests, living in nooks and crannies in the earth at the foot of trees and shrubs; it was of a thick oblong shape, and black colour, much more arched in its back than spiders generally are, with several curious sharp jutting points in its back and sides, making it appear more like a beetle than a spider, and giving it a very strange appearance, altogether different from any species of Spider I had ever before seen: of this species I got several specimens. The other was a peculiar little molluscous animal, of the Linnæan genus *Limax*,—a kind of slug about inches long, possessing a small external dorsal shell, and therefore probably belonging to the genus *Testacella* of Cuvier,—which, however, has its shell near its posterior extremity. This pretty little animal I found on moss on a living Beech tree, very near the summit of the range. I only obtained one specimen, which, I regret to say, I lost, and never after met with another.—

The remainder is now very briefly told.—

Tuesday, Feby. 11. At an early hour this morning we struck tent, ate our scanty breakfast, packed up, and commenced our journey back to the Station. We travelled on all day (as we had agreed to do,) in moody silence, until 7 p.m., when we halted for the night at a little wooded place on the banks of the Waipaoa river called Motu-o-wai, and not far from the present village of Tikokino— formerly well-known, but now that isolated wood of white pine trees is washed away! We were very tired and hungry, and sore with so much walking over boulders and stones in the bed of the river, and with the incessant wading; 108 times

In after years I travelled several times to and from Patea by this route, but always made, whether going or returning, 108 wadings. To make sure of their number, I always tied a cord to the button-hole of my coat, and every crossing made a knot in it. Wishing to find an easier route to the interior, having also tried several, I tried one leading from near the gorge in the Manawatu river, by the rivers Puhanginga, Oroua, and Rangitikei,—having been induced to do so from the representations of some old Maoris of Manawatu,—but that took me more than twice as long on my journey to Patea, and gave me, in two days, 237 wadings! we sustained much hardship on that occasion, in the dense forests on the W. side of the Ruahine range. After my return from this *first* journey, I suffered more than 2 months from sciatica brought on by those wadings in that icy river, bivouacking, and want of proper nourishment.

did we wade in this day's march across the *main* stream, in some places the current was so strong and the water so deep that we could scarcely keep our footing; the water, too, in the upper portion of the river, was icy cold. We lay down that night without much ceremony, and early the next morning we resumed our journey, reaching the western banks of the Lake Rotoatara at 1 p.m. Here we bawled to the *pa* on the island for a canoe, and made small fires of herbage (there being no wood) as signals, but were neither heard nor seen (the wind being against us). At sunset, however, we were fortunately observed; and crossing over to the island we got food and slept there. The next morning, public prayers and breakfast over, we started pretty early for the Mission Station, where we arrived at 8 p.m., very weary,—but, I trust thankful to *GOD* for His many mercies.—

And thus ends my *first* attempt to cross the Ruahine mountain range.



Vita labore dedit mortalibus."

HOR.

## PAPER II.

Memorandum of a Journey into the Interior,  
In which I Succeeded in Crossing the Ruahine Mountain Range, with Notes on the Peculiar Local Botany of  
that Region, ETC.

BY W. COLENZO, F.L.S.

[*Read Before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, October 14th, 1878.*

"At the close, Dr. Spencer proposed, and Mr. J. A. Smith seconded, a unanimous vote of thanks to Mr. Colenso for his very interesting Paper, which was also earnestly supported by the Rt. Rev. Chairman (the Bishop of Waiapu), and warmly accorded by the meeting, with a further particular wish, that the same should be recorded." Ext., Proceedings, *Trans. N.Z. Inst.*, 1878, vol. XI. p. 570.

]

WITH ADDITIONAL AND COPIOUS NOTES.

"Upon the sides of Latinos was outspread  
A mighty forest;—  
And it had gloomy shades sequestered deep  
Where no man went."—

*Endymion. KEATS.*

"*Alloi kamon, alloi onanto.*"—*Some toil, others reap.*

*Ancient Proverb.*

ON a former occasion I narrated my first visit to the Ruahine mountains, in which, after much toil, I succeeded in gaining the summit, although I failed in crossing the range.

I should not now greatly care to say anything more about it, but for three reasons:—(1) To note particularly the localities of the peculiar Botany of the interior,—then, for the first time found, and not since, I believe, detected;—(2) To leave on record some mention of the difficulties of travelling in New Zealand in those earlier days, before there were either roads or horses, and when even the route itself was necessarily so very difficult and different to what it is now:—and (3) to show that I did accomplish my original intention,—"*perseverando vinces*"!

As may be readily supposed—by those who have heard my first attempt to cross the Ruahine—I had had quite enough of the toil and hardship attending that journey soon to repeat it on the E. sides of the range; yet being still greatly desirous of visiting those Natives living beyond it, I was determined to do so as early as circumstances would permit. This, however, I saw could not be again attempted for some time, as I had not only a great deal to do at home in a newly-formed Station, where everything depended on myself; but I had also a large amount of other distant travelling to perform;

See Note C, Appendix.

besides it seemed all but impossible to get Natives to accompany me,—although they were quite ready to go with me on other journeys,—the last one having so greatly disheartened them.

During that year, (1845,) I was laid aside for some time through a severe attack of low fever, and when I had scarcely recovered I had to travel on foot in mid-winter to Poverty Bay on important business, and back to my residence at Waitangi;—and then, by the coast line, to Palliser Bay and Wellington, and to Ohariu and Ohaua in Cook's Straits,—and back again to Hawke's Bay through Wairarapa and Manawatu. Being the first European who travelled through the then dense and all but impassable forest ("70 mile Bush, S.") lying between the Ruamahanga in Wairarapa and the Manawatu rivers, where I also gained several rare Botanical novelties. And then I had a similar amount of heavy travelling on duty to perform throughout the following year, 1846; during which year I spent seven months in my tent.

Therefore, it was not until early in the year 1847 that I again recommenced my journey to Patea; this time by the "round-about-way" of Taupo.—I should here however mention, that during the preceding year I had been twice on foot over this new ground as far as Tarawera, between Hawke's Bay and Taupo Lake; and had

made every enquiry relative to the Patea natives and the route thither,—though the information received was almost *nil*.

Having got all ready for our journey, myself and five natives (including my old friend Paora, who was still very desirous of seeing his mother's tribe), we started from Waitangi on the 9th February. Crossing the Ahuriri harbour in a canoe, for which we had to wait there some time, and travelling on, we brought up for the night at a small maori village on the banks of the Petane river,—about two miles above the present School-house, but not by the present *near* road thither.

The next morning, breakfast over, we again moved on, stopping at Kai-waka to roast a few potatoes for our dinner, and halted for the night at a place on the hills called Wahieanoa. Wind very high this day, and suffering from a half-sprained ankle. At night for a long time in constant succession the noisy Petrels kept flying-in from the sea to their breeding homes in the cliffy sides of the high hills beyond us. I had often heard them on former occasions, when spending a night at Petane and Tangoio, and other villages near the sea, but this night they seemed by their cries to fly much lower, possibly attracted by our fires. The natives on foggy nights make fires in suitable spots on the high hills near their nests or burrows to attract them, and kill numbers of them easily with their sticks. They are very fat, and are considered dainties.

—————"Above, in the light  
Of the star-lit night,  
Swift birds of passage wing their flight:—  
I hear the beat  
Of their pinions fleet:—  
I hear the cry  
Of their voices high  
Falling dreamily through the sky.  
But their forms I cannot see."

11th. Early this morning we recommenced our journey; the westerly wind still dreadfully high so that on those exposed heights we could scarcely stagger on against it! Halted at Te Pohue to breakfast; thence on, by the mountain pass Titiokura, to a little village on the banks of the Mohaka river called Mimiha, where we halted for the night.—

In ascending towards the crest of the pass—Titiokura, I was much pleased in again observing that fine plant *Ourisia macrophylla*; it grew in large beds, or patches, in boggy and damp spots by the sides of the mountain streamlet, and being in full flower and undisturbed looked well with its large glossy leaves. I had first met with this fine plant in 1841, in the country between Poverty Bay and Waikare Lake, but then it was not in flower.

Roots, however, which I obtained and planted at the Bay of Islands, subsequently flowered. Vide, "London Journal of Botany," 1844, vol. III. p. 19.

Dr. Dieffenbach had also found it growing at Mount Egmont. This is one of the few fine "garden flowers" of New Zealand. Here, on the high ground among the fern, grew my new species of *Coriaria* (*C. Kingtana*),

"Lond. Journal of Botany," 1844, vol. III. pp. 20, 21. I don't know under which of his three species of this genus in the "Hand Book", Sir Joseph Hooker has placed this (to me) very distinct plant,—I mean, distinct from the other N.Z. species,—possibly under *C. thymifolia*; but quæ. I have long been convinced of our having four, or, perhaps five species of this genus in N.Z.,

—presenting much the same appearance as when I originally discovered it in 1841; this plant, in a soil it loves, would look well in the foreground of a large shrubbery. On the summit I discovered several Botanical novelties: *viz.*—a fine bushy species of *Gnaphalium* (*G. prostratum*), of low growth but with numerous ascending branches bearing a profusion of flowers. This plant was also found by Sir J. Hooker in the Antarctic Islets, who has given a fine drawing of it in his *Flora Antarctica*, tab. 21. A peculiar tufted *Rammculus* with small leaves on long petioles and bearing very long scapes (*R. multiscapus*): a low shrubby species of *Coprosma* (*C. depressa*), bearing sweet berries which were good eating: and a very low plant of *Gaultheria* having large edible fruit hidden under its leaves,—reminding one of the allied Whortle-berry of one's native Land; this plant,—which also grows plentifully on the open downs of Taupo, and elsewhere,—is, I suspect, placed by Sir J. Hooker, under *G. antipoda*, as a *var.* of that species; but it varies greatly from the true *G. antipoda*, which is a very common plant,—particularly at the N. parts of this island, and differs widely from it in habit, &c. Among the crags I found,—a curious species of *Exarrhena* (*E. saxosa*), densely covered with coarse white hairs: a minute species of *Pozoa*, a pretty little plant, resembling the coast species (*P. trifida*), but smaller in all its parts, with coriaceous sessile leaflets and bearing bristly hairs: and, hidden among the stony cliffs, a very small Fern of compact cæspitose growth, a species of *Grammitis*,—which Sir Jos. Hooker has

included

In the "Hand Book", not in the Flora N.Z. under *Polypodium Australe*, but which is, in my opinion, very widely different from all the states I have seen of that plant,—as well as from my *Grammitis ciliata*,

Described in *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, 1844, vol. II. p. 166.

(a rare and little known Fern, which I also believe to be specifically distinct,)—although, in the "Hand Book", Sir J. Hooker has also included this, and others also, with it. Two additional species of the genus *Uncinia* (*U. leptostachya*, and *U. rubra*.) I also obtained here; this latter species often gave to some parts of the dry plains in the interior quite a red hue when viewed from a distance, so that, at first, I wondered what it could possibly be that made them look so strangely red.

See, "Trans. N.Z. Institute," vol. XIV. p. 53,—for some remarks on this plant.

From a small isolated hill near the centre of the pass is a delightful view of Ahuriri and the southern part of Hawke's Bay including Cape Kidnappers;—

———"Where the round ether mixes with the wave;"—

—this landscape is well worthy of a drawing. I have often in passing this way, when the weather was fine and air clear, contemplated it with admiration.

A modern Ecclesiastical writer has pleasingly said, (in writing on the Apostle Paul,)—"We can hardly believe that he who spoke to the Lystrians of the 'rain from heaven,' and the 'fruitful seasons,' and of the 'living GOD who made heaven and earth and the sea', could have looked with indifference on beautiful and impressive scenery."—As that of Tarsus, with the river Cydnus, and the mountain heights of Taurus. (*Conybeare and Howson*.)

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever:  
Its loveliness increases; it will never  
Pass into nothingness."——

The old road by the ancient Maori track through the fern, in descending from Titiokura to the banks of the river Mohaka, was then very different to what it is now; for, on nearing the high banks of that river, a sharp turn was taken to the right running parallel with it, by which you descended into a small stream at a place called Mangowhata, and crossed it at the very edge of a cataract, on indeed the slippery brink of the bed of a single rock forming the fall, which curved suddenly upwards towards the verge, and having a deep dark pool close within; and then, on landing on the opposite side you climbed up a steep ascent until you came again quite as suddenly on to the very brink of the cliff, by the edge alone of which the track lay! This was owing to the high hilly back ground immediately above falling very abruptly towards the cliff in front. Both those perpendicular spots, situated too within a few yards of each other, were very dangerous, and, as a track, fearful to look at; and, in travelling towards the interior, you could not see them owing to the thick overhanging fern and other herbage growing on the brink, until you were on, or partly passed, them, and then it was too late to think of retreating. I supposed the height of the waterfall to be about 80, and that of the adjoining cliff about 120, feet. The small stream in the summer season was often lost in fine spray before it reached the bottom, where it fell into a semi-circular basin, or large pool, having thickets of white pine and other trees on the low banks around it. After my first surprise on my first visit, in which I was very nearly carried over, I always managed to crawl along on my hands and knees through the fern and small *manuka* shrubs (*Leptospermum*). Once passed this place, however, the descent to the Mohaka was gradual and easy, which indeed was the sole reason of the old natives adopting that course.

Some 2—3 years after this, a party of Natives from the interior bringing some pigs for sale at Ahuriri,—several of the animals went over this cliff and were killed; this, however, was not the first time of such happening. The wonder with me was, how they managed to get them along at all! But not long after that, on the Maoris getting horses this track (with many other similar ones) was completely abandoned.

12th. This morning we crossed the Mohaka, which is pretty rapid here, without very great difficulty;—by means of long poles to which we secured ourselves, and by wading diagonally;—in some places, however, we could scarcely keep our footing, and there is a cataract just below.

On one occasion I was shut up here on the W. side of the Mohaka in time of flood for nearly 3 days, with very little to eat! While we were there waiting the subsiding of the waters, another travelling party of Maoris arrived, also from the interior, who were going in the same direction to the coast; after consultation we managed to cross and to escape, by collecting with no little trouble dry *raupo* (*Typha*) leaves and flax flower-stalks, wherewith to make a big moki, or catamaran,—also, green flax leaves to twist into ropes. Having finished our huge unwieldy raft, which occupied more than a day in making, it was thrown into the river, and

towed up through the still water a considerable distance, to allow for the strength of the current, now very great, besides we all feared the waterfall below; then, our baggage, myself, and dog being on it, it was dragged and shoved and drifted amid much uproar to the opposite shore, the natives swimming and propelling! Taken altogether, with the dark frowning cliffs on either side, it was a scene worthy of a sketch.

The bases of the cliffs, near the water's edge were closely covered with a matted vegetation of a small species of *Viola* (probably *V. Cunninghamii*), which bore fruit plentifully but was without flowers. Travelled steadily on to a place at the edge of a forest named Te Waiparatu, where was a stream of water, and where we halted to roast "our roast" (potatoes); thence, resuming our journey, four hours more walking brought us to Pirapirau, a small village of Tarawera district: much fatigued today with the hot dry and dusty pumice! which overlies much of this country.—

I gained, however, a few new and interesting plants; among which were,—a new species of our endemic genus *Meliccytus* (*M. lanceolatus*), making, as I think, the sixth species of that genus found in N. Zealand; also

An undescribed plant, a small tree of upright growth, discovered by me in a wood near the sea a little N. of the East Cape, in 1841, and referred by me to this genus, has leaves 10in. in length. Unfortunately, though I saw several trees there, none were either in flower or fruit; and I have never since met with it. (Vide, Lond. Journal Botany, 1844, vol. III. p. 8.)

; two species, or varieties of *Aristotelia*, now placed under *A. fruticosa*. I also noticed, on the higher grounds in the forests, some remarkably large specimens of that curious genus *Griselina*, which, from their huge grotesque yet dumpy trunks, seemed very aged; here, also, were some large specimens of *Carpodetus serratus*,—one which I measured being 4ft. 5in. in girth; a distinct species of *Drimys*, (originally discovered by me in 1841, on Huiarau,) *D. axillaris*, a much larger and handsomer tree than the species found at the N., was also common here: this plant would make a fine shrub for a shrubbery if it would live away from the forest's shade.—On the barren pumice plains near Tarawera grew commonly in clumps a new species of low shrubby *Dracophyllum*. (*D. subulatum*). In the streamlets, deep down in the narrow ravines which intersected this pumice-stone plain, were many elegant fresh-water *Algæ*,—of the genera *Conferva*, *Tynda-ridea*, and *Oscillatoria*, of various colours,—one, in particular, possessing a steel-blue metallic appearance; of all these I secured specimens for Home. From the sides of a small river near the village I obtained a peculiar looking Grass, *Gym-nostichum gracile*; and from a cliff overhanging the stream, a fine new species of *Gaultheria* (*G. oppositifolia*), which greatly pleased me. Strange to say I have never found another plant of this species, although from its size, large green leaves, and unique appearance, it is not easily overlooked. In subsequent years when passing by this way I often obtained good specimens from it.

At this little village I remained two days; the natives (who had lately embraced Christianity) wishing me to spend a Sunday here with them,—and I was very desirous of giving my still painful ankle a rest. This village is on the very edge of a dense dry forest, so that it was truly delightful to wander in its shade, which I did for some hours this day (Saturday), while waiting for the natives to assemble, who were at this season absent at work in their several scattered and distant plantations. There I obtained many choice and elegant specimens of the Orders *Hepaticæ* and *Musci*

A large number of them will be found in the "Hand Book Flora N.Z."

; some of the former were odoriferous, and of the kinds formerly used and prized by the New Zealanders for scenting their anointing oils.—

———"Within the gloom of these majestic woods;  
Roaming or resting under grateful shade,  
Where living things, and things inanimate,  
Do speak at Heaven's command, to eye and ear,  
And speak to social reason's inner sense,  
With inarticulate language."—

Monday, 15th. Rose early before 5 and started at 6; halted at 7.30, at a place called Opitonui to breakfast. This was a truly pretty spot; in a grassy patch near, that neat little plant of *Liliaceæ*,—*Herpolirion Novæ-Zelandæ* abounded, enlivening the place with its flowers; yet it was the only locality I ever saw it in: the discovery of this gem pleased me very much. After leaving Opitonui the travelling was wretched! up high hills and through lately burned forests,—black prostrate trees and ashes! without any vestige of a track, so that we were often at a loss. We all wanted water greatly during this day's hot march; at last I found some in a large hole in a *Tawhai tree* (*Fagus ?fusca*),

Vide "Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science", vol. II., p. 234; "London Journal Botany", vol. III., p. 19, 20; also, Hooker's *Icones Plantarum*, tab. 630, 631.

which, dark-coloured and nauseous as it was from the leaves of the tree, seemed like nectar to our dry throats. The *Fagus* trees of this forest were remarkably fine and straight;

———"forests huge,  
Incult, robust, and tall, by Nature's hand  
Planted of old;"——

and standing largely apart, so that there was no difficulty in travelling through them; this is mostly the case in the forests of this tree, where there is little or no undergrowth, owing, no doubt, to the shedding of its leaves, which thickly cover the ground. Our easy travelling, however, was not without danger, for there was no track, or we could not find it, having lost it early in the morning, so we travelled in a great measure by compass. I was not a little surprised today, in walking through open fern-land, to find the fern covering the ground to be a species of *Dicksonia*, which there grew much like the common N.Z. fern, or Bracken (*Pteris esculenta*). It extended for some distance, and presented a novel appearance. From its habit and manner of growth, &c., I named it *D. unistipa*,—but I find Sir J. Hooker has considered it to be the same as *D. lanata*, (to this fusion, however, I cannot agree,) very likely owing to his receiving parts only of fronds from me, the similarity in several species of the *Dicksonia*, and also of the allied genus *Cyathea*, being very great; so that it is almost impossible to distinguish their true characteristics from dried specimens of portions of large fronds. We called at Moturoa, a small village on the Taupo plains, hoping to get a little food, but there was none to be had at this season,—the potatoes not being yet ripe in these high localities. Proceeding on, very wearily, (my native companions sadly needing food, and I still in pain from my ankle,) we met a woman with a large basket on her back, who had just come from a clearing in a thicket hard by, in which there was an old forsaken potatoe plantation. Poor soul! she had travelled a few miles thither in hopes of gleanng some food for herself and children, and now was returning to her home;—with that genuine hospitality so common to the New-Zealander, she soon dropped her load and gladly gave us (strangers) a few handfuls of the smallest potatoes I ever saw! they were all throughout just the size of marbles (not *large* ones), or of the potatoe berry, yet pretty nearly ripe!—forcibly reminding me of what the potatoe was originally in its native woods. We continued our course towards Taupo Lake; passing a waterfall, which came out under a natural bridge; and a little further on the head of the Rangataiki river, which here takes its rise from a small lake; and crossing the great plain brought up at 7 p.m. at a common place of bivouac of the Maoris named Ohineriu; all hands completely *tired*! Here, unfortunately, was neither wood nor water; we tried, however, to get a poor fire by pulling up the withered tufts of long wiry grass, which, according to the mode practised here by the natives of these parts, we twisted together before burning, through which device they did last a little longer, and so we managed to scorch our scanty supper of small potatoes, and soon lay down as we were for the night,—with the stars shining down upon us.

16th. Rose, stiff, and very unwillingly, at 5, and soon started. An hour brought us to a beautiful clear stream of water, which we were told was the head of the Mohaka river, that here takes its rise from a small lake to the S. and E. of the large lake of Taupo,—its water was very cold, and appeared delicious. There being no wood here by this stream we were unwillingly obliged to continue our journey, and that without much stopping, to reach a breakfast place. I obtained, however, an elegant fern, a *Gleichenia*, which grew thickly together and of uniform appearance and height in beds or patches on the low wet banks of the stream; this novelty pleased me much and I named it *G. Hookeriana*; but I find Sir J. Hooker has placed it as a var. (*alpina*) of *G. dicarpa*; from that old and well-known Australian species I still think it will yet be found to be specifically distinct. A species of *Cyathodes*,—apparently differing widely from the N. form, in size, leaf, flower, and fruit,—grew here on the hills, which plant, however, Sir J. Hooker has placed as a var. of *C. acerosa*; to me it seemed very distinct. Travelling on, in an hour more, we reached a wood called Te Kotipu; here, at last! we breakfasted on boiled rice. Looking about in this wood, while breakfast was getting ready, I detected a new species of *Pittosporum*, a handsome leafy small upright shrub, with dark-green leaves, which I named *P. viridis*,—now, probably, the *P. fasciculatum* of Sir J. Hooker. From this wood we proceeded on towards Taupo Lake, passing Te Waiharuru, where a stream rushes leaping and bounding underground through an awful chasm, shaking the earth for some distance around,—whence its fit name = the Rumbling Water. From this place we travelled to Hinemaia, another river of bounding water: thence to Apungao-tekura,—the course being mostly up hill. At 6 p.m. we gained Orona, a small village on the Taupo Lake, very hungry and very tired.—For the last 3 miles, however, the travelling was comparatively easy, over open ground and downhill.

17th. The next morning we did not leave very early, being wholly dependent on these villagers for our breakfast; while it was cooking I strolled on the sandy shores of the lake, and there detected a new species of *Chenopodium* (*G. pusillum*,) growing plentifully. In conversing with an aged native, I found, that he was one of

that very marauding party who had attempted the descent on southern Hawke's Bay natives in years gone by, and who, owing to the sudden loss of a number of their party on the tops of the Ruahine range, through their being carried down by the snow, had returned without effecting their design (as related by me in my first Paper, page 17). He narrated the whole affair, giving the names also of those who had so miserably perished there; and gravely adding, that it was all brought on through one of them having wantonly desecrated that sacred spot—the heights above (*mingit*). Which superstitious belief had, I suspect, a great deal to do with their not seeking to afford their unfortunate comrades any relief. It having also been construed by their priests as ominous of future defeat at Hawke's Bay, if they persisted in going thither, caused them to return. When this man heard from Paora, that *I* had been on that very spot, he got angry, and would not for some time believe him,—making also a great fuss about our now going thither or returning to Hawke's Bay by that way—on account of its sanctity—being a *tapu* spot! Forcibly reminding me of what the old Maori priests at the N. had formerly said, when they found that I had really been to the Reinga (beyond Cape M. V. Diemen), and had drunk of the sacred "spirits well" there.

*Viz.* On Easter Day, 1839. From this little stream, which runs over the rocks into the sea, close to the celebrated *Reinga*, or Spirits' Leap into the lower world, (according to their legendary belief,) they (the spirits) take their last draught of earthly water ere they mount the ridge and take their final plunge into the realms below! my dog, on that occasion, had the hardihood to do as I did, and to quench his thirst there! to the great indignation of some of the Natives.

Leaving Orona we travelled S. by the shore of the lake to Motutere, a much larger village than the former, reaching it at 1.30; here were several natives. We staid here a while to dine, being hospitably pressed by the natives. Just outside the village a single large sized Karaka tree (*Corynocarpus laevigata*) was growing; a rare sight so far from the sea-coast. At 3 p.m. we left, and travelling steadily on halted late on the banks of the river Waikato, near its head, where we found a small party of natives employed in dubbing timber. We had heard of them, and were in hopes of getting something from them to eat, but, unfortunately, we were again obliged to go supperless to bed.—

18th. Rising this morning we were constrained to await the arrival of a native who had gone to fetch some potatoes. We left, however, at 8, being ferried across the river by the natives in their canoes,

On another occasion, however, I was not so fortunate. We had been staying at Rotoaira, on our returning from Patea and Murimotu, and on leaving the village were assured that we should find canoes and natives here. On our arriving there were neither—not anywhere hereabouts, and we were sorely puzzled how to act, for the river was high, and the distance back to Rotoaira long; we did, however, at last, get over safely, the baggage being the difficulty. I had to swim across with a newly twisted green-flax rope girt round me, lest I should be carried down by the strong current beyond the one narrow landing place among the dense bushy vegetation on that side of the river.

and arrived at Rotoaira village, at the base of the Tongariro mountain, in the afternoon, and were well received by the natives,—so here we stopped the night. As this was the last S. village of the Taupo country I endeavoured to get a guide hence to the Patea district, and only after great difficulty succeeded; as the country over which our course lay was rugged and difficult, and there was no regular track hence to the Patea villages; only once a year,—or in 2, or even 3 years,—did a small party of Maoris visit Taupo from Patea; rarely if ever did any go from Taupo to Patea. Nothing is more surprising *to me* among the many and great changes which have been effected in this country during the last 40—45 years, than this,—of common fearless communication between the Maori *pahs* (villages) and tribes, which intercourse formerly did not exist,—not even between what are now considered (even by the natives themselves) as neighbouring villages. I could not, however, help fearing, that, just as on a former occasion so now, our "guide" would prove to be of little real service.

This had several times happened: notably during my long overland journey in 1841, from Poverty Bay to the Bay of Islands; when, in a terrible gale and at night, in the mountainous trackless and deep forests between Waikare Lake and Ruatahuna, my guide deserted! at a time, too, when we were starving, as well as hemmed in by the flooded rivers: that was on New Year's Day, 1842; a time to be ever remembered by me! See "Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science", vol. II., p. 259.

Among the interesting plants I obtained this day, was a species of *Gentiana* (*G. saxosa*, var.):—a small prostrate species of *Coprosma* (*C. repens*), bearing large succulent orange-coloured fruit, each berry often containing 4 nuts; this species seems identical with one found by Sir J. Hooker in the Antarctic Islets, of which a plate is given in the *Flora Antartica* (tab. 16): two species of *Epilobium*, one being *E. Billardierianum*: and a new species of *Acæna* (*A. microphylla*),—this last pretty little plant with its crimson fruit pleased me much. A. Cunningham's fragrant little heath-like plant (*Leucopogon Frazeri*) was common to-day, in many spots on those dry hills and plains; its flowers are certainly foremost among the sweet-scented ones of N.Z., of which there are not many. The whole plant being so very small and insignificant, yet often filling the air with its delightful odour, brought Wordsworth's suitable line to mind,—

"The flower of sweetest smell is shy and lowly

14th. As we had no time to lose if we were ever to gain our goal!—the villages of Patea,—we rose early and crossed the head of the Waikato river (which is the outlet of Rotoaira Lake) at 5.30. Winding round the base of Tongariro, over undulating ground, we halted at 7.30 to breakfast by the side of a mountain stream of very cold and pure water, which ran bounding and sparkling in the sun among the rocks. At 9 o'clock we recommenced our journey, and travelled steadily on. During the former part of this day, I met with several Botanical novelties:—*e.g.*—a very handsome full-flowered *Cyathodes* (*C. Colensoi*), a low bushy shrub of depressed growth, some plants bearing white and some red berries in profusion; this will become a garden flower:—the abnormal prostrate species of "Pines" *Dacrydium laxifolium* and *Podocarpus nivalis*, were also here, in many places completely matting the surface:—also, two or three species (or varieties) of *Gaultheria*,—one, in particular, having plenty of good edible fruit; another was very curious and interested me much,—it was plentiful and grew prostrate, having a racemose inflorescence, and baccate calyx which gave it a singular appearance as if double-fruited,—this is, I think, var. *e.* of Sir J. Hooker's *G. rupestris*:—a distinct species of *Epacris* (*E. alpina*), was also here, but, unfortunately, it was not fully in flower:—in damp spots (but only in two places) two curious species of *Drosera* were found,—*D. binata* remarkably fine, and the much rarer one *D. Arcturi*, a plant of the Australian and Tasmanian mountains,—the only time I ever met with this latter species; together with a rather scarce Orchideous plant, *Prasophyllum nudum*;—and, in the thickets adjoining, by the sides of the mountain streams, *Phyllocladus alpinus*, and several species

All now included under *one* species—*A. fruticosa*, by Sir Jos. Hooker, in the "Hand Book".

of *Aristotelia* with small leaves were noticed. A peculiar small *Restiaceous* plant, a species of *Calorophus*, was also obtained here in a boggy spot;—I had found a similar plant several years before in bogs at Whangarei, and near Cape Maria van Diemen,—but in each locality only a little of it: of the *Cyperaceous* Order, I collected two new species of *Schœnus* (*S. concinnus*, and *S. parviflorus*), *Carpha alpina*, *Isolepis Aucklandica*, and also several species of *Carex*, among them being a British species *C. stellulata*. In dry gravelly spots I also detected *Asperula perpusilla*, (which I had last year discovered in similar situations at the base of the Tararua range in Palliser Bay,) and the moss-like tufted *Raoulia australis* was not unfrequent. Many beautiful plants of the *Lichen* Order I also met with; prominent among them were several species of *Cladonia*, particularly *C. C. capitellata*, *aggregata*, *retipora*, and *cornucopioides*,—this last strongly reminding me of the pretty (never-to-be-forgotten) British species *C. bellidioides*, which, at first, I supposed it to be, from its bright vermilion-red globular tubercles springing from the edges of its tiny cups; *C. retipora*, often found in large tufts in undisturbed spots, is one of the most elegant of Lichens; its regular reticulated open structure is wonderful! A few curious *Fungi*, new to me, I also obtained; and in a still-water reach in a streamlet I came upon a large mass of that peculiar fresh-water *Alga*, *Butrachospermum moniliforme*,—the only place I ever found it in N.Z.

At 3 p.m. we crossed the sandy desert called Te Onetapu,—a most desolate weird-looking spot, about 2 miles wide where we crossed it,—a fit place for Macbeth's witches! or Faustus' Brocken scene! about it, too, the old Maoris have many peculiar stories and superstitious fears; some of which, I have no doubt, are agglutinated around a nucleus of reality. Here and there burnt logs lay, scattered and imbedded in the volcanic sand, as if where a fiery eruption from the neighbouring volcano had issued forth in times long past upon the then living forest; I noticed, also, that much of these anciently charred logs and pieces wore a highly polished and semi-glazed appearance, as if from the ever drifting sand. I was so struck with the appearance of some of the half-burnt timber, apparently so aged—or of old time, yet retaining all its vessels and ducts, that I collected a few specimens, and subsequently sent them to England for high microscopical investigation. On the edges of this lonely desert, a lovely *Gentiana* flourished in all its beauty, probably *G. pleurogynoides*, (another fine garden flower,) also *Celmisia spectabilis*, most luxuriant in gloriously fine tufts or tussocks, and with it grew a much smaller and different looking species of *Celmisia* [*C. glandulosa*), for the first time here found, and both species tolerably plentiful. Very curiously also was the formation, or more correctly speaking,—the state in which the old land was left in many spots on the W. edges of this desert. Table-topped mounds, from 6 to 10 feet high, having perpendicular cliffy sides, each containing only a few perches of land, and rising like little islets separated from each other by the barren white sandy arms of the desert, were common; their mounds, or islets, abounded in a peculiar vegetation, which I greatly wished to know more of,—but alas! I was sadly pressed for time; and I was already more than prudently overloaded for the unknown mountain journey before me. It was difficult, too, to climb up on them, although I did manage to get on two. Here I obtained an elegant dwarf *Dacrydium*, (a "Pine" tree, allied to the large Rimu, *Dacrydium cupressinum*,) rooting up a few old trees for specimens of a foot or 18 inches high, in full fruit! reminding me of the quaint yet symmetrical little trees so greatly prized by the Chinese for their gardens. This plant is allied to the large species (*D. Colensoi*) of the Northern

See Note D., Appendix.

forests, but, as I take it, is specifically distinct. Rain overtook us shortly after our crossing the desert, which we were sorry for, but there was no help for it, there being no kind of shelter nor water at hand, so we travelled on, in the pelting rain which was from the S. and in our faces, getting wet weary and dispirited, eagerly looking out for a fit halting place but finding none; to make matters worse, our guide more than once told us, he was "all at sea!" as to the proper course, because the rain hid the hills on all sides (and everything else) from his view, so that he could not see the land marks! We kept on—on—on, however, until 7 p.m. (dark), when finding water we were obliged to halt in a deep gulley by the side of a *Fagus* wood, where everything around for miles of fern or scrub had been very lately burnt off! We had been travelling through this *black* country for more than an hour, in hopes of seeing its end, but in vain! Here, where we were, we could not find a level spot on which to put up our tent, so, in the darkness and the rain, were obliged to dig away with our axes on the steep side of the hill before we could set it up! That night was a terrible one of wind and rain; insomuch that we expected every moment to be smothered in our half-pitched tent: few of us slept that night.

20th. Our most wretched night was followed by a dirty lowering morning, with furious wind and heavy rain, it was also bitterly cold. We were here caught in a southerly gale, in one of the worst spots possible in the whole N. Island of N.Z., and we could not help ourselves. To retrace our steps and go back to Taupo (over Te Onetapu desert) our guide flatly refused, and my natives joined him;—he saying, that high desert sand was now covered with snow, and that from the falling snow and sleet he could not tell the course,—which, perhaps, was really the case. From him we had the story of 70 men having been once lost at one time in attempting to cross that place in snowy weather. Murmurs, throughout this wretched long and dreary day, reached my ears,—of my having been the means of bringing on this weather! through my uprooting some small trees (*Dacrydiums*), and my crossing the desert without observing certain superstitious ceremonies, and my sacrilegiously eating some *Gaultheria* berries while crossing, which the guide had detected!! &c., &c. The worst to me, was,—(1) that I could not get anything whatever to lay on the wet mud floor of my tent! nor fern, nor grass, nor leafy shrubs, were there to be found,—all had been destroyed by fire; the very lower branches of the *Fagus* trees in the wood before us having been scorched: (2) that we had scarcely anything to eat: (3) that my specimens were being spoiled, which caused me to fret pretty considerably: and (4) that, at the rate it was then raining, when the gale should abate, the rivers we should have to cross would be unfordable for some days! As the day began so it closed,—no change whatever in the weather, save that, even about us at our considerably lower altitude, the rain was changed to sleet and snow! I shudder now, while writing, in thinking of that wretched time, though more than 30 years have since passed. Often enough did those highly suitable words of my favourite old poet Ossian, cross my memory:—"It is night, I am alone, forlorn on the hill of storms. The wind is heard on the mountain. The torrent pours down the rock. No hut receives me from the rain; forlorn on the hill of winds!" (*Songs of Selma.*) Their suitability being so much the more increased through the superstitious talk and fears of some of my natives, who insisted on it, that the sounds they heard among the fitful ravings of the blast among the trees, were not merely those of the trees creaking and of the denizens of that forests—parrots, owls, and wood-hens (*Ocydromus australis*), but of the justly irate *Patupaiarehe* (wood Nymphs or Fairies), or of the ghosts of the dead! just indeed as Ossian has it.—

*Alas! the old fable-existences are no more,  
The fascinating race has emigrated.*

*"Die alten Eabelwesen sind nicht mehr Das reizende Geschlecht ist ausgewandert." (Wallenttein.)*

21st. *Sunday*. Another wet and uncomfortable day. The wind, however, had lessened a little, and we could now manage to make up a fire,—which we could not do yesterday. Not really knowing how far we were from help, I could only allow two tea-cups of rice for all my natives (6 in number) for breakfast, and two for their dinner,—and for supper *one* cup of rice was all that could be spared, which, with a few scraps of bacon fat and a little salt, made a mess of pottage! At consultation this evening we agreed to start early in the morning; I privately requested Paora, and two other of my natives from Hawke's Bay whom I could trust, to keep a good watch over our Taupo guide, lest he should give us the slip; a trick I had been served more than once in former travelling. Indeed, to prevent this, on this occasion, I had determined, if needs be, to bind him till morning.

22nd. Up early this morning and left our wretched encampment at 6 o'clock. The frost was heavy and it was bitterly cold, insomuch that we could scarcely fold up the tent. Unfortunately, however, the ice on the many pools and streamlets we had to cross, after gaining the brow of our hill, was not thick enough to bear one's weight, and so we were obliged to go through it! crash! souse! into the cold water, of which my poor companions with their naked feet loudly com-plained. Here, in one of those watery hollows and partly submerged, (owing, no doubt, to the late rains,) grew a little shrubby plant, which I had not before seen, and



never again found; I knew it to be allied to our *Geniostoma*, and it has proved to be a species of *Logania* (*L. depressa*). It cost me a good wetting and cold shivering to get specimens. It was nearly 9.30 before we halted to breakfast, which we did on the banks of the river Moawhango, where we roasted our roast!—a few potatoes which we had carefully reserved from Saturday, my natives having then said, "they could travel better on roasted potatoes than on rice.

I have several times mentioned "rice": I was early led—*taught by experience*—to see the necessity of always carrying a few pounds with me on my long journeys. We had found the great benefit of it on our landing at "Deliverance Cove", (p. 2,) as from it we (all hands) had made our first hearty meal on our finding of water. The natives, however, always preferred potatoes to rice; their remarks thereon forcibly reminding me of what I had heard at Home in my boyhood from our Cornish Miners and Farm labourers, that they preferred the dark-brown and hard barley to the soft white wheaton bread; saying they could not work on this latter. I wonder how it is *now* with them, in these days of high civilization!

In this locality I was fortunate enough to find a few new plants, which pleased me much; among which were, a fine *Ranunculus* (*R. geraniifolius*), a single plant only, but a large tufted one affording several specimens; curiously enough, I never again met with this species. Here, in higher open grounds, grew that peculiar dwarf species of *Carmichaelia* (*C. nana*), just rising an inch or two above the soil! well do I remember breaking my tough old *Manuka* maori spear (used by me for many a year as a travelling staff) in attempting to lift a bit of it! A plant of *Liliaceæ*, also, grew here plentifully in one large spot, but unfortunately it had lately been burnt off, so that there were no perfect specimens to be had; however, I got a few good seeds, and a small root or two, as well as some poor specimens; and from those roots I subsequently obtained good flowering plants at the Station,—when I was delighted to find it to be a species of *Chrysobactron*—that glorious plant of Lord Auckland's group and Campbell's Island!—of which I had seen specimens with Sir Jos. Hooker, and also heard so much of from him and the other officers of the Antarctic Expedition in 1841. Gladly did I name it, (in sending specimens and seeds to England, to Sir W. Hooker,) *C. Hookeri*,—to keep company with the other species of that new genus which Sir Jos. Hooker had named after the Commander of that Expedition, *C. Rossii*:—in the "Hand Book", however, both have been referred to the older genus, *Anthericum*, from which they were scarcely generically distinct. The seeds of this plant sent to Kew grew and flowered there. This plant with many others from the interior—among which were, *Ranunculus insignis*, *Stackhousia minima*, *Epilobium Billardierianum*, *Aciphylla Colensoi*, *Forstera Bidwillii*, *Wahlenbergia saxicola*, *Gentiana montana*, *Calceolaria repens*, *Veronica* sp., *Libertia micrantha*, *Callixene parviflora*, *Cordyline Banksii* and *C. indivisa*, and *Gymnostichum gracile*,—did exceedingly well in my garden at the Mission Station, nearly all of them flowering every year,—at the shaded S.E. end of my large house; but when that was burnt down in 1853, all, of course, went with it!

We travelled on pretty steadily all this long day until 8 p.m. without halting, when we threw ourselves down among the fern quite exhausted and spiritless;—not knowing how much further we had to go before we should reach this long-looked for Patea. Our guide, who had been lagging behind, although he had *no* load to carry, had sunk down some time before, declaring he could go no further, being faint through hunger! so, taking from him the course we were to steer (as far as he knew), we left him, believing that a good nap would refresh him. After a while, we arose from our fern couch, hunger-impelled, and having broken off the tops of the branches of the large and many-headed cabbage trees (*Cordyline australis*), which grew close by, and which the light of the moon revealed, we made a fire and roasted the stalks of the young leaves, which, though both tough and bitter, served to allay our pangs. The *Cordyline* trees of these parts are the largest I have ever seen, they are not only high and many-branched, but bulky also in the trunk. I remember one, in which a native of Patea had made a house, or room, and fitted it with a door to keep his tools, baskets, &c., in; I went into it, and stood upright within it, the tree was living and healthy; I took down its exact girth, 20ft. 2in. The whole route this day was very hilly and broken, with occasional heavy entangled forests, without the least vestige of any track; we having been obliged to keep much on the higher grounds so as to avoid the streams in the valleys, which were overflowing rapid and dangerous; fortunately for us the open country was much more grassy than we had hitherto found it. During the day I subsisted on a *raw* potatoe (which I kept nibbling) and a few *Gaultheria* berries;—in addition thereto following out the Maori plan of "hauling in the slack" (in nautical language), or, in other words, of tightening up my travelling belt; which I have always found in times of severe hunger to be of great service,—although it makes it dangerous for stooping low. That night we all slept just as we were in the fern around the fire.

23rd. Very early this morning our "guide", following our track, came up to us before we were well awake, and finding from him that we were, at last! really near the Patea villages, I, after he had rested awhile and eaten some roasted cabbage-tree leaf-stalks, sent him on to the nearest village, to inform the natives of our arrival and hungry state. A long night's sound sleep had done him a deal of good; he appearing a different man altogether, although he had had nothing to eat, and had passed the night without fire. At 6 a.m. we, also, managed to

hobble after him, stiff enough! following his track; and by 7.30 we were loudly welcomed into a little outlying plantation village of only 2 huts, but where we found a feast awaiting us, in baskets of hot and smoking cooked potatoes! to which we all did justice. Breakfast and prayers over, we had to resume our journey, to reach Matuku, the principal village of these parts, where the chief, Te Kaipou, and most of his tribe resided; a messenger having early been sent thither from this village to apprise him of our approach. Travelling along over a *beaten* track for 3 or 4 miles we reached Matuku, but found the Chief and most of his people absent,—some at their distant and scattered cultivations here and there in the forests, and some a pig-hunting. In our way to Matuku we crossed the river Moawhango *without seeing it!* for it ran at a great depth below us in the earth; the width of the rift or cleft in the stony soil was only at top about 10—12 feet, and across this were laid the trunks of two small trees, over which the natives of the place ran with naked feet like birds! I did not like it, but there was no help for it; I almost thought I could have jumped over it; but there was no room to take a run for the spring. The natives told me that the fissure continued for a long way, and that it was pretty uniform in width (though very likely this was its narrowest), and that a small canoe could pass through on the river. The sides seemed, as far as I could see down them pretty steep; I could not, however, see the water below; and I had no time to spare in closely examining it.

Some years after in travelling this way, I found the natives had made a tolerable rustic bridge across, some 6 feet wide, and having a shaky parapet fence, the floor being strewn with manuka faggote; this was done for their *one* horse

I noticed *Stellaria parviflora* here growing in large quantities in dry spots. The village of Matuku is picturesquely situated on the ridge and summit of a very high hill, rising abruptly in the midst of these immense primaevial forests which surround it for miles on every side. One great disadvantage was its want of good water, there being none within a mile, at least, and that at the foot of a long hill in the forest. True, they had little pits dug near at the base of a spur, but the water was little in quantity, and not drinkable, from having some salt in it, that deposited its efflorescence on the clay around. The view from this place was very extensive solemn and grand, overlooking miles of forests, with the eternal mountains uprearing their heads and peaks around. On the E. and S. was the great Ruahine range with the many isolated spurs and ridges of its Wn. flank, here rising abruptly, and looking like a formidable barrier to our progress that way! On the W. was Taranaki (Mount Egmont), and on the N.W. Paratetaitonga, Ruapehu, and Tongariro,—and still further N. was the Kaimanawa range; of all these, Paratetaitonga and Ruapehu were now well- covered with snow. The natives of the place pointed out to me the W. peaks on the Ruahine, to which we had advanced 2 years before.—

———" *Once again*

*Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,  
That on a wild secluded scene impress  
Thoughts of more deep seclusion."*

I should not, however, have recognised them; indeed the whole appearance of that range was strangely different from what it is on the E. side; one huge table-topped spur, projecting towards the N., and uprearing its dark and sharp outline against the sky, interested me greatly; it seemed so much like a built-up rampart; the natives call it Te Papaki-a-kuutaa; of this very peculiar place more anon.

Paora, my companion also on that occasion, was now "in clover" here among his mother's relatives; they had found the scrap he had written on bark, and left at a village some 3—4 miles nearer than this to the Ruahine range, but it was long (more than a year) before they had got it decyphered and read to them! Still it was (as we now found) of service. It was evening before the Chief and the main body of his people arrived; and we spent a large portion of the night in deep conversation. Found them very ignorant of everything foreign (as was to be expected), but most pleasingly simple and willing to be taught. They were all dressed in true Maori costume, in mats of various kinds of their own manufacture, some of which were made from the *Toii* (*Cordyline indivisa*); without a single article of European clothing among them.

From this place and its neighbourhood I obtained many interesting plants

of which may be here mentioned, *Brachycome odorata*; *Olea lanceolata*, and another undescribed species of *Olea* having hairy petioles; *Calceolaria repens*; *Carex dissita*; *Agrostis parviflora* and *A. pilosa*; *Marchantia nitida*, &c.

on several subsequent visits, but on this occasion none, for we had still that altogether new and unknown journey before us—to climb and cross the Ruahine range, and I had already concluded to leave here on our return to-morrow, having (unfortunately) arranged, before I left the Station, to be at Waipukurau on the 1st of March, to marry 9 young Christian couples, who would assemble there with their relatives and friends from several places round about for that purpose; their neat new chapel which had been some time in hand, was also

to be finished for that occasion

See Note E., Appendix.

; and we had already spent more than a fortnight in reaching this place by the "round-about-way" of Taupo. I knew, too, that my natives would be sure to leave this place heavily loaded with potatoes and pork as food for our homeward journey. To their great credit be it told, that though they had recently endured so much and needed rest, they all agreed to recommence our toil to-morrow, rather than disappoint the folks at Waipukurau; Paora arranging to re-visit his relatives here on his own account before long.—

24th. Very busy all this morning with the natives of this place, who were much troubled at our leaving them so soon, and did all they could to keep us, in which the appearance of the weather helped them not a little, for the Ruahine range was completely enveloped in fogs and clouds, which the natives asserted was a sure sign of heavy rain or snow being about to fall. I too, I confess, was very unwilling to leave—but go we must, *duty called*. We promised to visit them again next summer (which we did). Our Taupo guide, who was quite at home—through some distant relationship—would probably remain a month or two, or until spring.

Some years after, while staying at this village, I noticed a curious feature in Natural History, which I may mention here. On that occasion I had gone thither by another route,—(Ngaruroro river and Kuripapango ford,)—it was early summer (October), and snow had fallen pretty heavily, yet quietly, during the night, and in the morning the whole village was a few inches deep in snow, while the great mountain range rising close before me was looking sublime. (I copy from my Journal.) "Close to the village, and even within its fence, were several very large *Kowhai* trees (*Edwardsia grandiflora*

*Sophora tetraptera*, of "Hand Book".

), these were covered with their golden flowers, and mostly without leaves. The sun was shining brightly, and the parrots flocked screaming from the forests around to the *Edwardsia* blossoms; it was a strange sight to see them, how deftly they managed to go out to the end of a long lithe branch, (preferring to walk parrot-fashion!) and there swinging, back downwards, lick out the honey with their big tongues, *without injuring the young fruit!* . . . For seeing but very few petals falling (and those only *vexillæ*), I sent some of the boys to climb the trees and bring me several marked flowering branches, which had been visited by the parrots. I found, that all of the fully expanded flowers had had the upper part of their calyces torn open, and the uppermost petal (*vexillum*) torn out; this the parrots had done to get at the honey. As the flowers are produced in large thick bunches, some are necessarily twisted or turned upside down; still it was always that peculiar petal and that part of the calyx (though often in such cases undermost) which had been torn away. Through this no injury was done to the young enclosed fruit, which would in all probability have been the case if any of the other petals had been bitten off. It cannot be said, that it is owing to the *vexillum* being the largest petal (as it is in many papilionaceous flowers) that it is thus laid hold of and torn away by the parrot, such *not* being the case in this genus; for the long fruit runs down through the two carinated lowermost petals, that are often quite 2in. long, and is further protected by the two side ones (*alæ*), which four, from their being closely imbricated together, form a much larger and firmer hold for the bird's beak. Further, as the N.Z. Parrot (*Nestor meridionalis*) is a large bird with a huge bill, and as the flowers are always produced on the tips of the small branches, which bend and play about under the weight of its body,—not to mention the high winds which generally prevail in those elevated and open regions,—one cannot but suppose it to be no easy matter for the bird to get a bite at them at all, so as to make a proper opening whereby to insert its thick tongue, and lick out the sweet contents without injuring the young immature fruit; especially when we further consider, that the common practice of the parrot is to take up in its claws whatever it wishes to discuss. of all the flowers I examined, (and I scrutinized a great many during the 2—3 days of snow,) only the upper part of the calyx and corolla had been torn, and in none was the young fruit wanting; nor did I notice any bunches which had had their flowers wholly torn off. What with the glistening snow, the sun shining, and the golden blossoms of those trees,—the numerous parrots diligently and fear-lessly at work so close to the village yet often screaming,—the other birds, *Tuiis* (*Prosthemadera Novæ Zealandiæ*), and *Korimakos* (*Anthornis melanura*), singing melodiously snugly ensconced in their leafy bowers, having earlier had their morning meal,—with now and then the large flakes of feathery snow falling thickly and silently around,—it was altogether a peculiar and interesting sight; and natural though it was it seemed un-natural, and by no means pleasing."

Another peculiarity, which I noticed here on this occasion, and which struck me forcibly, was, the apparent insensibility of these mountaineer natives to cold. (I again quote from my journal:—)"Past another wretchedly cold day, in which I have scarcely known warmth—even in a small degree. The natives, however, of the place, appear to be almost insensible to cold, the majority of them being but poorly clad, each in a single loose shoulder mat,—and yet they go sauntering about the village in the snow, barefooted and barelegged and barebreached! of course; or sit down talking together in an open shed, with scarcely any fire, having half of their bodies uncovered. In this respect they differ greatly from the New Zealanders in general (the Lowlanders), who are mostly very impatient of cold.—I, also, noticed some little children, who, leaving their garments (each

having only a loose harsh mat), in their huts, came out and frolicked naked about the village! regardless of the snow and sleet; nor did they return to their houses and garments, until I had, a second time, ordered them to do so." Another remark I copy from my Journal of that date:—"Poor creatures! at this season they were all living on fern root, which the children were incessantly roasting and hammering; yet they were all very healthy. Indeed, the great difference in this respect between the low-lying and sea-coast villages (which I had lately visited) and those of this mountainous district, was really surprising; *there*, in every place, some one had died since my last visit (some 6 months before), while *here*, during *two years* no one had paid the debt of nature. No doubt this is partly to be attributed to the purity of the mountain air, but not wholly so."——Cook's early statement, of their being a remarkably healthy race, I have often proved to be true; would that the introduction of European habits, and of "civilization", had not deprived them of that inestimable blessing!

We left Matuku at noon, several of the natives with their chief Te Kaipou, going with us to Te Awarua,—the furthest outlying E. village of Patea, to which place Paora and his companion Mawhatu had formerly come. Our journey to Te Awarua was nearly a continual descent of a few miles, over a good beaten Maori track. On arriving at the immediate bank of the Rangitikei river, which lay between us and the mountain range, and which we had to cross, I found I had to descend the perpendicular cliff of nearly 300 feet, the worst feature being that one could *not see one's way!* for at the edge of the precipice one had to turn round, and holding on to the grass and fern drop over somewhere, and so descend sailor-fashion! For some time I did not at all relish it, but finding there was no help for it,—and the natives of the place, men women and children, all did so, and then got across the river in safety, (as I could see from the heights,) I consented to follow,—disliking it the more as I went on; for the sheer height not only made me giddy, but here and there in the descent friendly plants to lay hold on failed, or had been half-pulled up in long use, and in their stead old flax leaves and strips of bark had been tied to shaky shrubs, and other rough make-shift devices of pegs and sticks had been also resorted to, and these, as I proved, were in many places old and rotten, and not to be trusted to:

I managed here better afterwards, by having *new* flax leaves and *new* strips of bark fastened to go up and down by. On one visit after heavy rain, when it was very slippery, and some portion of the earth from the cliff had fallen, I was carried down like a baby, on a native's back; as I dared not trust to my own legs! This however was by no means the first time of my being so borne by them over dangerous and slippery places; not a few deep dark rivers having high banks, densely bushy, and the vegetation hanging down into the river, with a tree felled or placed to cross over on,—old, denuded of its bark, and slippery with vegetable fungoid slime,—have I had to cross, *there being no other known way*; when, after trying it without boots,—and also by sitting on it saddle fashion,—I have been obliged to give in, and to have recourse to a native bearer; also on the slimy edges of some cataracts;—and he never missed his footing. On such occasions I invariably used to shut my eyes during the whole time of transit, to keep myself and him the more steady.

however, by degrees, the natives very kindly helping me, I got safely to the bottom in the bed of the river.

The Rangitikei river here was tolerably wide, and not very deep; I managed to cross it by help of the natives without great difficulty. In this place, as in many others in its course further down (as I have proved for many a weary mile!) it runs between high cliffs; the village of Te Awarua being on its E. side, on the lowermost slope of the Ruahine range; this is one of the principal potatoe cultivations of this tribe, the soil being rich and well-sheltered by the forest around.

In visiting these localities in after years I was surprised to find such an extensive and formidable growth of English Docks (*Rumex obtusifolius*) 4—5 feet high, and densely thick; so that in some places I could scarcely make my way through them. On enquiry I found, when some of these people had visited Whanganui, to sell their pigs, they had purchased from a white man there some seed, which they were told was tobacco seed! in their ignorance they took their treasure back with them, and carefully sowed it in some of their best soil, which they also had prepared by digging; and lo! the crop proved to be this horrid Dock,—which, seeding largely, was carried down by the rivers and filled the country. The same iniquitous trick had also been played with the natives of Poverty Bay, so early as 1837; when, at their pressing request, I visited some young plants they had raised from seed, fenced in and tabooed, believing them to be tobacco!!

This place, however, was of far more importance in the olden time, as the decaying remains of its old fortifications still shewed;—when it was in its glory as a *pa* (fortified village), it was taken by the enemy, who carried it by storm. And here, on a rock in the river, which was shown me, a near relation of our well-known *present* Hawke's Bay Chief Renata te Kawepo, (whom I had left behind at the Mission Station as a Teacher,) was killed on that occasion, in endeavouring to escape from the foe: Renata, himself being also closely related to this tribe.

See Note F., Appendix.

Having partaken of another excellent meal, (which some of the hospitable people who had purposely preceded us early from Matuku, had kindly and promptly prepared for us,) and my natives loading themselves with a good supply of the choicest potatoes, we left this place and kind people, and set our faces in *earnest*

towards scaling the Ruahine! The principal chief of Patea, Te Kaipou, and the resident old man of this outlying village whose name was Pirere, also going with us, to put us the better into the way, or course, to Hawke's Bay; although with them it was mere guess,—only they, with some of their people, had been pig-hunting on many occasions for a few miles in that direction. We travelled on till sunset constantly ascending, when we halted by the side of a small wood; our course, at first, lay through fern and brushwood without the faintest track. One abrupt and isolated stony hill, or young mountain, which we had to cross, called Mokai-patea, was completely covered with the species of *Coriaria* I saw near Titiokura, it always preserved its low spreading habit, by the natives it is called *Tutupapa*. For the last 3 hours of our journey we were occupied in scrambling and crawling on all-fours up a nasty narrow stony and steep mountain watercourse full of obstructions,—uprooted trees and shrubs lying across it brought down by the winter torrents, slippery stones, deep pools, &c., &c.,—indeed, in some spots it was impossible to pass, when we had to try the banks which were just as bad. The Chief however had assured us that it was the only practicable way! and he and his retainer were also with us as guides. When we had halted for the night and rested a while, my natives (who had suffered considerably in the watercourse owing to their heavy loads of potatoes in addition to other baggage,) looked seriously at each other and earnestly debated the possibility of our ever getting over the range before us. One thing we all agreed to, not to try that watercourse again. We spent the night together, the Chief and the old man being with us. I should not omit to mention that this old man was the father of 12 children by one wife, all living and remarkably healthy; I saw them all, and took down their names, they were a very fine family; I often saw them here afterwards. The old man himself being among the first company who were Baptized of this people, when he took the name of Moses, and having learned to read, &c., became the Teacher of his little village. I have not, however, yet done with our mountain watercourse; for in it, and only at one spot on its N. bank, I found a small patch of a second species of *Calceolaria*,

The only other N.Z. species of *Calceolaria* (*C. Sinclarii*) was also originally discovered by me at the E. Cape, in 1841; and, subsequently by Dr. Sinclair at "Waihaki, in 1842". (*Vide*, Hooker's *Icones Plantarum*, tab. 561.)

which (judging from its smaller leaves and the withered remains of its flowering stems) was new to me. So, in after years, I again sought it here and found it in flower, and also took away roots of it for my garden at the Mission Station. This plant is the rare *C. repens*, and this, at present, is its only habitat,

It has since, however, been found in one spot on the same flank of the range, but lower down and much nearer to the W. Coast.

—————"O'er pathless rocks,  
Through beds of matted fern and tangled thickets,  
Forcing my way, I came to one dear nook,  
Unvisited."————

25th. Rose very early and recommenced our journey; our two kind native friends returning to their homes. Our route at first, lay directly up a very steep hill,—a long outlying spur of the mountain,—we had much difficulty in sur-mounting it, but we succeeded, and then the fog came on so densely that we could hardly see a yard before us! so, after wandering about for some time, and fearing that some of our party might go astray (which one did!) we halted to breakfast, and to await the clearing up of the fog. On two or three rare occasions, while travelling among the mountains, I have met with this species of dense dry fog,—so widely different from the fogs of the low lands. Such is not merely (as the poet has it),—

"Wreath'd dun around, in deeper circles still  
Successive closing, sits the general fog  
Unbounded o'er the world; and mingling thick  
A formless grey confusion covers all."—

But the dense and dark strangely-shaped solemn rolling and gliding clouds of fog, often in separate masses, come fast on towards you, as if they were really enveloping something more substantial,—impelled by some secret power (not by wind for all is still and calm), and a weird-like feeling or thrill comes over one, as if one must really get out of their way: I know I have *so felt* it, particularly when *alone!* Resuming our journey we travelled on all day, up and down very precipitous and broken hills and ridges, often stumbling over old fallen trees, and into holes of uprooted ones, hidden in the thick undergrowth,—and sometimes passing along on the very edges of extensive landslips, down which it was fearful to look. We did not stop to rest nor cease toiling

until sometime after sunset,—when we gave it up, as it was getting dark! We had hoped to reach the more open land on, or near, the summit before sundown, which we had been strongly advised to do, but had failed. At this time we were very much entangled among the sides of the deep and thick scrub in the low *Fagus* forests, on the precipitous western mountain, sinking deep at almost every step among what seemed to be layers (*stratum super stratum*) of anciently fallen trees, which were all more or less rotten and lying across each other, and hidden under the long *Astelia* and "Cutting-Grass" foliage; so that, sometimes, my natives as well as myself should sink down so far—crashing through the fallen rotten timber, and yet without touching the earth!—that we could not extricate ourselves without assistance. Language fails me properly to depict the toilsomeness and entanglement of this day, especially that towards night, in that never-to-be-forgotten *Fagus* forest! A very long and narrow leaved *Astelia* was the common plant here, together with several species of the *Coprosma* genus,—slender slim shrubs growing under the *Fagus* among those fallen trees. When we finally halted, we all just remained as we were until daylight! no one thought of a tent (which could not be set up), or of cooking, of supper, or of fire; and there was no water there! Neither was there a spot at hand where one could lay himself down at full length! We mostly sat drawn up throughout that night; no one spoke to another, and tobacco was not then in vogue among us; one native did not even undo his backload from his shoulders! owing to his being so greatly exhausted, where he first sat, or fell, there he went to sleep, and so remained till morning with his load on his back! Fortunately for us the night was a mild one and without wind; so, being greatly fatigued, we all slept pretty well in our sub-alpine bivouac till morning. Keats' opening stanzas in his *Hyperion*, were more than once thought of by me:—

"Deep in the shade—— —— ——  
 Sat greyhair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,  
 Still as the silence round about his lair;  
 Forest on forest hung about his head  
 Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there.  
 Not so much life as on a summer's day  
 Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,  
 But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest."

The next summer in revisiting Patea, I learned, that we had got into our sad trouble in this particular and superstitiously dreaded place, through Paora, who was leading, having taken the wrong turn,—leaving abruptly the high stony ridge we were on and turning to the left into that old half-rotten forest, instead of to the right! which spot bore a bad legendary name among the natives of Patea. And I had left it to him to take instructions from the Chief and the old mountaineer as to our course up the mountain. The natives of Matuku,—who had kept looking out with their keen eyes for our night fire on the open tops, and not seeing it,—knew we had gone astray, and guessed pretty well where we were. Our having spent a quiet night therein, unmolested by unnatural night visitants! proved however to be of no small service in our behalf with the Patea natives. Strange to say, that only a little way above to the right, from where we passed that doleful night, was one of the best halting-places in the whole forest on the West side, and where I afterwards (in following years) spent several single nights,—and indeed, on one occasion, a whole Sunday and two nights very agreeably. For, on my very next visit, finding that we could easily manage to make a kind of snow well there, from the form and nature of the ground and the stones that lay about, (exposed from under the surface through the up-rooting and toppling over of a large tree,) we did so, planting snow-hole moss (a species of *sphagnum*) also in it! and, on subsequent visits, I never failed to find a supply of good water,—and, also, close at hand, *dry* firewood—a thing not always to be obtained in those high *Fagus* forests,—where all dead wood, both large and small, becomes as it were waterlogged and sappy from the snow. Several parties of natives, including the Chief of Patea himself, also stopped a night at "my well," as they called it,—in going to and fro from Patea to the Mission Station, after I had cleared the track, &c.,—but, on their getting horses they all ceased to travel this way.

See Noto G., Appendix.

On one journey back from Patea to Hawke's Bay, I happened to see a *Kiwi* (*Apteryx* sp.) in an open place in these woods,—the only time I ever saw one wild and free. It did not see me, and so, I, being hidden from it, watched its movements for some time; it ran much faster than I had supposed it would do, and its striding gait strongly reminded me of a hen running after a moth, or winged insect.

Two or three remarkable incidents of this day's journey I must now briefly notice. During the afternoon we suddenly came upon the remains of a skeleton of a young man, partly suspended about 2 feet above the ground among some thick growing *Coprosma* bushes: this, we afterwards found to be that of a young man of Patea, who was one of a bird-catching party that had been overtaken by a snowstorm, when this man was lost in the

snow! The sight of this skeleton, now pretty well bleached, roused us not a little, and caused us to redouble our exertions to reach the summit. Near evening, in passing along the edge of a steep stony ridge in the wood, at a considerable altitude, I saw a small plant in flower springing sparsely from among the crevices of the rock beneath me,—on getting a specimen I found it to be a *Forstera*—if not *F. sedifolia* itself! the very plant of all others in N.Z. my heart had long been set on, through hearing my dear friend Allan Cunningham (who had longed to see it) talk so much about it,—and from its not having been detected since Forster's visit when here with Cook;—as well as from the fact, that it was a very curious plant in the disposition of its flowering organs, and one that had given some trouble to Botanists; the younger Linnæus had selected it to bear its discoverer's name, and Lindley, in his "Natural System of Botany", had to place the genus, containing only *one* species, with just two other genera in a separate Order—STYLIDÆ. I welcomed it in Cunningham's name, and secured half a dozen good specimens. Curiously enough I have never since met with this plant in any other locality; in subsequent years, however, I got several good specimens from this same place. Here, in the outskirts of the forest were small trees of that musky-smelling plant, I had originally discovered in the forests in the interior of the Bay of Plenty in 1843,—together with an allied species equally odoriferous,—*Olearia dentata*, and *O. ilicifolia*; and peering out, along the upper edges of the landslips, were *Coriaria angustissima*, *Ligusticum aromaticum*, and the pretty large Blue-bell *Wahlenbergia saxicola*. I also observed in several spots, mostly on rocks in the shady forests, delightful and fine specimens of *Stereocaulon ramulosum*,—some plants forming quite a little bush, and looking charming! A glaucous *Veronica*, a small shrub, I detected on a stony ridge in an open saddle between two hills, fortunately it was both in flower and in fruit; I never found but this one plant, and being the only glaucous species of the genus it looked very peculiar. I visited this one shrub subsequently on 2—3 occasions, and always brought away specimens: Sir J. Hooker has named it *V. Colensoi* Towards evening my dog caught a fine fat *Weka*, in its crop were the fruits of several species of *Panax*,—probably *P. simplex*, *P. Colensoi*, and *P. Sinclairii*, which grow in these forests. The Beech trees (*Fagus Solandri*) of the more exposed parts of those alpine woods were of very peculiar growth,—low, depressed, and gnarled, with spreading thick leafy branches, often interlacing and desperately tough, which greatly increased our difficulty in getting through them. Several species of the *Coprosma* genus here abounded,—particularly *C.C. acutifolia*, *parvilora*, *cuneata*, *microcarpa*, and *linariifolia*, and also *fætidissima* the species which Forster first found, and which from its very strong smell caused him to give the genus its appropriate name, this last species however was more abundant lower down in the more open forests of the large-leaved *Fagus*—*F.? fusca*. A new species of *Myrsine* (*M. montana*) I also found here, it is a small shrub closely resembling *M. divaricata*

Sir J. Hooker, in the "Hand Book" speaks of this species as "a small very straggling twiggy branched bush"; but I have generally found it to be a tall shrub, or even small slender tree, 12—15 ft. high, with long drooping branches: it is a much larger species than *M. montana*.

of A. Cunningham. Another species or variety of *Dracophyllum* (*D. Urvilleanum*, var. *d*), and a stout shrubby species of *Senecio* (*S. eleagnifolius*), and a much smaller species, *S. Bidwillii*, I also detected here. On an open exposed ridge I fell in with several plants of a species of *Dacrydium*, 12—14 feet high, growing together and almost in a row, these bore a very peculiar appearance from their whitish bark being densely covered with foliaceous Lichens (mostly *Parmelia*), and their bearing two kinds of leaves; the plant, moreover, was not common; I always visited these trees whenever I passed this way, but was never successful in getting good fruiting specimens. I also noticed several small trees of *Libocedrus Bidwillii*, growing thickly together. One solitary tree, about 20 feet high, of this same species, I afterwards found much lower down in open ground, but was also with this disappointed, although I purposely visited it at different times of the year. There is scarcely any similarity in general appearance between this plant and the elegant plumose *L. Doniana* of the N. That beautiful species of *Cordyline* (*C. Banhsii*) with its long leaves (5—7 feet) and white berries grew here in the drier stony woods,—and with it, plentifully, its closely allied congener, a graceful red-flowered *Astelia*;

I don't see where Sir J. Hooker has placed this species in his "Hand Book," unless H be under *Astelia Cunninghamii*; but I never saw it epiphytical, and I think it will prove to be distinct.

while the still more imposing plant, *Cordyline indivisa*, flourished a little lower down and mostly on the edges of thickets.—

Another curious incident occurred, in my travelling through these forests some years after this: we had just emerged from a heavy belt of forest, and were sitting down in the open outside in the sun, resting awhile before we proceeded; one of my baggage bearers, who had a short hard-wood spear, kept poking it into the earth, when suddenly he felt something under his spear different from a root or wood, he proceeded to disinter it, and there, under at least a foot of soil, was a very handsome though small green-stone axe! its bevelled edge was very regular and quite perfect. I might have had it but I did not then care about it.—

A Fern, a species of *Hymcnophyllum*, which I found epiphytically on a tree at the entrance of a thicket, greatly pleased me, as I had not met with it before. It grew in great plenty on that *one* tree, and I brought away from it on several occasions many specimens. Sir J. Hooker has, I find, placed it under the old and well-known

fern *H. unilateral*,

Mr. Baker, I see, in his last edition of "Synopsis Filicum," has united *H. unilaterale* (and several other species) with *H. Tunbridgense*; which species already had included within it not a few of our N. Z. *Hymenophyllæ* as varieties: to this, however, I cannot agree. No two species of ferns (in my opinion) are more truly distinct than the British species, *H. Tunbridgense* (including our N. Z. species, *H. Tunbridgense*, and its "varieties" —*cupressiforme*, Lab., and—*revolution*, Col.) with its single axillary and serrated involucre sunk in its frond, and this fern from Ruahine (*H. intermedium*, mihi, M.S.,) with its many free and pedicelled entire involucre. But I hope for an entire and natural re-arrangement of our N. Z. *Hymenophyllæ* ore long. but, to me, it appears wonderfully distinct. I have never met with this fern anywhere else.

26th. We rose this morning from our uncomfortable beds—or lairs without any dressing! and stiff and hungry we started from our bivouac with a tolerably good will before 6 o'clock. The morning, however, was intolerably cold, and the fog very heavy—a true Scotch mist this time!—settling on the thickly leaved shrubs, through which we had to force our way, and so wetting us to the skin. Do what we would we could not get warm, as we could not get along fast enough, and the sun was still on the other side of the range. Onwards and upwards we toiled in silence for four hours, until we reached our well-known E. peak on the summit—*Te Atua-o-mahuru!*

See Note B., Appendix.

(seen prominently from Hawke's Bay,) whence the extensive prospect to the East was again, as on the former occasion, obscured. This culminating peak of this part of the range has since been better known to the Maoris by the name of *Te Taumata-a-Neho* (*i.e.* Colenso's summit, or pass) from the fact of my having both crossed it and made a track that way into the interior, as well as from the circumstance of our always halting there, going and returning, and offering up both prayer and praise. Although I have crossed this range several times, travelling both E. and W., only on one occasion had I a clear view of the whole E. side and extensive horizon,—recalling forcibly to memory the old familiar view from the Land's-end in England, with the Scilly Isles in the distance, and Sir H. Davy's expressive lines on that place:—

———"far beyond,

Where the broad ocean mingles with the sky,  
Are seen the cloud-like islands, grey in mists."—

The distant prospect being generally dull and obscured through misty exhalations arising from the low-lands and swamps and forests beneath; and yet the mountains, seen from below, and being projected in bold relief against the sky, appear commonly clear and well-defined,—"robed in their azure hue."

A curious little event happened this morning, when near the summit: I was ahead of my party with my dog, and we were crossing a narrow stony ridge, a kind of saddle between two peaks, when striking my foot against a thick withered tussock of grass, two rats started out! no doubt rudely awakened out of their slumbers. My dog caught one and killed it, the other got off; they were the common English rat—here at this altitude on those barren peaks!

Dr. Horsfield's account of the peculiar little animal *Mydatus meliceps*, only found on the tops of the mountains of Java,—and Sir C. Lyell's remark thereon,—may be profitably consulted here. (Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, 12th Ed., vol. II., p. 362.)

Another highly curious circumstance is worth mentioning. In ascending early this morning through an open part of the forest on the S. slope of a spur where the Beech trees (*Fagus Solandri*) were tall and young, growing up thickly and straight like saplings or poplars, we suddenly came on a lot which were abruptly bent down to the earth in a kind of a row from about 5—6 feet above the ground,—looking like a long green half-roof of a house, or the roof of a "lean-to"! they were all living, thickly branched and very leafy, and their tops were all again ascending from the earth like very young trees. Tired hungry and thirsty as we were, we all stood in amazement at this sight, and myself and natives with their backloads walked under this living sloping roof for several yards, only stooping our heads a little. We found, on examination, that all those trees had had their trunks half-broken—twisted splintered and bruised—at the angle of inclination, and the conclusion we came to was, that it was done through the heavy mass of snow which had been deposited on their thick tops and branches becoming frozen together, and so in a gale bringing them down into the position in which we found them. It was truly a curious living sight. I saw them again some two years after, and again walked under them, when they were much the same, but not so regular nor so clear underneath.—

To return:—Here on the open sunny summits, we were greatly in want of water, which we had not tasted since noon yesterday; we had diligently searched about for it in all the hollows and snow-runs on the table-tops as we came along, but in vain! a few drops from a bunch of wet moss in a hole was all I could obtain, but that



was precious. After resting a while on the crest of the mountain, and offering up our usual thanksgiving,—for

———"On mountains and in vales he taught  
To adore the Invisible, and HIM *alone*:"—

we determined to push on to our old three-nights encampment at Te Wai-o-kongenge in the forest on the E. side, where we knew we should find water; so continuing our journey we reached that place by 1 p.m., all hands quite weary and faint for want of water. To add to our distress we could not find any at our old pool and spring! which were both dry, but by searching further down the mountain's side we luckily found some. The welcome shout of "*Water!*" by the lucky finder, after the first dispiriting announcement of none! went through us like an electric thrill, and having drunk and drunk again we proceeded to get our breakfast—which included, also, both supper and dinner of the preceding day. Feeling much too tired and listless to look about me while our meal was preparing, I sat and mused, with my back against a tree,—for once a kind of Lotos-eater I—enjoying

———"the wild odour of the forest flowers  
The music of the living grass and air,  
The emerald light of leaf-entangled beams—  
Which drowns the sense."——

I should not omit to mention, that on my way down the mountain from the summit, I discovered a plant which I believed to be a new species of *Podocarpus*, and therefore named it *P. Cunninghamii*, (after my dear old friend and early Botanist in N.Z. Allan Cunningham, who first described *P. Totara*,)—its leaves and male amentæ with the squamulæ at their bases were very much larger than those of *P. Totara*, and the amentæ were also on long peduncles; its bark, too, was semi-papery, more like that of some large specimens of *Fuchsia excorticata*, and not at all resembling the bark of *P. Totara*. I subsequently found a small tree of it again in this same forest, but, as before, only having male flowers. I have little doubt of its being a distinct species. The natives call it *Totara-kiri-kotukutuku*.

I find this Maori name is given in the "Hand Book" Index to *Libocedrus Doniana*, but I scarcely think any *old* Native would call a *Libocedrus* a *Totara*, the foliage in the two genera being so very different. The maori name for it, (like many other of their proper names,) is fit and expressive; lit.—*Fuchsia-barked Totara*.

We resumed our journey at 2 p.m., not daring to tarry; gained the bed of the river by 5, and travelled sturdily on until 7 p.m., (for the last hour in comparative darkness,) when we halted in the shingly sides of the river's bed;—rejoicing that our difficulties were now over, and that we had really succeeded at last in crossing the Ruahine!—

27th. Last night Ave all slept soundly, lulled by the murmuring stream: for

———"this ravine  
Was now invested with fair flowers and herbs,  
And haunted by sweet airs and sounds, which flow.  
Among the woods and waters. FARE YE WELL!

Rose early this morning, breakfasted by daylight and started. All agreeing to travel steadily on all day without halting. We did so, rather moodily, and just managed to get quit of the river and the woods by daylight, still keeping on for an hour and half after sunset, when we halted on the N. edge of Te Ruataniwha plain, well tired and worn with our very long day's march, in which we had waded the main river more than a 100 times.

28th, Sunday. This we made a day of rest, as we greatly needed it. Every-thing very quiet around. Had two meals to-day of boiled rice. Natives slept the greater part of the day leaving me to my meditations. None of us knowing anything of the country between this place and Waipukurau, and there not being any track hence to that village, we determined to-morrow to keep in the stony bed of the river (Waipawa), until we should strike the maori track

This was not far from where Mr. Avison's house is now.  
leading from Patangata to that place,—which we knew.

March 1st. Left at 6 a.m., all in good spirits; by 11 o'clock we had gained the said pathway, where we halted to cook the small *remainder* of our rice for breakfast. Our meal over we continued our journey to Waipukurau, reaching it by 2 p.m., all hands there being very glad to see us; some of them having given us up,

not hearing anything of us.—

2nd. Morning prayers, schools, and breakfast over, I married the 9 young couples, who were here awaiting my arrival; at noon I left for Patangata.

3rd. Left Patangata for the Mission Station at Waitangi, reaching it in safety by sunset, and found all well.  
*Laus Deo.*

And now for a few further remarks on the peculiar Botany of the higher western sides, and of the summits of the range, not observed on the former occasion.—

In the open ground, on two or three mound-like hills of peaty-looking soil, and near each other, on the W. side, grew that remarkably fine *Ranunculus*—*R. insignis*. On my discovering it I was astonished at its size,—its largest golden flowers being nearly 2 inches in diameter, its flowering stems 3—4 feet high, and some of its round crenated leaves measuring 8—9 inches across! Both Sir Jos. Hooker, and his father were equally surprised and delighted, and as it was (then) by far the largest species known, Sir J. Hooker gave it that appropriate specific name—*insignis*. I only found it in that locality, but it was in great plenty; its principal neighbour was the notorious *Taramea* plant (*Aciphylla Colensoi*,) already fully noticed; and those splendid compositaceous plants *Celmisia spectabilis* and *C. incana*, which generally grew close together, forming large dark-green shining patches and bearing a profusion of fine white flowers—a striking contrast to their leaves. At first sight I saw that this new *Ranunculus* was closely allied to *R. pinguis*, of Lord Auckland's group and Campbell's Island,—then lately described in the *Flora Antarctica*, of which work I had received an early part just before I left the Station. Other plants of those far-off Antarctic Islets were also found here, on the summits; notably *Oreobolus pumilio*, growing in dense tufts in exposed places; while the peculiar straggling *Cyathodes empetrifolia*, and the pretty little flowering plants, *Euphrasia antarctica* and *Myosotis antarctica*, flourished in half-sheltered hollows, with *Plantago Brownii* and the Grass *Catabrosa antarctica*. With these last also grew, very closely intermixed (much as we have seen the Daisies and Buttercups among low turfy grasses in our English meadows,) the curious plant *Drapetes Dieffenbachii*; the little elegant *Ourisia cæspitosa* abounding in flowers; a very small and new species of *Plantago* (*P. uniflora*); and a similar-sized Botanical novelty *Astelia linearis*,—a tiny plant bearing a large orange-coloured fruit; a little *Caltha* (*C. Novæ Zealandiæ*,) having pale star-like flowers; two graceful *Gentians* (*G. montana* and *G. pleurogynoides*); and a very small shrubby prostrate *Coprosma* (*C. pumila*); together with several little elegant shrubby *Veronica*,—which I have formerly mentioned.—Two Orchideous plants, *Pterostylis foliata*, and *Caladenia bifolia* (of which I wished for better specimens,) I also detected growing sparingly; and with them a couple of *Carices*, *C. acicularis*, and *C. inversa*; and, also, two species of *Uncinia*,—*U. divaricata*, and *U. filiformis*;— and with them several interesting *Hepaticæ* and Mosses.—Only in one or two spots, in shady sheltered places near the top and just within the forest, did I meet with that pretty little plant *Ourisia Colensoi*,—but in those spots there were plenty of them, and always beautifully in flower; the plants of this species grew apart, as if they liked room; in this respect differing altogether from the other species of this genus I have seen. With them were always associated the mute little brown bird with a white head, as if they were the guardian wood-nymphs of those shady bowers!—this bird I have mentioned in Paper I., p. 27.

"Oh! there are curious things of which man know  
As yet but little! secrete lying hid  
Within all natural objects. Be they shells,  
Which ocean flingeth forth from off her billows  
On the low sand; or flowers, or trees, or grasses,  
Covering the earth; rich metals, or bright ores,  
Beneath the surface. He who findeth out  
Those secret things hath a fair right to gladness;  
For he hath well-performed, and doth awake  
Another note of praise on Nature's harp  
To hymn her great Creator."———

I have yet to mention a few other Alpine plants peculiar to the table-land on the topmost summit,—the barest and bleakest spot! these I have reserved till last, as requiring extra notice, and though dissimilar, as to Order and Genera, I have here brought them together, because they are all found only on the most exposed peaks,—all of very low growth,—and all were only seen in curious isolated patches, tufts, or hemispherical shaped cushions closely compacted together;—each species of plant apart entirely to itself in its own tuft or patch, and never intermixed in growth with other plants,—like those others already mentioned were: by which natural means, I suppose, they manage to keep their hold in the ground. There they were on the hard dry

summit clinging to the soil,—in summer exposed to the heat of the sun and to the fierce winds which must often sweep over those peaks,—and in the winter to be deeply buried for some months in the snow. (1) *Raoulia grandiflora*, a very small Compositaceous plant growing in dense tufts or patches, and bearing a pretty white flower. (2) *Helophyllum Colensoi*, a curious plant, closely allied to the unique genus *Forstera*,—and still more closely allied to a species of this new genus, discovered by Sir J. Hooker in Lord Auckland's group and Campbell's Island, this plant also takes the form of an elegant large cushion, being closely and evenly impacted together, bearing its white starry flowers upright against the sky peering forth from its tiny moss-like leaves at the tips of its little branches! a truly Alpine-looking plant.

I managed to bring living portions with me to the Station, and kept them alive for several months under glass, where they flowered abundantly and well.

(3) A Juncaceous plant, scarcely an inch high! *Luzula Colensoi*, also assumes dumpy hemispherical tufts or cushions. (4) A little gem of a Restiaceae plant, much like a pale-green moss in appearance, and less than an inch in height, *Alepyrum pallidum*, is another that forms large densely spreading patches; this, also, was discovered by Sir J. Hooker in the far-off Campbell's Island. (5) A *Carex* which, strangely enough, is said to be identical with a well-known species of Europe and N. America, (*C. Pyrenaica*,)—this plant is found growing together as a thick turf closely around snow-holes and snow-runs. (6) *Pentachondra pumila* (a plant originally discovered by Forster,) densely covers exposed lumps and knobs of earth with its peculiar living mat of handsome purple-green heath-like foliage and branches, that throng and grow over each other, its elegant carmine berries of a large size for the plant, which here and there peep from beneath, are of a peculiar oval form (not unlike the fruit of *Rosa canina*) and hollow like a bladder (resembling the bladders of some species of *Sargassum* = sea-weeds), with 5 little tiny seeds, or nuts (*pyrenes*), stuck round on the inside,—whence its generic name. These fruits are mostly hidden underneath its numerous small moss-like leaves; like the crimson fruits of the several other shrubby plants of similar low and prostrate growth, and only found at high altitudes, and there in the bleakest spots, *viz.* *Podocarpus nivalis*, *Dacrydium laxifolium*, *Gaultheria antipoda* (var.), *Cyathodes empetrifolia*, &c. I had long looked out for this plant, and was much gratified in finding it; but its flowers, being excessively small and insignificant and having a withered dingy appearance, much disappointed me.—

On one occasion I crossed this range in December, about Christmas,—and to my surprise found the snow lying still deep in the hollows on the top and on the W. side; in some places it was more than 6 feet deep, for I sent my long travelling spear down into it and could not touch the soil; it was frozen, however, on the surface, and was tolerably firm under the foot. It was also melting fast, the water running down all around its edges; and the heat was great in the sun, a kind of warm steam arising from it. But what struck me most of all, was to see the delicate flowers of the plants beneath (*Drapetes*, *Veronica*, *Cyathodes*, emerging from the snow with a little gentle spring and with perfect petals! It was a pretty—aye! a wondrous sight,—to see the open flowers springing up through the melting snow! Reminding one of a portion of Southey's "*Thalaba*",—(that wondrous flower-garden in the snow,)—and of Coleridge's "Hymn in the Valley of Chamouni,"—

"*Ye living flowers that skirt the eternal frost,*" &c.

There is yet another curious plant that I should like to mention—to call attention to; not that it is confined to those high woods, for it (or a closely allied species) was formerly pretty common throughout N.Z. in the damp shady forests, but always scattered; and I have good reasons for believing that it is gradually becoming more scarce—like many other of our native plants. It is an Orchid, a species of *Gastrodia*, a small genus peculiar to N. Zealand, Australia, and Tasmania, and the E. Indian isles. It is leafless, and has a strange appearance, reminding one at first sight of the larger British species of *Orobanche* (Broom rape).

Leafless, however, and rapid, up darts the slenderer flower-stalk,  
And a wonderful picture attracts the observer's eye.

"Blattloss aber und schnell erhebt sich der z'rrtere Stengel, Und ein Wundergebild zieht den Betrachtenden an."—*Metamorphose der Pflanzen.* GOETHE.

Its root, a tolerably large cylindrical tuber, is perennial; its single scaly and spotted flower-stem is 2 feet and more high, stout, erect, and bears several pretty large and peculiar bizarre flowers. The root was eaten by the old Maoris, together with the tubers of other congenerous terrestrial Orchids,—*Pterostylis*, *Thelymitra*, *Orthoceras*, &c. (Much like those of several British Orchids,—as *Orchis mascula*, &c., from whose tubers the nutritous *salep* of commerce is obtained.) A chief reason with me for mentioning this Ruahine forest plant, is, that I have good reasons for believing it may prove to be a different species from the Northern one, *Gastrodia Cunninghamii*, HOOK., fil.,—which A. Cunningham its discoverer supposed to be identical with the only Australian and Tasmanian species—*G. sesamoides* of Brown. This Ruahine plant being taller (2ft. 9in.), and

much larger in all its parts than the Northern one, and bears many more flowers, 30—36, on its longer raceme of 15 inches. And though I have more than once met with it in the lower mountain woods, it had always past flowering with withered perianths.

I have already mentioned a peculiar looking peak, or spur, on the top of the Ruahine range, running in a Northerly direction (when viewed from Matuku), and called, Te Papakiakuutaa.

Page 46. See Note B., Appendix.

On every journey of mine to and from Patea, I had always been desirous of visiting that strange-looking outlying spur; and one year (probably 1850) I managed to do so. On that occasion of returning from Patea, I had arranged that we should sleep at our "stone snow-well" in the alpine forest,—that being the nearest place to the said spur that we could "camp at" on our way back to Hawke's Bay without losing much time. We did so. Early the next morning we were on the move, and when we got to the W. summit, I, for the first time told my party what I was going to do,—to visit alone Te Papakiakuutaa. For a long time they strongly objected to my plan,—for them to proceed from where we then were some 2—3 miles on to the "camping-place" on the E. side of the peak, where I would rejoin them at evening,—they preferring to remain and wait for me where we then were, which I would not allow. At last I got them to leave me,—I privately telling my trusty native among them, that if I did not appear by sun-down, he was to come as far as the "two slips" to meet me. Taking my dog with me I went on: it was a gloriously fine day, the sun was melting; ere long the course without trees or high shrubs was more difficult than I had expected owing to the snow rifts in the earth and the boulders; and when, after several hours' toil, I got to the spur and mounted on it, to my great astonishment I found that all the upper part of that huge rampart was wholly composed of loose rocks and stones without any earth or clay between! It was a singular spot; no living thing was there, save a few common small lizards (*Mocoo*) basking on the black rocks in the sun, which (unlike Darwin's at the Galapagos,) scuttled off pretty fast on seeing me,—though they, in all probability, had never before seen a man. Not even a plant grew on it, and my dog finding he could not well get up on it, staid behind and howled! I walked some distance over the top, though every step required caution as the stones were loose; I never saw anything natural like it before; it seemed more like a place of Cyclopean art, and together with the extreme solitude caused many strange thoughts to arise,—to which the finding of that green-stone axe,

*Ante*, page 55.

—and also the peculiar, almost regular, formation of the earth I had noticed in one of the dry forests in the neighbourhood lower down, as if anciently cut into ramparts and fosses (though now overgrown with fine trees of the large-leaved *Fagus*,) contributed their share. The prospect inland was very extensive; no doubt with a glass the people of Matuku could have seen me standing there in bold relief against the sky. I staid there a while, musing:—

*"How divine,  
The liberty, for frail, for mortal man  
To roam at large among unpeopled glens  
And mountainous retirements;——  
——regions consecrate  
To oldest time! and, reckless of the storm,  
Be as a presence or a motion there."*

The day was now fast waning, and I left the dike to return; when suddenly I became faint, and I found my strength failing me fast. I sat down and deliberated; soon after my dog came up, wet, and covered with red vegetable mud; I tracked to where he had been bathing in a small snow-water pool, between two small hills, the water in which was quite warm, almost hot, and red, and thick with decaying vegetable matter, which had been just stirred up by the dog; I strained, or squeezed, some through my handkerchief and drank, and bathed my head and face. By-and-by I proceeded, but before I got on to the open and clear table-land of the top the sun went down, and it soon became nearly dark; still the travelling was pretty good there on those flat tops, only now and then stumbling, through haste and hunger, over low tussocks and mounds and boulder stones. It grew still darker, and the place was fast becoming enveloped in night clouds, when suddenly a dark form appeared just before me, and my dog barked and stood! it was my trusty native, who, having become alarmed at ym non-appearance and long absence, had left the encampment and the "two slips", in quest of me; in two hours more,—after crawling slowly along, literally feeling one's way, as we could not now walk fast owing to the darkness, and passing the two dreaded slips without difficulty, the ground there being dry,—we got to my party, who had long sat in great fear and superstitious dread, insomuch that they had had no supper! I gained very little indeed in Botany that day; nothing whatever of importance.—

As I have said so much (incidentally) respecting the isolated natives of Patea, a few words in conclusion may not be deemed out of place. They all received Christian Instruction very readily, and soon learned to read, and several of them to write. I visited them again before that year (1847) was ended, (after having made two journeys to Cook's Straits—beyond Wellington—and back,) and several times also during the following years. A few of my Maori Teachers also visited them; and in due time they were nearly all received into the Church by Baptism. Those villages, however, have long been deserted for more eligible places, where they can dwell with their horses and stock.—

*"Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches  
Dwells another race, with other customs and language."*

Several of those natives, or their descendants, are now settled with their relative the chief Renata, at Omahu, Hawke's Bay.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,  
And GOD fulfils Himself in many ways."

*Mort d'Arthur.* TENNYSON.

And now, with a few expressive and feeling lines from Wordsworth, I will close my long narration:—

*"Though, changed, no doubt, from what I was when first  
I went among those hills;—I cannot paint  
What then I was. The sounding cataract  
Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
Their colours and their forms, were then to me  
An appetite; a feeling and a love.—  
———And I have felt  
A presence that disturbs me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean and the living air,  
And the blue sky; and in the mind of man:  
A motion and a spirit, that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all tilings."———*

*Tintnet Abbey.* WORDSWOETH.

## Appendix.

### NOTE A., p. 5.

Seeing that Hawke's Bay has become so noted for its numerous and fine large cattle, it may not be altogether out of place to give in a note their first introduction into the District; which may, at least, amuse the Breeders who read or hear of it. I brought here with me, in 1844, five head; viz., 2 cows, 2 heifers, and a young bull. One of the cows was a red poley, a well-formed creature; one that had been a few years before imported by me from Parramatta N.S. Wales (selected from Mr. Marsden's celebrated herd) to the Bay of Islands; the other was a white and yellow long-horned cow, also a good one. And here I may relate a curious incident respecting the red poley; on my vessel arriving at Ahuriri, and anchoring off the Bluff, the Captain, who had never before been in Hawke's Bay, (I acting as pilot,) went in my whaleboat and sounded the bar entrance to the harbour, and for some way within it. Presently lots of natives came off to us in several canoes, so that the ship's deck was soon uncomfortably crowded. The Captain, however, did not enter the Ahuriri, though he would have done so (he said) if a change of weather should come on, his vessel a brig of 160 tons being rather large, but

anchored off the Waitangi Mission Station, where he discharged all his loading for me. I may also here mention as a thing of the *past*, never more to be seen in Hawke's Bay, that on that occasion we had no less than 120 canoes at one time around our ship, which, with the fierceness of the people, at first alarmed our Captain pretty considerably. While at our first anchorage, we determined on landing the cattle there under the Bluff, and while these were getting ready, a high dispute arose among the Natives on Board, at the head of which was the Chief—Te Waaka te Kawatini (subsequently so well known to the settlers here), and the dispute was simply this,—that the said red poley cow was a horse! it was referred at last to me and soon decided. There being no grass then about the Waitangi Station, the cattle wandered a good deal seeking food, and were with difficulty found and brought home. By-and-bye the red poley was killed just after calving; the fierce wild pigs having absolutely eaten away the teats and adjoining parts of the cow! through which she had miserably died, and was so found by us very soon after. We sought diligently all around for the calf, but could find no trace of it, no remains; and we supposed that it had been eaten too. I got several natives to dig a large and deep pit to bury the cow, and this was done; and a week or so afterwards the little red calf (like its dam) was accidentally found dead, lying whole and stretched out across its mother's grave! One of the two heifers fared much the same in calving as the poley cow; we knew her time was near, and had kept up a pretty good watch over her,—but there being yet no food close at hand, and the great flood of 1845 happening, (the greatest by far that I have ever known,) the winter too having commenced, and the great difficulty of getting any of the Natives to do any thing properly, owing to their being wholly unused to all our work, and to the disagreeableness of the job of searching that wet and tangled flat half-naked and in wet and cold weather,—and then (as I take it) the propensity of cattle to seek some retired and sheltered spot for calving,—she wandered far away, so that she could not be timely found; at last she was found, recently dead, killed!—with the head of the partly expelled calf gnawed off and all the surrounding soft parts of the mother including her udder!! This, however, was mainly if not entirely done by a big ferocious bull-dog or half-breed, which the Natives had some time before obtained from a ship off the Cape at a high price as a pig-dog. I scarcely need add, that I could obtain no redress: I had "to grin and bear it." My time of power and influence among them had not yet come; indeed, I was scarcely settled down, and had quite enough to do to hold my own against the suspicious and powerful tribal Chiefs (or petty Kings!), who were all, at that time, determined heathen and opposed to Christianity. In a few years, however, patient perseverance was rewarded, and things were wonderfully changed. Ultimately that savage dog was obliged to be killed; not, however, until after he had done me much mischief.

I could also give several other *strange* anecdotes respecting those few cattle and their offspring,—and of what I had to put up with respecting them, during my early years of residence here,—which would scarcely now be believed!

I may, however, add a brief history of the *first* Horse. This animal was obtained by me from Poverty Bay (overland), in 1846; it was a fine strong docile creature, a bright bay gelding with black points, and named Cæsar. I have already mentioned "the great flood of 1845,"—that completely destroyed all my first farming! or, laying-down of two paddocks (about 4 acres) in ryegrass and clover. I had got the ground cleared, dug up, drained all round—the situation being very low—and partly fenced, at an enormous amount of trouble, not to mention expense; and the grasses sprang delightfully; when the heavy flood came and destroyed all!—The silt deposited on that occasion, (as I subsequently informed Dr. Featherstone, then Superintendent of the Province, at his official request,) measured, in some spots in my two paddocks 2ft. 4in. in depth, and in none less than 4—5 inches. To return: there was no grass about the Station, or indeed anywhere on all the low lands around, for the horse; so that, in the following autumn, (during my long absence from the Station,) the poor horse died! mainly from want of proper food and the wet plashy state of the whole low country around. Had I, however, been there, I would have turned him out on to the long beach between Waitangi and Ahuriri, where he could have found a scanty picking on dry ground; but those in charge feared to do so, lest he should seek to go back to Poverty Bay, and in doing so, attempt to swim the Ahuriri and be carried out to sea. I was told, on my return, that the frogs of his four feet had swollen out like balls or cushions, so that for a long time before his death he could not stand. The Maoris were then, at the last, greatly interested in saving him, and gathered coarse grasses and leafy shrubs at a distance in profusion, and brought them to him. Though broken-in to saddle, he was never ridden by us.

I should also give a brief outline of my early troubles attendant on my *first* attempts at farming:—*viz.* the bringing-in to cultivation a few acres of the wild waste, by preparing and laying it down with grasses. I have already mentioned the heavy flood in 1845, and the deep deposit of silt it left; that was bad enough, and destroyed all hopes of grass for the first year. But that trouble and disappointment, great though it proved to be, was but slight when compared with the greater trouble that arose from the fencing not being completed! I have said, that the 4 acres of cleared land were "*partly* fenced"; and thus that ground remained for nearly four years! and it came about in this way. In order to please the five head Chiefs of these parts, (who were then exceedingly poor, and badly off in money and clothing and moveable goods, and very jealous of each other,) all the work

required by me must be shared between them, so that themselves and their people might get a little of the payment,—indeed no Maori could undertake any job without first obtaining the assent of his Chief; therefore it was arranged that each principal Chief was to have part of the fencing to erect. With four of them I managed pretty well, and during the first year of residence they completed their shares of the work; but Te Hapuku, who had the long W. side to erect, delayed it, and would not allow his tribe to touch it, (and, of course, none of the others dared to do so!) And this was solely owing to my refusal to advance him any thing more, he having already largely overdrawn the sum fixed for the job (at so much per fathom). And during this long period the numerous half-wild pigs of that place (surrounded as it was on three sides by water,) came in herds to eat down and root up the clover, and to destroy the drain!—which, at first, was a very well made and effectual one. It was about four years before Te Hapuku allowed his share of the fence to be made, and it was the worst piece of work of the whole lot, composed of roughly split white pine from the "Big Bush" near by, and badly put up; while the E. fence, composed wholly of totara, laboriously brought from Kohinurakau 25 miles distant, dubbed down, and securely cross-bound to the rails, stood sound and good for 20 years and upwards. Those early years were, indeed, a time and school for patience!

## NOTE B., pp. 9, 46, 56, 62.

I have not unfrequently mentioned the peculiar and figurative yet fitting names of places and things given them by the ancient Maoris.

Particularly in my Papers on "*Nomenclature*," published here last year.

And so, here, I would endeavour to explain the compound names of those three prominent peaks of the Ruahine range, viz.—

- *Te-atua-o-maliuru*.
- *Te-atua-o-parapara*: or, *Oparapara*.
- *Te-papaki-a-kuuta*.

These proper names are each composed of a sentence of four (and five) words; each name containing or implying a personification; and, no doubt, in the opinion of the ancient Maoris possessing a right and proper meaning,—though lost, or nearly so, to the present generation. As it is difficult to explain them fully and clearly in a foot-note in a few words, I have reserved doing so for this place.

### 1. TE-ATUA-O-MAHURU, pp. 9 and 56.

Of this name the last word (*mahuru*) is now almost obsolete, rarely used save in old songs, and has several meanings,—all similar to the Maori mind.—(1) Deep yearning affection towards an absent one,—as husband, child, &c. (2) The same exhibited towards any one bringing tidings of the absent one; or, on casually hearing from a travelling party of his welfare, &c. (3) Ease, relief, comfortable feelings on sitting and resting after climbing a steep ascent. (4) With the causative particle prefixed,—to help kindly; to attend gently on a weak person; alleviation of pain and weakness; comfort. (5) An old name for the Spring season, return of Spring, warm welcome weather: hence (6) a name for the migratory Cuckoo (*Cuculus lucidus*), that arrives here early,—*nga-karere-o-Mahuru* = the heralds of Spring.—

*Atua*,—(here,)—any being or thing of an evil, demon-like nature, sort, or kind; the enemy, or very opposite of a good thing, sort, or quality.—

*Te*, art., sing.,—here, emphatic and intensive.

*O*, prep. of.—

So that, *Te-atua-o-mahuru*,—the opponent of, or something opposed to affection, good-tidings, kindness, relief, warm and comfortable weather, &c. A fit name for a barren and rugged mountain top, where in snow and rough weather no one could sit to rest after toiling up the ascent; which might also serve to indicate its being the barrier to loved ones left below on either side.

### 2. TE ATUA-O-PARAPARA: or, abbreviated, OPARAPARA.

Here, too, the last word (*parapara*) has several meanings.—(1) Dregs, dross, small fragments, crumbs, slime, scud, &c. (2) A sacred isolated spot or place,—fire,—food, &c. Either or both of the above may be well-applied here:—(1) for snow,—as dregs, scud, &c., deposits from the Southerly gales

See *Parate-tai-tonga*, = Dirt, or dregs, from-the-Southern-Sea,—the name of the higher mountain in the interior, always covered with snow: p. 45.—Also, "*Nomenclature*," p. 16.

:(2) sacred isolated peak;(N.B. What the old Chief said respecting it, p. 37).

The other three words,—*Te*,—*atua*,—and *o*,—as before.

Then we have,—The disagreeable hateful (place) of the leavings of the cold Southerly gales,—*i.e.*, snow. Or, if abbreviated, (*Oparapara*,)—"place" (understood) "of snow." Or, the name may have originally been,

carrying out the personification,—*Te-atua-ko-parapara*; (the *k* being dropped, as is often done for abbreviation and euphony;) which only serves to intensify disgust at the place.

Those are two of the culminating peaks of the range, and are visible all over Hawke's Bay and country E. and S.

### 3. TE-PAPAKI-A-KUCTA, pp. 46 and 62.

This, very remarkable place has certainly a correspondingly remarkable name. As in the former proper names above, so here, the last word is the difficult one to fix the meaning of; though this one is much more so.

After no small study, I think that *kuuta* must be taken as representing *tu uta*; (*k* in ancient words being sometimes used for *t*;

In the Hawaiian (Sandwich Islands) dialect *k* is frequently interchanged with *t*; and it is worthy perhaps of notice, that another romantic place among these mountains not very far away N. from this,—*Kuripapango*,—is supposed to derive its old proper name from a Hawaiian word. (*Vide*, "Three Literary Tapers", by W.C., p. 4: 1883.)

) then, *tu uta* may mean,—*Tu*, = the warrior god (Mars) defender of the interior (*uta*).

*Papaki* = the perpendicular cliff, dyke, barrier.

*Te*, and *a*, (active prep, for *of*) as before.

Thus we have,—The barrier of (the) defender god (of the) interior.

I noticed, that some of the old Maoris of Patea laid stress on and lengthened the last vowel of the word; thus,—"*Te-papaki-a-kuutaa*": the meaning however would be very nearly the same,—instead of—"the god-defender of the interior" (*uta*); it would be, the "god-man-slayer by dashing down" (*taa*). Both meanings, as they seem to me, are equally suitable.—

### NOTE C., p. 30.

I may here briefly mention, for the information of many, the boundaries of the "parish"(!) or ecclesiastical district assigned to me by Bishop Selwyn in 1844;—if only to show the amount of heavy travelling I necessarily had in those days. From the River Waikari on the N. to Cape Palliser and Port Nicholson S., (more than 2½° of longitude,) including also the Maori villages in Cook's Straits,—Ohariu, Ohaua, &c.; and from Taupo Lake on the W. to the E. sea-coast, including the River Manawatu to the Gorge, and thence through the forests to Wairarapa. My long distant journeys occupied me about 7 months every year, exclusive of those made to the villages nearer me—say, within 50 miles; the long half-yearly journey (in which I visited all the distant S. and W. Maori villages, going by the sea-coast and returning through the forests of the interior,—or *vice versa*,) usually took from 76 to 84 days, dependent on the weather; and all on foot, without roads or paths, and not unfrequently (at first) without even tracks, or guides;—travelling by compass, in the interior, and by the coast line, over rocks and tidal beaches; often having there to wait at headlands and cliffs for the tide to ebb, and not unfrequently sadly delayed and put out at the mouths of the rivers! Let any one who may doubt, or who is ambitious of knowing something of that kind of travelling in the past, let him just try a run, with a load on his back, *over the rocks* from the mouth of the river at Manawarakau to Pauanui (near Pourerere); or, *over the rocks* from Akitio to Owahanga; or the tramp by the strict coast-line all the way from Cape Palliser to Wellington; those places being still pretty much as they were in a state of Nature.

### NOTE D., p. 41.

Strangely enough, Sir J. D. Hooker, in the "Hand Book", gives "Tongariro and Ruahine range", as the *only* habitat in the N. Island of *D. Colensoi*; and that too, as from *me*: such, however, is not the case, as a reference to the *Icones Plantarum* (vol. II., tab. 548) of his father (who received the original plant (*D. Colensoi*) from me, and who there first described it) will shew,—unless this very small "Tongariro" plant, and a larger one from "Ruahine", may prove to be only Alpine varieties of that species, *D. Colensoi*.—The original *D. Colensoi* I found only in the N. forests, inland on the high ranges between Whangarei and Whangaruru Bays, in 1841; it is a large and scarce "Pine" there, the true *Manoao* of the old New Zealanders. Since writing the above, I find, from vol. X. "Transactions", just to hand, that Mr. Kirk, has (I think) unintentionally contributed a little more to the foregoing error respecting *Dacrydium Colensoi*. Therefore, I here give an extract from my letter to Sir W. J. Hooker, of July 1841, (as published by him in the *London Journal of Botany*, vol. I. p. 298).—

"Since I had last the pleasure of addressing you, I have made a journey of about 4 weeks to Whangarei Bay and neighbourhood, in S. lat. 36°, returning by a circuitous route, *via* the interior. - - In the box now sent you will find some things both novel and interesting. - - The *king of the whole lot* is my new "*Pine*," from the high hills near the Eastern coast. For many years I had heard of this tree from the aborigines, but could never obtain a specimen, no one knowing where it was to be found. They had heard of such a tree, and some of the oldest



Chiefs had occasionally seen it, when hunting in the forests; but all agreed that it was very rare, only growing singly. The reason, too, for its unfrequent occurrence was this,—*Tane*, one of their illustrious demigods, hid it! Still it existed, a distinct tree which never rotted. As a proof of all this, the people, wherever they could find a tree, reserved it for a coffin to hold the remains of a chief. These statements, you may well suppose, only in-flamed my desire to possess specimens of this wonderful tree. I sought and sought, but all in vain, wherever I went, making inquiries after, and offering rewards for, it,—until I actually gained a name among the natives for doing so. At last, early in this year (1841), after a toilsome march through an un-frequented spot and jungle, to the place where I had been informed that one grew, I found it! I will not attempt to describe my satisfaction, which was much increased by observing that the specimens I had acquired were in fruit.—The tree (for a "Pine") is not large, about 50 feet high, and 2ft. 6in. in diameter. In appearance it somewhat resembles the *Kahikatea* (*Podocarpus dacrydioides*).— I also send a specimen of the wood. The bark on the trunk is decid-uous, but not like that of the *Totara* which is fibrous; this is only scaly and brittle, as in the Kauri (*Dammara Australis*). Subsequently on the same range of hills, I saw two other of these "Pines," of nearly similar size."

#### **NOTE E., p. 46.**

It is perhaps worthy of recording, that this was the *first* inland Christian Chapel erected in this extensive District. It was neatly and strongly built, very simple, with plain narrow lancet windows, and three together (the central one larger) in the E. end; its whole furniture consisting of a small holy table, a rustic font-stand, and a strong reading-desk; no seats or forms. The floor, however, was nicely covered with matting of undressed N.Z. Flax (*Phormium*), neatly woven in a narrow pattern by the women. The windows were without glass, (we being too poor and too far away from civilization,) but they had white canvas strained and oiled instead,—which served just as well.

This building was in daily, use for many years for School, and Religious Worship, and yielded good service; being largely esteemed by the Maoris of all parts, many of them coming from a long distance to see it. It was subsequently enlarged, as the little peaceful Christian Village grew in size and importance; and on the settling in its neighbourhood of the first European settlers (some 7—8 years after), it was also occasionally used by them on Sundays for Divine Service. Unfortunately its end, and that of the Maori Christian village of Waipukurau, were not what they should have been. Its name, however, is perpetuated in that of the present neat and rising township.

#### **NOTE F., p. 50.**

Having mentioned the Chief Renata, I may here give, in a note, a little more of this man's career, showing (as often is the case) how truth is stranger than fiction! In due course of time (from the storming of Te Awarua), in those old days of frequent fighting, slavery and death, Te Kawepo was again taken prisoner by other tribes from the N., and eventually found his way, as a slave, to Te Waimate in the Bay of Islands. There, with others (slaves), he was brought under the influence of Missionary Teaching,—was taught in their schools to Read and Write, &c.,—was in the end Baptized, taking the name of Renata (Leonard),—and, on my leaving Te Waimate (the second time) in 1844 for Hawke's Bay, I brought him here with me, partly as a Domestic. He lived with me some considerable time, and did good service in many ways; often travelling to visit outlying places as a Christian Teacher, (on foot, and barefooted, scantily clad and *without pay!*) and, on one occasion, at my request, visited this far-off Patea,—and, of course, this very spot at Te Awarua. The whole story, however, of this man's life, though very interesting and remarkable, is too long, too intricate, to be related here; to show how he attained to his present high position of the principal Chief of his tribe:—it would form an interesting little book.

#### **NOTE G., p. 53.**

I had one more truly awful night on this range, and on this W. flank of it, but much nearer to the summit; which I may as well relate here.—Curiously enough it was in returning from my very last visit, made in 1852; and it was brought about in this way. I made two visits to Patea in that year; the last one was very late in the season, in May; and I went there purposely to marry the chief's son, Frederic, whom I had Baptized, a fine young man; which I had also promised to do. The days were very short, and among my baggage-bearers were three new hands, who were unused to bush and mountain travelling. In leaving Te Awarua, where we had purposely slept, so as to start early for the mountain and get over the summit and the "two slips" before night,—fearing, too, any sudden change in the weather, at this advanced season, which had been threatening, (having now a nice snug little camping place just below the tops on the E. side,) my new hands being also heavily laden with the good things of Patea,—potted birds and roast pig—the *debris* of the

marriage-feast,—loitered behind and straggled about in the forests, in spite of all my remonstrances. The consequence was, that the sun went down when we were more than an hour's journey from the summit, and it very soon became dark; so that we had to bring up on the lower part of Maunga Taramea! with snow lying all around!! The darkness was excessive; we hastily put up the tent (in a miser-able kind of way), but there was no fern nor grass nor leafy branches for the wet floor, and, try as much as we could, we could not make the fire burn,—it would only just simmer without any flame! We had no supper, for we could not roast our potatoes; at last I had a cup of tea made with some snow water, and then, as a last expedient, I got my little kettle refilled with snow and boiled, and took it hot into my tent and blankets to warm me; in the morning it was a solid lump of ice inside my bedding! At one time, during that *long* night, I did not expect to see the morning. My poor natives sat huddled together on the wet cold ground all night, not daring to move through fear of the prickly *Tarameas (Aciphylla)*! the miserable fire soon going out; we kept calling one to another till daybreak. Oh! what a night that was—never to be forgotten! With the morning came the cold cold (and wet) fog; and it was two hours after sunrise before we, on the shaded W. side, got his beams! We dared not to move, for everything around was dripping wet, and with the horrid young *Tarameas* poking through the snow! Myself and native companions for years after, spoke shudderingly of that night!

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Front Cover

Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha,  
(Extract from the "Transactions of the New Zealand Institute," Vol. V.)

Chief of the Ngatitoo.

By W. T. L. Travers, F.L.S.

New Zealand James Hughes, Printer, Lambton Quay, Wellington. 1872.

# Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngatitoo.

By W. T. L. TRAVERS, F.L.S.

[*Read before the Wellington Philosophical Society, 21st August, 4th September, 2nd., 9th, and 30th October, 1872.*]

## CHAPTER I.

THE position occupied by the great chief Te Rauparaha in connection with the establishment and earlier progress of the New Zealand Company's settlements in Cook Straits, would alone justify us in recording all that can still be learnt of the career of this remarkable man; but when, in addition to the interest which his personal history possesses for us in this respect, we find that he took a very important part in the events that occurred in these Islands between the years 1818 and 1840—leading as they did to an immense destruction of life amongst the then existing population, and to profound changes in the habits and character of the survivors—it becomes important, for the purposes of the future historian of the Colony, that we should preserve the most authentic accounts of his career, as well as of that of the other great chiefs who occupied, during the period in question, positions of power and influence amongst the leading New Zealand tribes. As with Hongi, Te Waharoa, and Te Wherowhero in the North, so Te Rauparaha in the South carried on, during the interval referred to, wars of the most ruthless and devastating character, undertaken partly for purposes of conquest, and partly for the gratification of that innate ferocity for which the New Zealanders have long been remarked. His own immediate tribe, the Ngatitoo, though insignificant in point of numbers, when compared with most of the leading tribes of the North Island, had long been celebrated for their prowess as warriors; and the reliance they placed upon the sagacity and valour of their chief added to the prestige of frequent victories, and, above all, to the confidence inspired by the possession of new and powerful weapons, unknown, in most cases, to their earlier opponents, led them unhesitatingly to engage in enterprizes, the difficulties and dangers of which might otherwise well have deterred even bolder men. Nor was the special confidence inspired by the possession of firearms at all surprising, when we remember the extraordinary results which have recently been brought about, even amongst European nations, by mere improvements in the construction of the weapons used in warfare. In the case of Austria, for example, the power of one of the greatest military nations of the world was almost annihilated, and

has certainly been permanently reduced, in consequence of the possession, by their recent adversaries, of weapons of somewhat greater precision than their own. We cannot, therefore, wonder at the results which would be produced upon even the most warlike savage people, where the arms on the one side were muskets, and on the other mere clubs and wooden spears and more especially where those who used the latter had had no previous knowledge of the destructive power of the more deadly weapons brought against them. My narrative will, indeed, often recall the graphic language of De Foe when describing the effect produced by the guns of Robinson Crusoe and Friday upon the savages engaged in butchering their prisoners: "They were, you may be sure," he says, "in a dreadful consternation, and all of them who were not hurt jumped upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run or which way to look, for they knew not from whence their destruction came." We shall find, in effect, that this was the principal reason why the wars carried on by Te Rauparaha were, notwithstanding the smallness of his own forces, quite as disastrous to the numerous tribes which occupied the scenes of his exploits, as those which were waged against their own neighbours by the more powerful chieftains in the northern parts of the country, and that Te Rauparaha contributed as largely as most of the former to the enormous destruction of life which took place during the two-and-twenty years above referred to. But before entering upon the immediate subject of this memoir, I have thought it desirable to compile a short account, showing—the habits and character of the New Zealanders; their laws in relation to the acquisition and ownership of land; their customs in war; the general condition of the tribes before the introduction of firearms, and the effects which that circumstance in their history produced upon them. I have thought it would be satisfactory to my readers that I should adopt this course, not merely as a matter of speculative interest, but because some knowledge upon these subjects will really be found necessary to a full appreciation of the events I propose to relate, and of the characters of the chief actors in those events.

I propose in the present chapter to inquire, shortly, into the habits and customs of the New Zealanders in especial relation to the ownership of land, and to war, and then to offer some observations regarding their social and individual characteristics; and I may at once say that in compiling the following notice of these matters I have availed myself largely of Mr. White's "Lectures on Maori Customs and Superstitions," and of Mr. Colenso's "Essay on the Maori Races," which, though by no means exhaustive, are sufficient to enable those who have had any opportunities of personal observation, and who may, therefore, read them by the light of locally acquired knowledge, to obtain reasonably clear ideas upon these points. It would appear from the facts collected by these and other writers, and from the traditions of the New Zealanders themselves, that from the very earliest times they clearly understood the value of the possession of land. This was, of course, naturally to be expected in a people dependent upon the cultivation of the soil for a considerable proportion of their ordinary means of subsistence, for although New Zealand, as a rule, is a fertile country, and possesses a mild climate, and is almost everywhere covered with a dense vegetation, its natural vegetable productions, suitable for the proper sustenance of man, are extremely limited; and the Natives would often have suffered from want if they had been wholly dependent for their supplies of food upon the indigenous vegetation, and upon the uncertain results of their rat-chases and their fisheries. No doubt, whilst the Moa still abounded in various parts of both Islands, it afforded them a better class of animal food than any other they possessed before the introduction of the pig, but we have no positive information as to the date at which this source of supply failed them, nor do I think the materials for the determination of this question are at all likely to lead to any certain results upon the point. There can be no doubt, indeed, that long before the time of Cook, the most valuable articles of food used by the Maoris were not indigenous, as, for example, the Kumera (*Convolvulus chrysochizus*), the Taro (*Caladium esculentum*), and the gourd-like Hue, in the growth of each of which a special and most careful mode of treatment was necessary. We find, accordingly, that a very large part of the time of the people of all classes was taken up in these cultivations, as well as in the preparation of such indigenous substances as were at all suitable for food; for, independently of the immediate family wants, the hospitalities of the tribes—to which all the members must necessarily contribute, especially on solemn occasions—led to the expenditure of large stores of provisions. As I have before observed, it was natural that a people, whose ordinary wants necessitated the cultivation of the soil to any large extent, should attach great value to the possession of land; and we find, in effect, that every tribe claimed its own special domain, and preserved the most accurate knowledge of the extent and limit of its territorial rights.

"There is no point," says Mr. White, "on which a New Zealander's indignation can be more effectually roused than by disputing his title to land. This love for his land is not, as many would suppose, the love of a child for his toys; the title of a New Zealander to his land is connected with many and powerful associations in his mind. He is not, of course, what we call a civilized man, but in dealing with him we deal with a man of powerful intellect, whose mind can think and reason as logically on any subject with which he is acquainted, as his more favoured European brethren, and whose love for the homes of his fathers is associated with the deeds of their bravery, with the feats of his boyhood, and the long rest of his ancestors for generations. The New Zealander is not accustomed to law and parchment, or to wills and bequests, in gaining knowledge of or

receiving a title to the lands of his fathers; nor would he quietly allow any stranger to teach him what lands were his, or what lands were not; what were the names of the boundaries, the creeks, mountains, and rivers in his own district. The thousand names within the limits of his hereditary lands were his daily lesson from childhood. The son of a chief invariably attended his father, or his grandfather, in all his fishing, trapping, or spearing excursions; and it was in these that he learnt, by ocular demonstration, the exact boundaries of his lands, and especially heard their various names. It was a custom with the Maoris in ancient times to eat the rat—a rat indigenous to this country, and caught in traps set on the tops of the mountain ranges. This was a source of part of their daily food, and it was therefore, with them, a point of great importance to occupy every available portion of their lands with these traps; and as most of the tribal boundaries are along the range of the highest hills or mountains, and as these were the common resort of the rat, every New Zealand chief soon naturally became acquainted with the exact boundary of his land claims. He did not, however, limit these claims to the dry land—they extended to the shellfish, and even out to sea, where he could fish for cod or shark, or throw his net for mackerel; nor did he go inadvertently to these places, and trust to chance for finding his fishing grounds—he had land-marks, and each fishing-ground and land-mark had its own peculiar name; these to him were more than household words; his fathers had fished there, and he himself and his tribe alone knew these names and land-marks. Where a creek was the dividing boundary of his lands this was occupied by eel-dams. These dams were not of wicker-work, that might be carried away by a flood—labour and art were bestowed upon their construction, so that generations might pass, all of whom in turn might put their eel-basket down by the carved and re-ochred totara post which their great grandfather had placed there. When the dividing boundary between two tribes ran along a valley, land-marks were put up; these consisted generally of a pile of stones or a hole dug in the ground, to which a name was given significant of the cause which gave rise to such boundary being agreed to; such, for instance, as Te Taupaki—the name given to the dividing boundary on the West Coast between the Ngatiwhatua and Tainui tribes—which means the year of peace, or the peaceful way in which a dispute is adjusted. This boundary had its origin from a chief of the Ngatiwhatua, called Poutapuaka, going from Kaipara to take possession of land with his paraoa, or bone spear. His intention was to go along the coast as far as the quantity of food which he carried would enable him to travel, and return from the point at which his food was expended; he had succeeded in taking possession of the whole of the line of sandy coast called Rangatira, and on arriving at the top of the hill, now known as Te Taupaki, he met the Tainui chief Haowhenua. They both halted, sticking their spears in the ground, and inquiring of each other the object of their being there. They found that they were both on the same errand, and at once agreed that this meeting point should be the boundary dividing the lands of the tribes whereof each was the representative. The Ngatiwhatua chief at once dug a hole with his bone spear, and the boundary so established has remained to this day. I may state," adds Mr. White, "without fear of contradiction, that there is not one inch of land in the New Zealand Islands which is not claimed by the Maoris, and I may also state that there is not a hill or valley, stream, river, or forest, which has not a name—the index of some point of the Maori history. As has been stated above, the New Zealander knows with as much certainty the exact boundary of his own land, as we could do from the distances and bearings given by a surveyor. But these boundaries are liable to be altered at times; for instance, when lands are taken by a conquering tribe, or are given by a chief for assistance rendered to him by another tribe in time of war, or when land given to the female branch of a family again becomes, after a certain time, the property of the male branch of the family. In certain cases, also lands are ceded by a tribe for a specific purpose, with certain restrictions, and a tenure conditional on certain terms being complied with."

Mr. Colenso, in his "Essay on the Maori Races," tells us that their views of property were, in the main, both simple and just, and in some respects (even including those most abnormal) wonderfully accorded with what once obtained in England. Amongst them, property was usually divided into two classes, namely, peculiar and common. Every man, for example, had a right to his own, as against every one else, although this right was often overcome by might. A man of middle, or low rank, caught, perhaps, some fine fish, or was very lucky in snaring birds—such were undoubtedly his own; but if his superior, or elder chief, wished or asked for them, he dared not refuse, even if he would. At the same time, such a gift, if gift it might be termed, was (according to custom) sure to be repaid with interest, hence it was readily yielded. The whole of a man's movable property was also his own, which included his house and fences, as well as all his smaller goods. All that a freeman made or caught, or obtained, or raised by agriculture, were his own; although his house, created by himself, was his own, yet if not on his own land (rarely the case) he could not hold it against the owner of that spot, unless such use had been openly allowed to him by the owner before all (*i te aroaro o te tokomaha*). So a plantation planted by himself, if not on his own land (also a rare thing), he would have to leave after taking his crops, on being ordered so to do; but not so if he had originally, and with permission, felled the forest, or reclaimed that land from the wild; in which case, he would retain it for life, or as long as he pleased, and very likely his descendants after him. To land, a man acquired a peculiar right in many ways:—

- Definite.—(*a.*) By having been born on it, or, in their expressive language, "where his navel string was

cut," as his first blood (ever sacred in their eyes) had been shed there. (b.) By having had his secundines buried there (this, however, was much more partial), (c.) By a public invitation from the owner to dwell on it. (d.) By having first cultivated it by permission, (e.) By having had his blood shed upon it. (f.) By having had the body or bones of his deceased father or mother, or uterine brother or sister, deposited or rested on it (g.) By having had a near relative killed or roasted on it. (h.) By having been bitterly cursed in connection with that piece of land, *i.e.*—this oven is for thy body, or head; on that tree thy liver shall be fixed to rot; thy skull shall hold the cooked birds, or berries of this wood, (i.) Or by the people of the district using for any purpose a shed which had been temporarily put up there, and used by a chief in travelling.

- Indefinite.—(a.) By having been invited to come there by the chief with a party to dwell (*lit.*, having had their canoe in passing called to shore), (b.) Through his wife by marriage; but such would only be a quasi life-interest to him, *i.e.*, during her life and infancy of the children, as, in case of children, they would take all their mother's right, (c.) By having assisted in conquering it. (d.) By having aided with food, a canoe, a spear, etc., an armed party who subsequently became conquerors of it. All these equally applied, though he should belong to a different tribe or sub-tribe.
- Beyond all these, however, was the right by *gift* or *transfer*, and by *inheritance*, which, not unfrequently, was peculiar and private. This (which has of late years been much contested, and too often, it is feared, by ignorant and interested men, or by those who have too readily believed what the talkative *younger* New Zealanders *now* say,) may clearly be proved beyond all doubt:—(1.) By the acts of their several ancestors (great-grandfathers) to their children, from whom the present sub-tribes derive their sub-tribal names, and claim their boundaries; such ancestors divided and gave those lands simply to each individual of their family, which division and alienation, however unfairly made, has never been contested. (2.) By their ancient transfers (gifts or sales) of land made by individuals of one tribe to individuals of another, as related by themselves; and from which gift or alienation, in many instances, they deduce their present claims. (3.) By their earliest (untampered) sales and transfers of land to Missionaries and to others, which were not unfrequently done by *one* native (as was notably the case in the *first* alienation of land by deed to Mr. Marsden, at the Bay of Islands, in 1815). Although the foreign transferees (not knowing the native custom) often wished others, being co-proprietors, to sign the document of transfer; and this, bye-the-bye, came to be looked upon as the New Zealand custom; whence came the modern belief that *all* must unite in a sale; and thence it followed that one could not sell his own land! But such is not of New Zealand origin.

It will be observed, that there is some difference of opinion between the two writers from whom I have quoted, as to the existence of definite individual rights of property in land, as distinguished from tribal, or common, or indefinite rights; but as this is a point which little concerns the purpose of my narrative, I shall do no more than refer to it here. The extracts above given, at all events sufficiently show that the Maoris always attached the greatest value to the ownership of the soil, and took the utmost care to preserve an accurate knowledge of the boundaries of the tribal estate. The very value, however, attached to the possession of land naturally led to aggression and to the use of various other means of acquiring title to it; and not only in many of their traditions, but also in all other accounts of the habits of the race, we find mention of wars undertaken for purposes of conquest, and of marriage alliances being contracted, and other devices resorted to, for the purpose of peacefully securing additions to the tribal territory. Upon the first of these points, Mr. White tells us that a tribe, in going to war, had one or more of three objects in view:—1. To take revenge for some real or supposed injury. 2. To obtain as many slaves as possible. 3. To extend its territory. "A tribe," he says, "seldom became extinct in consequence of war, but when this resulted, the conquering tribe took all their lands, and from the slaves taken in war the conquerors learnt the boundaries of the land thus taken. But, if a portion of the tribe escaped, their claim held good to as great an extent of land as they had the courage to occupy. If, however, they could manage to keep within their own tribal boundary, and elude their enemy, their right to the whole of the land held good. Hence the meaning of a sentence so often used by old chiefs in their land disputes: *I ko tonu taku ahi i runga i taku whenua* (my fire has been kept burning on my land); meaning that other tribes in war had never been able to drive them entirely off their ancestral claims. The right to lands taken by conquest rests solely on the conquering party actually occupying the taken district, to the utter exclusion of its original owners or other tribes; thus, in a war of the celebrated Hongi, he drove all the tribes out of the Auckland district into Waikato, and even as far as Taranaki; but though the whole district thereby became his, yet, as he did not occupy it, the conquered tribes, on his return to the North, came back to their own lands; and we found them in occupation when Auckland was established as an English settlement. Again, in the case of a tribe which had been conquered and had become extinct, with the exception of those who had been made slaves by the conquering party, these slaves could, by purchase, recover the ownership of their tribal rights to land, or they could be liberated and return to their own lands on a promise of allegiance to the conquerors, rendering them

any assistance, if required, in times of war, and supplying them, for the first few years after their return, with a certain amount of rats, fish, and fern-root; and eventually, on presenting the conquerors with a greenstone battle-axe (the *mere pounamu*), they were again allowed to be called a tribe, and claim the lands of their fathers as though they had never been conquered.

The claims in connection with lands given to a tribe for assistance rendered in war are more complicated than any other. Although the land was given to the leader of the tribe rendering such assistance, it did not thereby become vested in that individual leader, inasmuch as the assisting tribe were seldom alone, but had brought their allies, and, if these allies had lost any of their chiefs in battle, each relative of the deceased chiefs had a claim in the land thus given; and each relative of any chief who had been killed, of the tribe to whose leader the land was given, had also a claim. But the complication of land claims does not end even here. It was necessary that the land given should be occupied so that possession of it be retained, and as the assisted and assisting tribes became related by intermarriage, the tribal lands of the assisted tribe were claimed by the issue of these marriages, according to the laws relating to the ownership of land as affected by the marriage tie, so that after a few generations their respective claims not unfrequently became the cause of another war. An instance of this happened about four generations ago. One of the northern tribes rendered assistance in time of war to a southern tribe, now residing not far from Auckland, and a portion of land was given to the northern tribe; shortly afterwards the daughter of the southern chief was taken in marriage by one of the chiefs of the northern tribe; the two sisters of this woman were married to chiefs of the southern tribe, and thereupon their children's claims held good; but when the time came for the offspring of the sister, who had married the northern chief, to give up their land, the colonization of New Zealand had commenced, and land became a marketable commodity. This offspring retained their claims against all right and argument, and to this day there is a rankling feeling between the tribes concerned; and if, in this disputed land, incautious dealing by Europeans takes place, it would probably result in a Maori war. The war in the Bay of Plenty, which has been continued until very lately between certain chiefs, also originated in a like cause; the contending parties were all of one tribe, and sprung from one ancestor, but, by intermarriage, some have a more direct claim than others. The descendants, who, by intermarriage, are related to other tribes, have made an equal claim to the land over which they have but a partial claim, and resistance to this was the cause of the war. Disputes of this kind are not easily unravelled. I believe that were it possible to teach the Maoris the English language, and then bring them into some Court, allowing each contending party to plead his cause in such a dispute as I have mentioned, not according to English law, but according to Maori custom, both sides would, according to native genealogy and laws, make out their respective cases so clearly that it would take a judge and jury, possessed of more than human attainments, to decide the ownership of the land.

While speaking about lands claimed by conquest, I will give a few instances of land claimed by the offspring of those male or female chiefs who have been made slaves in war. It would not generally be supposed that lands disposed of at the southern end of this Island would affect any native at the northern end of it, yet such is the case. A chieftainess who was taken slave from the South by the Ngapuhi and other northern tribes, became the wife of a Ngapuhi chief; her claim stood in the way of completing a sale of the land, and it was not until the consent of her son by the Ngapuhi chief was gained, that the land could be disposed of by the natives residing on it, and to him, in due course of time, a portion of the payment was transmitted. Again, a chief who was taken slave from the Bay of Plenty by the northern tribes, having taken a northern woman to wife, and having a family, his relatives from the Bay of Plenty made presents to the chiefs by whom he was taken, and procured his return home; but he was obliged, according to Maori laws of title to land, to leave his wife and daughters with the Ngapuhi people, for if he had taken them with him, they would have lost their claim to land at Ngapuhi, and would not be allowed any claim to land in the Bay of Plenty; while his son, whom he took back with him, now claims, by right of his grandfather, an equal right to the lands of the Bay of Plenty tribe. Again, one of the northern chiefs having taken to wife a woman whom he had made slave from Taranaki, and having a son by her, this son returned to the tribe of his mother and claimed as his right, derived from his grandfather, a share in their land, which was not disputed, because, as I have before stated, the great-grandchild in the female line has a claim to land. I remember another instance of this: a certain block of land was sold by a tribe near Auckland, and when the purchase money was portioned out amongst the claimants, a northern chief rose up and rehearsed his genealogy, by which he proved that he was the great-grandchild (in the female line) of one of the claimants of the block sold. He thereupon, as a matter of course, received a part of the purchase money. He was a northern chief, and had only been known to the settlers by name."

In addition to the above points, which more especially affect the events of my narrative, Mr. White gives us details of other modes of acquiring title to land, with illustrative cases of the most interesting kind; but there is one custom which he does not refer to, and which was mentioned to me by Wi Tako Ngatata, namely, that in some cases a conquered tribe, absolutely driven from its lands, was formally restored to possession by the conquerors. He stated, as an instance, that this was done in the Wairarapa, after the Ngatikahungunu had been

forced to the northward by the Ngatiawa, under E Puni and himself, in revenge for some isolated acts of violence perpetrated upon members of their own tribe. He informed me that this proceeding was always a highly formal and ceremonious one, and was carried out, in the instance in question, in consequence of many intermarriages having taken place between the two tribes since the settlement of the Ngatiawa near Port Nicholson, and of the absence of any desire on the part of the latter to push their vengeance to extremity. It would lead me too far, were I to enter more at length upon the points above referred to, and I will now proceed shortly to notice some of the leading features in the character and habits of the natives in other respects. There can be little doubt that, both in intellectual and physical capacity, the Maori occupies a high position amongst savage people; but I cannot agree with Mr. White when he says, "that in dealing with him, we deal with a man of powerful intellect." I admit that he possesses much intelligence, and a quick perception, but he is wanting in one of the chiefest characteristics of the civilized man—a characteristic only acquired by a long course of national education—namely, the power of foreseeing the result of these special classes of actions to which his contact with Europeans gives the greatest importance. It is not, however, altogether in this respect that I propose to view his character, for the principal events in my narrative took place before the colonization of the Islands; and their want of foresight when dealing with the agents of the New Zealand Company would not have produced effects injurious to them, but for the occurrence of events which have taken place since the death of Te Rauparaha. "Their ordinary course of life," says Mr. Manning, speaking of the natives, "when not engaged in warfare, was regular, and not necessarily unhealthy; their labour, though constant in one shape or other, and compelled by necessity, was not too heavy. In the morning, but not early, they descended from the hill pa to the cultivations in the low grounds; they went in a body, armed like men going to battle, the spear or club in one hand, and the agricultural instrument in the other. The women followed. Long before night (it was counted unlucky to work till dark) they returned to the hill in a reversed order; the women, slaves, and lads, bearing fuel and water for the night, in front; these also bore, probably, heavy loads of kumera or other provisions. In the time of year when the crops, being planted and growing, did not call for their attention, the whole tribe would remove to some fortified hill, at the side of some river, or on the coast, where they would pass months in fishing and making nets, clubs, spears, and implements of various descriptions; the women, in all spare times, making mats for clothing, or baskets to carry the crop of kumera in, when fit to dig. There was very little idleness, and to be called "lazy" was a great reproach. It is to be observed, that for several months the crops could be left thus unguarded with perfect safety, for the Maori, as a general rule, never destroyed growing crops, or attacked their owners in a regular manner until the crops were nearly at full perfection, so that they might afford subsistence to the invaders; and, consequently, the end of the summer all over the country was a time of universal preparation for battle, either offensive or defensive, the crops being then near maturity." This picture exhibits a very unhappy condition of existence, for it is manifest that no race, in such a position, could ever rise further in the scale of civilization (paradoxical as the language may appear) than was sufficient to improve their knowledge of the art of war. But, notwithstanding this unsatisfactory condition of the tribes, the people appear, in their social and domestic relations, to have been, generally speaking, good natured and hospitable, though being little, if at all, fettered by conscientious motives or restraints, they were at all times easily roused to acts of violence and cruelty. With them, moreover, revenge was a most persistent feeling, and the duty of ministering to it was considered of sacred obligation. Their love of war was universal and intense, and in its prosecution they were as reckless of the consequences to themselves as they were of the results to their foes. "Nothing," says Mr. Manning, "was considered so valuable or respectable as strength and courage; and to acquire property by war and plunder was more honourable, and also more desirable, than by labour." Their cruelty to their prisoners was frightful. Cannibalism was considered glorious, and this habit led not only to the most dreadful atrocities, but also to a degree of callousness, in regard to the sufferings inflicted upon others, which appears to be utterly incompatible with, and renders singularly remarkable, the kindness of feeling which they constantly exhibited in their domestic relations. It is clear, however, that whatever good qualities the Maori possessed in his quiet and social moments were utterly lost when he was acting under the impulse of passion. Mr. Colenso, in describing their character, particularly alludes to their love for children, and remarks that "nothing more clearly shows the truth of the old adage, 'the best corrupted is the very worst,' than that a party of New Zealanders should be so carried away by the diabolical frenzy of the moment as wholly to forget their strongly and highly characteristic natural feelings, and kill, roast, and eat little children." I need not, however, dwell any further on the subjects specially treated in this chapter, for their habits and customs must necessarily come, more or less, under further consideration throughout the course of my narrative.

## CHAPTER II.

BEFORE noticing the condition of the New Zealand tribes during the twenty years immediately preceding the systematic colonization of the islands, I think it necessary to call attention to the accounts we have received,

both from early voyagers and from late writers of authority, as to the extent of the native population, and their habits of life, previously to the introduction of firearms; and I do this chiefly for the purpose of showing, that notwithstanding the savage character of the former wars of the New Zealanders, the effects which those wars produced upon their numbers were as naught when compared with the destruction of life, both direct and indirect, which followed upon the use of the more deadly weapon of the civilized man. The earliest notice we have of the present race, occurs in the history of the voyage of Abel Tasman to the South Seas, in the seventeenth century, from which we learn that, in December, 1642, he discovered a high mountainous country, which he named Staaten Land, or Land of the States, but which is now called New Zealand. A day or two afterwards, he anchored in the beautiful bay at the north-western extremity of the Nelson Province, formerly named Massacre, or Murderer's Bay, on account of the murder to which I am about to refer, but which is now known, on the maps of the Nelson Province, as Golden Bay. He says that he there found abundance of inhabitants, whom he describes as very large made people, of a colour between brown and yellow, with hoarse voices, and with hair long, and almost as thick as that of the Japanese, combed up and fixed on the top of their heads with a quill or some such thing, that was thickest in the middle, in the very same manner the Japanese fastened their hair behind their heads. Some of them covered the middle of their bodies with a kind of mat, and others with what Tasman took to be a sort of woollen cloth; but their upper and lower parts were altogether naked. Tasman remained in the bay for several days, and on the 19th of December the savages, who had previously been shy of close intercourse, grew bolder and more familiar, insomuch that they at last ventured on board the "Heemskirk" (one of his ships) to trade. As soon as he observed this, he sent his shallop, with seven men in it, to put the people in the "Heemskirk" on their guard, and to direct them not to place too much trust upon the good intentions of their visitors. The men in the shallop were at once attacked by the savages, and, being without arms, three of them were killed, the remaining four fortunately escaping by rowing for their lives. Tasman intended to have taken revenge for this murderous assault, but was compelled to leave without doing so, in consequence of rough weather coming on. It is probable that the people, by whom his boat's crew was attacked, belonged either to the Ngaitahu tribe—who, under the leadership of their ancestor Tahu, a chief of the Ngatikahungunu, crossed Cook Straits nearly three hundred years ago—or to the Rangitane and Ngatiapa, large numbers of whom also crossed Cook Straits some time before Tasman's visit, and took part in the destruction of the Ngatimamoe and other tribes which had previously occupied the northern parts of the Middle Island; but I am unable to determine this point. It is clear, however, that the number of natives then living in Massacre Bay was large, and that they exhibited the same fearless and ferocious character which led to such frequent hostile collisions with them, during the visits of subsequent voyagers. Our next accounts are derived from our own navigator, Cook, who had been directed to follow out the discoveries of Tasman regarding New Zealand and Van Dieman's Land, in order to ascertain whether they constituted part of the then little known continent of Australia. In October 1769, Cook first made land at a place which he named Poverty Bay. He did not then know that he had fallen in with the Staaten Land of Tasman, and the country he had found formed the subject of much eager discussion amongst the voyagers, the general opinion inclining to the belief, that it was part of the continent of Australia. He described the country in the neighbourhood of his landfall as being thickly peopled, and was greatly struck with the appearance of a park, the use of which he was unable at the time to conceive. "Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head of the bay, we could plainly see," he says, "a pretty high and regular paling, which enclosed the whole top of the hill, which was the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park for deer, others an enclosure for oxen and sheep." of course, Cook soon afterwards discovered the nature of these structures, which will be fully referred to in the sequel, and which had nothing to do either with deer, oxen, or sheep. Having landed for the purpose of watering the ship, his people were at once attacked with spears and "a sort of war hatchet of green slate, capable of splitting the hardest skull at a blow." Notwithstanding all his efforts to conciliate, he found it impossible to come to any amicable understanding with the natives, even though Tupia (his interpreter) assured them that no harm was intended; and his seamen at last only effected their retreat in safety, after killing one of their assailants. The next day he again endeavoured to open friendly intercourse with the natives, and succeeded in approaching them, but they then became as thievish as they had previously proved daring. They endeavoured to snatch the arms out of the men's hands, and were only prevented from doing so by some of them being wounded with small shot.

Failing in his attempts to communicate satisfactorily with them on land, Cook now endeavoured to secure some of those who came out to the ship in their canoes, intending to try and win their confidence by kind treatment. In carrying out this design, four more of the natives were killed, but two lads were captured and carried aboard, where they soon became reconciled to their fate, and eat and drank voraciously. These lads were afterwards landed, but the people still remained as hostile and dangerous as before. Cook then followed the coast, northward, as far as Hawke's Bay, everywhere observing vast numbers of people watching the ship from different parts of the shore, all of whom, however, displayed the same hostility, coming off in their canoes, and menacing the ship "with great bravado." When some of them came near enough, Tupia told them of their folly,



explaining "that the white men had weapons that, like thunder, would kill them in a moment, and tear their canoes to atoms." In order to show them the effect of the guns, without hurting them, a four-pounder, loaded with grape, was fired, which by its flash, its roar, and the effect of the shot far off on the water, astonished them for a moment; but only for a moment. Being at last induced to come near, for barter, they took everything offered, but then refused to give the articles required in exchange, and ultimately seized and attempted to carry off Tayeto, Tupia's boy, who had been sent down into one of the canoes, in order to hand up such articles as the natives might agree to part with. This compelled Cook to fire on them again, when one man was killed, and two others were wounded, the boy, during the surprise, sprang into the water; where, however, he was only protected till he regained the ship, by the firearms of the crew. This occurred at Kidnappers' Point, and Cook then proceeded southward as far as Cape Turnagain; from whence he returned to the northeastward. On passing Portland Island, a chief and four others, in a canoe, boarded the ship—Cook's kindness to the lads whom he had previously seized having, apparently, produced the effect he intended. Their canoe was hoisted on board, and they stayed all night without any misgivings. In the morning they were put ashore at Cape Table, appearing to be much astonished at finding themselves so far away from home. From this time the ship was frequently visited, and it was found that the events which had taken place at Poverty Bay were well known all along the coast. According to Cook, "kindness and the cannon" both contributed to produce this more friendly feeling.

At Toega Bay, some of the scientific men attached to the expedition landed for the first time, taking Tupia and Tayeto with them. Here they had their first close view of the houses and mode of life of the people. They entered some of the huts, and saw them at their meals. These huts are described as being very slight, and generally placed ten or fifteen together.

The chief food appeared to be fish and fern-root, the fibres of which were spit out, like quids of tobacco, into baskets set beside them for the purpose. This was in October, and Cook learnt that, in the more advanced season, the natives had plenty of excellent vegetables, but no animals except dogs, which they ate like the South Sea Islanders. They visited the native gardens, which consisted of from one acre to ten, and altogether, in the bay, amounted to 150 or 200 acres in extent. These gardens are described as being planted with sweet potatoes, cocos or eddas (such as are used in the East and West Indies), yams, and gourds; but few of them were then above ground, and the plantations were carefully fenced in with reeds. They found both men and women painted with red ochre and oil, but the women much the most so; and that, like the South Sea Islanders, they saluted by touching noses. They wore garments of native cloth, made from the fibre of New Zealand flax, and a sort of cloak or mantle of a much coarser kind. The women are described as being more modest in manner, and more cleanly in their homes, than the Otaheiteans. They willingly bartered their cloth and war weapons for European cloth, but they set no value on nails, having then no knowledge of iron or its uses. What astonished the visitors greatly was to find boys whipping tops exactly like those of Europe. Cook then visited a pa, and learned that these enclosures were used for purposes of defence against invasion, the houses, within the enclosure, being larger and more strongly built than those on the shore. He describes the men as having their faces wonderfully tattooed, and their cheeks cut in spiral lines of great regularity; and states that many of them had their garments bordered with strips of dog and rat skins, which animals, however, were said to have become very scarce. They measured one canoe, made out of the boles of three trees, which was sixty-eight and a half feet long, five wide, and three high. These, as well as the houses, were much adorned with carvings, in which spiral lines and distorted faces formed the main points, but the work was so well done, that Cook could scarcely believe that it was executed with any of the tools he saw.

He then followed the south-east coast as far as Mercury Bay, and from thence to the Bay of Islands, everywhere observing villages full of people, who constantly came off in their canoes to utter defiance to the ship, displaying, on all occasions, the same reckless daring and unreflecting courage, which were so conspicuous during the late war. It was surprising, indeed, that half-a-dozen naked men, in a crazy canoe, should defy a large ship with all its cannon and musketry, even after they had seen its destructive effects. Sometimes they assumed a more friendly aspect, and began to trade; but as soon as they had obtained what they wanted, they refused to give up the equivalent, and laughed at all menace of consequences, till they suffered wounds or death as a punishment, and then the survivors paddled off for a time. These accounts are confirmed, in all particulars, by other voyagers who visited New Zealand during the latter part of the last, and the earlier part of the present century, and lead to the conclusion that, prior to the year 1818, the native population was very large; and although we know, as I have before observed, that neighbouring tribes had been for ages constantly engaged in war with one another, it would also seem that the general results of their conflicts had not, until after the introduction of fire-arms, been such as materially to interfere with the maintenance of their numbers.

Mr. Manning, one of the judges of the Native Lands Court, a gentleman whose opportunities of acquiring knowledge on this subject have been unrivalled, also bears testimony to the former large numbers of the native people. "The natives," he says, "are unanimous in affirming that they were much more numerous in former

times than they are now, and I am convinced that such was the case for many reasons." In support of this opinion, he refers to the existence, in most parts of the North Island, of numerous hill-forts or *pas*, many of them so large as to have required immense labour to trench, terrace, and fence. As he points out, the absence of iron tools must have greatly increased the difficulty of constructing these fortresses; whilst, even with the aid of such tools, the present population of the surrounding districts would, in most cases, be insufficient to erect them within any reasonable time. He also mentions that many of these forts were of such an extent that, taking into consideration the system of attack and defence necessarily used before the introduction of fire-arms, they would have been utterly untenable, unless held by at least ten times the number of men which the whole neighbourhood, for a distance of two or three days' journey, can now produce; and as, in those times of constant war, the natives, as a rule, slept in their hill-forts with closed gates, the bridges over the trenches removed, and the ladders of the terraces drawn up, it is evident that the inhabitants of each fort, though numerous, consisted only of the population of the country in its close vicinity.

"From the top of one of these pointed, trenched, and terraced hills," says Mr. Manning, "I have counted twenty others, all of equally large dimensions, and all within a distance, in every direction, of fifteen to twenty miles; and native tradition affirms, that each of these hills was the stronghold of a separate *hapu*, or clan, bearing its distinctive name." We have, moreover, evidence that vast tracts of land which are now wild, and have been so for time out of mind, were once fully and carefully cultivated. The ditches for draining are still traceable, and hundreds of large kumera pits are to be seen on the tops of the dry hills all over the northern part of the North Island.

These pits, in the greatest number, are found in the centre of extensive tracts of uncultivated country, whose natural productions would now scarcely sustain a dozen inhabitants. The extent of the ancient cultivations with which they are connected is clearly traceable, and what is more remarkable, and undoubtedly indicates the former existence of a large population, is that tracts of land of what the natives consider, as a rule, to be of very inferior quality, were formerly cultivated, leading to the inference either that the population was fully proportioned to the extent of available land, or that these inferior lands were cultivated in consequence of their vicinity to some stronghold, or position of greater consequence, in the eyes of the natives, than the mere fertility of the surrounding country. "These kumera pits," says Mr. Manning, "being dug generally in the stiff clay on the hill-tops have, in most cases, retained their shape perfectly, and many seem as fresh and new as if they had been dug but a few years. They are oblong in shape, with the sides regularly sloped. Many collections of these provision stores have outlived Maori tradition, and the natives can only conjecture to whom they belonged. Out of the centre of one, which I have seen, there is now growing a kauri tree, one hundred and twenty feet high, and out of another a large totara. The outline of these pits is as regular as the day they were dug, and the sides have not fallen in the slightest degree; from which, perhaps, they have been preserved by the absence of frost, as well as by a beautiful coating of moss, by which they are everywhere covered. The pit in which the kauri grew had been partially filled up by the scaling off of the bark of the tree, which, falling in patches, as it is constantly doing, had raised a mound of decaying bark round the root of the tree."

Mr. Manning points out, as further evidence of the former existence of a large population, that each of the hill-forts referred to contained a considerable number of houses. Every native house, as we know, has a fire-place composed of four flattish stones or flags, sunk on their edges into the ground, in which a fire is made to heat the house at night. Now, in two of the largest hill-forts he examined (though for ages no other vestige of a house had been seen) there remained the fire-places—the four stones projecting, like an oblong box, slightly above the ground; and their position and number clearly denoted that, large as was the circumference of the huge volcanic hill which formed the site of the fortress, the number of families inhabiting it, required the strictest economy of room. The houses had been arranged in streets, or double rows, with paths between them, except in places where there had been only room, on a terrace, for a single row. The distances between the fire-places proved that the houses in the rows must have been as close together as it was possible to build them; and every spot, from the foot to the hill-top, not required, and specially planned for defensive purposes, had been built on in this regular manner. Even the small flat top, sixty yards long by forty wide—the citadel—on which the greatest care and labour had been bestowed to render it difficult of access, had been as full of houses as it could hold, leaving only a small space all round the precipitous bank for the defenders to stand on.

It would not be difficult to multiply authorities, in order to prove that the New Zealanders were formerly much more numerous than when the Islands were first systematically colonized by Europeans, but I conceive that I have afforded sufficient evidence on this point, and it now remains for me to notice the principal causes which led to their decrease.

"The natives," says Mr. Manning, "attribute their decrease in numbers, before the arrival of the Europeans, to war and sickness;" but I have already shown, that although the weapons they used before they obtained firearms were sufficiently formidable in close combat, the destruction of life incident to the possession of such weapons would, probably, never have brought about the deplorable results which followed upon the

introduction of the musket into their system of warfare. Indeed, Mr. Manning himself leans to this opinion. "The first grand cause," he says, "of the decrease of the natives, since the arrival of the Europeans, is the musket." Now, it was not until after the year 1820 that fire-arms were extensively used in native warfare. Shortly before that date, the Ngapuhi chiefs, Hongi and Waikato, had visited England, from whence they returned laden with valuable gifts, of which no small part consisted of guns and ammunition, for which, too, they soon bartered the remainder of their newly-acquired treasures, with traders from New South Wales.

Then commenced a period of slaughter almost unparalleled in any country, when compared with the total population engaged in the conflicts. Bands of the Ngapuhi, armed with weapons whose destructive power was unknown to the great majority of the native people, marched from one end of the North Island to the other, carrying dismay and destruction wherever they went. The population of large districts was exterminated or driven into mountain fastnesses, where they either perished, in numbers, from famine and exposure, or contracted diseases which ultimately proved fatal to them. The great tribes of the Arawa and Waikato, against whom the first efforts of the Ngapuhi were directed, seeing the necessity of at once obtaining similar weapons, in order to avoid threatened destruction, suspended all their usual pursuits for the purpose of preparing flax, to be exchanged with the European traders for runs, powder, and ball. As fast as these were obtained, they were turned against weaker neighbours, and the work of destruction received a fresh impuse. Hongi, Epihai, Tamati Waka Nene, and Tareha, amongst the Ngapuhi chiefs,—Te Wherowhero, and others of the Waikatos,—and Te Waharoa, with his Ngatihaua, were all simultaneously engaged in the most ruthless wars against their neighbours; whilst, as I have before observed, Te Rauparaha was carrying on operations of a similar character in the South, and the number of people slaughtered was tremendous. On this head, I might quote many graphic passages from Mr. J. A. Wilson's "Story of Te Waharoa." In speaking of the ultimate destruction of the great pa at Matamata, he tells us, "That at that time a number of Ngatimaru, with Tuhurua as their chief, resided at Matamata, an important fortress, not far from Mangakawa, Te Waharoa's own place, and therefore in a position which rendered them specially open to his incursions. Nor could they expect any effective aid against these incursions from the other sections of the tribe, whose internal jealousies, and constant dread of the Ngapuhi, then using their newly acquired weapons, in taking vengeance for former injuries, prevented them joining Ngatimaru proper against the common enemy. But for these circumstances, of which Te Waharoa was, no doubt, well aware, it is considered questionable whether he would have succeeded in his designs, as the Thames natives, before they lost the Totara Pa, mustered 4,000 fighting men; and, even after that disaster, he was unable, by mere strength, to wrest it from its possessors." The following events, however, determined him to prosecute his war with Ngatimaru, and greatly contributed to his ultimate success.

"In 1821," says Mr. Wilson, "a *taua* of Ngapuhi, under the celebrated Hongi, arrived at the Totara Pa, between Kauaeranga and Kopu, at the mouth of the Thames. So numerous did they find Ngatimaru, and the Totara so strong, that, hesitating to attack, they affected to be amicably disposed, and were received into the pa for the purposes of trade and barter. Towards evening Ngapuhi retired, and it is very remarkable—as indicating that man, in his most ignorant and savage state, is not unvisited by compunctions of conscience—that an old chief of the Ngapuhi lingered, and going out of the gate behind his comrades, dropped the friendly caution '*kia tupato*.' That night, however, the Totara was taken; and, it is said, 1,000 Ngatimarus perished. Rauroha was slain, and Urimahia, his daughter, was carried captive to the Bay of Islands, where she remained several years. This calamity, while it weakened Ngatimaru, encouraged Te Waharoa.

In 1822, Hongi again appeared, and sailing up the Tamaki, attacked and carried two pas which were situated together, on part of the site now occupied by the village of Panmure. Many of the inhabitants were slaughtered, and some escaped. I would here observe that these two pas, Mauinena and Makoia, had no connection with the immense pa which evidently at some time flourished on Mount Wellington, and which, with the traces of a very great number of other enormous pas in the Auckland district, betokens the extremely dense Maori population which once existed upon this isthmus—a population destroyed by the late owners of the soil, and numbered with the past; but which, in its time, was known by the significant title of Nga Iwi—"The Tribes."

Leaving naught at Mauinena and Makoia but the inhabitants' bones, having flesh and tendons adhering, which even his dogs had not required, Hongi pursued his course. He drew his canoes across the isthmuses of Otahuhu and Waiuku, and descended the Awaroa. At a sharp bend in the narrow stream, his largest canoe could not be turned, and he was compelled to make a passage for her, by cutting a short canal, which may yet be seen.

At length he arrived at Matakītaki, a pa situated about the site of the present township of Alexandra, where a number of Waikato natives had taken refuge. The pa was assaulted, and while Hongi was in the act of carrying it on one side, a frightful catastrophe was securing to him the corpses of its wretched occupants on the other. Panic-stricken at the approach of the victorious Ngapuhi, the multitude within, of men, women, and children, rushed madly over the opposite rampart. The first fugitives, unable to scale the counterscarp, by reason of its height, and of the number's which poured down on them, succumbed and fell; those who had

crushed them were crushed in like manner; layer upon layer of suffocating humanity succeeded each other. In vain did the unhappy beings, as they reached the parapet, attempt to pause—death was in front, and death behind—fresh fugitives pushed on; they had no option, but were precipitated into, and became part of the dying mass. When the deed was complete, the Ngapuhi came quickly up, and shot such as were at the surface and likely to escape.

Never had cannibals gloated over such unexpected good fortune, for more than 1,000 victims lay dead in the trench, and the magnitude of the feast which followed may, perhaps, be imagined from the fact that, after the lapse of forty-two years, when the 2nd Regiment of Waikato Militia, in establishing their new settlement, cleared the fern from the ground, the vestiges of many hundred native ovens were discovered, some of them long enough to have admitted a body entire; while numberless human bones lay scattered around. From several of the larger bones, pieces appeared to have been carefully cut, for the purpose, doubtless, of making fish-hooks, and such other small articles as the Maoris were accustomed to carve from the bones of their enemies."

Nor was Te Waharoa idle during all this time. Having, by his courage, activity, and address, acquired the leadership of his own people, he had long determined to extend the boundaries of their territory by conquering that of the Ngatimaru; but, before commencing his sanguinary wars against that tribe, he had felt it necessary to form offensive and defensive alliances with the Ngatimaniapoto and to check Te Wherowhero and the Waikatos, by whom he had been threatened, but into whom he succeeded in inspiring a wholesome dread of his strength, whilst he also repelled, with heavy loss, the incursions of the Ngapuhi, which were directed indiscriminately against all the tribes south of the Auckland Isthmus. He succeeded, moreover, in causing Te Rauparaha, as pugnacious and skilful a warrior as himself, to leave Kawia with his people. He then pressed his alliance upon the Ngaiterangi, who occupied Tauranga and the surrounding country, an alliance, which, by the way, proved very disastrous to them, whilst it greatly aided his own projects. Having done all this he commenced his more regular operations against the Ngatimaru, who were then established in great strength at Hauwhenua, where they had been joined by the refugees from Mauinena and Makoia. He had naturally viewed the establishment of this stronghold with the utmost jealousy, and it had no little effect in hastening the commencement of hostilities between the two parties. Feeling that his own warriors were not sufficiently numerous to attack, the hostile pa, he summoned some of his Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto allies to Maungatautari, who, only too ready, at once joined him to the number of 200 warriors. His own force comprised some 700 Ngatihaua and Ngaiterangi.

In the meantime, the Ngatimaru had spared no pains to strengthen their important stronghold, their garrison having, moreover, been increased by numbers of Ngatitematera and Ngatipaoa. The pa thus became a very large one, and densely peopled, not only with warriors, but with women, children, and slaves. Their numbers appear to have inspired them with much self-confidence, for when it became known that Te Waharoa had arrived at Maungatautari, with a *taua* 900 strong, they boldly determined to meet him in the open field. Perhaps they wished to decide the matter before he could receive further reinforcements; or perhaps they desired to avoid the mortification of seeing the enemy sit comfortably down before their pa, and regale himself on their cultivations. At any rate, they marched forth and took post on the hill, Te Tihi o te Ihimarangi—the place where the descendants of Waharoa's warriors opposed General Cameron in 1864; and, when the enemy was seen to approach, they rushed down and joined battle with him on the plain to the eastward. The contest was a severe one, but resulted in the complete defeat of the Thames natives. They were driven back over Te Tihi o te Ihimarangi, and down its reverse slope, and were pursued, with great slaughter, over the long narrow bushy plain that extends to Hauwhenua. At the end of a long and sanguinary day, the dejected men within the pa sat dreading the morrow's light, whilst Te Waharoa calmly considered his own and his enemy's positions. After resolving the matter for some time, he sent a herald to proclaim to the occupants of the pa "that during the next four days anyone might retire unmolested from the pa, but on the fifth day Hauwhenua, with all it contained, would be taken and destroyed." No answer was returned, but during the interval a multitude of all ages and sexes issued forth from the pa, and marched in close order along the road by Matamata to the Thames. That night Te Waharoa's ranks were recruited by many slaves, who deserted, under cover of darkness, from the retreating Ngatimarus, and on the following day the pa was assaulted and taken. The fall of Hauwhenua, which occurred about 1831, terminated the residence of the Ngatimaru on the Waikato; and was followed by operations, from a Waikato basis, which were successfully conducted against them, on the line of the Piako.

Whilst the earlier of these events were proceeding, the Ngatimaru chief, Takurua, maintained his position at Matamata; but about that time he appears, after much fighting, to have judged it advisable to accept terms of peace proposed by Te Waharoa. They were to bury the past in oblivion, and both parties were to live at Matamata, where, it was said, there was room for all. These terms were practically ratified by Te Waharoa and Takurua living side by side, in the utmost apparent friendship, for a period of about two years. Waharoa then, however, committed an act of perfidy, condemned even by the opaquely-minded savages of that day, by which

he obtained sole possession of Matamata, and so turned the balance of power in his own favour, as greatly to aid him in his ultimate designs. One afternoon he left Matamata on pretence of a necessary journey to Tauranga—a circumstance rather calculated to lull suspicion than otherwise—and during his absence, his tribe at midnight rose, and massacred, in cold blood, the too confiding Takurua, and nearly every man of his tribe. Their bodies were devoured, and their wives and property were shared by the ruthless Ngatihauas.

This Maori St. Bartholomew's day occurred about 1827, and so weakened Ngatimaru, that Te Waharoa was enabled, after the fall of Hauwhenua, to push his conquests to the foot of the Aroha, and it is difficult to say where they would have ceased, had not his attention been unexpectedly diverted by the casual murder of his cousin Hunga, at Rotorua, in the latter end of the year 1835."

I make no apology for citing these instances of atrocity, which exhibit, in the strongest light, the dreadful character of the wars carried on by the great chieftains in the North, during the twenty years succeeding Hongi's return from Europe. Indeed, this period has been well characterized by Mr. Colenso "as a fearful period in New Zealand." "The Ngapuhi," he says, "being well armed with, muskets, revelled in destruction, slaying thousands. At Kaipara, Manukau, Tamaki, the Thames, the interior of Waikato on to Rotorua, and even to Taranaki; and they also came in their canoes as far South as Ahuriri or Hawke's Bay, remorselessly destroying everywhere as they went. The tribes further North were also fighting against each other—the Rarawa destroying the Aopuri, who were very numerous about the North Cape. Te Wherowhero, at the head of his people, was slaughtering, for many years, on the West Coast, from Taranaki to Wanganui; Te Waharoa, and other chiefs, in the interior and overland to Hawke's Bay; the Rotorua tribes in the Bay of Plenty; and Te Rauparaha exterminating in the neighbourhood of Cook Straits and along the East Coast of the Middle Island. From 1822 to 1837 was truly a fearful period in New Zealand. Blood flowed like water, and there can be no doubt that the numbers killed during this period of twenty years, including those who perished in consequence of the wars, far exceeded 60,000 persons."

The preliminary sketch contained in the foregoing chapters, though brief, will, I hope, convey to my readers a sufficiently clear idea of the manners and customs, and character of the New Zealanders, and of the condition of the tribes previously to the systematic colonization of the Islands, and will, be found to aid them materially in understanding the events which will be detailed in the following pages. It shows, moreover, the frightful results brought about by placing the deadly weapons of European warfare, in the hands of a savage and warlike race, whilst still uncontrolled by those milder influences, to which, notwithstanding their ferocity, the New Zealanders have shown themselves so singularly open and amenable.

### CHAPTER III.

AT the time of the birth of Te Rauparaha, and, indeed, for many generations before that event, the Ngatitua tribe occupied the country lying between Kawhia and Mokau on the western side of the North Island, and extending backward, from the coast line, to the seaward slopes of the beautiful Pirongia mountain, and of the chain of hills to the southward, which bounds the valleys of the Waipa and the Mangarama. This tribe, in fact, claims to have held the country in question ever since its settlement by their ancestor, Hoturoa, a leading chief amongst those who are said to have come from Hawaiki in the "Tainui" canoe. It will be remembered that this canoe was dragged across the portage at Otahuhu after the disputes between Tama Te Kapu and Manaia about the dead whale, its chiefs and their followers settling in and around Kawhia, and their descendants gradually spreading to the eastward as far as Maungatautari. The Maoris, in various parts of the Islands, believe that several of the canoes in which their ancestors came from Hawaiki have been transformed into stone, and a remarkable block of limestone, close to the sea-shore, on the north side of the harbour of Kawhia, is pointed out as being part of the "Tainui." This rock, with the land immediately surrounding it, was formerly under strict *tapu*, but the sanctity of the place, and of the supposed relic, have succumbed to the march of civilization, and curiosity-hunters have long since marred the picturesque outline of the stone by breaking off corners. Hoturoa is also said to be the ancestor of the Ngatiraukava, Ngatikowhata and Ngatimaniapoto tribes, the order of descent in the several cases being much as follows:—Prom Hoturoa, through Hotumatapu and Kouwe, sprang Raka, whose eldest son, Tuihaua, was the ancestor of Toa Rangaira, the actual founder of the Ngatitua as a separate tribe, and from whom they derive their name. From another son of Raka, named Kakati, through Tawhao and Turonga, sprang Raukawa, from whom the Ngatiraukawa derive their name. From Toa Rangatira, in direct descent, came Kimihia, the mother of Werawera, who married a Ngatiraukawa woman named Parekowhatu. These two were the parents of Te Rauparaha, and of his sister Waitohi, the mother of Rangihaieta, who will be frequently mentioned in the course of this narrative. Besides Te Rangihaieta, Waitohi had other children, of whom a daughter named Topiora is still living at Otaki, and is the mother of Matene Te Whiwhi, for many years past, and still, one of the most influential chiefs of the Ngatitua and Ngatiraukawa tribes. Topiora's husband was a Ngatiraukawa man, of high rank, named Te Rangi Kapiki, who himself claimed

to be closely connected to Ngatitōa, both by ancient descent and through frequent intermarriages between members of the two tribes. Tracing back again, we find Te Urutira and his sister, Hine Kahukura, in the third place in the ascending line from Toa Rangatira. From Hine Kahukura sprang Parewahawaha and Parekowhatu, the former of whom married Tihau, by whom she had a son named Whatanui, the father of the great chief of that name, who was at the head of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, during the career of Te Rauparaha. We see, therefore, that the leading chiefs of the Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa tribes claim descent from common ancestors, and that frequent intermarriages took place between the members of these tribes, since they branched off from the common stock. The same remarks apply, but in less degree, to the descent of the Ngatimaniapoto and Ngatikowhata, who also claim Hoturoa as their remote ancestor; but it is unnecessary, for the purposes of my story, that I should trace up the history of these tribes, as they do not appear to have taken any prominent part in the events in which the Ngatitōa were engaged after their departure from Kawhia.

As my readers are doubtless aware, Kawhia is the only harbour of any note between the Manukau, which lies about sixty miles to the northward of it, and Wanganui, which lies at some distance within the entrance of Cook Straits; but, like all the other harbours on the West Coast of the North Island, its entrance is somewhat impeded by sand-banks. The entrance is narrow, but inside the Heads the waters spread out for many miles in length and width, having numerous navigable channels leading to a series of small rivers, which flow into the harbour from the eastward. At full tide, this sheet of water is extremely beautiful, surrounded, as it is, with picturesque scenery, which attains its highest effect at the north-east end, in the neighbourhood of the Awaroa River. Rock masses, assuming the forms of towers and castles, occupy its shores, whilst the gullies and valleys of the streams which fall into it contain tracts of fertile and highly cultivated soil. The character of the landscape continues the same far up the slopes of the surrounding mountains, the name of the "Castle Hills" having been given to them in allusion to the masses of white limestone which emerge, in huge castellated forms, from the forest with which these mountains are generally clothed.

Between Kawhia and the Waipa valley, a little to the northward of the former, is the beautiful Pirongia mountain, "an ancient, dilapidated volcano," whose many peaks and ravines afford a grand spectacle when bathed in the mellow light of the setting sun; whilst the soil on its slopes, derived from the decomposition of the trachytic rock of which it is composed, is of the most fertile kind. The climate of the whole district is delightful, the orange and the lemon yielding their fruit with a luxuriance unsurpassed even in the delicious valleys of Granada. The seaward aspect of the mountain chain to which I have alluded, as well as the slopes of the Pirongia, are, however, densely wooded, rendering travelling through this country toilsome and difficult. At the time I speak of, the Ngatimaniapoto occupied the country lying along the coast to the northward, whilst the Waikato tribes, of whom Te Wherowhero was the head chief, claimed the principal part of the valley of the Waipa, and of the country extending to the inner shores of the Manukan. To the eastward, beyond the range shutting in the Waipa valley on that side, and stretching from Otawhao to Maungatautari, lay the possessions of Ngatiraukawa proper, comprising some of the most fertile and beautiful country in the North Island. The Ngatitūwharetoa, or Taupo tribes, under the leadership of Tukino Te Heuheu, one of the greatest of the old New Zealand chieftains—a man of gigantic stature and commanding presence, and whose deeds still form the theme of many a wild tale—clustered round the shores of Lake Taupo, and the spurs of Tongariro. As is well known, Te Heuheu met his death by an awful catastrophe in 1846, his village, Te Rapa, having been overwhelmed during the night by a huge land-slip, under which he and his six wives, with upwards of fifty other persons, were buried alive.

I have thought it necessary to mention the tribe of this chief amongst the others above referred to, for although he took a comparatively trifling part in the events in which Te Rauparaha himself was concerned, his friendship and alliance were of great service to the latter, and permitted a ready means of communication between him and his Ngatiraukawa allies during the prosecution of his designs in the South.

It is almost impossible to determine the date of the birth of Te Rauparaha, but from the best information I have been able to obtain as to his probable age at the time of the Treaty of "Waitangi, I am disposed to fix it at about the year 1770. He was born at Kawhia, where, except during occasional visits to other parts of the Island, and especially to his kindred at Maungatautari, he resided until he obtained the complete leadership of his tribe. He had two brothers and two sisters, all older than himself, but his brothers never assumed positions of importance amongst their people, and neither of them ever exhibited the particular qualities which have made Te Rauparaha so famous in the history of "Old New Zealand." To Rauparaha is said to have been a good, pretty, and playful child, possessing, amongst other qualities, that of obedience in a high degree. It is recorded of him, that on one occasion when directed by an old slave of his father's, named Poutini, to fetch water in a calabash, an order which, considering his rank, he would have been quite justified in disregarding, he at once obeyed and fetched it. But, like other youths, he now and then got into scrapes, and, to use the naïf language of his son, "he did many good and many foolish actions." As he advanced in years, his mind developed rapidly, and he soon exhibited an extraordinary degree of wisdom, though his parents scarcely gave him credit for

qualities quite apparent to strangers; and, as it seems, were rather inclined to snub him in favour of his elder brothers. But this condition of things did not long continue, and the following incident brought his peculiar talents prominently before his people, and enabled him at once to assume a position of great authority amongst them, leading, ultimately, to the absolute chieftainship of the tribe. It was a custom amongst the Maori chiefs, before the introduction of Christianity, to assign a wife to each of their male children, even before the latter had attained the age of puberty. In the case of Te Rauparaha, a girl named Marore had been given to him as the wife of his boyhood, of whom, as he grew up, he became very fond, and in whose cause he obtained his first experience as a warrior—his "baptism of fire." It appears that his parents had invited a large number of the tribe to a feast, and when the food—the fish, the eels, and the kumera—had been placed upon the platform, Te Rauparaha saw that the portion allotted to Marore had no relish, This made him very sad, and after some consideration he asked his father's permission to lead a war party into the country of the Waikatos, in order that some people might be killed as a relish for the food apportioned to Marore. In those days his wish was, no doubt, considered strictly reasonable and proper—strictly *tika* in fact—and his father at once placed under his leadership a number of young warriors, who were, as we may suppose, perfectly willing to join in such an expedition. During this time, as I have been informed, Te Rauparaha was suffering from some disease, attended with a good deal of physical pain; but notwithstanding this, and against the suggestions of his father to postpone the expedition until his health was better established, he determined to prosecute it, and the war party advanced into the territory of the Waikatos, with whom, at that time, they were in profound peace. In ignorance of their intentions, their advanced parties were permitted to enter a part of the enemy, who, however, soon discovering their error, flew to arms, and succeeded in driving them out again with some loss. Te Rauparaha, with the remainder of the *taua*, seeing the rout of his advanced guard, at once took cover, unperceived by the Waikatos; and as the latter, in some disorder, were pushing the pursuit, he and his warriors attacked them in flank and rear, and defeated them with much slaughter, at the same time taking many prisoners, amongst whom was Te Haunga, a principal chief, who, with several others, was afterwards killed and eaten "as a relish" to the food apportioned to Marore. The success attending this expedition, and the skill shown by Te Rauparaha in taking advantage of the disorder of the enemy, at once rendered him famous as a Maori warrior; and from thenceforth he occupied a position of influence, not only with his own immediate tribe, but also with those to which it was allied, whilst his growing talents and power were looked upon with much respect and dread by those who had any reason to fear his prowess or his revenge. The event above referred to, naturally led to frequent battles with the Waikatos, in which Ngatitua, under Te Rauparaha, were generally successful, although occasionally defeated with considerable loss.

In the intervals of peace, Te Rauparaha visited his kindred at Maungatautari, then under the general leadership of Hape Te Tuarangi, a distinguished old warrior, who had fought many battles against the Waikato tribes, and particularly one at Kakamutu, on the Waipa, in which the latter were defeated with tremendous slaughter. On the death of Hape, which will be more specially referred to in the sequel, Te Rauparaha married his chief wife, Akau, who became the mother of Tamihana Te Rauparaha, still living at Otaki, from whom I have obtained a large amount of information respecting the career of his celebrated father. Te Rauparaha, also kept up a constant intercourse with his friends at Rotorua, and frequently visited Te Heuheu, who was much impressed with the character of his visitor, and became his fast and valuable ally. Besides this, he made several excursions to the Thames in order to obtain the alliance of Ngatimaru—then a very powerful people, but who were subsequently nearly annihilated by the Ngapuhi from the North, and by Te Waharoa and his Ngaiterangi allies, as mentioned in the last chapter. From the chiefs of this tribe, Te Rauparaha obtained a musket, with a quantity of ammunition, gifts of very great value at that time, and indicating the estimation in which he was held by his hosts. He also visited Kaipara, where he soon gained the friendship of the Ngatiwhatua, and other tribes in that district, and on his way back went to the Waitemata—he succeeded in forming an alliance with Kiwi and the son of Tihi, chiefs of the great tribes which then occupied that part of the country. I am led to understand that these visits took place between 1810 and 1815, and that Te Rauparaha then entertained the design of forming an extensive alliance against the Waikatos, under Te Wherowhero, with the intention of completely destroying them; but he found it impossible to effect his object, and chiefly for the following reason: After the establishment of the convict settlements in Australia, the South Seas were much frequented by whale ships, and the eastern coast of New Zealand, which then afforded a large supply of these valuable animals, became one of the principal whaling grounds. In the course of their voyages the ships often resorted to the Bay of Islands and the Harbour of Whangaroa for supplies of water and vegetables; and during these visits, the natives first learnt the use and power of the musket. The tribes with whom the chief intercourse took place, were the Ngapuhi, who at once saw the immense power which the possession of such a weapon would confer upon them in their contests with their enemies. Previously to this period, their own country had been constantly devastated by the powerful and warlike tribes of the Thames, and they naturally burned for revenge. Singularly enough, they were much aided in their object by the establishment of the mission stations, formed in the year

1813 under the Rev. Mr. Marsden, who had brought down with him, from Australia, pigs and poultry, and many kinds of vegetables, amongst which, the most valuable were the Indian corn and the potato. The pigs were suffered to run wild, and, having increased very much, were usually caught with dogs when wanted for purposes of trade, the natives themselves rarely using them for food, but they eagerly and successfully cultivated all the species of vegetables which had been introduced. Moreover, during the intercourse which took place between them and the whale ships, many natives visited Port Jackson, where they had further opportunities of learning the destructive power of the European weapons, and the eagerness of the tribes to procure them became so great, that twenty hogs, obtained at the expense of enormous labour, and worth to the ships more than as many pounds, were often given in exchange for a musket not worth ten shillings. In effect, the muskets usually sold to these natives were of a very worthless kind, and would not, in a contest with European troops, have been considered particularly dangerous weapons; whilst the natives own want of knowledge of the proper mode of taking care of them, soon led to the greater number of them becoming hopelessly out of order. But unskilfully as they used the musket, and little as it might have been feared by Europeans, such was the dread of its effects amongst the natives, more especially on the part of the tribes which did not possess them, that the strength of a war party was, at that time, not so much calculated by the number of its members, as by the quantity of fire-locks it could bring into action; and when Paora, a northern chief, invaded the district of Whangaroa in 1819, the terrified people described him as having twelve muskets, whilst the name of Te Korokoro, then a great chief at the Bay of Islands, who was known to possess fifty stand of arms, was heard with terror for upwards of 200 miles beyond his own district.

But the musket was not the only weapon which the natives obtained from the European traders. The bayonet and the tomahawk, the former of which was fixed to a long handle, began to replace in their fights the wooden spear and battle-axe, and naturally added greatly to the offensive power of those who possessed them in any numbers. As fast as the Ngapuhi acquired these arms, they made hostile expeditions against the Ngatimaru, and other tribes occupying the Thames, and the shores of the Tamaki and Waitemata, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. But in proportion as the whale ships and traders from Sydney extended their intercourse with the natives, the Ngatimaru, the Ngatihaua, and the Arawa, gradually acquired similar weapons, and thus fought on terms of greater equality; and it was also during this period, as mentioned in the last chapter, that Te Waharoa began to mature his designs for the destruction of the first of these tribes. I may here remark, that the trade referred to was almost confined to the Eastern side of the North Island, and that the tribes on the West Coast, at all events below the, Manukau, had but little opportunity of obtaining the much coveted weapons. The wars in which Ngatimaru were engaged against Ngapuhi and Ngatihaua, and the want of a sufficient quantity of fire-arms amongst the tribes at Kaipara and Hokianga, coupled with their total absence amongst the other tribes on the West Coast, went far towards preventing Te Rauparaha from carrying out his designs against Waikato, whilst such designs became gradually less feasible, owing to the position of the latter, who, in consequence of the offensive and defensive alliance which they had formed with Te Waharoa, were enabled, without difficulty, to obtain supplies of muskets and ammunition.

When Te Rauparaha found it impossible to carry out his design, he returned to Kawhia, where, by a succession of victories over Waikato, and by the practice of hospitality, he greatly increased his power and influence with his own tribe, whilst he cultivated the friendship (due partly to good feeling, but largely to fear) of the Ngatiawa, who occupied the country to the southward, stretching from Mokau to Taranaki.. He is represented as having been, during this period, "famous in matters relative to warfare, cultivating, generosity, welcoming of strangers and war parties." He is also said to have been particularly remarkable for the following reason: "If a party of visitors arrived just as the food of his workmen was cooked, and if those workmen were strangers to his treatment of visitors, and gave them their food, he ordered them to take it back, saying that fresh food was to be cooked for the visitors. The workmen would then be ashamed, and Te Rauparaha applauded as a man whose fame had travelled amongst all the tribes. When the workmen were satisfied, Te Rauparaha would cook fresh food for the visitors, who, when they had partaken, would leave. Hence, amongst his tribe a saying is used, 'Are you Te Rauparaha? When his workmen are satisfied, food will be prepared for visitors.'"

It appears that in 1817, or about three years before E Hongi left for England, and after the failure of Te Rauparaha's attempt to form an alliance against Waikato, a large war party arrived at Kawhia under the command of Tamati Waka Nene and of his brother Patuone, who invited Rauparaha to join them in a raid upon the southern tribes. Tamati Waka's people had a considerable number of muskets on this occasion, but the expedition had no special object beyond slaughter and slave-making, with the added pleasure of devouring the bodies of the slain. Te Rauparaha joined them with many warriors, and the party travelled along the coast through the territory of the Ngatiawa whose alliance with Ngatitua, however, saved them from molestation. Hostilities were commenced by an attack upon Ngatiruanui, who were dispersed, after great slaughter. This first success was followed by attacks on all the tribes on the coast until the *tauua* reached Otaki, great numbers of people being killed, and many slaves taken, whilst the remainder were driven into the hills and fastnesses,



where many of them perished miserably from exposure and want. At Otaki the invaders rested, Rauparaha visiting Kapiti, which he found in possession of a section of the Ngatiapa tribe, under the chiefs Potau and Kotuku. It would seem that even at this time Te Rauparaha, who was much struck with the appearance of the country, formed the design of taking possession of it, and, with his usual policy, determined, instead of destroying the people he found on the Island, to treat them with kindness, though he and the other leaders compelled them to collect and surrender much greenstone, of which this tribe especially had, during a long intercourse with the Middle Island, and by means of their own conquests of the Ngaitahu, obtained large and valuable quantities. The hostile party then continued their course along the coast, destroying great numbers of people. On their arrival at Wellington, then called Whanganui-a-tara, they found that the inhabitants—a section of the Ngatikahungunu—alarmed at the approach of the ruthless invaders, had fled to the Wairarapa, thither followed the *taua*, and discovered the Ngatikahungunu, in great force, at a pa called Tawhare Nikau. Undaunted, however, by the strength of the fortress, they attacked and carried it with great slaughter. Large numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants escaped to the hills, where they suffered greatly, whilst the invaders, after following the fugitives as far as Kawakawa and Porangahau, killing many, fell back upon Tawhare Nikau, in order to gorge themselves upon the bodies of the slain. The party then returned to Wellington and proceeded to Omere, where they saw an European vessel lying off Raukawa, in Cook Strait. Tamati Waka Nene, immediately on perceiving the ship, shouted out to Te Rauparaha, "Oh, Raha, do you see that people sailing on the sea? They are a very good people, and if you conquer this land and hold intercourse with them you will obtain guns and powder, and become very great." Te Rauparaha apparently wanted but this extra incentive to induce him to take permanent possession of the country between Wellington and Patea, and at once determined to remove thither with his tribe, as soon as he could make such arrangements as would secure him in the possession of his intended conquest. The *taua* returned along the coast line as they had first come, killing or making prisoners of such of the inhabitants as they could find as far as Patea. It was during the return of this war party that Rangihaieta took prisoner a woman named Pikinga, the sister of Arapata Hiria, a Ngatiapa chief of high rank, and whom he afterwards made his slave wife, a circumstance much and absurdly insisted upon in favour of the Ngatiapa title during the investigations of the Native Lands Court into the Manawatu case. Laden with spoil, and accompanied by numerous slaves, the successful warriors reached Kawhia, where Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone, with their party, left Te Rauparaha in order to return to their own country at Hokianga.

As I have before mentioned, Te Rauparaha had, during the progress of this raid upon the South, conceived the idea of leaving the ancient possessions of his tribe at Kawhia for the purpose of settling at Kapiti and upon the country on the main land in its vicinity; and accordingly, after the period of festivity and rest usually indulged in by a returned *taua*, he began to take the necessary steps, not only to induce his own people to accept his resolution, but to enlist the sympathies and assistance of his relatives at Maungatautari and elsewhere. During a visit which he paid for this purpose to the Ngatiraukawa, he found their great chief Hape Tuarangi in a dying state, and the circumstances which then occurred contributed greatly to the ultimate success of his designs. It appears that, notwithstanding the respect in which the offspring of the Maori aristocracy are usually held by their own people, and the influence they generally exercise in matters affecting the tribe, it is not unusual for the natural *ariki* of a tribe, or chief of a *hapu.*, to be, in some respects, supplanted by an inferior chief, unless the hereditary power of the former happens to be accompanied by intellect and bravery; and such an occurrence took place in regard to the natural hereditary *ariki* of the Ngatiraukawa at the death of Hape. Te Rauparaha himself, though by virtue of common descent, and by marriage ties, entitled to be treated as a chief of Ngatiraukawa, was not considered to be of high rank, on the grounds that, in the first place, he was the offspring of a junior branch of the *ariki* family of Tainui; and, in the next place, that the influence primarily due to his birth had been weakened by the intermarriage of his progenitors with minor chiefs and with women of other tribes. But when Hape, on his death bed, the whole tribe being assembled, asked "if his successor could tread in his steps and lead his people on to victory, and so keep up the honour of his tribe," not one of his sons, to whom, in succession, the question was put, gave any reply. After a long period of silence, Te Rauparaha, who was amongst the minor chiefs and people, sitting at a distance from the dying man and from the chiefs of high rank by whom he was surrounded, got up and said, "I am able to tread in your steps, and even do that which you could not do." Hape soon after expired, and as Te Rauparaha had been the only speaker in answer to his question, the whole tribe acknowledged him as their leader, a position which he occupied to his dying day. But even in this position his authority was limited, for though in his powers of mind, and as a leader of a war party, he was admittedly unsurpassed, either by Te Waharoa or by the great Ngapuhi chief, E Hongi, and therefore fully entitled to occupy a commanding position in the tribe, the *mana* which he acquired on the occasion in question extended only to the exercise of a species of protecting power and counsel whenever these were required, whilst the general direction of the affairs of the tribe still remained vested in their own hereditary chiefs. The influence he had obtained, however, materially aided him in ultimately inducing a large number of the tribe to join him in the conquest and settlement of the territory of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko,

as will be shown in the sequel. It may seem strange that a people occupying the fertile slopes of the Maungataurari and the beautiful tract of country stretching along the Waikato to Rangiawhia and Otawhao, could have been induced to abandon such a country in order to join in the conquest and settlement of a distant, and not more fertile, territory; but it must be remembered that, at the time in question, the whole Maori people were engrossed by one absorbing desire—that of acquiring fire-arms—and the inland position of the Ngatiraukawa, and their known wealth in much that the natives then considered valuable, invited attack, whilst the former circumstance prevented them acquiring to any extent the much coveted European weapons. It is true, that through their relatives at Rotorua they succeeded, from time to time, in obtaining some muskets and ammunition, but the quantity was not sufficiently large to afford them the means of successfully resisting the probable attacks of the tribes nearer the coast, whose opportunities of trade with the whale ships enabled them to acquire an abundant supply of both, as well as of tomahawks and other iron weapons of the most deadly character. Te Rauparaha, no doubt, represented to them the probability of obtaining similar supplies from ships frequenting the shores of Cook Strait, whilst the severe blow inflicted on the tribes occupying the territory in question, by the war party under Tamati Waka Nene, Patuone, and himself, afforded a prospect of easy victory. It was not, however, until after he and his people had reached Taranaki, in the course of their migration, that he succeeded in inducing Watanui, one of the principal chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa, to concur in his project, under circumstances which will be related hereafter. In the meantime, he and his own tribe made up their minds to leave, and finally departed from Kawhia in 1819 or 1820; but I reserve; for the next chapter, the account of this highly interesting event, and of those which took place during then-subsequent journey southward.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE voluntary migration, from their ancestral possessions, of an independent and comparatively powerful tribe like the Ngatitōa, with a view to the conquest and settlement of a new territory, must, under any circumstances, be looked upon as a remarkable event in the later history of "Old New Zealand;" but our wonder at the undertaking ceases, when we reflect upon the peculiar position occupied by this tribe—and, in fact, by all the tribes on the western coast of the North Island, to the South of the Manukau—at the period when it took place, more especially with reference to the opportunity of acquiring fire-arms, which had become an absolute necessity to any tribe desirous of maintaining a separate independent existence, whilst we are forced to admire the sagacity of the chief who conceived, and of the people who adopted, such a design. There can, indeed, be little doubt that had the Ngatitōa attempted, in the then changed circumstances of native warfare, to retain possession of their ancient territory against the increasing power of the Waikatos, more particularly after the alliance of the latter with Te Waharoa, they would certainly have been annihilated.

I ought to have mentioned in the last chapter, that in the long period during which the Ngatitōa, Ngatiawa, and Ngatitama occupied adjoining districts, frequent intermarriages took place between members of these tribes, so that the leading chiefs, especially, of each came to be connected with those of the others by ties of blood. Te Rauparaha himself was in this position, and this circumstance, added to his great fame as a warrior and statesman, gave him an influence in the councils of Ngatiawa and Ngatimata, which was of much value and importance to him, in the furtherance of his immediate projects, whilst they ultimately led to his example being followed by those tribes, after the severe losses inflicted upon them by Te Wherowhero and the Waikatos at Pukerangiora. It appears, indeed, that long before this blow fell upon them, Te Rauparaha had pointed out the danger to which they would be exposed at the hands of the Waikato chief, when he and his people no longer stood between them and the latter, but the united Ngatiawa and Ngatitama were at that time a very powerful tribe, their ancient *mana* as warriors extending through the length and breadth of the land, and they ridiculed the possibility of serious defeat or disaster befalling them, and even urged Te Rauparaha himself to abandon his design, as unnecessary, and as being incompatible with the honour of his tribe. But the sagacious chief of the Ngatitōa had seen the change produced in the relative positions of the Ngapuhi and Ngatiwhatua, on the one side, and of Ngatimaru and other Thames people on the other, owing to the opportunities possessed by the former of acquiring, in abundance, the powerful European weapons, and he had early appreciated the fact, that in all future contests in New Zealand, the party which could only bring the wooden spear and battle-axe into the field, against the musket and the bayonet, must eventually be destroyed. On this point, very decisive testimony is given by Major Cruise, of the 84th Regiment, in his account of his residence in New Zealand in 1819 and 1820. He mentions that, on the arrival of the "Dromedary" store ship at the Bay of Islands, for the purpose of taking in a cargo of kauri spars, they found the people of the Bay daily expecting the return of a numerous war party, which had started some months previously for the purpose of attacking the natives at the River Thames. Shortly afterwards, in effect, this party arrived at the head of the bay, and he and some of the other officers of the "Dromedary," went to meet it. The returned party occupied a fleet of about fifty canoes, many of them seventy or eighty feet long, and few less than sixty; all of them were filled with warriors, who stood up and

shouted as they passed the European boat, holding up numbers of human heads as trophies of their success. The barter of powder and muskets, he says, carried on by the whalers, had already distributed some hundred stand of arms amongst the inhabitants of the Bay, and as the natives at the Thames were unprovided with similar weapons, they made little opposition to their more powerful invaders, who, in that instance, told him that they had killed 200, whilst they returned with the loss of only four men. Tui, one of the principal chiefs of the Bay, in a conversation with Major Cruise on this occasion, made one continued boast of the atrocities he had committed during an excursion to the same place about two months before, and dwelt with marked pleasure upon an instance of his generalship, when, having forced a small party of his enemies into a narrow place, whence there was no egress, he was enabled, successively, to shoot twenty-two of them, without their having the power of making the slightest resistance. Now, such facts as these were well known to Te Rauparaha, and satisfied him that the utmost valour, backed even by very superior numbers, must be of no avail against a weapon of so deadly a character as the musket, when wielded by so daring and bloodthirsty a people as the New Zealanders. He, therefore, never wavered in his design, and from the time when Tamaki Waka Nene pointed out the ship sailing in Cook Strait, until his actual departure from Kawhia at the head of his people, his mind and his energies were constantly engaged in devising the means of carrying it to a successful issue. It was not, however, until upwards of two years after the return of the war party, mentioned in the last chapter, that the necessary arrangements for the migration were completed, and during this interval he frequently visited the Ngatiraukawa, at Maungatautari, for the purpose of urging them to join him, whilst he also held constant intercourse with the chiefs of Ngatitama and Ngatiawa, in regard to the assistance his people would require from them, whilst passing through their territory. I must caution my readers from inferring from the relationship and general friendliness which existed between the Ngatitao and the Ngatiawa, that either of these tribes would have felt much delicacy or compunction in destroying the other. At the period in question, more, perhaps, than during any other in the history of the race, moral considerations had but little weight in determining the conduct either of the individual or of the tribe. The ruthless wars which were then being prosecuted all over the North were rousing, to the highest pitch, the savage instincts of the race, and even the nearest relatives did not hesitate in destroying and devouring each other. Of this utter abandonment of all moral restraint many frightful instances might be quoted, but the fact is too well known to those who are acquainted with the history of the New Zealanders during the thirty years preceding the colonization of the Islands by the Europeans to require demonstration here.

But however essential to the success of the enterprise were the friendship and co-operation of Ngatiawa, it was no less necessary that Te Rauparaha should be enabled to effect his object without danger of molestation from his old enemies, the Waikatos, who would naturally be disposed to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, in connection with the event in question, in order to wreak their vengeance upon a foe from whom they had received many disastrous blows. In the last chapter, I mentioned that the Ngatimaniapoto, then occupying the country extending along the coast to the northward of Kawhia, were connected by common descent, as well as by intermarriages, with the Ngatitao; and I may now add that, although occasional disputes took place between these two tribes, they had always lived on terms of friendship, and usually made common cause against an enemy. But the Ngatimaniapoto were also, in a considerable degree, connected with the Waikato tribes, under the leadership of Te Wherowhero; and Rauparaha, determined to make use of this double connection in order to establish a firm peace between himself and the great Waikato chief before he commenced his movements towards the south. Through the influence of Kukutai and Te Kanawa, with both of whom Te Rauparaha was on good terms, he succeeded, very soon after his return from the expedition under Waka and himself, in inducing Te Wherowhero to agree to a cessation of hostilities, whilst he also informed them of his intention to leave Kawhia, with his people, and promised to cede it to Te Wherowhero on his departure. The easy acquisition of so valuable a territory was naturally looked upon by this chief as a matter of great moment to his people, besides the even more important circumstance attaching to it, namely, that the removal of a powerful enemy would enable him to concentrate his forces along his eastern frontier, so as to keep in check the increasing power of Te Wahoroa, whom he dreaded, notwithstanding that an alliance then existed between them. The proposed peace was accordingly made, and Te Rauparaha and his people being thus as secure as could be expected against attack on the part of the Waikatos, and having made satisfactory arrangements with Ngatitama and Ngatiawa for their passage through the territory of the latter, proceeded to make final preparations for departure. The principal point in this respect was the necessity of providing for a supply of food during the journey, which must obviously be a slow one on account of the aged, and of the women and children, whilst the distance was too great to be accomplished within a single season, and it was essential, therefore, to establish resting places where cultivations could be carried on in order to provide for the continuation of the march in the ensuing year. In the next place, Te Rauparaha knew that he could not conceal his intentions from the tribes whom he was about to invade; and that, although their power had been greatly shaken during the previous raid, he could scarcely hope to occupy their territory without further resistance. It

was, therefore, necessary to provide for the contingencies which the possibility of such resistance naturally involved, and this could only be done by a careful management and disposition of the forces under his command, and by securing the co-operation of some of his more immediate relatives and allies. Testing his foresight in all these matters by the ultimate success of his enterprise, we are entitled to believe that the arrangements he made were well calculated to ensure the safe accomplishment of his design; and we know, at all events, that during the interval which took place between the peace with Te Wherowhero and the actual departure of himself and his people from Kawhia, Te Rauparaha took care to provide for such supplies of food as would carry them through the first stage of their intended journey, whilst he also determined in detail the principal arrangements for the entire march. These preparations having all been satisfactorily completed by the beginning of the year 1819, he visited Waikato, for the last time, in order to bid farewell to Kukutai, to Pehikorehu, to Wherowhero, to Te Kanawa, and to all the chiefs of Waikato, saying to them, "Farewell; remain on our land at Kawhia; I am going to take Kapiti for myself, do not follow me." He then returned to Kawhia, where he at once assembled his tribe and started for the South, the number leaving Kawhia itself, including persons of all ages, being about 400, of whom 170 were tried fighting men. On the morning of the day of their departure, he and his people came out of their pa at Te Arawi, having previously burned the carved house named Te Urungu-Paraoa-a-te-Titi-Matama. They then ascended the hill at Moeatoa, and looking back to Kawhia were very sad at leaving the home of their fathers. They cried over it, and bade it farewell, saying, "Kawhia remain here! The people of Kawhia are going to Kapiti, to Waipounamu."

Savage, even ruthless, as those people may have been, we can still understand their sorrow at leaving their ancestral possessions. "The love of the New Zealander for his land is not," says Mr. White (from whom I have before quoted on this point), "the love of a child for his toys. His title is connected with many and powerful associations in his mind; his love for the homes of his fathers being connected with the deeds of their bravery, with the feats of his own boyhood, and the long rest of his ancestors for generations." Every nook and inlet of the beautiful harbour of Kawhia was endeared to the departing people, not only by its picturesque beauty, which the New Zealander fully appreciates, but also by its association with the most ancient traditions of the tribe. Every hill, every valley, was connected, in their memory, with scenes of childish joy, whilst many of the singular and gloomy caverns in which the district abounds, were crowded with the remains of their ancestors, and were the subjects of their reverence and awe; and from these circumstances, not less than from the uncertainty which necessarily hung over the future of the tribe, we may estimate the strength of their faith in the sagacity of the chief who had induced them to embark in so remarkable a project.

The march was at length commenced, and at the end of the third or fourth day the people arrived at the Pa of Puohoki, where Te Rauparaha determined on leaving, under a sufficient guard, a number of the women (including his own wife, Akau) who, by reason of pregnancy, was unfit for travel. The remainder of the tribe continued their journey, and settled for the season at Waitara, Kaweka, and Taranaki, living in the pas of the Ngatiawa and Ngatitama. Shortly after this, Te Rauparaha determined to return to Te Puohu's pa, in order to bring up the women who had been left behind, and selected twenty of his warriors to accompany him. His tribe were unwilling that he should undertake this expedition with so small a number of men, urging him to go in force in order to prevent the risk of any treacherous attack upon his party. Te Rauparaha, however, insisted on limiting his followers to the twenty men he had chosen, and started on his journey. On crossing the Mokau River, he found the body of Rangihaieta's only child, who had been drowned from Topiora's canoe, as she and part of the tribe came down the coast during the general migration. It was in order to commemorate this circumstance, that the name Mokau, as a nickname, was assumed by Te Rangihaieta. Te Rauparaha wrapped the body of the child in his clothing, and carried it with him to Puohu's pa, where it was interred with due solemnity. On his arrival, he found the women and the people he had left all safe, and at once made arrangements for removing them to Waitara. In the meantime his wife, Akau, had given birth to Tamihana, who is now living at Otaki. On the third day after his arrival the party left the pa, Te Rauparaha carrying his infant child on his back in a basket. Just before reaching Mokau, it being dusk, they were threatened by a considerable war party of Ngatimaniapoto, who had crept down the coast after the evacuation of Kawhia and the surrounding district, and Rauparaha had strong reason to fear that he and his people would be attacked and cut off. By a clever stratagem, however, he imposed upon the enemy, for, after clothing twenty of the women in men's mats, and placing feathers in their hair, and arming them with war clubs, he sent them forward under the charge of his wife, Akau, a woman of commanding stature, and who, on this occasion, wore a red mat named Hukeumu, and brandished her weapon and otherwise acted as if she were a redoubtable warrior, whilst Te Rauparaha himself covered the retreat with the men, the remainder of the party marching between these two bodies.

The Ngatimaniapoto, mistaking the strength of Te Rauparaha's force, commenced a retreat, but were attacked by him, and five of their number killed, amongst whom was Tutakara, their leader, who was slain by Rangihoungariri, a young relative of Te Rauparaha's, already renowned as a warrior. The party then continued their march and reached the Mokau River at dark, but were unable to cross it in consequence of its being

swollen by rain and the tide being high. Rauparaha knew that the danger was not over, and that the Ngatimaniapoto would, under cover of night, attempt to take revenge for their loss. He therefore ordered twelve large fires to be made, at some distance from each other, and three of the women of the party, still disguised as men, to be placed at each fire, to which he also assigned one of his warriors, whilst he, with the remainder, acted as scouts. The men near the fires were to keep watch during the night, and occasionally to address the others, saying, "Be strong, oh people, to fight on the morrow if the enemy return. Do not consider life. Consider the valour of your tribe." Besides this, the women were directed to make much noise with their speeches, so that Haiki even might hear their voices. This further stratagem appears completely to have deceived Ngatimaniapoto, who did not attempt to molest them any further. During the night, however, a peculiar incident, illustrative of Maori life, occurred, which might have been productive of disaster but for the course taken by Te Rauparaha. Amongst the women who were with the party was Tangahoe, the wife of a chief, who had an infant with her. This child in its restlessness began to cry, and Te Rauparaha, fearing that his stratagem would be betrayed by the cries of the child, told its mother to choke it, saying "I am that child." The parents at once obeyed the command, and killed the child. Towards midnight the river fell considerably, and at low tide the party left their fires and crossed it, continuing their march until they reached a pa of the Ngatitama, greatly rejoicing at their escape. Early on the following morning Rauparaha's party, with a reinforcement of Ngatitama and Ngatiawa, returned to the spot where the fight of the previous afternoon had taken place, and secured the bodies of Tutakara and the others who had been killed. These were taken to Mokau, where they were cut up and eaten, amidst great rejoicings on the part of Ngatiawa and Ngatitama at the chance thus afforded them of paying off some old grudge which they had against Ngatimaniapoto. The success of the stratagems employed by Te Rauparaha on this occasion, added greatly to his renown as a warrior, and, moreover, invested him with an attribute of almost sanctity, not only in the eyes of his own trite, but also in those of his allies. Te Rauparaha then joined the main body of his people, who were engaged in the necessary preparations for the resumption of their migration.

Shortly after this, it would appear that Te Wherowhero and Te Waharoa, deeming the opportunity a good one for striking a deadly blow against Rauparaha, had collected a large force at the head of the Waiapa, with which they marched upon Taranaki, intending to attack the Ngatitama at Motunui, before the latter could obtain any material assistance from Ngatiawa or Ngatitama, the main body of whom were chiefly stationed at Te Kawaka, Urenui, and other places. The plans of the Waikato leaders were so carefully laid in this respect, that Rauparaha received no intimation of their advance until they were close upon him, but he at once sent intelligence to Kaiiaia, the leading chief of the Ngatitama, since better known by the name of Ta Ringa Kuri, with instructions to join him at Motunui. However, before Kaiiaia could come to his assistance he assembled his own forces, including a small body of Ngatiawa; and, having a better knowledge of the country than, the enemy, he fell upon them suddenly, his forces attacking in a compact body. After encountering an obstinate resistance, he succeeded in completely routing them with a loss of nearly 150 men, including the principal chiefs Hiakai and Mama, whilst many other chiefs, and a large number of inferior people, were taken prisoners. The latter were hung, and their bodies, as well as those of the men who had fallen in the battle, were duly devoured, with all the ceremonies attendant upon such a feast after a great and successful battle. Te Wherowhero and Waharoa were the only great chiefs of note who escaped on this occasion, the slaughter of leaders having been peculiarly heavy, and even they owed their lives to the connivance of Rauparaha, who, apparently for reasons of his own of which I am not informed, but possibly to avoid driving them to desperation, did not care to attack them on the following day. It is said, whether truly or not I cannot decide, that Te Waharoa did not exhibit his usual bravery on this occasion, but had fled early in the day. It appears, too, that had Kaiiaia's portion of the Ngatitama arrived in time to take part in the battle, the whole of the Waikato force would have been destroyed. Be this as it may, during the night after the battle Te Wherowhero approached the camp of the Ngatitama, and cried out to Te Rauparaha, "Oh, Raha, how am I and my people to be saved?" Te Rauparaha replied, "You must run away this night. Do not remain. Go, make haste." Te Wherowhero and his men fled during the night, leaving their fires burning; and when Kaiiaia's forces came up on the next morning they found the Waikato camp deserted, whilst the bodies of many of those who had been wounded in the previous day's engagement, and had died during the night, were left behind. These bodies were at once cut up and devoured by Ngatitama, Te Rauparaha and his people joining in the feast.

After all danger of further attack on the part of Waikato had ceased, Te Rauparaha determined, before resuming the movement southward, again to visit his friends at Maungatautari, in order to induce the latter, if possible, to join him in the expedition. For this purpose he travelled to Taupo taking the road from Taranaki by the Upper Wanganui and Tuhua. At Tuhua he had a long conference with Te Heuheu, who promised to afford him any assistance he could in effecting his settlement at Kapiti and on the main land, but would not consent to take any other part in the undertaking. He then proceeded to Opepe, on Lake Taupo, where a large number of the Ngatiraukawa had assembled, under Whatanui, in order to discuss Te Rauparaha's proposals. Here a great

*tangi* was held, at which Whatanui made a speech to Rauparaha, and gave him many presents, as they had not met for a length of time. After the ordinary ceremonies were concluded, Te Rauparaha again opened his proposals to the assembled chiefs, representing the many advantages that would accrue from adopting them, and particularly insisting on the opportunity it would give the tribe of obtaining abundant supplies of fire-arms, as Kapiti and other parts of Cook Strait had already begun to be visited by European ships. He also dwelt on the rich and productive character of the land, and the ease with which it might be conquered, whilst there was nothing to prevent, at the same time, a large number of the tribe from remaining at Maungatautari, in order to retain their ancient possessions there. To all this, however, Whatanui gave no reply, and the meeting-broke up without any indication that any part of the tribe would join in the proposed expedition. Te Rauparaha then visited other sections of the tribe, and another great meeting took place, at which he was not present. At this meeting the chief objection raised was, that by joining Te Rauparaha he would become their chief, and there was an unwillingness on the part of the tribe, notwithstanding what had occurred at the death of Hape, entirely to throw off their allegiance to their own hereditary *ariki*s. This resolution was communicated to Te Rauparaha by Horohau, one of the sons of Hape, by Akau, then Rauparaha's wife, and the reasons specially assigned for it grieved Te Rauparaha very much. Seeing the apparent impossibility of inducing Whatanui's people to join him in his project, he went on to Roturoa, and ultimately to Tauranga, where he urged Te Waru to join him. Te Waru, however, refused to leave Tauranga on account of his love for that place, and for the Islands of Motiti and Tuhua. Whilst Te Rauparaha was at Tauranga, news reached that place that Hongi Heke, with the Ngapuhi, was besieging the great pa of the Ngatimaru at the Thames, which, after some delay, they took, as mentioned in a former chapter, slaughtering great numbers of the inhabitants. Amongst others of the killed on this occasion, were the infant children of Tokoahu, who had married a grand-niece of Rauparaha's. He appears to have been greatly exasperated at the absurd manner in which the people of this pa had permitted it to be taken, and at the destruction of his relatives, and at once went over to Roturoa, whither another *taua* of the Ngapuhi, under Pomare, had proceeded after the defeat of the Ngatimaru. Here he had an interview with Pomare, and expressed his determination to kill some of the Ngapuhi as a payment for the slaughter of Tokoahu's children, to which Pomare consented, he being also in some degree connected by marriage with Tokoahu. The Ngapuhis, accompanied by Te Rauparaha, proceeded to Paeoterangi, where Tuhourangi and some others were duly sacrificed, with great solemnity, in order to appease the *manes* of Tokoahu's children. Pomare then gave over to Rauparaha a number of men who had been under the leadership of Tuhourangi, who, from that time, became attached to and incorporated with Ngatitua, and accompanied him on his return to Taranaki shortly after the sacrifice in question. On reaching Taranaki, he made preparations for continuing the migration, and succeeded in inducing Wi Kingi Rangitake, since celebrated in connection with the Waitara war, and his father, Reretawhangawhanga, with many other chiefs, and a considerable number of the Ngatiawa tribe, to accompany him, his followers then consisting of his own people (the Ngatitua), numbering 200 fighting men, of the Ngapuhis who had been transferred to him by Pomare, and of Wi Kingi's Ngatiawas, numbering nearly 400 fighting men, and their several families. During the interval between the commencement of the migration and its resumption from Taranaki, after Te Rauparaha's last return thither, a large war party of Waikatos, under Tukorehu, Te Kepa, Te Kawau (Apihai), and other chiefs, had descended the East Coast, from whence they invaded the territory which Te Rauparaha was about to seize. The Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, were all attacked on this occasion, and again suffered great loss, a circumstance which he came to know of through some Ngatiraukawa men who had joined the Waikatos in their expedition, and had communicated its results to him during his last visit to Maungatautari. It appears, moreover, that after he had left Taupo, Whatanui and a large party of Ngatiraukawa made up their minds to join him at Kapiti, but instead of following the same route which he intended to take, they determined to proceed *viâ* Ahuriri, having been invited thither by the Ngatikahungunu, for some purpose which I cannot clearly make out. On their arrival there, however, a dispute took place between the two parties, and a battle ensued, in which the Ngatiraukawa were defeated with considerable slaughter, the remainder of the party being forced to retreat upon Maungatautari. Late in the autumn of 1819, no doubt after the ordinary crop of kumera had been gathered in, Te Rauparaha resumed the march, which was uninterrupted until they reached Patea, where five of the Ngatitua men, and a male slave of Topiora's named Te Ratutonu, who had formerly been a chief, were murdered. To avenge this murder, Rauparaha killed a number of the people occupying Waitotara, and thence his party proceeded to Wanganui, the greater portion of the women and children travelling along the coast in canoes, whilst the warriors, with most of the leading chiefs, travelled by land, Rauparaha himself, however, travelling by water in a large canoe taken from the Waitotara people. I may here incidentally mention that his designs, at this time, were not confined to the acquisition of Kapiti, and the adjacent country; he had also made up his mind to invade the Middle Island after he had become well settled in his new abode, in order to obtain the great treasures of green-stone which were believed to be in possession of the people of that island. Of course, he could only hope to effect this by obtaining a number of large canoes, and, to use the words of his son, "canoes were at that time his

great desire, for by them only could he cross over to the Island of Waipounamu." Amongst the leading chiefs who accompanied Rauparaha, was Rangihaieta, who, as will be remembered, had, during the previous invasion, taken prisoner a Ngatiapa woman of rank named Pikinga, whom he had made his slave-wife. When her brothers heard of the arrival of Ngatitoo at Wanganui, they, with a party numbering altogether twenty men, came to meet her, and accompanied Ngatitoo as far as the Rangitikei river, for, as the weather continued extremely fine, Te Rauparaha thought it desirable to push the advance as rapidly as possible. On arriving at the mouth of the Rangitikei the people rested for some days, those in the canoes landing for that purpose. During this rest, armed parties were sent inland, in various directions, for the purpose of capturing any stray people whom they could find, in order that they might be killed and eaten; but these parties found the country nearly deserted, the remnant of the original tribes having taken refuge in the fastnesses of the interior. Te Rauparaha then pushed on to the mouth of the Manawatu, where he and his people again halted, parties here, also, going inland in search of Rangitane, with the same intentions with which they had previously sought the Ngatiapa, and with very much the same result. Their next stage was Ohau, where Ngatitoo settled until after they had taken Kapiti, as will be mentioned in the sequel. During this time the Muaupoko occupied the country inland of Ohau and stretching to the Manawatu River, having a pa on Lake Horowhenua, and on the banks of Lake Papaitanga, which is close to it. Shortly after Rauparaha had settled at Ohau two of the chiefs of Muaupoko visited him, and offered, if he would come over to their pa at Papaitanga, to make him a present of several large canoes. He was extremely delighted at this offer, and at once consented to go. Rangihaieta, however, endeavoured to dissuade him, saying, "Raha, I have had a presentiment that you will be murdered by Muaupoko," but Rauparaha laughed at his fears; and, attracted by the prospect of obtaining the canoes—which had been glowingly described to him by the two chiefs—would not listen to any suggestions against the proposed visit. He even refused to take any large force with him, confining himself to a few men, and to some of his own children. It appears, however, that a plot had been laid between Turoa and Paetahi (father of Mete Kingi, lately one of the Maori members of the Assembly), chiefs of the Wanganui tribes, and the leading chiefs of the Muaupoko, to murder Te Rauparaha, and the invitation to Papaitanga, with the offer of the canoes, were only steps in the plot for that purpose. It is quite clear that he apprehended no danger, and that he fell into the trap laid for him with wonderful facility. It was evening when he and his companions arrived at the pa, where they were received by Toheriri, at whose house Rauparaha was to sleep. His people were all accommodated in different parts of the pa, Rauparaha alone remaining with Toheriri. The murder was to be committed at night by a war party from Horowhenua, and when Toheriri believed that his guest was fast asleep, he rose and went out, intending to inform the war party that Rauparaha was asleep in his house. His movements, however, aroused Te Rauparaha, who at once suspected some foul design, a suspicion which was soon converted into certainty by the cries of some of his people at the commencement of the bloody work. He then escaped from the house, and, being entirely unarmed, fled towards Ohau, which he succeeded in reaching, but quite naked. During the attack Rangihoungariri, who, it will be remembered, distinguished himself when Rauparaha's party were attacked by Ngatimaniapoto, near the River Mokau, had succeeded in getting well away, but hearing Hira's sister calling out to him that she would be killed, at once returned to her aid, but was soon overwhelmed by numbers and slain, Te Poa, Hira's husband, having been killed previously. Hira, and a girl named Hononga, were not killed, but were carried off to Ruamahunga, in the Wairarapa, where the former afterwards married Taika, a distant relation of Rauparaha's. These two girls were the daughters of that Marore whom I mentioned in a former chapter as having been his boy wife. This treacherous murder provoked the wrath of Ngatitoo, who, from that time, proceeded to destroy Muaupoko without mercy. Toheriri was taken prisoner, and afterwards hung and eaten, undergoing dreadful tortures. Before this event Muaupoko were a somewhat powerful tribe, but their power was utterly broken by the Ngatitoo and their allies, in revenge for the attempted murder of their great chief. After this escape Rauparaha settled at Ohau, and occupied the main land as far as Otaki, his war parties constantly hunting the people at Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua; but a remnant of these tribes still held Kapiti, notwithstanding several attempts to take possession of it.

## CHAPTER V.

AMONGST the chiefs who accompanied Te Rauparaha in the migration, was his uncle, Te Pehi Kupe, who, by virtue of his seniority of age and rank, was undoubtedly entitled to the leadership of the tribe; but, although not deficient in talent, and admittedly a great warrior, he was inferior to his nephew in those special qualifications, which had enabled the latter to acquire the power he held over his own tribe, and the influence he exercised in the councils of the Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa. It has, however, been asserted that there are grounds for believing that Rauparaha was somewhat jealous of Te Pehi, and that dreading the possibility of an attempt on the part of the latter to assume the leadership of the tribe in virtue of his higher social position, he would not unwillingly have sacrificed him. Indeed, it is said, that the taking of Kapiti was primarily due to a

treacherous act on his part, committed for the express purpose of involving Te Pehi, and a number of other members of the tribe, in destruction; but it is difficult to suppose that Rauparaha could have maintained his high position if this charge, and others of a similar nature, were in any degree well founded. My own impression is that the whole affair was planned for the express purpose of throwing the defenders of Kapiti off their guard, and so of securing a conquest which had already been several times attempted in vain, but which he felt to be absolutely necessary for the success of his ultimate designs. It appears that one day he started with a large force of Ngatitōa and Ngatiawa for Horowhenua, for the avowed purpose of harrassing the remnant of Muaupoko and Rangitane who still wandered about that district, and that before dawn of the morning after his departure (which had been made known on the previous day to the people on the Island through their own spies), Te Pehi, and his own immediate followers, crossed the Strait and attacked them. Thrown off their guard by the knowledge of Rauparaha's absence with the bulk of the warriors, they had neglected their ordinary precautions against surprise, and were easily defeated, many being slain, although the greater number escaped in their canoes to the main land, and found refuge in the forests and swamps of the Manawatu. On the return of Rauparaha's war party, he at once passed over to Kapiti, where he usually resided from that time until his death. Shortly after the taking of Kapiti, Wi Kingi and the great body of the Ngatiawa returned to the Waitara, only twenty warriors remaining with the Ngatitōa. Thus weakened, they were ultimately compelled, by events which I am about to relate, to abandon their settlements on the main land, and to remove to Kapiti, where they formed and occupied three large pas, one named Wharekohu, at the southern end of the Island; another named Rangatira, near the northern end; and one named Taepiro, between the other two, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaieta, with the main body of the people, residing in the latter. Before relating the events which took place after the departure of the Ngatiawa, it is necessary that I should call attention to many affairs of importance which occurred between that event and the first settlement of the Ngatitōa at Ohau. It will be remembered that at the close of the last chapter I mentioned the attempt made by the Muaupoko to murder Rauparaha, near Lake Papaitanga, and the determination of himself and his tribe to lose no opportunity of taking vengeance for the slaughter which had taken place on that occasion. At the time of this occurrence, the Muaupoko were still numerous and comparatively powerful, having suffered much less during the previous incursions of the Ngapuhi and Waikatos, than the neighbouring tribes; but they were, nevertheless, no match for the better armed and more warlike Ngatitōa, and therefore rarely met them in the open field, relying for security rather upon the inaccessibility of their fortresses and upon their intimate knowledge of the fastnesses of the Manawatu district, than upon their prowess in the field. They then occupied a number of pas in the country around Lakes Papaitanga and Horowhenua, as well as several which they had erected upon artificial islands in the latter lake, in the manner so interestingly described by the Reverend Mr. Taylor, in a paper recently read before this Society. Now, it appears, that in pursuance of his intention to destroy these people, Rauparaha constantly detailed war parties to attack them, as well as to harrass the unfortunate remnant of the Rangitane who still lurked in the country to the northward of their territory.

Finding themselves unable to check these attacks, the Muaupoko took refuge in the Lake Pas, which the Ngatitōa however, determined to attack. Their first attempt was on that named Waipata, and, having no canoes, they swam out to it, and succeeded in taking it, slaughtering many of the defenders, though the greater number escaped in their canoes to a larger pa on the same lake, named Wai-kie-kie. This pa was occupied in such force by the enemy, that the party which had taken Waipata felt themselves too weak to assault it, and, therefore, returned to Ohau for reinforcements. Having obtained the requisite assistance, they again proceeded to Horowhenua, and attacked Wai-kie-kie, using a number of canoes, which they had taken at Waipata, for the purpose of crossing the lake. After a desperate, but vain resistance, they took the pa, slaughtering nearly 200 of the inhabitants, including women and children, the remainder escaping in their canoes, and making their way, by inland paths, in the direction of Paikakariki, where they ultimately settled. In the course of these several attacks, a number of the leading Muaupoko chiefs were taken prisoners, all of whom, except Ratu, who became the slave of Te Pehi, were killed, and their bodies, as well as those of the people slain in the assaults, duly devoured. It is matter of note that, notwithstanding the occasional murder of men of the Ngatiapa who happened to be found on the south side of the Rangitikei River by the Ngatitōa and Ngatiawa war parties, Rauparaha had, up to this time, preserved friendly relations with that tribe, some of whom occasionally fought in his ranks; this was chiefly owing to the connection of Rangihaieta with Pikinga, but events which occurred shortly after the expulsion of the Muaupoko from the Horowhenua country, led to a rupture of this friendship and to the ultimate complete subjugation of the Ngatiapa. It was after the defeat of the former at Wai-kie-kie that the Ngatiawa returned to Waitara, but although, as I have before observed, their departure greatly weakened Rauparaha, he and his people still maintained their settlements on the main land, and continued their raids against the remnants of the defeated tribes. Amongst the expeditions thus undertaken one, in which a larger force than usual was engaged, was directed against a pa at Paikakariki, occupied by the Muaupoko who had fled from Waikiekie, which was taken after an obstinate struggle, in which many of the occupants were



slain, the conquerors remaining in possession for nearly two months for the purpose of consuming their bodies and the stores of provisions they found in the pa. They were there suddenly attacked by the Ngatikahungunu from Wanganuiatera and the surrounding country, and driven upon Waikanae with considerable loss. This event, coupled with the threatening attitude assumed by that powerful tribe, and the fact that the remnants of the Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa, were again collecting in the vicinity of their former settlements, determined Rauparaha to abandon the main land, and to withdraw the whole of his people to Kapiti until he could obtain the assistance (which he still confidently expected) of his kindred at Taupo and Maungatautari. He had no sooner retired to Kapiti, than the Rangitane erected a large pa at Hotuiti, on the north side of the Manawatu, within the tract now known as the Awahou Block, where they collected in force, and were joined by three Ngatiapa chiefs of note. Rauparaha hearing of this, determined to attack them, and he and Rangihaeata marched to Hotuiti with a well appointed *taua*, accompanied by Pikinga, who, on the arrival of the party before the pa, was sent into it to direct the Ngatiapa chiefs to retire to the district occupied by that tribe on the north side of the Rangitikei river. This they declined to do, and Rauparaha then sent messengers to the Rangitane, offering peace, and desiring that their chiefs should be sent to his camp to settle the terms. Being advised by the Ngatiapa chiefs to accept the offer, they sent their own head men to Rauparaha's quarters, where they were at once ruthlessly slain, and whilst the people in the pa, ignorant of this slaughter, and believing that hostilities were suspended, were entirely off their guard, it was rushed by the Ngatitoo, and taken after a very feeble resistance, the greater number of the unfortunate people and their families, as well as the three Ngatiapa chiefs, being slaughtered and devoured, such prisoners as were taken being removed to Waikanae in order to undergo the same fate. After this treacherous affair, Rauparaha and his force returned to Waikanae, where they indulged in feasting and rejoicing, little dreaming that any attempt would be made to attack them. It appears, however, that the Ngatiapa at Rangitikei, incensed at the slaughter of their three chiefs, determined to revenge their loss, and for this purpose had collected a considerable war party, which was readily joined by the refugees from Hotuiti and by a number of Muaupoko from Horowhenua. Led by Te Hakeke, they fell upon the Ngatitoo at Waikanae during the night, killing upwards of sixty of them, including many women and children, amongst the latter being the four daughters of Te Pehi. At the commencement of the attack, a canoe was despatched to Kapiti for reinforcements, which were at once sent, and upon their arrival the enemy fled, but without being pursued. In consequence of this attack, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi) "dark in their hearts in regard to Ngatiapa," and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them, as well as the remnants of Rangitane and Muaupoko.

Rauparaha had, of course, become aware of the defeat of Whatanui and the Ngatiraukawa in their attempt to reach Kapiti by the East Coast, but immediately after the departure of the Ngatiawa he had sent emissaries to Taupo, in order again to urge upon the chiefs to join him in the occupation of the country he had conquered. In the meantime, however, a storm was brewing which threatened utterly to destroy him and his people. Ratu, the Muaupoko chief who had been enslaved by Te Pehi, escaped from Kapiti and fled to the Middle Island. Being anxious to avenge the destruction of his tribe, he proceeded to organize an alliance between the tribes occupying the southern shores of Cook Strait and those which held the country from Patea to Rangitikei, on the North, and the Ngatikahungunu at Wanganuiatera and Wairarapa, on the South, for the purpose of attacking Rauparaha with a force, which, in point of numbers, at least, should be irresistible. In the formation of the desired alliance he was completely successful, and about the end of the fourth year after the first arrival of the Ngatitoo, nearly 2,000 warriors assembled between Otaki and Waikanae, consisting of Ngarauru, from Waitotara; the people of Patea, Wanganui, Wangaehu, Turakina and Rangitikei, the Rangitane of Manawatu, and the Ngatikahungunu, Ngatiapa, Ngatitumatakokiri, Rangitane and Ngatihua, from the Middle Island. They were provided with ample means of transport, "the sea on the occasion of of their attack," to use the words of my informant, who was present on the occasion, "being covered with canoes, one wing reaching Kapiti from Otaki, whilst the other started almost simultaneously from Waikanae." The landing of the warriors composing the right wing was effected about four in the morning, but the alarm having already been given by the chief Nopera, who had discovered and notified their approach, the invaders were at once attacked by the Ngatitoo, of Rangatira, with great fury, whilst messengers were at the same time despatched to Taepiri, where Rauparaha lay with the bulk of his people, to inform him of the invasion. Before he could reach the scene of the conflict, however, the enemy had succeeded in pushing the Ngatitoo towards Waiorua, at the northern end of the Island. Pokaitara, who was in command, being desirous of gaining time in order to admit of the arrival of reinforcements, proposed a truce to the enemy, which was granted by Rangimairehau, a Ngatiapa chief, by whom they were led, who hoped, on his side, during the truce, to be able to land the rest of his forces, and then effectually to crush the Ngatitoo. Shortly after the truce had been agreed to, Rauparaha and his warriors reached the scene of action, and at once renewed the battle with the utmost vigour; and, after a long and sanguinary conflict, completely defeated the invaders, with tremendous slaughter; not less than 170 dead bodies being left on the beach, whilst numbers were drowned in attempting to reach the canoes that were still at sea. The

remainder of the invading force made their way, with all speed, to Waikanae and other points of the coast, where many of them landed, abandoning their canoes to the Ngatitōa, who had commenced an immediate pursuit. After the battle Rauparaha composed and sang a "song of triumph," the words of which I regret that I have not been able to obtain. The result was in every way advantageous to his people, for no further attempt was ever made to dislodge them, whilst they, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of strengthening their position and of wreaking vengeance on the Ngātiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries, many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves. It would be useless for me to give anything like a detailed account of the incursions of the Ngatitōa into the country on the main land, often extending as far as Turakina, in which numbers of the original inhabitants were killed and eaten, or reduced to slavery; but it is perfectly clear that their power was completely broken, and that after Waiorua, the Ngatitōa and their allies found no enemy capable of checking their movements. The news of the battle having reached Taranaki, with rumours of Rauparaha's astounding success, Te Puaha, with a detachment of Ngātiawa, came down to Kapiti in order to learn the truth of the matter, and having ascertained how completely Rauparaha had defeated his enemies, he returned to Taranaki for the purpose of bringing down a number of his people to join the Ngatitōa in their settlement of the country, as well as to take part in the prosecution of Rauparaha's further designs. Accordingly, he shortly afterwards brought with him, from Taranaki, a considerable number of fighting men, with their families, consisting partly of Ngātiawa proper, partly of Ngatihinetuhi, and partly of Ngātiwhakatere, being members of a *hapu* of Ngatiraukawa, who had escaped from a defeat on the Wanganui River, and had incorporated themselves with the Ngātiawa. This formed an important accession to the force under Rauparaha, which received further additions shortly afterwards from Te Ahu Karamu, a Ngatiraukawa chief of high rank, who, against the feeling of his people, had determined to join his great Ngatitōa kinsman. This chief, having heard from Rauparaha's emissaries of the difficulties in which he was likely to be placed by the defection of the Ngātiawa, had started from Taupo with 120 armed men, of his own immediate following, and arrived at Kapiti shortly after the battle of Waiorua, and then took part in many of the raids upon the original tribes which occurred after that event. After remaining with Rauparaha for some months he returned to Taupo with part of his followers, where he reported the improved position of Ngatitōa, and urged his own section of the tribe to join them. Finding them still unwilling to do so, and being determined to effect his object, he ordered the whole of their houses and stores to be burned down, declaring it to be the will of the *atua* or spirit, angry at their refusal to obey the words of their chief. This being done the people gave way, and he took the necessary measures for the journey. In the meantime Whatanui and Te Heuheu had also determined to visit Rauparaha, in order to inspect the country he had conquered; the former chieftain intending, if it met his approval, to carry out his original design of joining the Ngatitōa in its occupation. In pursuance of this determination they, with a strong force of their own warriors, joined Te Ahu Karamu's party, the whole travelling down the Rangitikei River along the route followed by Te Ahu on his previous journey. During this journey they attacked and killed any of the original inhabitants whom they happened to fall in with. This migration is known amongst the Ngatiraukawa as the *heke whirinui*, owing to the fact that the *whiri*, or plaited collars of their mats, were made very large for the journey. Amongst the special events which occurred on the march was the capture of a Ngātiapa woman and two children, on the south side of the Rangitikei. The unfortunate children were sacrificed during the performance of a solemn religious rite; and the woman, though in the first instance saved by Te Heuheu, who wished to keep her as a slave, was killed and eaten by Tangaru, one of the Ngatiraukawa leaders. Shortly after this Ta Whiro, one of the greatest of the Ngātiapa chiefs, with two women, were taken prisoners, and the former was put to death with great ceremony and cruelty, as *utu* for the loss of some of Te Heuheu's people who had been killed by the Ngātiapa long before, but the women were spared. On the arrival of this *heke* at Kapiti, Te Heuheu and Whatanui held a long conference with the Ngatitōa chieftains, and Whatanui was at last persuaded to bring down his people. For this purpose he and Te Heuheu returned to Taupo, some of the party passing across the Manawatu Block, so as to strike the Rangitikei River inland, whilst the others travelled along the beach to the mouth of that river, intending to join the inland party some distance up. The inland party rested at Rangataua, where a female relative of Te Heuheu, named Reremai, famed for her extreme beauty, died of wounds inflicted upon her during the journey by a stray band of Ngātiapa. A great *tangi* was held over her remains, and Te Heuheu caused her head to be preserved, he himself calcining her brains and strewing the ashes over the land, which he declared to be for ever *tapu*. His people were joined by the party from the beach road at the junction of the Waituna with the Rangitikei, where the chief was presented with three Ngātiapa prisoners, who had been taken during the ascent of the river. These were immediately sacrificed to the *manes* of Keremai, after which the whole body returned with all speed to Taupo. Before the return of Whatanui and his people to Kapiti, that place had been visited by some European whale ships, and Rauparaha at once traded with them for guns and ammunition, giving in exchange dressed flax and various kinds of fresh provisions, including potatoes. I may mention that until the arrival of the Ngatitōa the potato had been unknown in the Manawatu district, but at the

time I now speak of it was extensively cultivated between that place and Taranaki, and formed one of the staple articles of food of the natives. He had no sooner obtained a supply of fire-arms and ammunition than he resolved to carry out his long-conceived intention of invading the Middle Island, a design in which he was greatly aided by the capture of the war canoes which had been abandoned by the allied forces after the battle of Waiorua; but, although he at once made preparations for carrying out his project, he postponed its actual execution until after the return of Whatanui. Shortly before the visit of the ships with which Rauparaha had carried on his trade, Te Pehi, observing one passing through Cook Strait, went out to her in a canoe, and, having managed to conceal himself until the canoe had left her, he succeeded ultimately in reaching England, his design being, like that of E Hongi, to obtain a supply of fire-arms and ammunition. His visit to England, where he was known under the name of Tupai Cupa, evidently a corruption of Te Pehi Kupe, is described in the volume for 1830 of "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge." We are enabled by means of this incident to fix the dates of some of the principal events in Rauparaha's career, for we know that it was in 1826 that Te Pehi managed to secrete himself on board the vessel above referred to.

Rauparaha's immediate designs were in the meantime somewhat interfered with by a rupture between a section of his people and the Ngatitama, under Puaha, some fighting taking place, which resulted in loss to both sides; but he at once peremptorily ordered peace to be made, an order which was obeyed by both sides. It seems that this dispute arose out of the occupation of some of the conquered land, which was claimed by both parties, and Waitohi, a sister of Rauparaha, foreseeing that constant disputes were likely to arise from the same cause, more especially when their numbers were increased by the expected arrival of the main body of the Ngatiraukawa, unless there was some definite arrangement as to the division of the country between them, suggested to Rauparaha that the Ngatiawa should all remove to Waikanae, and should occupy the land to the south of the Kukutawaki stream, whilst the country from the north bank of that stream as far as the Wangaehu should be given up to the Ngatiraukawa. This suggestion was adopted by all parties, and it was determined that the Ngatiraukawa, already with Rauparaha, should at once proceed to occupy Ohau, then in the possession of the Ngatiawa. Having been assembled for this purpose they were escorted to their new location by Rauparaha and all the principal chiefs of Ngatitama, travelling along the beach. On their way up they were feasted by Ngatirahira (a *hapu* of Ngatiawa) upon the flesh of black-fish, a large school of which had been driven ashore at low water, where the natives ingeniously tethered them by their tails with strong flax ropes, killing them as they were wanted for food. The Ngatiraukawa having been put into quiet possession of the houses and cultivations of the Ngatiawa, the latter removed to Waikanae, which continued for some time afterwards to be their principal settlement. The wisdom of Waitohi's suggestion above referred to is apparent from the fact that no further land disputes occurred between the several tribes until the fighting at Horowhenua many years afterwards, as will be related in the sequel.

Between this event and the date of Whatanui's return to Kapiti with the main body of his people, a *heke* composed of 140 fighting men with their families—called the *heke kariritahi*, from the circumstance that the warriors armed with muskets, had enlarged the touch-holes so as to be enabled (shrewd fellows as they were) to keep up a more rapid fire upon an enemy by saving the trouble of priming—came down from Maungatautari under the command of Taratoa. Whatanui accompanied this *heke* for the purpose of conferring with Rauparaha on matters of importance, but finding that the chief was absent, he at once returned to Taupo in order to bring down his people. The constant arrival of these armed bodies, and the manner in which they roamed over the Manawatu and Rangitikei districts, treating the remnant of the Ngatiapa and other original tribes with the greatest rigour, induced the latter to throw themselves upon the hospitality of the Ngatikahungunu at Wairarapa. In pursuance of this resolve, some 300 of them, including women and children, proceeded thither, but in consequence of a murder, followed by an act of cannibalism, which had been committed by some of the Rangitane upon a Ngatikahungunu man not long before, that tribe not only refused to receive the refugees, but attacked and drove them back with slaughter. The Ngatiapa then formally placed themselves at the mercy of Rangihaeata, whose connection, so frequently alluded to, with a chief of their tribe induced him to treat them with leniency, and they were accordingly permitted to live in peace, but in a state of complete subjection. The remnant of the Muaupoko, in like manner, sought the protection of Tuauaine, a chief of the Ngatiawa, who agreed to defend them against the long standing wrath of Rauparaha, but, as it appears, in vain; for it seems that having been informed by some of the Ngatiraukawa that these people were again settling at Papaitangi and Horowhenua, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, with a war party of Ngatitama and Ngatiraukawa, proceeded thither and attacked them, killing many and taking a number of others prisoners, amongst whom was Toheriri, their chief. Toheriri's wife composed a lament on the occasion of the death of her husband, which is still recited amongst the Maoris. In this song she reflected on the broken promise of Tuauaine, who, though very sad at this slaughter, was entirely unable to prevent it. I merely mention this incident here, in order to show that lapse of time had in no degree weakened the revengeful feelings of Rauparaha, and that he considered the *manes* of his murdered children insufficiently appeased by the slaughter of the hundreds whom he had already sacrificed.

In about a year after the visit of Whatanui with Te Heuheu the former returned to Kapiti with the main body of his tribe, this migration being known as the *heke mairaro*, or "*heke* from below," the north point being always treated by the Maoris as downward. From that time forth for some years parties of the same tribe constantly recruited their countrymen in their settlements on the Manawatu, gradually extending their occupation over the whole country between Otaki and Rangitikei, although their chief stations were in the Horowhenua and Ohau districts; whilst the Ngatiapa, under the protection of Rangihaeata and Taratoa, occupied some country on the north of the Rangitikei, yielding tribute to both of these chiefs as a condition of their being left in peace.

Not long after the arrival of Whatanui with the *heke mairaro*, Rauparaha put in execution his long meditated project of invading and permanently occupying the northern coasts of the Middle Island. It appears that his fame as a warrior had reached the ears of Rerewhaka, a great chief of the Ngaitabu, whose principal settlement was at the Kaikoura Peninsula. This chief had been excessively indignant at the defeat of the allies at Waiorua, and on hearing of the song of triumph, chanted by Rauparaha on that occasion, in which the latter indicated his intention of attacking and subduing the Ngaitahu, he had declared "that if Rauparaha dared to set a foot in his country he would rip his belly with a *niho-manga*, or shark's tooth," a curse which was reported to Rauparaha by a run-away slave, and which—his memory for small matters being remarkably tenacious—would afford him, at any distance of time, ample pretext and indeed justification for attacking Rerewhaka and his people. In 1828, having accumulated a considerable quantity of fire-arms and ammunition, he started with 340 picked warriors, comprising Ngatitua, Ngatiawa, Ngatitama, and Ngatiraukawa, under Niho, the son of Te Pehi, Takerei, Te Kanae, Te Koihua, Te Puoho, and other chiefs of note, and first made for D'Urville Island, at the north-east head of Blind Bay. At this time D'Urville Island, the Pelorus and Queen Charlotte Sounds, the Wairau and the Awatere, were all occupied by a numerous section of the Rangitane tribe, which had settled in these places after destroying the Ngatimamoe some 200 years before. But though numerous, and in that sense powerful, so long as their warfare was carried on with the ordinary New Zealand weapons, they were no match for the chosen warriors of Te Rauparaha, more particularly when armed with the more deadly European weapons. The consequence was that they were everywhere disastrously defeated, hundreds of them being killed and devoured on the spot, whilst numbers of the prisoners were taken to Kapiti to undergo the same fate, the wretched remnant being kept in abject slavery by such of their conquerors as settled in the newly acquired district.

Whilst Rauparaha was engaged in these operations Te Pehi returned from England, and at once joined him with a considerable number of followers.; Shortly after this the main force divided, a subdivision of the Ngatitua named the Ngatirua *hapu*, under Niho and Takerei, the Puketapu and Nutiwai *hapus* of Ngatiawa, under Te Koihua, and the Ngatitama, under Te Puoho, proceeding to Blind and Massacre Bays—and whose exploits will be hereafter referred to—whilst Rauparaha, Te Pehi, and other chiefs, with 300 well armed men, flushed with victory, and grown strong upon human flesh, left Rangitoto for the Kaikoura Peninsula, in order to afford to Rerewhaka the opportunity of putting his long made threat into execution. But the Ngatitua chief felt sure of a comparatively easy victory, for notwithstanding a great numerical superiority on the part of the enemy, he knew that they were indifferently, if at all, supplied with fire-arms, whilst the great bulk of his own men were well furnished with guns, powder, and ball. It will be observed that, in accordance with the well known habit of the New Zealanders, Rauparaha had never forgotten Rerewhaka's curse, and he felt highly elated at the prospect of a revenge, which the force at his command rendered almost certain. But besides this prospect of vengeance, and the anticipated additional gratification of devouring the bodies of the slain, he expected to acquire largo quantities of green-stone weapons and ornaments, in which, as he had been informed by the slave who had reported Rerewhaka's foolish boast, the Ngaitahu of the Kaikoura and Amuri were especially rich, for notwithstanding the introduction of fire-arms into their system of warfare, the *mere pounamu*, or green-stone battle-axe, and other implements of war manufactured from that substance, was then, and indeed always has been, held in great estimation by the Maoris. Rauparaha, therefore, longed to add the acquisition of such treasures to the gratification which he would derive from wreaking vengeance upon the Ngaitahu chieftain, for the insult under which he had so long suffered.

As my readers are probably aware, the green-stone or nephrite, from which the more valuable of the weapons in question are made, is found exclusively on the West Coast of the Middle Island, and it appears that the Ngaitahu of Kaikoura and Amuri especially, had long been in the habit of sending war parties across the island, for the purpose of killing and plundering the inhabitants of the district in which it was obtained. These expeditions sometimes passed through the Taradale country to the Upper Waiouua, and from thence through the Kapiokaitangata, or Cannibal Gorge, at the head of the Marina River, into the valley of the Grey, from whence they ran down the coast to the main settlements from the mouth of that river to Jackson Bay, and at other times passed from the Conway and other points on the East Coast through the Hammer Plains to the valley of the Ahaura, a tributary of the Grey, and so to the same localities. The line of route by the Cannibal Gorge runs

partly through a tract of country which I now occupy as a cattle-run, and my men have frequently found stone axes, pawa shells, remains of eel-baskets, and other articles, left on the line of march; similar articles being also found on the line through the Hammer Plains. The scenery of the upper country on the line by the Cannibal Gorge is very grand and beautiful, the valley of the Ada, the head waters of which rise within half a mile of those of the Marina, running through an immense cleft in the Spencer Mountains, the summits of Mount Una and the Fairy Queen, capped with perpetual snow, rising abruptly on each side of the stream, to a height little under 6,000 feet, whilst the valley itself is rarely more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. The Cannibal Gorge is extremely rugged, and the fall of the river tremendous, its waters, when swollen by rain and melting snow, pouring down the gorge for miles in a perfect cataract of foam, and with a roar, which, echoed from the rocky glens on each side, rivals that of Niagara. During their journeys to the coast through these rugged scenes the war parties lived entirely on eels, wekas, and kakapos, which, at that time, were numerous in the ranges; whilst on their return, after a successful raid, human flesh was often carried by the slaves they had taken, and the latter were, not unfrequently, killed in order to afford a banquet to their captors. During these expeditions large quantities of green-stone, both in rough blocks and in well-fashioned weapons—an art especially known to the West Coast natives—were often obtained, if the approach of the invaders was not discovered in time to permit the inhabitants to conceal themselves and their treasures, and it was the accumulated wealth of many years which Rauparaha expected to acquire in case he should prove victorious in his projected attack upon Rerewhaka and his people.

## CHAPTER VI.

IT was not until the morning of the fourth day after leaving D'Urville Island that the war party reached the Kaikoura Peninsula, and as they had arrived before daylight they anchored a short distance from the shore, in order that they might be enabled at dawn to reconnoitre the position of the enemy before landing. It would appear that the Ngaitahus at that time expected a visit from a southern chief of their own tribe, with a considerable following, and that on the morning in question, seeing the canoes of Rauparaha's party at anchor, and not having noticed the direction from which they had come, they mistook them for those of their friends, and large numbers of the people of the pa ran down to the shore, shouting the cry of welcome to the supposed visitors, who, at once seeing the advantage which the mistake would afford them in their intended attack, made for the shore with all possible speed, and having reached it jumped out of the canoes and immediately commenced the attack. The unfortunate people, being quite unarmed, and taken by surprise, endeavoured to escape by retreating towards the pa, which, in the general confusion, was taken without difficulty, some 1,400 of the people, including women and children, being killed or taken prisoners, amongst the latter of whom was the chief Rerewhaka, whose threat Rauparaha was then avenging. After remaining for some time to feast upon the bodies of the slain, and to plunder the pa of its treasures, the victorious Ngatitoo returned with their prisoners to Kapiti, where the greater number of the latter, including Rerewhaka himself, were put to death and eaten, the chief having been sacrificed with great cruelty on account of the threat which had been the prime cause of the attack. In consequence of this circumstance Rauparaha named the battle the "*nihomanga*, or battle of the shark's tooth." At the time of this event another section of the Ngaitahu tribe occupied an extensive pa called Kaiapoi, about fourteen miles north of Christchurch, with the inhabitants of which Rauparaha made up his mind to pick a quarrel at the first convenient opportunity, but he felt that the force he had under his command at Kaikoura was too small for the purpose of any attack upon it, particularly after the enemy had received notice of the fall of the latter place, and had had time to make preparations for defence. In the following year, before he had had an opportunity of devising any particular scheme for the purpose of bringing about a quarrel between himself and the Kaiapoi people, he was induced again to attack the remnant of the Ngaitahu at Kaikoura, in consequence of an insult put upon Rangihaeata by a Ngatikahunguu chief named Kekerengu, who, dreading the consequences, had fled across the strait and taken refuge with them. Rauparaha collected a considerable force of Ngatitoo and their allies, under his own leadership, with Te Pehi, Pohaitara, Rangihaeata, and other principal chiefs under him, and started for the Wairau, from whence he made his way along the coast to Kaikoura. On his arrival there he found that the pa had been evacuated on their approach, the inhabitants flying down the Amuri. They were overtaken by the war party at a pa called Omihi, where they were attacked and routed with great slaughter, numbers of prisoners being also taken. These were left in charge of a detachment, whilst the rest of the force pushed with all speed for Kaiapoi, in order that Rauparaha might put his design against its inhabitants into execution. The pa of that name was situated just within the line of the coast dunes of Pegasus Bay, about a mile to the south of the River Ashley, and was erected upon a promontory about nine or ten acres in extent, which extends into a deep swamp lying between the sand dunes and the bank of the river. This swamp, which is very deep, nearly surrounds the site of the pa, and prevented it from being attacked at any point except in front; and along the line of the front, extending from one branch of the swamp to

the other, a distance of about 250 yards, it was defended by a double line of heavy palisading and a deep ditch, with two large outworks, from which a flank fire could be maintained on any party attempting to scale the palisades. I have frequently visited the site of this pa, which still exhibits unmistakeable evidences of the conflict which took place there, including many relics of the special festivities with which the Maoris invariably celebrated their victories. I was informed that after its fall (which will shortly be fully detailed) the principal defenders threw large numbers of their choicest green-stone weapons and ornaments into the deepest part of the swamp, where they still lie, to reward any enterprising person who will drain it for the purpose of recovering them.

When Rauparaha and his people arrived at the pa, they at once opened intercourse with the chiefs, pretending that they had come to seek their friendship, and desired to barter fire-arms and ammunition in exchange for green-stone, in which the people of Kaiapoi, like their kinsfolk at Kaikoura, were extremely rich, but the latter, having been informed by some refugees of the slaughter at Omihi, distrusted the good intentions of their visitors. In order, however, to remove all pretext for hostilities they received them with great appearance of cordiality, and treated the chiefs who visited their houses with ostentatious hospitality. Rauparaha himself, however, could not be induced to enter the pa, the wily chief feeling that he had too surely earned their animosity by the slaughter of their kinsfolk, and, therefore, could not justly place much trust upon their professions of friendship. It appears, according to the Ngatitoo account of the affair, that Te Pehi, who in order to keep up the deception had carried on a trade with some of the people, let the cat out of the bag; for a Ngaitahu chief having expressed great unwillingness to part with a coveted green-stone weapon, was told by Te Pehi, in anger, "Why do you, with the crooked tatoo, resist my wishes; you, whose nose will shortly be cut off with a hatchet." This confirmation from the lips of one of the chiefs in command of the Ngatitoo of their preconception of the real designs of Rauparaha's party, determined the people in the pa to strike a blow which would prevent Rauparaha from further prosecuting his design, at least at that time; and, for this purpose, they resolved to kill the chiefs then in the pa, amongst whom, besides Te Pehi, were Pokaitara, Te Aratangata, of Ngatiraukawa, and others of note. Pokaitara had taken to wife from amongst the prisoners at Kaikoura the daughter of Rongatara, one of the Ngaitahu chieftains then in the pa, and having been invited to the house of the latter under pretext of receiving a present of green-stone, proceeded thither without suspicion of foul play. As he stooped to enter the house the old chief, Rongatara, took hold of his mat, saying, "Welcome, welcome, my daughter's lord," at the same time killing him by a blow on the head with the green-stone club which he expected to have received as a gift. The death of Pokaitara was the signal for a general slaughter of the Ngatitoo chiefs, who were at once despatched, their bodies being destined to the *umus* of their murderers. The slaughter of his uncle, and of so many of his leading chiefs, was a severe blow to Rauparaha, who, with the rest of his party, at once fell back on Omihi, where he re-united his forces. In part revenge for the murder, he at once slew all the prisoners, and, after devouring their bodies, returned to the Wairau, from whence they crossed over to Kapiti. The Ngaitahu account of the origin of the quarrel is different, and I give it from a petition presented, in 1869, to the House of Representatives, by Patterson, then Maori member for the Southern Maori Electoral District. The petition refers to a letter addressed to Patterson by the *runanga*, or local council, of the Maoris living near the European village of Kaiapoi, which is situated on the banks of the Waimakariri River, some miles north of the pa above referred to. The following is the text of the letter, which I give nearly entire, as being of much interest in connection with my story:—

"To Patterson,—

"O friend, salutations to you, and to the Assembly, that is to say, the great chiefs who work for justice and truth.

"O sir, this is the matter which we submit to you, do you publish it to the Assembly, so that the great doctors may examine this disease. The disease is the sale by Ngatitoo of this land.

"After you had left, the *runanga* gave their attention to the question of the affliction under which they are suffering, and now it is submitted to the great doctor to be prescribed for by him. Had the defeat of the people at this land been equal to that of the people of Rangitikei and Manawatu by Te Rauparaha and Ngatiraukawa, where the people were killed and the land was taken possession of, and has been kept up to this time, then it would have been right that we should suffer under this affliction. But, as for the defeat of the natives of Kaiapoi, the Maori *runanga* consider that it is very clear that the battles in which the Kaiapoi natives were defeated were not followed up by occupation on the part of the victors. According to our view the killing of the Kaiapoi natives was caused by the Rangitane, who said that Te Rauparaha was to be killed with a stick used for beating fern-root. He then attacked the Rangitane, and defeated them. When Rerewhaka heard that his relatives had been slain, he said that he would rip Te Rauparaha's belly up with the tooth of a barracoota; it was through that that this evil visited this place. Rerewhaka was living amongst the people of Kaiapoi when he said that. Te Rauparaha should have killed that man, for he was the cause of the crime; he spared him, but killed the descendants of Tutea-huka. O friends, the men of Kaiapoi were in deep distress on account of the killing of

their relatives at Kaikoura and at Omihi. Now these two pas were destroyed by Te Rauparaha; then Ngatituteahuka and Ngatihikawai-kura, the people of Kaiapoi, bewailed their defeat. Te Rauparaha should have borne in mind that the flesh of our relatives was still sticking to his teeth, and he should have gone away and left it to us to seek payment for our dead after him, but he did not, he came to Kaiapoi. When he came the old chiefs of Kaiapoi wished to make peace, and sent Tamaiharanui to Te Rauparaha. On their meeting they made peace, and the talk of Tamaiharanui and Te Pehi was good. After Tamaiharanui had started to come back Te Rauparaha went to another pa of ours, called Tuahiwi, and there sought for the grandmother of Tamaiharanui. They dug her body up and ate it, all decomposed as it was. Tamaiharanui was greatly distressed, and threatened to kill the war party of Te Rauparaha. Then his elder relatives, the great chiefs of Kaiapoi, said to him, 'O son, do not, lest further evil follow in your footsteps.' He replied, 'It would not have mattered had I been away when this decomposed body was eaten, but, as it is, it has taken place in my very presence.' Well, as the chief gave the word, Te Pehi, a great chief of Ngatitua, and others were killed. Then Te Rauparaha went away."

Such is the Ngaitahu account of the origin of the quarrel, which I am inclined to accept. It will be thought strange that Te Rauparaha did not, without seeking any pretence for the act, attack the pa in force, but to have done so would have been a violation of the Maori etiquette in matters relating to war. He had taken vengeance for the threat of Rerewhaka, and it was for the relatives of the latter to strike the next blow, which it appears they were unwilling to do, dreading the very results which afterwards followed in revenge for the killing of Te Pehi.

Rauparaha brooded much over this murder of his relative, who, having accepted a secondary position in the tribe, no longer excited his jealousy, and had greatly assisted him as a wise counsellor and valiant leader. After full consultation with the other chiefs of the tribe, he resolved that his revenge should be carried out by an act as treacherous as that by which the death of Te Pehi and his companions had been brought about; and whilst still revolving in his mind the best means of accomplishing this design, an European vessel arrived at Kapiti from Sydney, after having passed through Foveaux Strait and visited the Auckland Islands for the purpose of leaving a party of sealers at the latter place. Amongst the passengers by this vessel was Hohepa Tamaihengia (who lately died at Porirua), a near relative of Rauparaha, who, on reaching Foveaux Strait, had heard of the murder of Te Pehi and his companions from the Maoris there. Hohepa himself at once conceived the project of seizing and killing some of the Ngaitahu chiefs in *utu* for their death, and entered into arrangements with the master of the vessel to proceed to Akaroa for that purpose. This plan, however, having become known to some European passengers who were about to join a whaling party in Queen Charlotte Sound, they dissuaded the master from carrying it into effect, and the vessel proceeded direct to Kapiti. Hohepa communicated his design to Rauparaha, who determined to follow it out on the first convenient opportunity. Sometime after the departure of this vessel, the English brig "Elizabeth" arrived at Kapiti. This vessel was commanded by a person named Stewart, to whom Rauparaha offered a large cargo of flax if he would carry him and a chosen party of warriors to Akaroa, for the purpose of seizing Tamaiharanui, the principal chief of the Ngaitahu, who had been present at Kaiapoi, at the time of the murder of Te Pehi, and had indeed taken an active part in counselling it.

Stewart assented to the proposal, and conveyed Rauparaha and his warriors to Akaroa, where the European scoundrel, at the instigation of his charterer, opened communication with the unsuspecting Tamaiharanui, and ultimately induced him, with his wife and daughter, by the promise of some guns and powder, to come on board, where he was at once seized by Rauparaha, who, with his men, had up to this time remained concealed in the hold of the vessel. Having bound the captured chief they remained quiet until nightfall, and then, landing in the ship's boats, attacked the Ngaitahu in their village, of whom they killed large numbers. The bodies of the slain were taken on board the vessel, which at once set sail for Kapiti. On the passage up the successful *taua* feasted on these bodies, using the ship's coppers for cooking them. It may be that when Stewart engaged his vessel for this expedition he was not made aware of the intentions of Te Rauparaha, or did not foresee the results which followed, whilst he was certainly unable to prevent the atrocities which were perpetrated on board of her, but his name will always be infamous for his connection with this atrocious affair. It appears that the unfortunate Tamaiharanui attempted to commit suicide, in consequence of which he was chained in the cabin, but his hands being free, he managed to strangle his daughter, and to push her body through one of the after ports, in order to save her from the indignities to which she would be subjected by her ruthless captors, but he himself was taken alive to Kapiti, where he was delivered over to the widows of Te Pehi, who subjected him to frightful tortures, until at length he was put out of his misery by a red-hot ramrod being passed through his neck.

The following is the account given to me by Tamihana Te Rauparaha of the mode in which the unfortunate chief was delivered over to his death:—"When the vessel arrived at Kapiti it was proclaimed that Tamaiharanui was on board, and the people were delighted. Ngaitahu had thought there was only the flowing sea (i.e., that there was no one going to attack them), but they were deceived, and Tamaiharanui was taken. There were not many people left in charge of Kapiti when the ship returned; they were at Waikanae and Otaki scraping flax as

cargo for the vessel. Te Pehi's widows were at Waitohu, near Otaki, scraping flax. Tamaiharanui was then taken to Otaki in Rauparaha's canoe to be shown to those widows, as it was to be left to them to determine whether he was to be killed or allowed to live. When they arrived at Otaki he asked Rauparaha to spare him, but Rauparaha replied, 'If the party killed, that is, Te Pehi, belonged to me, I would save you, but as the dead belonged to Ngatitōa I cannot save you.' He was then taken to Waitohu, to be seen by the widows, and by Tiaia, the chief wife of Pehi, and was then delivered over to them. They hung him on a tree and killed him with great torture, and he died when a red-hot ramrod was put through his neck by Tiaia. Rauparaha did not witness his death."

It is impossible to conceive that women could descend so low in the scale of humanity as to commit such atrocities without any sentiment of compassion or of remorse, but those who are familiar with the history of the times of which I write, may recall many frightful instances of barbarity of the same kind. Amongst these, one of the most cruel which has come under my notice is the following, related by Mr. Wilson in his "Three chapters in the Life of Te Wakaroa":—"We may here mention a tragedy—all are tragedies in this chapter of horrors. Mr. Knight was accustomed, every morning about sunrise, to attend a school at Ohinemutu Pa, but as there were no scholars on the morning of the 12th May, he went to the place where he was told they would be found. There he perceived a great number of people sitting in two assemblages on the ground—one entirely of men, the other of women and the chief Pango. The former company he joined, and conversed with them, as well as he was able, on the sin of cannibalism, but Korokai and all laughed at the idea of burying their enemies. Their conversation ceased, however, on Knight hearing the word *patua* (kill) repeated several times; and looking round toward the women, he was horrified to see the widow of the late chief Haupapa, who had been killed at Maketu, standing naked and armed with a tomahawk, whilst another woman, also nude, and Pango were dragging a woman taken prisoner at Te Tumu, that she might be killed by Mrs. Haupapa, in the open space between the men and the women. Mr. Knight immediately sprang forward, and entreated them not to hurt the woman, but Mrs. Haupapa, paying no attention, raised her hatchet; on this, Knight caught the weapon and pulled it out of her hand, whereupon the other woman angrily wrenched it from his grasp, and would have killed him had not Pango interposed by running at him and giving him a blow and thrust that nearly sent him into the lake. He was, however, about to return when the natives seized him and held him back. Just then, the poor woman slipping out of the garments she was held by, rushed to Knight, and falling down, clasped his knees convulsively, in an agony of terror. Her murderers came, and abusing the *pakeha* the while for *pokanoaing* (interfering or meddling), with difficulty dragged her from her hold. The helpless *pakeha* says, 'It would have melted the heart of a stone' to hear her calling each relative by name, beseeching them to save her, for though a Tauranga woman, she was connected with Rotorua, and to see her last despairing, supplicating look, as she was taken a few yards off and killed by that virago Mrs. Haupapa. Now this scene occurred simply because Haupapa's widow longed to assuage the sorrow of her bereaved heart, by despatching, with her own hand, some prisoner of rank as *utu* for her lord. The tribe respected her desire; they assembled to witness the spectacle, and furnished a victim by handing over a chief's widow to her will."

It may, as I have before observed, seem strange that Rauparaha did not at once take the bolder and more manly course of attacking the Ngaitahu at Kaiapoi, in the ordinary way of warfare, for the purpose of avenging the murder of Te Pehi and his brother chiefs, but I am informed by his son that the course he adopted was strictly *tika*, or, in other words, in accordance with Maori etiquette, in such matters, and that, indeed, any other line of action would not properly have met the exigencies of the case. That Rauparaha was not limited to the adoption of what we should consider the treacherous plan of revenge above related is clear from the events which I am about to refer to, for in about a year after the capture of Tamaiharanui our chief determined, in furtherance of his original design, to attack the great pa at Kaiapoi. For this purpose he assembled a large force, comprising Ngatitōa, Ngatiawa, and Ngatiraukawa, part of whom made their way through the Wairau Gorge and the Hanmer Plains to the Waipara River, which flows into the sea near the north head of Pegasus Bay; whilst he, with the main body of his forces, passed over to the East Coast, through the country now occupied by Messrs. Clifford and Weld, and from thence down that coast to the mouth of the Waipara, where they were joined by the inland party. The inland line of march runs through some of the most picturesque country in New Zealand, the gorge of the Wairau, especially, being rugged and grand in the extreme. I was the first European who ever passed through this gorge, which I did in 1859 or 1860 for the purpose of determining whether it would afford a practicable line of communication between Nelson and Canterbury, and on that occasion I was accompanied by a Ngatitōa man, who had been one of the inland war party on the occasion above referred to. Singular to state, however, I found, after passing through the gorge, that he had entirely forgotten the line of route between Tarndale and the pass into the Hanmer Plains, and the season was, unfortunately, too far advanced to permit of my attempting to discover it independently. Indeed, my party was snowed up for several days, and as we ran some risk of getting short of food for the return journey, I was reluctantly compelled to give up the design. This was, however, of little importance, as Mr. Weld, now Governor of Western Australia, had, a few days before my passage through the upper part of the gorge, found his way into Tarndale over the mount



near the junction of the Wairau and Kopiouenuku Rivers, and had established the connections between that place and the pass known as Jollie's Pass, leading from the Clarence River into the Hanmer Plains. Subsequent explorations of my own resulted in the discovery of the country in the Upper Waiauua and the line of the Cannibal Gorge, and of a shorter and easier pass from Tarndale into the Hanmer Plains, being probably the one used by the native party above referred to.

After the junction of the two bodies Rauparaha proceeded at once to Kaiapoi for the purpose of attacking the pa. The Ngaitahu were evidently quite unprepared for this fresh invasion, a large number of their warriors being absent at Port Cooper, whither they had accompanied Taiaroa (father of the present member of the House of Representatives of that name), who was then the leading chief of that portion of their tribe which occupied the country in the neighbourhood of the present site of Dunedin, and who was returning home after a visit to his kinsfolk at Kaiapoi. Others of the people were engaged in their cultivations outside of the pa, which was, in fact, only occupied by a small number of able-bodied warriors and a few of the older men, and some women and children. So carefully had Rauparaha concealed the approach of his war party that the first intimation which the inhabitants of the pa received of it was the sound of the firing as his force attacked the people in the cultivations, and the cries of the dying and wounded; and they had barely time to close the gates of the outworks and to man the line of defences before a number of the enemy appeared in front of it. The Ngatitooa at once sprung to the assault, hoping to carry the defences by a *coup de main*, but were repulsed with some slaughter; and after renewing the attempt and finding them too strong to be thus overcome, they determined to commence a regular siege. For that purpose they intrenched themselves on the ground in front of the pa, at the same time occupying some sand-hills which commanded it on the eastern side, but from which it is separated by a branch of the great swamp before referred to. In the meantime, some of the Ngaitahu who had escaped from the first attack, favoured in so doing by their intimate knowledge of the line of swamps which occupies the intervals between the sand-dunes and the sea coast as far as Banks Peninsula, managed to reach Port Cooper, where they informed their people of the attack upon the pa, arriving there in time to stop Taiaroa and those who were about to accompany him to Otago. After collecting reinforcements from the villages on the peninsula, Taiaroa and his forces made their way along the coast line as far as the Waimakariri, availing themselves of the swamps above referred to, for the purpose of concealing their march from any detached parties of the Ngatitooa. On reaching the Waimakariri they crossed it on rafts (commonly called *mokihi* by the natives) made of dried stalks of the *Phormium tenax*, and concealed themselves until dark. Finding the hostile forces encamped along the front of the pa, and warned by their watch-fires that they were on the alert, they determined to ford the swamp at a narrow point on its western side, and to enter it through an outwork erected there, that being the only point along the line of the swamp which was at all weak. Using the utmost caution in their approach to this point they succeeded in reaching it without having attracted the notice of the besiegers, and at once plunged into the swamp, trusting to be able to struggle through it and to enter the pa without being attacked by the Ngatitooa. Knowing, however, that the defenders would also be on the alert, they shouted the name of Taiaroa as they plunged into the water, in the hope that their friends would recognise their voices and take the necessary steps to admit them; but the latter, believing it to be a ruse of the Ngatitooa, opened fire upon them, which was kept up vigorously for some time. The error having at last been discovered, and little damage having fortunately been done, the main body of the warriors were admitted into the pa, to the great joy of the handful of people by whom, up to that time, the defence had been maintained. The siege operations were, however, in but a slight degree affected by this accession of strength to the besieged, for although they made frequent sorties against the works of the Ngatitooa these experienced warriors held them without difficulty, and repulsed them all with loss to the assailants. The Ngaitahu, dispirited by their failures, soon abandoned these tactics, and, trusting in the impregnable nature of the pa, confined themselves to purely defensive operations. I ought to mention that at the time the siege commenced the pa was well provisioned, besides which the lagoon yielded large supplies of eels, so that the defenders ran little risk of being obliged to surrender on account of famine, whilst the besiegers, on the other hand, were compelled to depend on foraging parties for supplies, and frequently ran short of provisions. Indeed, the difficulty of feeding his men was the chief cause which led to the adoption of a plan of attack which, so far as I am aware, was then adopted for the first time in Maori warfare. A council of war having been held, it was determined to sap up to the two out-works, and as soon as the head of the sap had been carried up to them, to pile up in front of them immense quantities of dried brushwood, which were to be set on fire when the wind blew in the direction of the pa, and to rush it so soon as the palisading had been burned down. This plan was carried out, and the two lines of sap exist to this day, and are as well carried out as if done by the most experienced European engineers. At first Rauparaha suffered considerable loss, for the enemy, foreseeing that the pa must be taken if this plan of operation was successfully carried out, made the most strenuous efforts to prevent it, but having been defeated in every encounter, and Rauparaha having taken precautions to prevent future loss, they allowed the saps to be pushed close up to the outworks. So soon as the besiegers, however, had piled the brushwood in position it was fired by the people of the pa, the wind at the

time blowing from the north-west; but a sudden change occurring, both the outworks, as well as the general line of defences, were soon enveloped in a mass of flame and smoke, from which the defenders were compelled to retreat. When the palisading had thus been destroyed, the Ngatitōa rushed through the burning ruins, and a general massacre ensued. Many endeavoured to escape by swimming across the lagoon, and some few succeeded in doing so, whilst others were interrupted by bodies of Ngatitōa detached for that purpose. The slaughter was tremendous, whilst numbers of prisoners also fell into the hands of the victors. Some conception may be formed of the numbers slain and eaten, when I mention that some time after the settlement of Canterbury the Rev. Mr. Raven, Incumbent of Woodend near the site of the pa in question, collected many cartloads of their bones, and buried them in a mound on the side of the main road from the present town of Kaiapoi to the north. Ghastly relics of these feasts still strew the same ground, from which I myself have gathered many.

Having thus captured the main stronghold of the Ngaitahu, Rauparaha sent detached parties of his warriors to scour the plains as far south as the Rakaia, as well as to ravage the villages on the peninsula, by whom hundreds of the unfortunate people were slaughtered; after which he made his way back to the shores of Cook Strait, and from thence to Kapiti, laden with spoil, and accompanied by large numbers of captives, some of whom were kept in slavery, whilst others were used in the ordinary manner in the festivities by which his triumph was celebrated.

## CHAPTER VII.

RAUPARAHA having thus completed his design of conquering the Middle Island, next turned his attention, at the earnest request of the Ngatiraukawa, to avenging a defeat which the latter had sustained some time previously at the hands of the tribes occupying the line of the Wanganui River. In this defeat only a few of the chiefs had escaped the general slaughter, amongst whom were Te Puke and his younger brother Te Ao, both of whom succeeded in making their way to Kapiti. In consequence of this resolution, a war party numbering nearly a thousand fighting men, under the most distinguished chiefs of the three tribes then united under the general leadership of Rauparaha, was despatched to lay siege to Putikiwaranui, a great pa of the Wanganuis, which was occupied and defended by nearly double the number of the attacking force. The siege lasted upwards of two months, during which many sorties were made, but the besiegers maintained their ground, and ultimately carried the enemy's works by assault, slaughtering an immense number of them. Turoa and Hori Te Anaua (lately known as Hori Kingi) the head chiefs, however, escaped, but the fact that no attempt was even made to avenge this serious disaster, is of itself the strongest evidence of the power of Te Rauparaha and his allies, and of the absurdity of supposing that his occupation of the country he had conquered could for a moment have been disturbed by the remnant of the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko tribes which had still escaped the general destruction of their people. Soon after the year 1835, the great body of the Ngatiawa, under the chiefs E Puni, Warepouri, Wi Tako, and others, and accompanied by numbers of the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes, came down the coast, many of them settling around and to the southward of Waikanae, whilst others took possession of Port Nicholson and the Hutt country, from which they drove the section of the Ngatikahungunu, which up to this time had occupied those districts. This migration took place after the destruction of the great Ngatiawa pa of Pukerangiora, inland of the Waitara.

It appears that many years before this event the Waikato tribes, under Te Wherowhero and Taiporutu (father of Waharoa and grandfather of William Thompson Tarapipi, so celebrated in connection with our own Waikato wars) had suffered severely at the hands of the Ngatitama under the leadership of Kaeaea, by whom Taiporutu was crucified in the gateway of a pa defended by this ruthless warrior. It was indeed from this circumstance that Waharoa took his name, which signifies the large gateway of a pa. This defeat, as well as that which they had suffered at the hands of Te Rauparaha and his allies, during the migration of the Ngatitōa from Kawhia, naturally rankled in their minds, and in one of the intervals of the wars of Te Waharoa against the Ngatimaru, he and Te Wherowhero concerted a campaign against the Ngatiawa. There is little doubt, however, that but for the great superiority in the weapons of the Waikato force, they would have thought twice before attacking their old foes, who had always been notorious for their bravery, and who in their frequent migrations had proved themselves more than a match for even the most warlike tribes to which they became opposed. But the possession of a large supply of fire-arms gave to the Waikato chieftains an almost irresistible offensive power, and they did not hesitate, therefore, in attacking the Ngatiawa, even in the midst of their own country and in their principal stronghold. The pa was defended by a large number of warriors, and withstood for many months the most vigorous assaults, only falling at last after the unfortunate inhabitants had suffered much from famine. When taken, hundreds of prisoners fell into the hands of the victors, and it is related of Te Wherowhero that upwards of 250 of them were slain with his own hands, in order that they might be prepared for the ovens. It is said that, as he sat on the ground after the assault, the unfortunate wretches were one by one placed

alongside of him, their heads within his reach, and that he despatched them succesively by a single blow on the skull with a celebrated *mere pounamu*, now in the possession of his son, the present Maori King. After killing this great number he threw the *mere* down, exclaiming, "I am tired, let the rest live," and accordingly their lives were spared, but they were kept in slavery until some time after the establishment of the European settlement of New Plymouth.

The heavy blow thus inflicted upon the tribe, and the fear of complete annihilation, determined those who still remained to join Rauparaha and the Ngatiraukawa, whose forces, thus increased, would be more than a match for any war party which the Waikatos could bring against them, even if the chiefs of the latter tribes felt disposed to carry hostilities into Rauparaha's country. It appears that, shortly after the arrival of the Ngatiawa on the coast, they formed the design of taking possession of a large part of the country occupied by the Ngatiraukawa, and particularly that in the neighbourhood and to the north of Otaki. It would seem, moreover, that there was dissension amongst the Ngatitoas themselves, a portion of them taking part with the Ngatiawa, out of jealousy at some apparent favouritism extended by Rauparaha to the great Ngatiawa chieftains, and more particularly to Whatanui, whose relationship to Rauparaha, together with his high character as a chief and warrior, gave him great influence with the latter. The immediate cause of the fighting to which I am about to refer, however, was a robbery committed by a party of Ngatiruanui, who were caught by the Ngatiraukawa in the very act of plundering their potato pits near Waikawa. A conflict at once took place, in which a leading chief of the Ngatiruanui, named Tawhake, was killed, and this led to hostilities being carried on between the two tribes at various points on the line of their settlements between Manawatu and Waikanae. This state of affairs continued for a considerable time, the forces engaged on each side being numerous and well armed, the result being that large numbers were killed on both sides. Soon after this civil war had commenced Te Rauparaha, who at once saw the disastrous results which must follow from it, sent messengers to Te Heuheu, urging that chief to bring down a force sufficiently strong to enable him to crush the Ngatiruanui, who were the most turbulent of the insurgents, after which he hoped to be able to bring about a peace between the remainder of the contending parties. He was much grieved, moreover, at the dissension in his own tribe, part of which, as I have before mentioned, had joined the Ngatiawa leaders, and had taken an active part in the numerous engagements which had already occurred. The loss on both sides had been severe, and Rauparaha knew full well that he required the whole strength at his command to maintain his position against the Wanganui and Ngatikahungunu tribes, who would have been but too ready to attack him if they saw any reasonable prospect of success. In this connection, I may observe that at this period the shores of Cook Strait were frequented by numbers of whale and other ships, and the tribes along the coasts found no difficulty in obtaining fire-arms and ammunition, which were the principal articles received in barter for flax, then largely used in Australia for the manufacture of wool-lashing. This facility of obtaining European weapons placed the tribes in question upon a footing of comparative equality in their contests, and Rauparaha could no longer reckon upon a continuance of the advantages which his own earlier possession of them had given him in his wars, and it was, therefore, of the utmost moment to him that nothing should take place which would tend to weaken his influence or his numbers. It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that he received intimation from Te Heuheu of his intention to bring a large force to his aid; and, in effect, within two or three months after the commencement of hostilities, that chief, accompanied by other chiefs of note from Maungatautari and Taupo, amongst whom were Tariki and Taonui, reached Otaki with nearly 800 well-armed fighting men. No sooner had they arrived than they proceeded to attack the Ngatiawa at Horowhenua, a pa close to the Otaki River. But even with this great accession to his forces, the contest raged for several months with varying success, the slaughter in some instances being very great. In one of the battles Papaka, a favourite brother of Te Heuheu, was killed, and in another Te Tipi, a son of Rauparaha.

At length a great battle was fought at Pakakutu, in which the Ngatiruanui were defeated with serious loss, their chief Takerangi being killed and their pa taken. This battle put an end to the war, for soon afterwards the whole of the leading chiefs on both sides met, and upon the advice and urgent entreaty of Te Heuheu and Whatanui, a peace was made, which was not again broken until the fighting at Kirititonga, which (as will be mentioned in the sequel) took place on the day before the arrival of the "Tory." Immediately after peace had been solemnly ratified the parties divided, the Ngatiraukawa proceeding to re-occupy their former settlements around Ohau and Horowhenua, and also the district between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, whilst the Ngatiawa retired below Waikanae, occupying the various points, including Port Nicholson, in which they were ultimately found by the agents of the New Zealand Company. Rauparaha, however, was so much grieved at what had taken place, and more particularly at the defection of that part of his own tribe which had joined the Ngatiawa during the recent struggle, that he determined to accompany Te Heuheu back to Maungatautari, and settle there for the remainder of his days. In pursuance of this resolve, he collected his more immediate followers and proceeded as far as Ohau, where, however, he was overtaken by messengers from Otaki and Kapiti, urging him to abandon his resolution and to remain with his people. In this request they were joined by

Te Heuheu, and after much discussion and persuasion he consented to their request, returning to Kapiti, after taking leave of his great ally.

This was the last great struggle in which Rauparaha was engaged, but it seems that during the intervals of rest between his various more important undertakings, he was ever mindful of the treacherous attempt of the Muaupoko to murder him, and of the actual slaughter of his children, and had unceasingly persecuted the remnant of this tribe, until at last they, as well as the Ngatiapa and Rangitane, sought the protection of Te Whatanui. In the words of Te Kepa Rangihiwini (better known as Major Kemp), son of Tunguru, one of the chiefs of the Muaupoko, who had been concerned in the murder, "Whatanui took them under his protection, and promised that nothing should reach them but the rain from heaven;" meaning that he would stand between them and the long-nursed and ever-burning wrath of Te Rauparaha. The latter unwillingly yielded to the wishes of his great kinsman, and from that time ceased directly to molest these unfortunate people, who were suffered again to occupy part of their original territory in the neighbourhood of Lake Horowhenua; not as a tribe, however, but simply in the character of tributaries, if not actual slaves, to Whatanui. In the words of Matene Te Whiwhi, "Rauparaha was anxious to exterminate Muaupoko, but Whatanui interfered. Some had been taken prisoners, but others were living dispersed in the mountains. When they came to Horowhenua, they came like wild dogs; if they had been seen they would have been caught and killed. There was one there, a woman of rank, whose possessions had covered all Otaki, and who had been a slave of mine. She was the wife of Te Kooku. They had been taken but not killed." But it is clear, nevertheless, that although Rauparaha refrained from directly molesting them, he was not unwilling to join in any indirect attempt to exterminate them, for we find that on one occasion Wi Tako, in conjunction with some of the Ngatitua chiefs, having been instigated by Te Rauparaha to do so, invited the whole Muaupoko people to a great feast to be held at Ohariu—upon some one of the numerous pretexts which the Maoris knew so well how to use for engaging in festivities, it having been arranged beforehand that these guests should all be murdered and eaten. The bait took, notwithstanding the advice of Whatanui, who, distrusting the reasons assigned for the festival, cautioned the Muaupoko not to attend, predicting some disaster to them. Notwithstanding this caution, upwards of 150 attended the festival, all of whom were slaughtered, and their bodies duly consigned to the ovens; but this was the last great act of slaughter of the kind which took place.

Shortly after the close of the civil war to which I have lately alluded, a section of the Ngatiawa tribe, known as the Ngatimutunga, which had taken up their quarters in Port Nicholson, chartered the English brig "Rodney" to carry them down to the Chatham Islands, which had been reported to them by a member of their *hapu*, who had visited the islands in a whaling ship, as being thickly peopled with an unwarlike and plump-looking race, who would fall an easy prey to such experienced warriors as his own people. This occurred about the year 1836, and within less than two years after the expedition reached the islands the aboriginal inhabitants were reduced from 1,500 to less than 200 people, the greater number having been devoured by their conquerors. In one of the cases in the Wellington Museum may be seen a bone spear, which formerly belonged to Mokungatata, one of the leading chiefs of the Ngatimutunga, who was known to have lived for a considerable time almost exclusively on the flesh of young children, as many as six of them being sometimes cooked in order to feast himself and his friends.

Harking back to the division of Te Rauparaha's forces, just before he left D'Urville Island for the purpose of attacking the Kaikoura Pa, that portion which remained under the leadership of Niho, Takerei, Te Koihua and Te Puoho, proceeded to attack the settlements of the Rangitane and Ngatiapa in Blind and Massacre Bays, which they entirely destroyed. Te Koihua settled near Pakawau, in Massacre Bay, where I frequently saw the old man, prior to his death, which happened but a few years ago. Strange to say, his love for green-stone was so great that even after he and his wife had both reached a very advanced age they travelled down the West Coast in 1858, then a very arduous task, and brought back a large rough slab of that substance, which they proceeded diligently to reduce to the form of a *mere*. Niho and Takerei, leaving Te Koihua in Massacre Bay at the time of their original incursion, proceeded down the coast as far as the Hokitika River, killing and taking prisoners nearly all the existing inhabitants. Amongst the prisoners was Tuhuru, who was afterwards ransomed by the Ngaitahu for a celebrated *mere* called Kai Kanohi, now in the possession of the descendants of Matenga Te Aupori. Niho and Takerei settled at the mouth of the Grey, whilst detached parties occupied various points along the coast, both to the north and south of that river. I do not think it necessary to refer in any detail to the events which took place between the Horowhenua war and the arrival of the "Tory" with Colonel Wakefield in 1839. On the 16th November in that year the ship reached Kapiti, and Colonel Wakefield was informed that a sanguinary battle had just been fought near Waikanae on that morning between large forces of the Ngatiawa on the one side, and of Ngatiraukawa on the other. This fight is commonly known as the *kirititonga*, and was caused by the renewal, at the funeral obsequies of Rauparaha's sister Waitohi, of the land feuds between the two tribes. The forces engaged were large, and the killed on both sides numbered nearly eighty, whilst considerable numbers were wounded. Rauparaha himself took no part in the battle, reaching the scene of action after the

repulse of the Ngatiraukawa, and narrowly escaping death by swimming off to his canoe, his retreat being covered by a vigorous rally on the part of his allies. This was the last contest which occurred between the natives along the coast in question, the arrival of the European settlers having entirely changed the aspect of affairs.

I need not here detail the arrangements made by Colonel Wakefield for the purchase of the country in the neighbourhood of Wellington, and along the coast to the northward, but it is worth while to extract from Mr. E. J. Wakefield's "Adventures in New Zealand" the account he gives of the colonel's first meeting with Rauparaha, of the appearance of the latter, and of the impression which he made upon his European visitors. "We had just made up a boat's crew," he says, "from the cabin party, to go over and see the field of battle, the surgeons taking their instruments with them, when a message arrived from Rauparaha. He was on Evans Island, the nearest to the ship of the three islets, and expressed a desire to see Colonel Wakefield. We therefore pulled round and went to see him. He had just returned from the scene of bloodshed, whither he asserted that he had gone to restore peace; and seeing the arrival of our ship, which was taken for a man-of-war by many even of the Europeans, he had betaken himself, with all his goods, to the residence of an English whaler, named Thomas Evans, on whom he relied for protection from some imaginary danger. We had heard, while in Cloudy Bay, that Rauparaha had expressed himself in somewhat violent terms towards us for purchasing Port Nicholson without his sanction; and he was described by the whalers as giving way to great alarm when told what the ship was, and as having inquired anxiously what natives we had on board. As we leaped from our boat he advanced to meet us, and, with looks of evident fear and mistrust, eagerly sought our hands to exchange the missionary greeting. During the whole of the ensuing conversation he seemed uneasy and insecure in his own opinion, and the whalers present described this behaviour as totally at variance with his usual boastfulness and arrogance. He made us a pious speech about the battle, saying that he had had no part in it, and that he was determined to give no encouragement to fighting. He agreed to come on board the next day, and departed to one of the neighbouring islands. He is rather under the average height, and very dignified and stately in his manner, although on this occasion it was much affected by the wandering and watchful glances which he frequently threw around him, as though distrustful of everyone. Although at least sixty years old he might have passed for a much younger man, being hale and stout, and his hair but slightly grizzled. His features are aquiline and striking, but an overhanging upper lip, and a retreating forehead on which his eyebrows wrinkled back when he lifted his deep sunken eyelids and penetrating eyes, produced a fatal effect on the good *prestige* arising from his first appearance. The great chieftain, the man able to lead others, and habituated to wield authority, was clear at first sight; but the savage ferocity of the tiger, who would not scruple to use any means for the attainment of that power, the destructive ambition of a selfish despot, was plainly discernible on a nearer view. Innumerable accounts have been related to me of Rauparaha's unbounded treachery. No sacrifice of honour or feeling seems to have been too great for him, if conducive to his own aggrandizement or security. He has been known to throw one of his own men overboard in order to lighten his canoe when pursued by the enemy, and he had slaughtered one of his own slaves at the late feast at Mana to appear opulent in the eyes of his assembled guests. This was one of the poor, submissive, hard-working tributaries whom we had seen at the Pelorus. In his intercourse with the white whalers and traders and the shipping in the strait, he had universally distinguished himself by the same qualities. By dint of cringing and fawning upon those who showed power and inclination to resist his constant extortions, and the most determined insolence and bullying towards those whom he knew to be at his mercy, he succeeded in obtaining a large revenue from the white population, whether transient or permanent, which he invariably applied to the extension of his power among the natives. He was always accompanied in these marauding excursions, which he frequently extended over to Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound, by Rangihaeaa, who had become his inseparable companion since his rise in authority. Their respective stations were pithily described by one of the whalers, who told us that 'the Robuller' as he mispronounced his name, 'cast the bullets, and the Rangihaeata shot them.' Rauparaha was the mind, and his mate the body, on these black-mail gathering rounds. They had both acquired a violent taste for grog, and this, with fire-arms and powder, were the principal articles demanded."

Such is the account given by a writer, by no means favourable to Rauparaha, of the impressions he had formed of the chief upon their first interview, and although in some respects the picture he draws is not a favourable one, we may clearly see that its worst features are owing to the intercourse of Rauparaha with the class of European traders who then frequented the coast. Master as he was of all the treacherous arts practised by the Maori warrior, and ruthlessly as his designs were carried out, and fearful as the results may have been, it must be remembered that he was doing no more than his great countrymen, E Hongi, Waharoa, Te Wherowhero, and other leading chiefs who, during the same period, carried on wars in various parts of the islands. Those who knew Te Wherowhero Potatau will recall the peculiar dignity of his manner, and certainly no one would have supposed that the tall, graceful-looking man in the full dress of an English gentleman, who conversed with quiet ease with those whom he met in the drawing-rooms of Government House, at Auckland,

was the same person as the savage who sat naked on the ground at Pukerangiora smashing the skulls of hundreds of defenceless prisoners, until he was almost smothered with blood and brains. Nor can I believe that Rauparaha was ever guilty of the treacherous conduct towards his own people with which he is charged by Mr. Wakefield. Their love and respect for him were very great, and the influence he acquired with such men as Te Heuheu and Whatanui indicates that he possessed the highest qualities as a chief. I had not intended to carry my story beyond the arrival of the "Tory," but I think it as well to give Rauparaha's own view of the disastrous affair at the Wairau in 1843, and of its results as related to me by his son.

"I will now," he says, "leave my account of the battles of Te Rauparaha at this end of the island, and speak of the folly of the Europeans and Maoris at Wairau, where Wakefield met his death. The fight, and death of Wakefield and the other European gentlemen in 1843, were caused by the deceit of Captain Piringatapu (*anglice* Blenkinsopp). He deceived Rauparaha in giving him a big gun for the purchase of Wairau. He wrote some documents in English, which said that he had bought that land. Rauparaha did not know what was in those documents, and signed his name in ignorance. Captain Piringatapu told Rauparaha that when he saw the captain of a man-of-war he was to show him the documents that he might know that they were chiefs. Rauparaha thought that it was all correct. When Rauparaha returned from Cloudy Bay, near Wairau, he gave the documents to Hawea

Hawea, or Hawes, was a European trader residing at Kapiti at the time of the transaction.

to read; when he had read them he told Rauparaha that all his land at Wairau had passed away to Captain Piringatapu, and that he had received a big gun for it. Rauparaha was angry, and tore up the documents and threw them in the fire, also the documents held by the chiefs of Ngatitoo at Kapiti, and Ngatitoo of the other island. When Wakefield arrived, and the settlements of Nelson and Wellington were formed, he (Wakefield) went to Wairau for the purpose of surveying. Rauparaha did not consent as he had not been paid for it, since he had been deceived by Captain Piringatapu. Rauparaha's thought was that the land ought not to be taken by Wakefield, but that they should consider the matter before the land was handed over. Trouble and wrong was caused by the hurried attack of Wakefield and party upon Rauparaha. Rauparaha has told me a good deal about this matter. It was not his desire that the Europeans should be killed; his love to Wakefield and party was great. Rangihaeata, Rauparaha's nephew, was misled by his own foolish thought and want of attention to what Rauparaha had said. When Wakefield and party were dead, Rauparaha rose and said, 'Hearken Te Rangihaeata, I will now leave you as you have set aside my *tikanga*, let those of the Europeans that have been killed suffice; let the others live, do not kill them.' Rangihaeata replied, 'What about your daughter that has been killed.' Rauparaha replied, 'Why should not that daughter die?' Rauparaha also said, 'Now I will embrace Christianity, and turn to God, who has preserved me from the hands of the Europeans.' This was the time when he embraced Christianity. I was absent when the fight took place at Wairau, having gone to preach to Ngaitahu. I went as far as Rakaia. I was there one year, and was the first person that went there to preach. It was on this account that my father did not go there to fight. When Rangihaeata again occasioned trouble to the Europeans at the Hutt, Rauparaha was sad at the folly of Rangihaeata in withholding the land that had been purchased from him and Te Rangihaeata by the Europeans for £200. Rauparaha endeavoured to persuade Rangihaeata to cease causing trouble about that land, but he would not hearken.

"Rauparaha was afterwards taken prisoner by Governor Grey at Porirua without sufficient pretext. The following is the reason why he was taken:—A letter was written by some one, and to which the name of Te Rauparaha was signed; it was then sent to the chiefs of Patutokotoku at Wanganui. It is said that Mamaku and Rangihaeata wrote the letter and signed the name of Rauparaha to give it force. I was at school at this time with Bishop Selwyn at Auckland, together with my wife Ruth, and did not see the capture of my father. When I returned and arrived in Wellington, I went on board the 'Calliope,' the man-of-war in which my father was a prisoner, to see him. When I saw him we cried together, and when we finished he said to me, 'Son, go to your tribes and tell them to remain in peace. Do not pay for my arrest with evil, only with that which is good. You must love the Europeans. There was no just cause for my having been arrested by Governor Grey. I have not murdered any Europeans, but I was arrested through the lies of the people. If I had been taken prisoner in battle it would have been well, but I was unjustly taken.' I returned on shore with Matene and went to Porirua, and there saw Ngatitoo and Rawhiri Puaha. We told them the words of Rauparaha respecting good and our living at peace. We then went on to Otaki and repeated the same words. At this time we (two) caused the town of Hadfield to be built at Otaki. From this time Ngatiraukawa and Ngatitoo commenced to do right. At this time a party of Ngatiraukawa came to Ngatiwakatere at Manawatu—this was the tribe that befriended Rangihaeata;—200 of the tribe came on to Otaki, and when they arrived we assembled. Rangihaeata invited these people that they might know the thoughts of Matene and myself respecting Rauparaha, who was held as a captive on board the vessel. He wished to destroy Wellington and kill the Europeans as a satisfaction. I told them the words of Rauparaha when we (two) went to see them (*i.e.*, the chiefs) and the young men. I told them they must put an end to this foolish desire, and not hearken to the *tikanga* of Rangihaeata, but that they must

live in peace and cease that bad desire. They consented. The Ngatiraukawa consented to build that town, that they might obtain a name. When Rauparaha was liberated in the year 1846, he urged Ngatiraukawa to build a large church in Hadfield Town, at Otaki. Had he not returned, the church would not have been built. He had a great desire to worship the great God. He was continually worshipping until he died at Otaki on the 27th November, 1849."

Such is the history of the life and times of a very remarkable man, and of habits and customs which have already become so much things of the past that in the course of another generation there will be scarcely an aboriginal native left who will have the slightest knowledge of them. Indeed, the memory of the events I have related is already becoming indistinct, even to those of the principal actors in these events who are still living.

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# Financial Reform Almanack For 1887.

EDITORS 1864-1882.—Chas. Edward Macqueen.

EDITORS 1883-1887.—J. Hampden Jackson.

## Preface.

Since the last *Financial Reform Almanack* was completed, two General Elections have taken place, the political results of which (compared on pp. 28 to 38) will be found a leading feature of this Twenty-third issue.

The House of Commons returned in June, 1886, has been carefully analyzed (on pages 18 to 27), whilst its short-lived predecessor—elected too late for inclusion in last Almanack—was amply dealt with in our supplement of February last.

With the main political issue of the past year this publication does not interfere, having many warm friends and supporters upon both sides of the great question pending in Ireland, and being principally concerned only with such aspects thereof as affect Taxation and Expenditure.

A recent declaration of Mr. Gladstone to the effect that his influence must, for the remainder of his days, be confined to securing self-government for Ireland deprives us of a hope, long entertained, that this great statesman—the son of Liverpool—would with his own hand crown that Free Trade edifice of which his noble talents and unique opportunities long combined to promote the erection. In what direction then must we look for a successor to the enlightened exchequer traditions of 1860 to 1866? for trade is still fettered, and Direct Taxation—declared by Mr. Gladstone in 1859 to be a question between the rich man and the poor man—only very partially achieved. The Financial Reform Association, whilst prepared to accept from any Government extensions of that beneficent principle for which it has thirty years been educating the public mind, cannot expect anything from the party at present in office. Are not the Cabinet leaders the very politicians who in 1885 ousted Mr. Childers for attempting to rectify the Death Duties: the very men that asked an increase of the Tea Tax? Are not some of them the revilers of Cobden and Bright: the exponents of a Reciprocity Craze not yet exorcised? Should the Government prove sincere and successful in its attempts to reduce expenditure (as we cordially hope) it is pretty certain that the masses will not receive boons in proportion to the classes. On this point of Expenditure three considerations may be urged upon Parliament, viz:—

- That no really large reduction can be made in the National Armaments until public opinion is strongly roused in that direction: and sufficiently so to overbear the spending interests.
- That opinion cannot be adequately aroused whilst taxation is dishonestly wrapped up and hidden in order to conceal from the working class the injustice of the *quota* demanded from them: not to mention the wasteful method of its extraction.
- That the co-operation of the Landed and Governing few will never be heartily secured for Economy of Administration until, by some replacement of their constitutional liabilities, this class is made to feel more acutely the pressure of National Expenditure.

For a description of those liabilities the reader is referred to pages 183-200 of this book, where is reprinted a legal argument, of much power and precision, obtained in 1842 by the Anti-Corn-Law League, and having the most important bearing upon questions of Taxation and Land Tenure.

Our Statistical matter has been enlarged and revised, though the late publication of the Irish Land Commission Report and Mr. G. W. Balfour's "Taxes and Imposts" Return (formerly Mr. Slagg's) compels us to omit two leading features of importance.

By the deaths of Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Francis Boulton, and Mr. Hugh Mason, we have lost this year three most consistent and earnest supporters of this publication. The likeness of Mr. Boulton, reproduced on our present cover, will serve to remind many of this leading promoter of our Association, whose services to its Committee—rendered daily ever since the inception of our movement—leave us under no ordinary debt of gratitude.

We again insert (pp. 41-2) the tables of new Electoral Anomalies compiled by Mr. J. R. Carter, F.S.S., and are indebted to the same gentleman for a companion table (on page 38), showing at a glance the Poll results of

the 1886 Election. The statistics of Local Taxation will be found largely amplified, the dates concerning various questions considerably added to, and several new tables of importance introduced. Not a few matters prepared with considerable labour, have had to be excluded for lack of space, and should there be discovered in this work those occasional errors of detail (inseparable from publications of its class) the Editor esteems it a kindness on the part of the reader to have them pointed out.

## Index.

## Addenda and Corrigenda.

Since going to press the follow changes have occurred in the Houses of Lords and Commons:—

### House Of Lords.—

- Marquis of Ailesbuty,
- Earls of Stafford and Enniskillen,
- Viscount Barrington, deceased.
- Baron Monks well, deceased.

### House Of Commons.—

- C. E. Lewis, M.P. for Londonderry, unseated on petition, and Justin McCarthy declared elected.
- David Smith, M.P. for Brighton, deceased.
- Seats vacant for North Longford and for Brighton.

## The following figures should be explained:—

- Page 85—(second column).—The figures for American War are those of the Northern Army only. Those in the first column relate to both combatants.
- Page 42.—Poll Figures for 1832.—These appear in excess of the actual electorate on account of double candidatures, all votes being necessarily counted as distinct units, though in very many cases one person voted for 2 candidates of his own party or otherwise.

Members Of recent Administrations—Besides those cited at foot of page 17, the following have been Cabinet Ministers since 1874:—

1874. 1880. 1885. 1886. Lord Presidents .....Richmond.....Spencer Carlingford Cranbrook Spencer Cranbrook. Lord Lieut. Ireland Spencer Carnarvon Privy Seal.....Malmesbury Beaconsfield Northumberland.....Argyle Carlingford.....Harrowby Postmaster General .....Manners .....Manners..... Irish Lord Chancellor .....Ashbourne .....Ashbourne. Chancellor of Duchy .....Bright Kimberley Dodson Trevelyan .....Manners. Ch. Secretary Ireland .....Beach .....Forster F. Cavendish Camp. Bannerman .....Morley .....Beach. President Local Gov. Board .....Stansfeld .....Balfour. All members of the present Administration will be found marked G in margin of our House of Lords and Commons lists

Irish Land Court Results.—There has been no room found to include certain paragraphs upon these subjects which are referred to as being included.

London Coal Duties.—There has been no room found to include certain paragraphs upon these subjects which are referred to as being included.

Carriage Tax.—There has been no room found to include certain paragraphs upon these subjects which are referred to as being included.

Cost Of Royal Family.—The figures being mostly for 1884-5 do not include the £30,000 dowry of Princess Beatrice, nor the changed emoluments of Duke of Connaught, who has been recently transferred to the Bombay Command-in-Chief.

# The Financial Reform Almanack for 1887.

This year is the 6,600th from the Creation of the World, according to the Julian Period; the 5,648th (commencing Monday, September 19th) according to the Hebrew calculation; and the 7,395th of the Byzantine Era. It is the 1,305th of the Mohammedan Era, the Hegira, or Flight of Mahomet to Mecca (commencing on September 19th); the Ramadan, or month's fast of his followers, commences on Tuesday, May 24th, 1887.

## Quarters of the Year.—Greenwich Time.

### Eclipses.

During the year 1887 there will be two eclipses of the Sun and two of the Moon. The first is a partial eclipse of the Moon on February 8th. The second an annular eclipse of the Sun on February 22nd and 23rd, neither of these being visible in Great Britain. The third, a partial eclipse of the Moon on 3rd August, is visible; and the fourth, a total eclipse of the Sun on 19th August, will be only partly visible as a partial eclipse.

### Law Sittings.

### University Terms.

### Hebrew Calendar.

### Common Notes, Festivals, Fasts, and Anniversaries.

### Tidal Constants of Ports and Places in the United Kingdom.

### The Time of High Water

At the following Ports and Places may be approximately found by Adding to the time of High Water at London Bridge the hours and minutes annexed. When the sum is more than 12 hours, the excess will be understood to be the tide after noon or midnight.

Example.—Required the time of High Water at Penzance, January 15th. morn.

### January.

#### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 8 8 Sets at 3 59
- 8th Rises at 8 7 Sets at 4 8
- 15th Rises at 8 2 Sets at 4 18
- 22nd Rises at 7 55 Sets at 4 29
- 29th Rises at 7 46 Sets at 4 41.

D. of W. D. of M. Loud'n Bridge. Morn Tide. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

### February.

#### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 7 42 Sets at 4 47
- 8th Rises at 7 30 Sets at 5 0
- 15th Rises at 7 17 Sets at 5 12

- 22nd Rises at 7 3 Sets at 5 25
  - 28th Rises at 6 51 Sets at 5 36.
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn Tide. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

## March.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 6 49 Sets at 5 38
  - 8th Rises at 6 33 Sets at 5 50
  - 15th Rises at 6 17 Sets at 6 2
  - 22nd Rises at 6 2 Sets at 6 14
  - 29th Rises at 5 46 Sets at 6 25.
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn Tide. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

## April.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 5 39 Sets at 6 30
  - 8th Rises at 5 23 Sets at 6 42
  - 15th Rises at 5 8 Sets at 6 54
  - 22nd Rises at 4 53 Sets at 7 5
  - 29th Rises at 4 39 Sets at 7 17.
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn Tide. FOREIGN AND COLONIAL MONEYS. With Value in British Currency.

## May.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 4 35 Sets at 7 20
  - 8th Rises at 4 22 Sets at 7 31
  - 15th Rises at 4 11 Sets at 7 42
  - 22nd Rises at 4 1 Sets at 7 52
  - 29th Rises at 3 54 Sets at 8 1
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## June.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 3 61 Sets at 8 5
  - 8th Rises at 3 46 Sets at 8 11
  - 15th Rises at 3 44 Sets at 8 16
  - 22nd Rises at 3 45 Sets at 8 18
  - 29th Rises at 3 47 Sets at 8 18
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## July.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 3 49 Sets at 8 18
- 8th Rises at 3 54 Sets at 8 15



- 15th Rises at 4 1 Sets at 8
  - 22nd Rises at 4 10 Sets at 8
  - 29th Rises at 4 20 Sets at 7 52
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## August.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 4 24 Sets at 7 47
  - 8th Rises at 4 35 Sets at 7 35
  - 15th Rises at 4 46 Sets at 7 22
  - 22nd Rises at 4 57 Sets at 7 7
  - 29th Rises at 5 8 Sets at 6 52
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## September.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 5 13 Sets at 6 46
  - 8th Rises at 5 24 Sets at 6 30
  - 15th Rises at 5 35 Sets at 6 14
  - 22nd Rises at 5 47 Sets at 5 58
  - 29th Rises at 5 58 Sets at 5 42.
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## October.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 6 1 Sets at 5 37
  - 8th Rises at 6 13 Sets at 5 22
  - 15th Rises at 6 25 Sets at 5 6
  - 22nd Rises at 6 37 Sets at 4 52
  - 29th Rises at 6 49 Sets at 4 38.
- D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn Tide. POSTAL REGULATIONS.

## November.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 6 55 Sets at 4 32
  - 8th Rises at 7 7 Sets at 4 20
  - 15th Rises at 7 19 Sets at 4 10
  - 22nd Rises at 7 31 Sets at 4 1
  - 29th Rises at 7 42 Sets at 3 54.
- D. of W D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn. Tide. Wages, Income, or Expenses Table.

## December.

### Sunrise and Sunset.

- 1st Rises at 7 45 Sets at 3 53
- 8th Rises at 7 54 Sets at 3 49

- 15th Rises at 8 1 Sets at 3 49
- 22nd Rises at 8 6 Sets at 3 51
- 29th Rises at 8 8 Sets at 3 56.

D. of W. D. of M. Lond'n Bridge. Morn Tide. SPECIAL DATES.

## The Queen and Royal Family.

Her Majesty, Alexandrina VICTORIA, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Colonies, &c., Empress of India, and Defender of the Faith, born at Kensington Palace, May 24th, 1819; only child of H.R.H. Edward Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III.; succeeded her Uncle, William IV., June 20, 1837; crowned June 28, 1838; married February 10, 1840, to her cousin, Prince Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel, Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; born August 26, 1819; died December 14, 1861. Has had issue:—

H.R.H. Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, PRINCESS ROYAL, born November 21, 1840; married January 25, 1858, to H.I.H. Frederick Wilhelm, Prince Imperial of Germany; has had issue Frederick William Albert Victor, born January 27, 1859, married February 27, 1881, to Princess Augusta of Holstein Augustenburg (born October 22, 1858), and has issue a son; Victoria Elizabeth Augusta Charlotte, born July 24, 1860; married February 18, 1878, to Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen, and has issue Feodora Victoria Augusta Mariana Mary, born May 12, 1879; Albert William Hendrich, born August 14, 1862; Francis Frederick Sigismund, born September 15, 1864 (died June 18, 1866); Frederica Wilhelmina Amelia Victoria, born April 12, 1866; Joachim Frederick Ernest Waldemar, born February 10, 1868 (died March 27, 1879); Sophia Dorothea Ulrike Alice, born June 14, 1870; and Margaret Beatrice Feodore, born April 22, 1872.

H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Cornwall, and Rothesay, Earl of Dublin, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.C.S.I. Field Marshal, Colonel of 10th Hussars, Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade, &c., born November 9, 1841, married March 10, 1863, to the Princess Alexandra Caroline Mary Charlotte Louisa Julia, eldest daughter of the King of Denmark, born December 1, 1844; has had issue Albert Victor Christian Edward, born January 8, 1864; George Frederick Ernest Albert, born June 3, 1865; Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar, born February 20, 1867; Victoria Alexandra Olga Mary, born July 6, 1868; Maude Charlotte Mary Victoria, born November 26, 1869; and Alexander John Charles Albert, born April 6, 1871, who died next day.

H.R.H. Alice Maude Mary, born April 25, 1843; died December 14, 1878; married July 1, 1862, to Prince Frederick William Ludwig, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, K.G., born September 12, 1837; (re-marriedmorganatically;) had issue Victoria Alberta Elizabeth Matilda Mary, born April 5, 1863, married April 30, 1884 to Prince Louis of Battenberg and has issue a daughter, born February 25, 1885; Elizabeth Alexandra Louise Alice, born November 1, 1864, married June 15, 1884, to Grand Duke Sergius of Russia; Irene Marie Louise Anna, born July 11, 1866; Ernest Louis Charles Albert William, born November 25, 1868; Frederick William, born October 17, 1870 (killed by an accidental fall, June 29, 1873); Victoria Alice, born June 6, 1872; and Mary Victoria, born May 24, 1874, died November 16, 1878.

H.R.H. Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Kent, Earl of Ulster, Vice-Admiral and Admiral in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, Master of Trinity House, K.G., &c., born August 6, 1844; married January 23, 1874, at St. Petersburg, to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna (born October 17, 1853), sister of the present Emperor of Russia, and grand-niece to the Emperor of Germany; has issue Alfred Alexander William Ernest Albert, Earl of Ulster, born October 15, 1874; Marie Alexandrovna Victoria, born October 29, 1875; Victoria Melita, born at Malta, November 25, 1876; Alexandra Louise Olga Victoria, born September 1, 1878; and Beatrice, born April 20, 1884.

H.R.H. Helena Augusta Victoria, born May 25, 1846; married July 5, 1866, to Prince Frederick Christian Charles Augustus of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, K.G., born January 22, 1831; has issue Christian Victor Albert Ludwig Ernest Anton, born April 14, 1867; Albert John Charles Frederick Alfred George, born February 26, 1869; Victoria Louise Sophie Augusta Amelia Helena, born May 3, 1870; Franziska Josepha Louise Augusta Marie Christiania, born August 12, 1872; and Harold, born May 12, died May 20, 1876.

H.R.H. Louise Caroline Alberta, born March 18, 1848; married March 21, 1871, to the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., born August 6, 1845, eldest son of the Duke of Argyll, and Ex-Governor-General of Canada.

H.R.H. Arthur William Patrick Albert, K.G., Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Earl of Sussex, Major General, Colonel of Scots Guards, Colonel-in-Chief of Rifle Brigade, &c., born May 1, 1850; married at Windsor, March 13, 1879, to the Princess Louise Marguerite, born July 25, 1860, third daughter of the late Prince Frederick Charles, cousin to the Prince Imperial of Germany, and has issue Margaret Victoria Augusta Charlotte Norah, born January 15, 1882, and Arthur Frederick Patrick Albert, Earl of Sussex, born January 13, 1883.

H.R.H. Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Clarence, and Baron Arklow, born April 7, 1853; married April 27, 1882, to the Princess Helen of Waldeck-Pyrmont, sister to the Queen of the Netherlands, born February 17, 1861; and has issue Alice Mary Victoria Augusta Pauline, born February 25, 1883; and a posthumous son, Leopold Charles Edward George Albert, Duke of Albany, born 19th July, 1884; His Royal Highness died suddenly at Cannes on the 28th March, 1884.

H.R.H. Beatrice Mary Victoria Fedora, born April 14, 1857; married July 23, 1885, to Prince Henry Maurice of Batten berg, born October 5, 1858.

## **Table of Kings and Queens of England.**

## **Imperial Parliaments of the United Kingdom.**

## **Area of the British Empire: Its Population, Finances, and Commerce.**

*Compiled, as to the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom, from eleven Tables in the 22nd Number of the "Statistical Abstract" for the Colonies, &c.; from the 33rd Number of the "Statistical Abstract" for the United Kingdom, and re-arranged. The Colonial Statistics are for 1884 with a few exceptions, in which cases the latest previous Returns are given. Those for the United Kingdom are for the same year, in order to institute an accurate comparison. The Imports and Exports are in all cases inclusive of Bullion and Specie.*

From this table it will be seen that Britain has already annexed one-seventh of the globe (not reckoning water), and holds one-fourth of the human race under her sway. Her foreign possessions, being 65 times larger than her own area, include several places not enumerated in the above list; for instance, in Australasia a portion of New Guinea; in Africa, Ascension (34 square miles), Basutoland (10,293 square miles); in Asia, Aden (5 square miles), Perim (7 square miles), and that precious jewel Cyprus (3,700 square miles), whose principal industry would appear to be the breeding and catching of locusts, of which British subjects there were 195 *thousand millions* destroyed in the Government pits during 1883, and the cry was still "they come." The island of Rotumah, in Australasia (14 square miles), Norfolk Island (237 square miles), and Heligoland conclude the list of our possessions, but there are still fanatics who desire to add and go on adding, regardless of the sage remark of Napoleon I. that "Empires generally die of indigestion through having swallowed too much territory."

SHIPPING. Exclusive of Feudatory States, estimated at 509,730 square miles. † Exclusive of 44,097 Maoris. The latest statistics for United Kingdom will be found under separate headings, see Index. The Fiscal Statistics for the United Kingdom are those for 1884; and from those of Commerce for the United Kingdom that year, Imports and Exports from and to Colonies and Possessions are deducted. COMMERCE. Tonnage inwards and outwards, exclusive of Coasting Trade. Total IMPORTS AND EXPORTS. FINANCES. Total Total Total

## **Articles (exclusive of Food) imported into United Kingdom.**

## **Raw Materials (QUANTITIES—IN THOUSANDS ONLY).**

In several of the above cases some slight preparatory process of manufacture had been gone through. The imports of food materials will be found on page 171.

Upon which of these imports could the "Fair Trade" Protectionists lay an import duty without damage to their own countrymen? The list will be seen to consist mainly of things absolutely necessary for our own manufacturers and farmers, and for use in the arts. Not a "luxury" so called, is to be found in it, save tobacco and a few ornamental feathers, and the first of those, providing employment for a very large mass of the population, male and female, is an unfit article to restrict as we do, by heavy import duties, to say nothing of the grievous injustice perpetrated upon buyers by the retail incidence of the tax. Let us pass to the list of

## **Manufactures (QUANTITIES IN THOUSANDS ONLY, VALUES *Not* ABBREVIATED).**

From this list it will easily be seen that if the principle items of Leather, Kid Gloves, Silk Goods, Sawn

Timber, Corks, Oilseed Cake, Lace, Musical Instruments, Works of Art, Prints, Dyes, Confectionary, and Fancy Wools be eliminated, for all of which we must, in the nature of things, be much dependent on the foreigner, along with Sprits, Tobacco, and Wine (upon which heavy duties are already placed), the only items remaining are the under £33,000,000 in value, a sum total insignificant altogether, when compared with the enormous dimensions of our own Manufacturing Industries and of our exports abroad. For revenue purposes duties would be absurd; for protective purposes childish; for retaliatory purposes mad and suicidal, seeing that our own manufactures are sent in overwhelming proportions at almost every foreign country. What then do the "Fair Trade" schemers want but an election cry to prevail with the ignorant? It is not evident that to tax imported food is the ultimate object with—as its necessary result—the raising of prices on the people's clothing and bread, and *the increase of Agricultural Rents?*

Moreover the Annual Statement of Trade of United Kingdom for 1885 shows a considerable set off against manufactured Foreign imports in the very considerable quantity of Colonial and Foreign-made articles re-exported, for instance:—Arms and Ammunition, £253,443; Beads of all sorts, £50,436; Candles, £149,387; Chemical Manufactures, £243,640; Confectionary, £208,823; Cordage and Twine, £125,294; Cotton Manufactures, £540,560; Cotton Yarns, £25,166; Glass, £131,339; Leather, £1,143,723; Leather Manufactures and Boots and Shoes, £132,184. Metals—Iron Bars and Manufactures, £696,788; Iron and Steel, wrought or manufactured, £692,531. Musical Instruments, £108,959; Paper (except hangings), £79,012; Silk, thrown, £44,687; Silk Manufactures, £655,942; Spirits, £447,113; Tobacco, manufactured, £200,909; Wine, £541,007; Wood, sawn or split, &c., £108,558; Wood Furniture, &c., £124,539; Woollen Manufactures, £576,444.—Total, £7,280,484. Besides "other articles" which certainly include a considerable number of manufactures, £5,899,748.

## Administrations and Chief Ministers from 1702 to 1886.

WITH DATES OF ACCESSION, RESIGNATION, AND DISSOLUTION. (Compiled chiefly from Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.) \* Up to 1782 Foreign and Colonial Affairs had been divided between two Secretaries, one taking the Northern and the other the Southern Division, the elder attending to Irish business, and both having equal direction in Home Affairs. Installed. Prime Ministers. Lord chancellors. Chancellors of Exchequer. Chief SECRETARIES OF STATE. India. Admiralty. Trade. Cause and Date of Cessation. Home.\* Foreign\* Colonial.\* War.

## Alphabetical List of the House of Commons.

*With Age, Aristocratic Connections, Landed Possessions and Rentals, Professions Church Patronage, Politics, and other particulars of the Members.*

EXPLANATIONS OF ABBREVIATIONS.—A.—Acres; R.—Rental; Liv.—Church Livings; Yeo.—Yeomanry; W.—Wife; S.—Son; E. s.—Eldest Son; S.i.l.—Son-in-law; B.i.l.—Brother-in-law; Gs.—Grandson; N.—Nephew or Niece; C.—Cousin.

pointing hand *Those whose Names are in Italics are Liberals; and those in Small Capitals are Parnellites. Members of the Administration are marked G. "Dissentient" Liberals are so stated.*

## Analysis of the Interests represented in the present Parliament and in some of its predecessors.

*In the following rough dissection many M.P.'s figure, in more than one capacity.*

## Important Dates in House of Commons History.

- 1258 Assembly of Knights and Burgesses (the Mad Parliament).
- 1265 First assembly as a confirmed Representation.
- 1294 First regular Parliament; a deliberative Assembly.
- 1308 Becomes a legislative Power, whose assent is essential to the Constitution of Laws.
- 1377 First Speaker (Peter De La Mare) elected.
- 1404 Parliament at Coventry: Lawyers excluded.
- 1430 Suffrage for Knights restricted to 40s. freeholders.
- 1542 Members protected from arrest.
- 1547 Commons Journals begun.

- 1549 First Peer's eldest son elected (Fras. Russell) as M.P.
- 1614 Court and Country Parties first formed in Commons.
- 1629 Charles I. dissolves House : no re-summons for 11 years.
- 1640 The Long Parliament assembles.
- 1649 Votes the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England.
- 1653 Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament.
- 1680 The Convention Parliament: to restore the Stuarts.
- 1678 Roman Catholics excluded from Legislature.
- 1688 Convention Parliament: to receive William and Mary.
- 1689 Irish Parliament of James II. at Dublin, attaints 3,000 Protestants.
- 1707 First Parliament of Great Britain met.
- 1716 Septennial Act.
- 1801 First Parliament of the United Kingdom.
- Clergymen disqualified from sitting as M.P.'s.
- 1823 O'Connell (first Roman Catholic M.P. for 150 years) returned for Clare.
- 1832 Reformed House of Commons meets.
- 1833 Joseph Pease admitted on affirmation.
- 1840 Privilege of franking relinquished.
- 1852 Commons first met in present building.
- 1858 Baron L. Rothschild, the first Hebrew M.P. admitted.
- 1872 Ballot Act passed.
- 1875 Mr. Plimsoll creates a scene and apologises.
- Irish Party compel sittings of 15½ hours (23 July)
- Irish Party compel sittings of 14¼ hours (31 July—1 Aug.)
- 1879 Obstructiveness becomes very serious.
- 1880 Mr. Bradlaugh objects to take oath, and is refused affirmation.
- 1880 Sitting of 21 hours on Irish affairs (26, 27 August).
- 1881 36 Irish M.P.'s suspended for disorderly conduct.
- Mr. Bradlaugh re-elected. Offer to take oath refused. Twice forcibly removed from House.
- 1885 Last resolution passed refusing the oath to Mr. Bradlaugh, who shortly afterwards is returned to a new Parliament, and Tory obstruction to his rights dropped.

## Parliamentary and Electoral Statistics.

### Alphabetical List of Places Represented,

With the Electorate, the Candidates, the Population, and the Poll Figures.

With a record of the results of two General Elections since the extension of the franchise and alteration of the electoral areas.

[McKane deceased. Election 1 Feb., 1886.]

[Duncan unseated on Petition. New Election 6 April, 1886.]

[Forster deceased. Election 21 April, 1886.]

[Reed Lord of Treasury. Election 27 February, 1886.]

[Gray selects Dublin. Election 29 Jan., 1886.]

[J. Brooks deceased. Election 26th March, 1886.]

### General Election (1886).

The fifty privileged or over-represented constituencies given in the first three tables of p. 41, having (in 1881) an aggregate population of 1,255,105, returned 37 Conservatives and 18 Liberals. Had the contested seats been allotted in proportion to the votes recorded for each party, the Liberals would have had a majority of 154, instead of only 38 as shown above.

# The House of Commons

## Under the old Regime.

### Election Expenses.

The following figures are selected from the Parliamentary return of expenses at the general election of 1880, omitting shillings and pence:—

And the following is a condensed

### Summary of the Full Return.

COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS CONTESTED.

Hence it appeared that at the close of the General Election the Liberals had a majority of 175—414 to 239. By the subsequent voiding of 12 seats, 7 of them held by Liberals, and 5 by Conservatives, the numbers were reduced to 407 against 234, and the majority to 173. According to the expenditure at contested elections specified in the Return, that of the Liberals was £740,016, that of the Conservatives £936,586, *i.e.* £189,570 more, although their defeat was attributed to want of money. The total on both sides was thus £1,681,602, but this must have been very much below the mark, for, in the first place, it did not include the charges of Returning Officers at 65 uncontested elections, or any account at all respecting 25 contested elections, or, most important of all, what was spent in bribing, feasting, and drenching electors. If these items had been included, the cost of the Election Saturnalia of 1880 would probably have turned out to be nearer to £3,000,000 than £2,000,000 sterling.

## The Corrupt Practices Prevention Act (1883).

This valuable measure has greatly increased the punishments for bribery, and has more strictly defined treating and undue influence, arranging for those crimes to be severely dealt with in future.

With regard to expenditure, it has prohibited all payments for the conveyance of voters to Poll or for the exhibition of placards. It has made punishable by heavy fines the employment of paid Canvassers, of Bands, and of Public-house Committee Rooms; has fixed one person only as Agent, through whom payments may be made, and has restricted expenditure to the following narrow limits:—

### Boroughs.

### Counties.

In counties the maximum amount allowable for any number of electors not exceeding 2,000 is £650, with £60 additional for every successive 1,000 electors, thus—

The returning officers' expenses, which are limited by Act of Parliament, are not included in the above maximum, but the candidate is only at liberty to pay him the exact sum allowed by the Act, under pain of conviction for an illegal practice.

The personal expenses of a candidate are also outside the prescribed maximum, and they are not limited to any precise amount, though any excess over £100 in this particular must be paid through the election agent.

It will be seen that the adoption of this scale of expenditure may operate unequally in those counties or boroughs which return two members, and where one candidate stands alone against a combination. In a large borough, with say 35,000 voters, two candidates would be enabled, if they coalesced, to spend nearly £700 more than one candidate standing alone, while the staff necessary to conduct the election would be practically the same on both sides.

## "Packing" the House of Commons in the Landed Interest.

In the 9th year of the reign of Queen Anne an Act was passed defining the qualification of Member of Parliament, whether for County or Borough, to be an income of £300 per annum, for his own use and benefit, derivable from houses, lands, or hereditaments. In the 33rd of George II., in order to placate the landholding class, the previous law was confirmed, and power given to Election Agents to test on oath, as to his qualification at the time of the election, any Candidate seeking Parliamentary honours.

In the 44th of George III. this latter portion of the Act was repealed, but the property qualification was retained.

In the 1st and 2nd Victoria the qualification for Counties was increased to £600 per year.

It was not until the year 1859 that the Act 21 and 22 Vic., cap. 26, was passed abolishing the property qualification altogether; so that it will be seen that for an unbroken period of 138 years every Member of Parliament had a direct personal and pecuniary interest in the legislation he participated in, and it is therefore little wonder that the land-holding classes have practically legislated themselves out of most of their legitimate responsibilities.

## The Unreformed House.

When Earl Grey took up the question of Parliamentary Reform the majority of the House was made up of the following elements:—

- 70 M.P.'s returned by private nomination.
- 90 M.P.'s returned by 46 places under 50 voters each.
- 37 M.P.'s returned by 19 places under 100 voters each.
- 52 M.P.'s returned by 26 places under 200 voters each.
- 20 M.P.'s returned by Scotch counties under 100 voters each.
- 10 M.P.'s returned by Scotch counties under 250 voters each.
- 15 M.P.'s returned by Scotch burghs under 125 voters each.
- And 150 M.P.'s owed their seats entirely to Peers.

The following towns had no representation:—

## The Reform of 1832

Was resisted to the last gasp by the Tory party and the House of Lords. It totally disfranchised 56 Boroughs in England and Wales, reduced Weymouth to 2 members instead of 4; took one member away from 30 Boroughs, leaving one for each; created 22 new Boroughs with double and 20 with single representation; gave a third member to 7 counties; divided 26 counties, allotting 2 members to each division; made a new County (Isle of Wight); gave 2 more County seats to Yorkshire and one more each to Carmarthen, Denbigh, and Glamorgan, besides forming Swansea into a district.

In Scotland 69 towns were formed into 14 Districts of Burghs, returning one M.P. for each; 3 Burghs were thrown into the Counties, a second member was assigned to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and single representation was given to 5 large towns; 6 Counties were also amalgamated so as to form but 3. In Ireland 4 towns received a second seat, and one was added to Dublin University. Suffrage mainly to 40s. freeholders and £10 occupiers in England and Scotland, to £10 freeholders and occupiers in Ireland.

## The Reform of 1868

Was forced upon a Conservative Ministry by popular agitation and a hostile majority in the Lower House. To keep office they tried one shift after another, and finally submitted to the entire excision of the clauses and provisions of a ridiculous Bill introduced by Mr. Disraeli, and the substitution one by one of the following instalments of Electoral justice:—

Borough Household suffrage after one year's residence, and to Lodgers a £10 franchise. County, £12 franchise to occupiers. Four constituencies given a third member; 35 places below 10,000 population deprived of one member; 11 places entirely disfranchised; 18 additional seats to Boroughs, 25 to Counties, 3 to Universities, 1 to Wales, and 7 to Scotland; Chelsea created a Borough and assigned 2 members; Tower Hamlets divided into 2 Boroughs, each with 2 members; 9 new Boroughs in England and 1 in Scotland; 13 new County divisions in England; 2 Scotch Counties amalgamated, and 3 granted an extra member.

In the House of Lords a clause introducing the minority (or three-cornered) voting system was grafted upon the Bill, and the power of all the largest boroughs thus reduced to a minimum.

## The Acts of 1885.

For a description of the changes brought about by these last and greatest measures of Parliamentary Reform see pages 15 to 20 of last year's Almanack. They have instituted a uniform household suffrage for the three kingdoms, which admits over two millions additional voters to electoral rights, but even this sweeping change is lost sight of in the wide and striking re-adjustment of the electoral areas. A summary contrasting the seat distribution before and after the Act is here given:—

That anomalies still remain, and these very considerable of their kind, will be seen on perusal of the following

## **Anomalies of the New Representation.**

### **Summary.**

- 23 Constituencies return 23 Members for 410,457 Population.
- 8 Constituencies return 8 Members for 180,250 Population.
- 19 Constituencies return 24 Members for 664,398 Population.
- 5 Constituencies return 5 Members for 152,712 Population.
- 55 Constituencies 60 Members 1,407,817 Population, or an average of 23,464 per Member,
- 30 Constituencies return 32 Members for 2,299,384 Population.
- 11 Constituencies return 12 Members for 931,833 Population.
- 9 Constituencies return 9 Members for 744,067 Population.
- 7 Constituencies return 7 Members for 613,653 Population.
- 57 Constituencies 60 Members 4,588,937 Population, or an average of 76,482 per Member.

## **Statistical Aspects of the General Elections of 1832 and 1868.**

In view of the General Election results of 1885 and 1886 the following comparison of the elections which followed previous great measures of parliamentary reform may prove interesting.

The number of successful candidates for parliamentary honours in 1832 was 477 Liberals and 181 Conservatives, of whom 123 Liberals and 68 Conservatives were unopposed; 196 Liberals and 178 Conservatives were defeated. In 1868, 390 Liberals and 268 Conservatives were successful, of whom 121 Liberals and 89 Conservatives were unopposed; the number of unsuccessful candidates being 207 Liberals and 173 Conservatives. The Liberal majority in 1832 was 296; and in 1868, 122.

The number of registered electors was, in 1832, 814,990; and in 1868, 2,469,958.

The total number of votes recorded in 1832 was 824,950,—579,772 Liberal and 245,178 Conservative; and in 1868, 2,381,496, being 1,424,248 Liberal and 907,253 Conservative.

The percentage which the votes bear to the number of electors is, in 1832, 101-2,—71.1 Liberal and 30.1 Conservative; and in 1868, 94.4,—57.7 Liberal and 36.7 Conservative.

The average population per member was, in 1832, 36,848, and in 1868, 48,502.

It is not possible to estimate the cost of the election of 1832, only the returning officers' expenses having been ascertained. In 1868 the cost was £1,382,118, of which £1,187,401 was paid in England and Wales.

In 1832, 3.4 per cent., and in 1868, 7.8 per cent. of the whole population were registered electors.

In 1868, 44 Liberal and 37 Conservative seats were won by majorities of less than one hundred votes.

It is worthy of especial attention that no less than 191 seats in 1832, and 210 in 1868 were uncontested

## **The English Farmers and the Tory Party.**

The following analysis of the representation of the English Counties at each general election since the Reform Act of 1832 is very instructive:—

It will be seen that Liberal representation reached its lowest points in 1841, 1852, and 1874. In 1841 the farmers rejected the Whig proposal of an eight-shilling duty on corn, and returned the Tory party to Parliament with a triumphant majority in order that they might maintain the Corn Laws, which the very Ministry they placed in power repealed. In 1852, deceived by apparent promises to restore Protection they rallied afresh to the Conservative banner. In 1868 they were told the Church was in danger; and in 1874 they rushed to save the Beer-barrel.

## **Financial Reforms Achieved.**



- 1841.—Sugar duty (foreign) reduced.
- 1842.—Stamp duties reduced: duties on 750 articles lowered.
- 1844.—Glass duties lowered and equalized. Taxes on Wool and Vinegar repealed; those on Currants and Marine Insurance greatly reduced.
- 1845.—Duties abolished on 430 articles, including exported Coal. Sugar reduced. Cotton, Glass, and Auction duties abolished; also tax on Baltic Staves.
- 1850.—Brick duty repealed. Stamps on Land-transfer lowered.
- 1851.—Window tax exchanged for House duty. Coffee reduced 3d. per lb. Duty on Seeds lowered to 1s. per cwt; also timber lowered.
- 1852.—Hops and Malt excise reduced by half. Tea arranged to be lowered to 1s.
- 1853.—123 Customs duties abolished and 133 reduced. Succession duty imposed. Spirit duties and assessed taxes equalized. Soap excise abolished. Coach and Cab taxes reduced.
- 1854.—Bill Stamps reduced.
- 1857.—Duties on Malt, Tea, and Sugar (which had been raised during Crimean war) lowered again.
- 1860.—Duties abolished on Butter and Cheese, Oranges, Tallow, &c. Duties reduced on Timber, Currants, Hops, &c.
- 1861.—Paper duty abolished.
- 1862.—Wine duties lowered and adjusted. Customs and Excise on Hops repealed.
- 1863.—Coffee and Chicory equalized. Tea tax @ 1s. per lb. this year.
- 1864.—Fire Insurance duty lowered to 1s. 6d. Portion of Malt duty surrendered.
- 1865.—Tea reduced to 6d. per lb.
- 1866.—Taxes on Timber and Pepper abolished. Wine modified. Carriage and Post Horse duties lowered.
- 1867.—Marine Insurance duty equalized.
- 1869.—Corn duty of 1s. abolished, also duty on Fire Policies. Taxes on Hair Powder, Post Horses, and Tea licenses abolished. Cab and Carriage taxes lowered.
- 1870.—Sugar reduced one half. Hawker's license abolished. Hail and Cattle Insurance freed from tax.
- 1872.—Coffee and Chicory lowered.
- 1873.—Sugar reduced again by half.
- 1874.—Sugar duties abolished, also Horse duty and License to deal.
- 1880.—Malt tax repealed.
- 1881.—Legacy duties simplified and reformed.
- 1883.—Railway Passenger duty reduced.
- 1885.—Certain Corporate properties made chargeable which formerly escaped Succession Duty.

In the gaining of all these improvements of Taxation (since 1848) the Financial Reform Association claims to have had a large, if not the principal share. Through its monthly journal, its millions upon millions of circulated tracts, the constant activity of its lecturers, the Influence exercised by its leading supporters in and out of Parliament, and last—but not least—by the 22 years' issue of this Almanack, the Association has created and stimulated public opinion, and is still vigilant in the task. Are there not many readers of this book inclined to join so useful an organization and to contribute to its funds for scattering political and financial knowledge amongst the electors?

## The House of Lords.

"The Peerage is indebted for its origin to circumstances which it has long survived. "When Force was the arbiter of every question of right and wrong, Peers were the depositories of Force. Land was granted them on condition that they should club their force with that of the chief of all when his will required. Authority over possessors of land held on this condition could not be so firmly fixed as to reduce them to entire submission to a suzerain, so they were also persuaded and consulted. Hence a House of Peers. Various causes split the possessions of the great feudal holders of land, and made a division of ranks among themselves. They became distinguished as Greater or Lesser Barons. With smaller possessions came smaller consequence; and while the king continued to gammon the Greater Barons himself to his council, he deputed to the sheriffs of counties the duty of summoning the Lesser Barons. These Lesser Barons, continuing to grow more numerous and smaller, it ultimately came that two were chosen to represent the Lesser Barons under the name of Knights of the Shire. Contemporaneously with this change another took place. Feudalism had permitted men to assemble in towns on payment of certain tributes. On such towns were conferred charters and privileges, both for better regulation and for taxation. The possession of wealth for the payment of money always ends in conferring upon the possessor an advantage. These towns sent their delegates to agree as to the sums to be paid. If a greater amount

than usual were demanded, they naturally were told of the object and consulted as to its necessity. The Greater and the Lesser Barons and the delegates of the towns having become a numerous body, and their offices and ranks being different, a natural separation took place. The Greater Barons formed the House of Lords. The Lesser Barons (or Knights of the Shire) sent up by the sheriffs, together with the delegates of the towns, formed the House of Commons. At the time the division took place it might be an equal\* one; there is no proportion now between a Chamber of Lords and the People."—*Spectator*, 50 years ago.

The Constitutional History of the Peerage, so pithily rendered in the above extract, may be continued in a brief summary of what our Hereditary Legislators have done (or mostly what they have *undone*) since the present century set in.

- 1807—Rejected Bill appointing a Committee of Council for Education.
- 1810—Rejected Bill abolishing Punishment of Death for stealing goods value 5s. (William III.'s value; in 1810 the value was only 2s. 6d.) More than 200 crimes—many of them trivial—were then punishable with death—75 in respect to Revenue.
- 1825—Resisted Catholic Relief Bill until civil war Imminent, and Bank of England a few hours only from stoppage.
- 1829—Disfranchised 40s. Freeholders in Ireland before granting Catholic Emancipation.
- 1830—Opposed Land Drainage in Ireland, delaying it 16 years.
- 1831 Oct. 7.—Rejected Great Reform Bill by a majority of 41. Popular indignation; Bristol set on fire, and over 100 persons killed and wounded by the military; Birmingham preparing to march on London; burning of Nottingham Castle. Newcastle, Derby, Bath, Newark, and Worcester all in open riot.
- 1831—Refused to disfranchise one borough spending £36,500 (in five elections) on 1,200 voters.
- 1832—Mutilated the Reform Bill in committee. People now broke all bounds, threw mud at the King in the streets—City Council and most of the middle class stopped payment of taxes. Run on the Bank, and £1,800,000 drawn out in three days. The country on the brink of open Revolution.
- 1832—Refused to open Universities to Dissenters.
- 1833—By fierce opposition compelled withdrawal of Bill for Irish National Education.
- 1833-1857—Denied civil and political rights to Jews for quarter of a century. The Commons' Bill seven times rejected by Lords.
- 1834—Refused to allow more than 20 persons to meet for worship in private house.
- 1834—Three times rejected the Tithe Abatement Bill. Also rejected Bill for legalizing marriages in Dissenting chapels.
- 1834—Forbade Nonconformist Ministers to officiate in Workhouses, and again threw out Bill for abolishing University Tests.
- 1835—Population of Ireland eight millions—voters 60,000! Lords refused Reform, and prevented it for 40 years afterwards.
- 1836—Ordered Banns of Dissenters' Marriages to be read before Board of Guardians.
- 1836—Tried to defeat Municipal Reform Act. Choice of Magistrates denied to Town Councils. Institution of Aldermen imposed. Control of Licensing knocked out of Bill. Disallowed Municipal Reform for Ireland, and again in 1837.
- 1838—Refused mothers custody of infants during separation caused by fault of the father.
- 1839—Continued death penalty for sheep stealing.
- 1839—Rejected by 229 to 118 the Bill to provide National Education.
- 1842—Mines' Regulation. Refused to give women and children working in mines the full relief of Commons' Bill. Protection of miners against preventable accidents not obtained for 30 years through Lords.
- 1844—Opposed Repeal of the Penal Laws (Ireland). These laws made it a crime for a Roman Catholic to teach a child to read, to be absent from Protestant services, and to own a horse above £5 value.
- 1845—Refused Compensation for Tenants' Improvement (Ireland), and so for 25 years.
- 1858—Refused Church Rates Abolition. Same for 11 years.
- 1860—Mr. Gladstone took Taxes (£660,000) off Paper. This meant a Cheap Press. Lords threw out the Bill.
- 1860—Refused Education to Miners' Children. Twelve years of darkness followed to these unfortunates.
- 1864—Voted censure on the Government that would not go to War with Germany for the behalf of Denmark.
- 1867—Robbed electors of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, &c., of the third vote, by imposition of the Three-corner trick.
- 1868—Threw out Irish Church Disestablishment Resolutions.
- 1868—Emasculated Artisans' Dwellings Bill

- 1867-70—Thrice refused University Tests Abolition.
- 1869—Mutilated the Irish Church Bill, causing frequent conflicts between the two Houses. Same year rejected Lord Russell's Bill, legalizing Life Peerages.
- 1870—Irish Land Act. Lords refused compensation, and insisted on their right to evict distressed tenants.
- 1871—Rejected Army Purchase Bill.
- 1871—Threw out Ballot Bill, and next year ruined it by an amendment making the method of voting *optional*.
- 1873-6-7-9—Refused to amend Burial Laws.
- 1879, and onwards.—Persistently refused to pass Bill legalizing marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, even though strong Royal influence was brought to bear in favour of the measure.
- 1880—Rejected Compensation for Disturbance Bill (Ireland) by 232 majority. Country given up to anarchy and crime in consequence. Civil war at "a measurable distance." Same year threw out the Irish Registration of Voters Bill.
- 1883—Disturbed Land Act by meddlesome inquiry.
- 1883—Threw out Cornwall Sunday Closing Bill, by one vote.
- 1883—Maintained Trap Pigeon Shooting.
- 1883—Spoiled English Agricultural Holdings Bill-but thought better of it afterwards.
- 1884—Refused the Franchise to 2,000,000 County Householders.

For the particular share "Spiritual" Peers hare taken in all this mad folly, we refer our readers to the section on "The State Church." Other remarks on the composition of the House of Lords will be found elsewhere; but we append a table showing the composition of the Upper Chamber at stated periods.

## Comparative Age of Peerages.

The most ancient Peerages regarded as Baronies are the Spiritual Peerages; next in order of date come the following (Liberal Peers being in *italic*, and Roman Catholic Peers marked with an asterisk):—

The comparative ages of Scotch and Irish Peerages we are unable to find space for in our present issue.

### Peerage of England.

### Peerage of Great Britain.

### *Nineteenth Century.*

### Political Summary of the Surviving Peerages.

### Recapitulation.

The foregoing summary sufficiently proves that since the era of Parliamentary Reform the composition of the House of Lords has been modified in a Liberal sense, and had it not been for another process going on simultaneously the numbers of the Political parties might by now have been fairly equalized. That other process will best be explained by studying the next table, which is most significant in its bearing upon all discussions of future Parliamentary Reform.

It shows incontestibly that the Hereditary Principle in Legislation is incompatible with the growth of the national liberties, and, if nought else were to be adduced at all upon the question, it should seal the doom of Hereditary Law-spoilers and Reform-rejectors.

## List of Liberal Peerages gone over to the Tory Party in recent years.

## 4 DUKES.

- Buckingham
- Newcastle
- Norfolk
- Sutherland
- Feversham

## 2 MARQUESESSES.

- Bute
- Headfort

## 14 Earls.

- Abingdon
- Cottenham
- Dunraven
- Ellesmere
- Wemyss
- Fitzwilliam
- Gainsborough
- Hopetoun
- Radnor
- Ravensworth
- Southesk
- Wemyss
- Yarborough
- Zetland

## 15 BARONS.

- Athlumney
- Ashburton
- Aveland
- Beaumont
- Brabourne
- Byron
- Castletown
- Congleton
- Denman
- Fitzhardinge
- Londesborough
- Lyveden
- Stanley of Alderley
- Tenterden
- Westbury
- Total 85 Peers, counting 70 upon a division.
- As a set off we find only 4 Peerages that have become Liberal, having been Tory.

## How to Commence Reform.

"The ability to thwart the popular will which now resides in a body of men merely born to the posts they fill

is probably productive of less evil, on the whole, than would arise from the existence of what is commonly meant by a 'Reformed House of Lords.' The introduction into that House of a number of life peers would hardly make the Lords, as a body, more friendly to the Liberal party or less the tools of the Tory chiefs. It might make the Peers more likely to throw out important Bills, without making them more likely to spare humble ones. It would leave them, as they are, essentially a House of land-owning members of the Established Church, and it might lessen their sense of responsibility to the nation at large in questions in which the interests of their property and their Church were concerned. The exclusion, however, of the Bishops from the House of Lords, and the representation of the Liberal minority in the election of Scotch and Irish representative Peers, changes which may very possibly, one day, be carried, would leave the party Conservative majority in the Lords so small as to be merely nominal. The supporters of the party in power, as a general rule, attend the sittings in each House with greater regularity than do the members of the Opposition, and a majority of only ten or twenty for the Conservatives in the House of Peers, would, on ordinary occasions, during the tenure of office by the Liberals, mean no Conservative majority at all. After all, the most practically effective manner of dealing with the House of Lords is to strengthen the House of Commons. Strengthen the House of Commons by returning able, independent, and courageous men; make it even more truly representative than it is by the adoption of the reforms recommended by those who have your confidence, and then it will become impossible even for the least scrupulous defender of the powers and privileges of the Peers to assert that they, and not the Commons, really represent the people at large."—*Sir C. Dilke*, 1879.

## Statistics of the Peerage.

### Increase of the Peerage.

### Composition of the House of Peers.

On the union with Scotland, in 1707, the Scotch Peers created before that date became entitled to select 16 of their number to sit with those of Great Britain: selections to take place for each new Parliament.

On the union with Ireland, in 1801, the Irish Peers created before that date had a similar privilege conceded to them, being empowered to elect *for life* 28 of their number to sit in the House of Lords.

Of Irish Peers unentitled to sit there, the Sovereign is enabled to create an additional one for every four old patents that become extinct.

Of Life Peers there are three Law Lords, having the right to sit and vote, but not to hand down their titles.

Irish Peers not in the House of Lords may contest any constituency (not Irish) for the House of Commons. Scotch Peers may not contest any at all.

### Important Dates in the History of the Peerage.

- 6 February, 1649.—The House of Lords abolished by resolution of the Commons.
- 7 February, 1856.—Refused to admit Lord Wensleydale as a Life Peer.
- 31 March, 1868.—Abolished voting by proxy.
- 13 July, 1871.—Passed Act depriving bankrupt Peers of seat and vote.
- 5 October, 1876.—Lords Blackburn and Gordon admitted as Life Peers.

## Alphabetical List of the House of Lords.

(Compiled from Foster's "Peerage" Dod's "Parliamentary Companion," Vacher, Crookford's "Clerical Directory," Bateman's "Great Land Owners," and Parliamentary Returns.)

### Explanation of Abbreviations.

- B.—Baron.
- Ch.—Churches.
- Cu.—Curates.
- D.—Duke.
- Dea.—Rural Deaneries.

- E.—Earl.
- G.H.—Glebe Houses.
- K.G.—Knight of the Garter.
- K.T.—Knight of the Thistle.
- Ld. Lt.—Lord Lieutenant.
- M.—Marquis.
- P.C.—Privy Councillor.
- V.—Viscount.
- W.d.—Wife was Daughter of

pointing hand *The Peers whose Names are in Italics are Liberals; those with a G prefixed are Members of the Administration; those with the \* prefixed Roman Catholics.*

In perusing the columns of Acreage and Rentals it must be borne in mind that the figures (being founded for the most part upon the Domesday Returns of 1874) do not include any Metropolitan Property, nor Leaseholds in many cases elsewhere, nor Manorial Rights over Wastes, nor Woods and Plantations. Most of the noble owners whose possessions are under 3,000 acres we have altogether omitted to debit (wanting time for so laborious an enquiry). Mine rentals from Coal are included in the annual values, but not those from Iron, Lead, Tin, and Copper. Neither are impropriate Tithes counted in.

## Princes of the Blood Royal.

For Duke of Cumberland see list of Dukes (not Royal). For details of payments to Royal Family see elsewhere.

## Spiritual Peers.

Born Value of No. of Premier in ARCHBISHOPS. Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Livings. Sittings. Appointed under.

Born in BISHOPS—Contd. Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Value of Livings. No. of Sittings. Premier Appointed under. £ £ £ 1828 Soutgwell.... (Ridding). 3,200 ... .. Gladstone, 1884. 1833 Truro..... 3,000 ... .. 31 9,888 ... Gladstone, 1883. (Wilkinson). Cu. 70, Dea. 12. 1811 Winchester..... 6,500 1,848 2,157 108 37.616 ... Palmerston—To Ely, 1864. (Browne). Cu. 450, Dea. 31. Gladstone—To Winchester, 1873. 1807 Worcester.... 5,000 281 550 79 28,695 211,021 Palmerston, 1861. (Philpott). Cu. 199, Dea. 31. One Bishop with a Seat but no Vote as a Peer. 1836 Sodor and Man 2,000 ... .. 6 1,311 17,210 Beaconsfield, 1877. (Hill). Cu. 14.

*Six Bishops awaiting the Reversion of Seats.*

When the Diocese of Manchester was formed, in 1818, it was provided that the occupant of that See should be without a Peerage until vacancy arose in some See other than Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester. The newer Bishoprics of Truro, St. Albans, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Southwell (all largely endowed from voluntary sources) have widened the basis of this principle, and under it the number of prelates in the Peerage has not increased.

[THE POLITICS ARE HERE NOT GIVEN.]

For specimens of Episcopal influence in the House of Lords, for cost of some of their Palaces, for analysis of Benefices in each Diocese, and for value of estates and probable cost of disendowment see section on the State Church.

## Representative Peers for Scotland.

### Earls.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

### Barons.

1849 Balfour of Burleigh. 6th..... 2,715 £3,364 ... .. (Bruce). Elected 1876. This Peerage was under attainder from 1715 to 1869, not because the Balfour of the former date was a convicted murderer who had escaped his gaolers, but because four years later he was present at a meeting where the Pretender's health was

drunk, and shortly afterwards went into open rebellion. W. d. 5th Earl of Aberdeen.

Born in Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son. £ £ £ 1818 Blantyre, 12th..... 14,061 19,970 ... .. Master of Blantyre. (Stuart). Elected 1850. Retired Army Officer. W. d. 2nd Duke of Sutherland, (deceased). 1829 Forbes. 19th ..... 13,621 5,675 ... .. (Forbes). Elected 1874. 1s Premier Baron of Scotland. Has never at any time had any public pay. 1838 Polwarth. 6th ..... 10,664 15,243 ... .. Master of Polwarth. (Hepburne-Scott). Elected 1882. 1s Lord Lieutenant of Selkirkshire. W. d. 5th Earl of Aberdeen. 1831 Sinclair, 14th..... 4,346 6,600 ... .. Master of Sinclair. (Sinclair). Elected 1885. Colonel in Army (retired). W. D. Jas. Murray. Totals..... £410 275,209 £198,166

The constituent body of the Scotch Peerage includes these 16 gentlemen above, in addition to all such Peers of the United Kingdom as hold Scotch patents (see the column set apart for their names). There are 20 Scotch Peerages still outside the charmed circle of Hereditary Legislative Right, as in list elsewhere given, a general glimpse over which will show that one title is dormant, that 2 ladies, 3 foreigners, and 4 landless lords make up half the number. Whether the ladies have a right to vote at the elections (which precede every new Parliament) does not appear. This much, however, is certain, on which the people will do well to ponder: that for 37 years Liberal names have been voted down at these caucuses of the Scotch Peerage, Lord Blantyre (sent up first in 1850) being the only Liberal who now remains on the list. Of the Scotch Peers of the United Kingdom 29 are Tory, and only 18 are Liberal. Of the Representative Peers above named, 15 are Tory and only 1 Liberal, whilst amongst those in the list later on it will be seen that no Liberal at all can be found.

## Representative Peers for Ireland.

### Earls.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

### Viscounts.

1828 Bangor, 5th..... 9,864 13,243 ... ..

### Barons.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

In the above list (as in that for Scotland) only one Liberal Peer figures, both of these rare birds having by accident escaped through the meshes of the Tory Caucus, in whose bands the right of selection is placed.

The elective body for Irish Representative Peers consists of the 28 noblemen above named, of the Peers of the United Kingdom holding Irish Patents (who are 47 Tory to 37 Liberal), and of the Irish Peers (hereafter mentioned) who still remain uncalled to Legislative Rights.

## Peers of Parliament (in own Right).

### Dukes.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Dukes. Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

The following Dukes will be found under other titles, viz.: Among Marquesses—Abercorn; among Earls—Athole (Strange), Buccleuch (Doncaster), Montrose (Graham), Roxburgh (Innes); among Viscounts—Leinster; among Barons—Argyll, Sundridge).

### Marquesses.

1838 Abercorn, 2nd..... 78,662 53,400 ... .. E. Abercorn. D. Abercorn. Marq, of Hamilton. (Hamilton), Lt. Donegal. W. d. 1st E. Howe. 124 tenants of this estate got reductions of 12 @ 13% in Irish Land Courts.

Marquesses.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son

The following Marquesses will be found under other titles, viz: Among Earls—Down shire (Hillsborough), Londonderry (Vane); among Barons—Clanricarde (Somerhill), Conyngham (Minster), Donegall (Fisherwick), Drogheda (Moore), Ely (Loftus), Headfort (Kenlis), Huntly (Meldrum), Lothian (Ker), Ormonde (Ormonde), Sligo (Monteagle), Tweeddale (Tweeddale), Water-ford (Tyrone); among Scotch Peers not in House of Lords—Queensberry.

## Earls.

1836\* Abingdon, 7th

Earls—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rent d. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Earls.—Continued. Born in Pay Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son. £ £ £ Eglintoun see Winton).

Earls.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Earls.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

The following Earls will be found under other titles, viz.: Representatives Scotland—Airlie, Dundonald, Haddington, Leven and Melville, Lindsay, Mar, Mar and Kellie, Morton, Northesk, Orkney, Strathmore and Kinghome; Representatives Ireland—Annesley, Bandon, Belmore, Caledon, Clonmell, Kilmorey, Lanesborough, Lucan, Milltown, Portarlington, Rosse; Scotch Peers nnadmitted—Buchan, Carnwath, Dysart, Lauderdale, Newburgh, Perth, Rothes (Countess); Irish Peers unadmitted—Antrim, Bantrv, Carrick, Castlestuart, Cavan, Desart, Kingston, Lisburne, Mayo, Mexborough, Mount Cashel, Norbury, Westmeath, Wicklow, Winterton; as Viscounts—Aberdeen (Gordon), Clanclarty (Clanclarty), Donoughraore (Hutchinson); as Barons—Arran (Sudley), Bessborough (Ponsonby), Caithness (Barrowgill), Carysfort (Carysfort), Charlemont (Charlemont), Clanwilliam (Clanwilliam), Cork and Orrery (Boyle), Courtown (Saltersford), Crawford and Balcarres (Wigan), Dalkousie (Ramsay), Darnley (Clifton), Dunmore (Dunmore), Dunraven (Kenry), Egmont (Lovel and Holland), Elgin and Kincardine (Elgin), Enniskillen (Grinstead), Erne (Fermanagh), Erroll (Kilmarnock), Fingall (Fingall), Galloway (Stewart of Garlies), Glasgow (Ross), Gosford (Worlingham), Granard (Granard), Home (Douglas), Hopetoun (Hopetoun), Howtn (Howth). Kenmare (Kenmare), Kinnoull (Hay), Kintore (Kintore), Leitrim (Clements), Limerick (Foxford), Listowel (Hare), Longford (Silchester), Loudoun (Hastings), Meath (Chaworth), Moray (Stuart of Castlestuart), Normanton (Somerton), Ranfurly (Ranfurly), Roden (Clanbrassil), Rosebery (Kosebery), Seafield (Strathspey), Sefton (Sefton), Shannon (Carleton), Sheffield (Sheffield), Southesk (Bartinhard), Stair (Oxenford), Wemyss and March (Wemyss).

## Viscounts.

Born in Pay Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Sons.

Viscounts.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acre Rental. Livings. personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scoter Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons,—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental Livings. Personalty loft by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son,

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty lrft by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty loft by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage.



Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental Livings. Personalty loft by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

## Recapitulation.

### (Politics, Pay, Landed Possessions, and Livings of House of Lords.)

In this recapitulation the estimates for Rent-free Residences, for London Properties, Leaseholds, Improprate Tithes, &c., &c., are not repeated, although we have been careful to greatly under-estimate them in all cases. We leave them as a set-off against depreciated Irish Landed Property and certain errors of over-assessment in the Domesday Return which told against owners of Ground Rents.

### Peeresses in own Right.

## Peers and Peeresses Who Hold only Scotch Patents.

### Marquis.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son. £ £ £ 1844 Oueensberry. 8th..... 13,243 13,384 ... .. Visct. Drumlanrig. (Douglas). Was a Representative Peer in 1872—1880. Formerly Lieut, in R.N. W. d. Alfd. Montgomery.

### Earls.

1815 Buchan, 13th..... Lord Cardross. (Erskine). Was Capt. 35th Foot. 1st w. d. James Smith, 2nd w. widow J. J. Collas. 1804 Carnwath, 11th ..... Lord Dalzell. (Dalzell). Was Colonel Bengal Artillery. Peerage attainted from 1716 to 1826. W. d. Rev. A. Campbell (deceased). 1859 Dysart. 9th ..... 27,190 44,500 5 1,700,000 ... .. Lord Huntingtower. (Tollemache). Lord Lieut. Rutlandshire. Family came into £400,000 by legacies of Mr. F. H. Toone. Lauderdale..... 25,512 17,318 ... 466,000 ... .. Visct. Maitland. Peerage dormant since 1884. 1818\* Newburgh, 9th ..... Visct. Kinnaird. (Giustimam). An Italian, several generations of whose family have been entirely resident in Italy. W. d. Signor Massani. Peerage was in abeyance from 1793 to 1858. Is a Neapolitan Duke and a Roman Marquis. 1807 Perth, 14th..... Visct. Forth. (Drummond). A frenchman, and his predecessors for several generations have been resident in France. Was Capt. 93rd Highlanders. 1st w. was Baroness Von Rotberg, 2nd w. widow Col. Burrows. 1832 Rothés (Countess) ..... 3,502 7,347 ... .. Lord Leslie. Sister of 15th Earl. Hon. G. Waldegrave Leslie (husband), is son of 8th E. Waldegrave.

### Viscounts.

1806 Arbuthnot, 9th ..... 13,500 13,036 ... .. Master of Arbuthnott (Arbuthnott). Major in Army (retd.) W. d. 8th E. Airlie. 1806 Falkland, 11th ..... 3,011 4,404 1 104,000 ... .. Master of Falkland. (Cary). Admiral in R.N. W. d. J. F. Maubert (deceased). Predecessor's wife was one of the nine children of Wm. IV. by the actress Mrs. Jordan. 1839 Strathallan, 8th..... 7,208 7,611 ... 9,000 ... .. Master of Strathallan. (Drummond). Peerage attainted 1740—1824. Lt.-Col. 6th Dragoons (retired).

## Barons.

1822 Belhaven, 9th..... 3,043 24,654 ... .. Master of Belhaven.

## Peers Who Hold only Irish Patents.

### Earls.

Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son. 1851 Antrim, 5th..... £ ... 34,404 £ 20,910 ... £ ... .. Viscount Dunluce. (M'Donnell). 69 tenants got reductions averaging 16.9% in Land Court. W. d. Gen. Hon. C. Grey. 1854 Bantry, 4th..... 69,500 14,561 ... 107,000 ... .. Visct. Berehaven. (White-Hedges). 70 tenants secured 19½% of average reduction from Land Court. 1835 Carrick. 5th..... (Butler). Was Captain in Grenadier Guards. Has been a Page of Honour to Queen. W. was widow Major H. Massy. 1837 Castlestuart, 5th..... 34,875 13413 ... .. (Stuart).

Earls.—Gontinited. Born in Pay. Acres Rental Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

### Viscounts.

1830 Ashbrook, 7th..... 23,050 13,911 ... .. Lord Castle Durrow.

## Barons.

1868 Ashtown, 3rd (a minor)..... 43,643 34,689 ... 350,000 ... ..

Barons.—Continued. Born in Pay. Acres. Rental. Livings. Personalty left by Predecessor. Scotch Peerage. Irish Peerage. Title of Eldest Son.

## Recapitulation of Totals.

## (Peers, &c., not having Seats in House of Lords.)

Capitalized at 30 years' purchase this enormous Rental Value would amount to £409,286,580 Under the present inequitable regulations of Succession Duty, such value of Realty would be taxed on an average per cent, at death, realizing only £7,674,185, while an equivalent amount in Personalty would have to pay Probate Duty of 3 per cent., or in all £12,278,597. Such is equality as understood by Land Owning Parliaments.

## Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom.

(Year ending March 31, 1886.)

As usual the official *compte rendu* of Income and Expenditure for the past financial year is a mystification; and, also as usual, it was not presented until it could be of no use in regulating the expenditure of the current year, even if it were as clear and intelligible as it ought to be—*i.e.*, until Parliament had voted the great bulk of the money demanded by the Government. In this and the succeeding pages an attempt is made to simplify the account somewhat, for the benefit of the taxpayer.

According to the Cash Account, pages 8 to 11, the total ordinary income for 1885-6 was £89,581,301 2s. 2d., making, with a balance of £4,993,206 14s. 8d., in the Exchequer on April 1, 1885, a total of £94,574,507 16s. 10d.—raised by "Other Exchequer Receipts" (which included £25,613,000 "raised by Creation of Debt ") to £133,931,806 19s. 3d. On the other hand the total Expenditure is stated, p. 9, as £92,223,843 14s. 10d.,—raised by "Other Exchequer Issues" to £128,305,863 1s. 3d., and leaving a balance of £5,625,943 18s. 0d. in the

Exchequer on March 31, 1886.

In the following attempt to form a Balance Sheet the items of Receipt, &c., are taken as they stand at page 14 of the *Accounts*; those of Expenditure from the pages specified, which are scattered up and down in ways best calculated to puzzle the inquirer.

## Receipts of Income,

Finance Accounts, page 14. Heads of Revenue. Advances repayable & Balances and Bills outstanding on 31st March, 1885. Gross Receipts. Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, Bounties, &c. Net Receipts within the year. Totals of Net Receipts, Balances, &c.

## Expenditure.

## Details of Income, Gross and Net.

*(Shillings and Pence are omitted, but included in the Totals.)*

## Public Income. (*Gross.*)

## Public Expenditure.

NOTE.—A summary table of the details of British National Expenditure during the Beaconsfield and Gladstone Administrations will be found further on.

## Expenditure.

## Twelve Years' Tables of Income and Expenditure.

Ending March 31st, 1886.

In these Tables the Net Revenue, after deduction of Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, &c.—not of course of the cost of collection—is given as stated in the Annual Finance Accounts.

[Amounts shown in thousands only: totals include all smaller items.]

INCOME. 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886

Expenditure.—Continued. EXPENDITURE. Beaconsfield Government. Gladstone Government.

## Ten Years' Details of Revenue. (*Figures unabbreviated.*)

*For History of and Comments upon our National Revenue System, see other pages of this book.*

CUSTOMS. 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886

Ten Years' Details of Revenue.—Continued.

Ten Years' Details of Revenue.—Continued. 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1895 1886

## The National Debt.

This fiscal monster, which has swallowed upwards of TWO THOUSAND MILLIONS during the present century,

owes its origin to Indirect Taxation, the Funding (*i.e.*, *Mortgaging*) system, and "The Balance of Power." From the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Charles II. this country contrived to fight and pay its way without contracting any permanent debt, because its revenue was principally derived from lands reserved to the Crown, lands allotted on conditions of feudal service, and feudal payments from the allottees, strictly in the nature of Rent, with occasional direct levies on personalty. Charles II.'s Parliament of Land *holders* did away with these feudal obligations and payments, and, converting themselves into Landowners, gave His Majesty and his successors Excise Duties on Beer, &c., payable by the people, "in compensation" for what they and their predecessors had been bound to pay as tenants of the Crown. Prior to the Restoration of the Stuarts it had occasionally been the practice of English Sovereigns to raise or extort loans from their subjects under letters of Privy Seal, the latest wholesale issue of these having been made by James I., in 1604, much to the disgust of the nobility and gentry of the English counties who had only just acclaimed the new monarch.

Charles II. incurred a "Banker's Debt," or "King's Debt," which was not acknowledged by his successor, nor until the latter part of William III.'s reign. Its original amount was £1,328,526, bearing (nominally) 6 per cent, interest; but, after much litigation and long suspension of the payments, it was in Anne's reign agreed to charge on the Hereditary Excise an annuity at the rate of 3 per cent, on the original loan, to be redeemable on payment of £664,263, or half the "King's Debt." This sum was afterwards incorporated with the Capital of the loans incurred after the Revolution.

James II. borrowed £84,888 6s. 9d. on the security of Exchequer tallies, anticipating the proceeds of duties on French linens, both this sovereign and his brother having frequently resorted to such improvident shifts as a substitute for Loans under the Privy Seal.

With William III. came the notion that it was the function of this country to maintain "The Balance of Power in Europe;" and hence arose the Funding system, which was the mortgaging of taxes. The "King's Debt" being now converted into the "National Debt," a very rapid growth of liabilities followed, and a history of their progress is here given:—

The amount of Debt last year includes not only the Capitals of funded and unfunded loans and the Stock value of Terminable Annuities but certain other ...items of National liability, and is made up as follows:—

The following is a detailed summary of last year's changes in the National Debt, as supplied in the *Finance Accounts*, from page 95 to page 102, inclusive:—

At the end of the financial year, 31st March, 1886, the following amounts of Stock of the Debt were held by Government on account of their own departments: 3 per cent. Consols, £36,313,835. Reduced 3 per cents., £15,820,796. New 3 per cents., £30,009,623. New 3½ per cents., £6,431. 2½ per cents., £15,024,518. 2¾ per cents., £121,677. Consol 3 per cent. Certificates, £6350. Exchequer Bonds, &c., £5,656,000. Annuities for terms, £7,074,138. Total Stock £102,959,230. Estimated Capital Value £178,533,360.

Return showing for each year since 1873-74 the total amount of the National Debt, the estimated amount of Recoverable Loans, the Balances at the Banks of England and Ireland, and the Net Balance of Debt; and what Amount in each year of the Annual Reduction of Debt is due to the Automatic Operation of Terminable Annuities, and the Net Annual Charge in each year upon the Consolidated Fund for the Service of the National Debt.

According to Mulhall the following were the figures of Amount and Cost of National Debt at certain dates:—

Comparative Statement of Amount and Cost of National Debt at quinquennial intervals since the above, taken from the Statistical Abstracts of United Kingdom:—

It would appear, then, that from

- 1856 to 1866, 22 millions
- 1866 to 1876, 31 millions
- 1876 to 1886, 34 millions

have been paid off the Debt, and these sums have been taken from the Labour and Capital of the country, whilst through an unjust revenue system Land has escaped contribution almost altogether. Twelve per cent, would probably be a liberal calculation of the proportion of *the whole national revenue* contributed by Real Property, and seeing that during the periods above mentioned Debt has formed about a two-fifths part of the costs of government defrayed out of Taxes, it will be seen that Landed and other Real Property has contributed but a trifling part of the charge for National Debt. Yet it is the Realty of the country upon which the main burden of this part of the National Expenditure should have devolved for many reasons.

Adam Smith, when writing of the public debt, doubted whether any considerable progress could ever be made towards its extinction whilst so small a surplus revenue accrued above the annual cost of Army, Navy, and Civil Services. He said the liberation could never be brought about without

- Some very considerable augmentation of Revenue; or
- Some equally considerable reduction of Expenditure.

He then goes on to write as follows (p. 747 "Wealth of Nations"):

*"A more equal Land-Tax: a more equal tax upon the rent of houses, and . . . alterations in . . . Customs and Excise, might, without increasing the burden of the greater part of the people, but only distributing its weight more equally . . . produce a considerably augmented revenue."*

It is evident that the great economist little foresaw, when he wrote these words, that our National Debt, after increasing by nearly six hundred millions, would be reduced by at least £100,000,000 under a system of taxation by which the trader, the merchant, and the artisan have had to pay in increasing ratio, whilst owners of landed property have contributed a steadily dwindling decimal part; and this permitted by what are supposed to be Reformed Parliaments, and directed by so-called Liberal Cabinets. Let us hope that something more just and equitable may be accomplished during the next hundred years, and those who seek redress for fiscal inequalities will do well to remember Adam Smith's hint, and insist upon a more equal land tax, a more equal house duty, and the total abolition of the Customs and Excise burdens upon national industry.

The evil of the Debt lies mainly here, that, owing to the extravagance and mismanagement of aristocratic governments of landowners, a mortgage of some £750,000,000 still lies upon the taxes of this country, having been placed there by unconstitutional means, for no Parliament has any right to bind its successor to vote taxes. Being so placed, however, it should be the aim of statesmen to minimise evil consequences, by seeing that in the repayment of National Debt injury is not done to National Wealth; in other words, that the revenue necessary for repayment shall not be raised in such way as to interfere with wealth production.

We are not of opinion that the efforts made recently to reduce the Debt have been unwise. Our complaint would rather be that in reducing Debt before re-adjusting the incidence of taxation Mr. Childers put the cart before the horse. By so doing he succeeded in inducing a landlord House of Commons to add 7 or 8 millions to the fixed burdens of the taxpayers in a time of serious trade depression, and this being effected, the same House of landed gentlemen snapped their fingers at him when, two years later, he attempted to equalize a portion of the incidence. Now had the horse been put before the cart, the Chancellor of 1883 might have availed himself of the expiring annuities to reduce indirect taxes and abolish the breakfast table imposts altogether. The stimulus thus given to trade would have improved the yield of Income Tax and other branches of Revenue, and ere now have recouped the Exchequer, besides greatly benefiting the masses of the people. The calls of increased expenditure in 1885 would, under such circumstances, have been met with much less risk of unpopularity; a bold attempt to extend and equalize the Death Duties and House Tax simultaneously would probably have been successful, and the further reduction of Debt would then have been prepared for by a more righteous adjustment of the people's burdens. The national advantage of further reduction may be surmised from the following statement of What the National Debt has Cost the Taxpayer in Simple Interest Alone.

Mr. Henry Lloyd Morgan, who first compiled a similar table to the above, remarked:—"This is for *simple interest only*; yet even this gigantic sum represents only a comparatively small portion of the actual costs of war; moreover, it must be remembered that all this has been abstracted from the working capital of the country; therefore, in reality, 'compound interest' should be charged to represent even the outlay for payment of the simple interest; to which must be added a much larger sum for *extra* taxation levied to carry on war."

## Gross Public Income and Expenditure from 1801-10 to 1886.

At Decennial Periods up to 1880.

Compiled from BLUE BOOK 366—1, up to 1860, and from ANNUAL FINANCE ACCOUNTS for the last 26 years.

Hence it appears that to the Total Income during the present century, viz., something more than FIVE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN MILLIONS, Customs and Exoise Duties contributed THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS, being more than THREE-FIFTHS of the whole amount, which includes POST OFFICE, CROWN LANDS, and other receipts that cannot properly be called TAXES, whilst, on the other hand, upwards of FOUR THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY MILLIONS, or more than FOUR-FIFTHS of the whole expenditure, went for Wars, War Debt, and preparations for War. Thus, to every pound of Income, Customs and Excise Duties contributed 12s. 7¾d., whilst of every pound of expenditure 16s. 1½d. went for War, War Debt, and preparations for War, leaving 3s. 10½d. in the pound for all other purposes whatsoever. Taking Taxes proper only (*i.e.*, excluding Post Office, Telegraphs, Crown Lands, Interest, and Miscellaneous Receipts), the proportion borne by the produce of Customs and Excise Duties is very much greater than that stated. For example, deducting those items, the gross revenue from Taxes last year was £74,927,000 and towards that sum Customs and Excise contributed £44,294,000, *i.e.*, almost exactly 11s. 10d. per £; and yet there are prominent statesmen who contend that there is now something like a fair proportion between Direct

and Indirect Taxation; and there are multitudes of people, who ought to know better, simple enough to believe them.

## Samples of War Expenditure.

Official Returns have calculated the British Wars of this century as follows, after deducting the average cost of Army and Navy on a peace footing in each instance, and not including the increases of half-pay and pensions attributable at the close, or the increased debt charge:—

In these figures are not included £3,196,875 for the Alabama Claims, nor the following special Military Votes:—£1,451,097 during the (1871-2) Franco-German War, £3,500,000 during the (1878) Russo-Turkish War, £5,000,000 to India towards the cost of the Beaconsfield-Salisbury-Lytton invasion of Afghanistan, £800,000 and much more squandered in the Soudan under Mr. Gladstone's Government, and the £9,451,000 for further preparations for bloodshed in 1886.

## Tables

*Showing the per cent, of Expenditure devotedly European Countries in 1881 to Interest of Debts, War Expenses, and Civil Government. Also the amount of debt, and of taxation per head, in the different States. The two last columns show the cost per man of land Armies, and proportion of Revenue for War, in 1868, for purposes of comparison.*

States. 1881 Total Expenditure. % of for Int. of debt. % of for War Expdt. Rest for Civil, Jud., Works, &c. Govt. Grny Amt. of debt per head of populatn. Taxation (Expdt.) per head of populatn. Cost of land Army per head per ann. time of Peace. % for War in 1868. Remares. The grown male population of a State from 18 ending 54 years of age, will be found= half the male population = quarter the total population. Hence the debt of the effective male population will be

The two last columns are taken from the "Oesteritsche Zellschrift, herausgegeben von N. R. Strenpfler" for 1868.

According to official returns published in 1881, the total War Expenditure incurred by Russia during the four years 1876-80 amounted to

- 1,076,896,653 roubles.
- =£163,628,093 English.

While, at the same time, her Ordinary Expenditure has gone on increasing from 76 to 109 million roubles, an increase of 44 % from 1875 to 1881:—

- 1875 ex. 75,578,632 roubles.
- 1876 ex. 76,386,446 roubles.
- 1877 ex. 76,825,153 roubles.
- 1878 ex. 85,644,373 roubles.
- 1879 ex. 91,703,565 roubles.
- 1880 ex. 99,215,041 roubles.
- 1881 ex. 108,913,405 roubles.

And the debt of Russia, 1st September, 1878, including £30,000,000 internal loan in 1877 after the war, and a second in August, 1878, = £42,857,142, was then estimated at £350,000,000. On the 1st January, 1880, the total debt had increased to

- 4,480,812,699 roubles.
- =£640,116,925 English.

Also a forced currency of paper roubles, circulation estimated at 1.500 million roubles = 210 million £, outstanding in January, 1880!

without including 210 mill, of forced paper currency, which, if added, would show an increase of 500 million £ English! to feed the levies of monstrous War.

But as in Russia, so in France the after-effect of the Expenditure multiplies itself and perpetuates the ruin:

Add to these 1,208 millions expenditure of the Northern States an American writer's estimate (say 800 millions) of the loss of the South, and we should find the cost of that war was 2,000 millions. But the American War did not—as do European dynastic wars—bequeath a legacy of armed hosts in millions, anxious and prepared, and perpetually trained for contest. American armies march from industry to war, but afterwards return again to their former industry. Russia arms as a menace to mankind; Germany, ostensibly, for the glory of the Empire, or perhaps as a menace to France. France arms, ostensibly, in self defence, and to repel aggression. But why should Britain join the mad rivalry of these unhappy nations?

Europe is at present at peace—Cannot its rulers learn wisdom, and find a way of some nobler arbitrament,

when conflicts of interest arise, than that of War?

## Loss of Life by War.

It has been estimated by Mulhall that the loss of life in the great war of 1793 to 1815 between England and France amounted to 1,900,000 men. Of these the vast proportion were wounded, who never recovered, or men who perished by sickness incident to the war; for instance, on the British side the actually killed only numbered 19,796, but the wounded were 79,900, and these figures include the naval and military battles only, and not straggling hostilities of various sorts, nor the fearful roll of "missing." Moreover we were upon foreign soil, and not defending our own territory, in which latter case our losses would have enormously increased.

The entire loss of life by war of the so-called civilized states of the world since 1793 is thus tabulated by Mulhall:—

As showing the enormous proportions of waste of life, we further extract a few figures from the "Dictionary of Statistics."

The numbers placed *hors de combat* in the leading great battles of the world are thus estimated:

## Estimates for Civil Services.

Abstracts of Estimates for 1886-87, compared with the Grants for 1885-86.

### Class I,—Public Works and Buildings.

Estimated Cash 1885-86 \_ (Grants in Session of 1885.) Compared with Grants for 1885-86 Extra receipts payable to Exchequer.

Public Works and Buildings.—Continued. Compared with 1885-86 Cash Extra Receipts payable to Exchequer. SERVDE. 1886-87 1885-86 (Grants in Session of 1885.) Increase. Decrease. 1886-87. 1885-86. ABROD. £ £ £ £ £ Lighthouses Abroad..... 13,208 18,398 ... 5,190 30 100 Diplomatic and Consular Buildings..... 41,677 37,458 4,219 ... 860 630 The increase is mainly for purchase of a new Legation House at Madrid. Total of Class I..... £1,800,074 1,864,686 93,618 98,230 46,667 56,527 Net Decrease..... £4,612

### Class II—Salaries and Expenses Op Civil Departments.

### Class III.—Law and Justice.

### Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

### Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

### Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services.

(For full details of what the Pension System costs the country and of each separate item, see elsewhere in this book.)

### Class VII.—Miscellaneous.

## Totals of the Several Classes.

(For Comparison with the Detailed Expenditure of preceding years see elsewhere.)

NOTE.—The proceeds of sale of fee and other stamps received by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, in respect of the foregoing Departments, during the year ended 30th September, 1885, were as follows:—  
and gives £16,110,591 as the Estimate of net Expenditure for the Seven Classes in 1886-87.

# Revenue Departments.

## Army Estimates. 1886-87.

### Principal Points of Difference between the Estimates of 1885-86, and those for 1886-87.

NUMBERS Number of Men on the Regimental Establishments of the Army and Auxiliary Forces and of the Reserves. Effectives, All Ranks. Establishments. All Ranks 1886-87. Numbers, by latest Return Period of latest Return. Regular Forces (Regimental) Home and Colonial..... 141,284 135,488 1 Feb. 1886. Army Reserve, 1st Class ..... 51,000 42,571 1 Feb. 1886. , 2nd Class ..... 5,900 6,781 1 Feb. 1886. Militia (including Permanent Staff and Militia Reserve, also the Channel Islands Militia)..... 141,333 121,618 Training 1885 and 1 Feb. 1886. Yeomanry (including Staff) .... 14,405 11,590 Inspection 1885. Volunteers (including Staff)..... 254,038 224,012 1 Nov. 1885. Total Home and Colonial Establishments..... 607,960 542,060 Regular Forces (Regimental) on Indian Establishment..... 68,196 65,980 1 Feb. 1886. Total..... 676,156 608,040 Army Reserve. The enrolled numbers were as follows:— 1886-7. 1885-6. 1884-5. 1883-4. 1882-3. 1881-2. Class I. ... 51,000 46,500 39,500 31,000 26,000 24,000 Class II... 5,900 6,750 7,750 9,000 9,600 13,800 56,900 53,250 47,250 40,000 35,600 37,800

### Average Strength of the Regular Army at Home and Abroad.

### Establishment Op the Militia, 1886-87.

PERMANENT STAFF. MILITIA. ALL RANKS, (Including Permanent Staff.) Officers. Warrant Officers and Sejeants. Trumpeters, Buglers, and Drummers. Officers. Seijeants. Trumpeters and Buglers. Rank and File. 1886-87. 1885-86 Artillery..... 55 583 194 563 388 .. 17,866 19,649 19,650 Engineers..... 1 42 15 42 30 .. 1,319 1,449 1,449 Infantry..... 257 2,896 1,033 2,956 2,066 .. 107,032 116,239 116,239 Channel Islands Militia ..... 9 75 .. 192 150 60 3,520 3,996 3,996 Total Force..... 322 3,595 1,242 3,753 2,634 50 129,737 141,333 141,334 PERMANENT STAFF .. 5,159. MILITIA ..... 136,174 Voted with tie Regular Forces, Vote A. Militia.....106,174 Militia Reserve..... 30,000 136,174

### Numbers of Yeomanry Cavalry.

### Establishment of the Volunteer Force.

### General Statistics of the Volunteer Force (All Arms)

### Army Estimates for 1886-7.

Total Charge for the Volunteer Force.

The policy of a Government setting up rival Manufacturing Establishments to those of its own subjects is contrary to sound Political Economy. In this vote and that which follows there is scope for the vigilant service of Reformers. These (and kindred institutions for the Navy) are the establishments so often attacked by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Rylands.

We wonder how much of this, and of the much larger amount in the following Vote, might be saved to the country if suitable and efficient men on the list were given the first offer of employment on vacancies occurring in the Civil Service. The work might be better done, to say nothing of the pay saved.

## Army Pay and Allowances.



## Staff Officers at Home.

(Abroad the Allowances vary according to Station.)

## Royal Artillery Officers at Home (Field and Garrison Artillery).

Forge and Fuel and Regimental Command Mess Stabling Lodging Light

## Royal Engineer Officers at Home.

RANK. Regimental Pay. Per Annum. Engineer Pay. Per Annum. Command Pay. Per Annum. Mess Allowance Per Annum. Forge and Stabling Allowance Per Annum. Servant Allowance at 1s. a day.

## Cavalry Officers at Home.

RANK. Regimental Pay. Per Annum. Mess Allowance. Per Annum. Forge and Stabling Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance. Per Annum. Fuel and Lig Allowance. Per Annum. TOTAL Annum.

## Infantry Officers at Home.

RANK. Regimental Pay. Per Annum. Mess Allowance.\* Per Annum. Forge and Stabling Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance. Per Annum. Fuel and Light Allowance. Per Annum. TOTAL per Annum.

## Officers of the Army Pay Department (at Home).

RANK. Pay. Per Annum. Servant Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance Per Annum. Fuel and Light Allowance Per Annum.

## Pay and Allowances of Chaplains to the Forces at Home.

RANK. Pay. Per Annum. Servant Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance. Per Annum. Fuel and Light Allowance. Per Annum. TOTAL Per Annum. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. Chaplains, 1st Class ..... 365 0 0 18 5 0 100 7 6 26 8 8 610 1 2 ,, ,, after 5 years ..... 410 12 6 18 6 0 100 7 6 26 8 8 655 13 8 ,, 2nd Class ..... 319 7 6 18 5 0 82 2 6 21 12 6 441 7 6 ,, ,, ..... 273 15 0 18 5 0 73 0 0 21 12 6 386 12 6 ,, 4th ,, ..... 182 10 0 18 5 0 54 15 0 14 13 4 270 3 4 ,, ,, after 5 years ..... 228 2 6 18 5 0 54 15 0 14 13 4 315 15 10 ,, on probation ..... 182 10 0 ... .. 182 10 0 Forage Allowance.—Some few Chaplains draw Forage Allowance upon proof of the duties requiring it.

## Medical Officers at Home.

RANK. Pay. Per Annum. Servant Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance. Per Annum. Fuel and Light Allowance. Per Annum. Forge and Stable Allowance. Per Annum. TOTAL per Annum. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. Surgeon General ..... 1,003 15 0 36 10 0 200 15 0 33 0 1 114 1 3 1,388 1 4 Deputy Surgeon General ..... 730 0 0 18 5 0 100 7 6 26 8 8 77 11 3 952 12 5 Brigade Surgeon

..... 547 10 0 18 5 0 82 2 6 21 12 6 41 1 3 710 11 3 ,, after 5 years in the rank 602 5 0 18 5 0  
 82 2 6 21 12 6 41 1 3 765 6 3 Surgeon Major (minimum) ..... 365 0 0 18 5 0 73 0 0 21 12 6 41 1 3 518  
 18 9 ,, (maximum) after 25 years' service ..... 501 17 6 18 5 0 82 6 21 12 6 41 1 3 664 18 9 Surgeon  
 ..... 200 0 0 18 5 0 54 15 0 14 13 4 ... 287 13 4 ,, after 5 years' service ..... 250 0  
 0 18 5 0 54 15 0 14 13 4 ... 337 13 4 ,, after 10 years' service ..... 273 15 0 18 5 0 54 15 0 14 13 4 ... 361 8 4  
 \* Medical Officers have the option of employing as servants men of the Medical Staff Corps, or of drawing the  
 money allowance in lieu.

## Officers of the Commissariat and Transport Staff and of the Ordnance Store Department at Home.

RANK. Pay. Per Annum. Servant Allowance. Per Annum. Lodging Allowance. Per Annum. Fuel and Light Allowance. Per Annum. Forage and Stabling Allowance, † Per Annum. TOTAL per Annum.

## Navy Estimates.

I. Increase or Decrease on 1885-86. Wages of Seaman and Marine  
 Increase or Decrease on 1885-86. XIV. Dec. Miscellaneous Services (net) £135,700 840 XV. Half Pay, Reserved Half Pay, and Retired Dec.

## Navy Pay and Allowances.

## Flag Officers.

PAY. ALLOWANCES. RANK. Rate per Diem each. Table Money per Diem each. In lieu of Domestics, per Annum each. Amount of each Rank per Annum. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. Commanding in Chief, Portsmouth ..... 5 0 0 4 10 0 500 0 0 3,967 10 0 Admirals ,, ,, Devenport 5 0 0 3 0 0 500 0 0 3,420 0 0 ,, ,, Abroad 5 0 0 4 10 0 ... 3,467 10 0 Commanding in Chief, Sheerness..... 4 0 0 3 0 0 400 0 0 2,965 0 0 Vice Admirals ,, ,, Channel Squadron... 4 0 0 3 0 0 ... 2,555 0 0 ,, ,,Abroad ..... 4 0 0 4 10 0 ... 3,102 10 0 Commanding at Queenstown ..... 3 0 0 3 0 0 250 0 0 2,440 0 0 Rear Admirals Second in Command of Channel Squadron 3 0 0 1 10 0 ... 1,642 10 0 Commanding in Chief, Abroad ..... 3 0 0 4 10 0 ... 2,737 10 0

## Commissioned Officers.

PAY. ALLOWANCES PER ANNUM. Rate per Diem each. Command Money. Table Money Allowances. PAY. allowances per annum. Rate per Diem. When Serving in For Charge of Engines For Extra Duties in Flag Ships. Other Allowances. Varying Steam Reserves. Varying Varying

## Royal Marines Pay and Allowances.

### Head Quarters' Staff.

### Royal Marine Artillery.

### For the Division

## For Sixteen Companies.

## Royal Marine Light Infantry.

## For Three Divisions.

## For Forty-Eight Companies.

## For the Depot.

# Local Taxation of the United Kingdom.

# Local Expenditure of the United Kingdom.

NOTE.—More precise information having been obtained as to the receipts of Local Authorities for the year 1882-3, it was discovered that in previous years large sums received in respect of the sale of gas and water by Urban Sanitary Authorities had been returned as receipts from Public Rates. The figures for previous years have been corrected so far as it is possible, and now show, as nearly as the accounts will allow, the receipts from Public Rates.

## Amount of Government Grants in Aid.

(As per Civil Service Estimates.)

These of course are transfers of burdens from the owners and occupiers of Real Property in the United Kingdom to the general Taxpayers, who are mostly of the middle and working classes.

# Grants in Aid of Local Taxation, and Charges transferred from Local to Imperial Funds.

ENGLAND AND WALES. 1886-87. 1885-86. 1884-85. 1883-84. 1882-83. 1881-82. 1880-81.

SCOTLAND. 1886-87. 1885-86. 1884-85. 1883-84. 1882-83. 1881-82. 1880-81.

Ireland.—Continued. 1880-87. 1885-86. 1884-85. 1883-84. 1882-83. 1881-82. 1880-81. Survey and Valuation :—£ £ £ £ £ £ Salaries and Expenses, after abating £900 for Boundary Survey (£9,000 to be recovered from local sources and fees)..... 22,926 23,404 24,143 23,335 23,938 23,498 22,177 Pensions..... 1,985 2,208 2,369 2,905 2,654 2,610 2,828 Infirmaries:—Grants under 5 Geo. 8, c. 20 (Irish), &c..... 580 669 669 847 847 980 980 Dublin Hospitals:— Grants in Aid..... 15,850 15,850 15,850 15,850 15,850 15,850 15,850 Registration of Voters, Ireland..... ... 15,000 ... ... .. Total for Ireland..... £2,078,254 £2,069,791 £2,103,473 £2,082,118 £1,974,086 £1,832,422 £1,758,689 Total for United Kingdom... £8,125,753 £6,106,920 £6,000,983 £5,897,402 £5,476,167 £5,270,599 £5,120,744

## The Underassessment of Mansions, &c.

The following Castles, which are amongst the most magnificent residences in Scotland, each of them erected at a cost of £100,000 to £200,000 are rated for local purposes as follows:—

There are many single offices, shops, and warehouses in Liverpool, Manchester, and London where the assessment to poor's rate is higher than all these four castles put together. But then traders and merchants are "different," we suppose.

Lord Derby, at Knowsley Park, pays for 2,621 acres on an assessment of £4,782. On two farms in the neighbourhood, one of 50 the other of 38 acres, the rating is 53s. per acre. If Knowsley were assessed at the same rate, Lord Derby's local taxes would be £7,000 instead of £4,782. We see here that farmers are "different" too.

A few years ago the assessments of the following great houses to House Duty were publicly given:—

There are four piles of Insurance Offices known to us where the sum totals of assessment and duty exceed these four greatest English noblemen's palaces. It is evident, then, that Insurance Companies are "different."

When the Union Assessment Committee of Nantwich recently advanced the Crewe Assessment of the London and North Western Railway Co. £40,000 at a stroke, it was given in evidence that Crewe Hall and gardens (Lord Crewe) were on the rate-book for the small amount of £500, but were worth £1,500; whilst Peckforton (Lord Tollemache), and Cholmondeley (Marquis of Cholmondeley) were also both considerably under assessed. It is here evident that Railway Companies are "different."

Now how does all this injustice come about? We opine that the main reason is the exclusion of all considerations of building value when dealing with the nobility and gentry. Another reason is that the noble owners are not put on oath as to what they would let their mansions and castles for, just as ordinary people are dealt with. But a third and potent reason is found in the local character of the Assessment Committees, and the considerable influence exercised upon them by dependents of these great landlords. In this connection it is important to remember how greatly the yield of the Assessed Taxes was increased when (about 15 years ago) these were taken out of local hands and entrusted to the Inland Revenue Staff. At that time the following conversation, which really occurred (between an officer of the Department and the Parochial Assessor) was reported in the Blue Book:

*Excise Officer.*—"I see that Mr. B. is not assessed for either a horse or a carriage, though you know that he keeps both."

*Assessor (who is the principal butcher of the neighbourhood).*—"Well, sir, you mustn't be hard on a poor man like me. Mr. B. is my best customer, and if I were to charge him after so many years he has gone on without paying any tax, he would give all his custom to X. at once."

## Poor Rates and their Application.

According to the *Statistical Abstract* the Receipts on account of the Poor Rate, and the Disbursements from it, in the three kingdoms, excepting Scotland, from which there were no returns for the first six years of the series, were as shown in the following Table of alternate years from 1840 to 1885, both inclusive.

Hence it appears that (reckoning in the alternate years as well as those above given) from 1840 to 1885 inclusive, the total sum raised under the name of Poor Rates in England and Wales was 466½ Millions, of which there were expended in actual Relief of the Poor 297 Millions, and for other purposes about 165 Millions, making a total expenditure of about 462 Millions, and leaving an apparent surplus of some 4½ Millions. For Scotland there are no particulars either as to Receipts or Expenditure for the first six years of the period, and no distinction of payments throughout; but for the remaining 40 years the Receipts were 30¼ Millions, the Expenditure 29½ Millions, showing a surplus of about three-quarters of a million. For Ireland during the whole period the Receipts were 40 Millions, the Expenditure 40¼ Millions, an apparent surplus expenditure of £250,000. For the United Kingdom the total sum raised as Poor Rates was 534½ Millions, the total Expenditure for Relief and other purposes 530¾ Millions, leaving a surplus of 3¾ Millions, which, it is to be presumed, is somewhere and somehow accounted for. The following Table, giving statistics of the number and description of Paupers relieved, and the cost, is confined to England and Wales, and it commences with 1849, because, as stated in an official note, that "is the first year for which the actual number of persons receiving relief on a given day can be returned." The day selected is the 1st of January in each year:—

It thus appears that £260,200,000 has been spent in thirty-eight years in England and Wales alone, and that the annual cost has increased from £5,792,963 in 1849 to £8,414,892 in 1885, although the number of Paupers in 1885 was 150,000 less. Whence arises this appalling mass of pauperism in the richest country, and amongst the most industrious people in the world? Primarily and mainly, beyond all question, from a radically vicious and improvident Fiscal System, under which, out of a total gross revenue of £89,500,000 from all sources, including Post Office, Crown Lands, &c., raised in the last financial year, there was levied £45,280,000, *i.e.*, little short of Three-fifths of the whole amount, by means of Customs and Excise Duties on articles of general consumption. It is beyond all doubt that the direct effect of these Duties is to restrict Home Trade, Foreign Commerce, and Employment—and consequently to impoverish great masses of the people. There are also other causes, such as the Land Laws, and the maladministration of the Poor-Law system itself, under which thousands are born, bred, live, and die Paupers.

# Educational Statistics.

Hence it would appear that comparing 1840 with 1885 the number of Committals fell in England and Wales from 27,187 to 13,586, in Scotland from 3,872 to 2,537 : in Ireland (where the population has decreased by no less than 3,268,082) from 23,833 to 2,850; and in the whole United Kingdom from 54,892 to 18,973, a reduction of 65 per cent., though the population increased in the interim by 10,220,392. On the other hand, however, it is to be observed that, since the Criminal Justice Act of 1855, a great number of cases formerly sent to Sessions or Assizes are now summarily disposed of by the Magistrates. The proportions of Convictions to Committals in 1840 and 1885 seem to have been in England and Wales respectively 73 and 77¼ per cent.; in Scotland 75 and 77 per cent.; in Ireland 47 per cent, in 1840, and 55 per cent, in 1885; and in the United Kingdom 62 and 74 per cent. For the whole period of 46 years the Committals were in England and Wales 954,842, Convictions 716,944, or 75 per cent.; in Scotland, Committals 155,851, Convictions 117,439, or 75⅓ per cent.; in Ireland, Committals 505,544, Convictions, 259,946, or 51⅓ per cent.; and for the whole kingdom, Committals 1,616,238, Convictions 1,094,328, or 67⅔ per cent.

# Population Statistics

## Comparative Increase of County populations (in thousands).

## Estimated Population at the Middle of Each Year, From 1840 to 1886.

*(Exclusive of Soldiers, Sailors, and Merchant Seamen abroad.)*

Compiled from various numbers of the Statistical Abstract, the estimates of population being calculated from the ascertained annual increase or decrease of population which prevailed during the decades intervening between the Census enumerations of 1861, 1871, and 1881. We have added the columns of increase and decrease from year to year, from which it appears that, whilst the population of Great Britain has steadily increased throughout that period, that of Ireland began to diminish slightly in 1846, heavily in the potato rot and famine period of 1847 and 1848, and fell off from year to year until 1876, when, and in the next three years, there was an estimated increase, whilst between 1879 and 1886 there was a decrease of 826,312. From the subjoined table it appears that, whilst the population of England and Wales has been increased since 1840 by 12,139,773, and that of Scotland by 1,348,701—making a total of 13,488,474, that of Ireland has decreased by no less than 3,268,082. Hence the net increase of population in the United Kingdom in 46 years has only been 10,259,340.

N.B.—The averages of the last decade not having yet been adjusted since the actual Census of 1881, there is an apparent discrepancy in the increase and decrease shown for that year—a discrepancy which the Board of Trade will probably adjust in time for the next "Statistical Abstract," but meanwhile the accuracy of the totals and net results is unaffected.

# Marriages, Births, and Deaths.

Compiled from *Statistical Abstracts*, with Calculations added.

## Emigrants and Immigrants, from and to the United Kingdom.

Up to the year 1874 successive numbers of the Statistical Abstract gave the total number of persons who emigrated from the United Kingdom, without distinction of nationalities; but from that year downwards only those of British origin have been included in its tables. The apparent falling off in 1875 and succeeding years is

thus accounted for, and we have since had no means of ascertaining either the real number of emigrants or their destinations. In the following table the particulars are given as stated in the Statistical Abstract:—

Tear. To the United States To British America. To Australia and New Zealand. To other Places. Total Immigrants. Nationality of Emigrants from United Kingdom.

From this Table it appears that during the last 43 years very considerably more than two thirds of the whole number of our emigrants proceeded direct to the United States; and it is well known that that is the real destination of very many who, with private or State aid, make British America the first stage of their journey, the Homestead grant of the American Government being the grand attraction to such transfer of allegiance. There can be no possible objection to emigration, so far as those who have the inclination and the means to emigrate, and think they can better themselves by doing so, are concerned; but if it be 'true that the real strength and greatness of a nation consists in a numerous and thriving people, public and private bodies who are engaged in pumping out the population, either voluntarily or compulsorily, are doing a very unpatriotic work, for it is quite certain that with REAL FREEDOM OF TRADE, instead of the sham which passes for it, there would be ample employment at home for all the able-bodied men of the three kingdoms, and for more than we have of them; and the probability is that, this being the country in which there would be the greatest demand for labour, and consequently the best remuneration for it, we should soon see our exiles flocking back again by tens if not hundreds of thousands annually. Organized Emigration is but a quack palliative for evils resulting from a radically rotten and vicious Fiscal System, which has perverted obedience to the Divine mandate, "Increase and multiply," into an apparent curse. Societies which recommend expatriation as a sort of specific for these evils, and Trades Unions, which look to it as a remedy for a supposed superabundance of hands, would do well to ponder upon this fact, for if they do they will soon cease to potter and dally with *effects*, and strike at the *cause*, viz., a thoroughly bad system of raising an enormous public Revenue, far in excess of the real wants of the State, coupled with extravagant, wasteful, and profligate modes of spending it, and, in addition, most unsatisfactory ways of accounting for both receipts and expenditure.

## Dates of Leading Events in Railway History.

- 1602. Short roads laid down by Mr. Beaumont, in and about the collieries of Newcastle.
- 1776. Iron Railway laid near Sheffield, destroyed by the colliers.
- 1786. First considerable Iron Railway laid at Colebrook Dale.
- 1802. Trevethick and Vivian patent a high-pressure locomotive.
- 1814. Geo. Stephenson constructs first locomotive, travelling at rate of 6 miles per hour.
- 1829. "Rocket," travelling 25 and 35 miles per hour, obtains £500 prize offered by Directors of Liverpool and Manchester Railway.
- [Locomotives now attain a speed of 70 miles.]
- 1825. Stockton and Darlington Railway opened for passengers.
- 1830. Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened (Huskisson killed).
- 1842. Railway Duty: (½d. per mile for 4 passengers. 1832) 5 per cent, on gross receipts.
- 1844. Examination of schemes by Board of Trade made requisite prior to their introduction to Parliament. Companies required to run cheap trains daily, and permit erection of telegraphs. Government authorized to buy any or all existing Railways after 1st January, 1866.
- 1846. Railway mania year and panic. 272 acts passed.
- 1863. Railway Clauses Consolidation Act. Amended 1867.
- 1867. Commission report against Government purchase.
- 1868. Smoking compartments ordered by new act, which also required provision for communication between passengers and guard in certain trains.
- 1869. Pacific Railway opened.
- 1872. Amalgamations accomplished to date, L. & N. W. 61 branch lines, G. N. R. 37, Gt. Eastern 27, London and Brighton 22, L. & S. Western 22, Midland 17.
- 1873. Bill for Amalgamation of L. & N. W. with L. & Y. thrown out. Railway Commissioners appointed.
- 1874. Pullman Cars introduced on Midland Railway, which Co. also reduce fares to 1½d. per mile 1st class, and abolish second class, giving no return tickets at lower fares.
- 1875. Employes of Railways 274,535, of which about 40,000 on L. & N. W. Co.'s system.
- 1877-8. J. Elevated Street Railways erected in New York.
- 1877. Proposed fusions: G. N. R. with Gt. Eastern, and M. S. & L. with G. N. R. and Midland: both fail.
- 1880. Expended on Railways in U. K., to date, about £720,000,000 (since 1829).
- 1881-3. Parliamentary enquiries into Railway Rates, after grievous complaints.
- 1881. Electric Railway opened at Berlin.

# Progress of Railways in Thirty-One Years.

## Details of Receipts & Expenditure in 1882, 1883, 1884, & 1885.

ITEMS OF RECEIPT. NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CONVEYED IN 1884 AND 1885.

## Items of Working Expenditure in 1882, 1883, 1884, and 1885.

Maintenance and Renewal of Way, Works, &c. Locomotive and Stationary Power. Repairs and Renewal of Carriages and Wagons. Traffic Charges, (Coaching and Merchandise.) General Charges. Rates and Taxes. Government Duty. Compensation for Personal Injury. Compensation for Damage and Loss of Goods. Law and Parliamentary Expenses. Steamboat Canal and Harbour Expenses. Miscellaneous Charges. Total Working Expenditure.

## The Landed Interest and the Railways.

Mr. Samuel Laing, M.P., has ably demonstrated that the landed interest have received 50 millions of pounds *over market value* from the people through Railway Companies' purchases. Their landed estates have been thereby increased £150,000,000 in value, not to speak of the relief afforded by the large share of local Taxation borne by these Railways, which Mr. Laing estimates at *one half*.

As an instance of the way in which the last generation of Peers dealt with Railways we may recall the fact that in 1818 the House of Lords threw out the first Stockton Railway Bill for fear of disturbing the Duke of Cleveland's fox-covers. These very rails have since made his successor a Cræsus. The mode of opposition adopted by some Peers of the present generation is different, as instanced in two cases, typical of hundreds that we might mention. In 1878 Lord Beaumont claimed £20,000 for 1½ acre of ground at Fulham, wanted for the Metropolitan District Railway. A Jury awarded him £7,250. In 1884 Lord Derby demanded £200 an acre for common agricultural land in the vicinity of Bury, for which a Railway Company offered him as much as £100 an acre. The Jury gave £107 as the fair value to be paid.

## Our Indian Empire.

### Important Dates in the History of British Power in India.

Sir Francis Drake's expedition, 1579.

Levant Co.'s Land expedition, 1580.

First commercial venture from England, 1591. (Three ships fitted out: one reached India.)

First Charter to the London Co. of Merchants, 1600. (Stock £72,000: 4 ships fitted out.) Charter renewed 1609, 1657, 1661, 1693, 1744.

Factories established at Surat, 1612.

Madras founded 1640 : made a Presidency, 1652.

Bombay ceded as part of dowry of Queen Catherine (Charles Second). 1662.

French settle at Pondicherry, 1668.

Calcutta purchased, 1698.

New East India Co. established, 1708.

Clive takes Arcot, 1751.

Surajah Dowla seizes Calcutta: (146 English crammed into the Black Hole Prison, 18 feet square, whence only 23 came forth alive next morning, 20th June), 1756.

Calcutta retaken by Clive, 2nd January, 1757.

Battle of Plassey, 23rd June, 1757.

Hyder Ali usurps Mysore, 1763-4.

Conquest of Patna, 1763.

Nabob of Oude subjected, 1765.

Clive obtains the Dewani by imperial grant, the Co. becoming receivers of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa : a virtual British sovereignty of all these countries, 12th August, 1765.

Treaty with Nizam Ali. Northern Circars obtained, 1766.

Hyder Ali ravages the Carnatic, 1769.

Affairs of the East India Co. brought before Parliament, and a series of crimes and intrigues exposed.

Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal, 1772.

India Bill provides resident Governor-Generalship in Bengal, to which other Presidencies subordinated.

Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta : and all territorial correspondence henceforth to be laid before British Ministry, June, 1773.

Accusations against Warren Hastings, 1775—1795 (when acquitted).

Hyder Ali defeats the British, 1780.

Hyder Ali overthrown by Coote, 1782.

Tippoo Saib succeeds Hyder, and captures Cuddalore and Bednore, 1783.

Pitt establishes the Board of Control, to aid and control the executive of India, and superintend its territorial concerns, 1784.

Civil and Criminal Courts established, 1793.

Tippoo killed. Seringapatam captured and Mysore divided, 1799.

The Carnatic conquered, 1800.

The Nabob cedes Furruckabad territories, 1802.

Mahratta War. Wellesley's victory at Assaye, 1803.

War with Holkar. Bhurtpore taken, 1805.

Trade with India thrown open, 1813.

War with Nepaul (Ghoorkas forced to treaty), 1814—1816.

Pindaree War (successful), 1817—1818.

Burmese War. A great territory ceded and £1,000,000 indemnity paid, 1824-1826.

Malacca ceded by the Dutch in exchange for Bencoolen in Sumatra, 1824.

Singapore purchased, 1824.

Suttee (widow burning) abolished, 1829.

Trade to China thrown open, 1833.

Annexation of Coorg, 1834.

Afghan War with Dost Mahomed, 1838—1840.

Rising at Cabul. Murder of Burnes and Macnaghten, 1841.

Cabul evacuated under convention with Akbar Khan, who massacres 16,000 men, women, and children, and holds Lady Sale and others as hostages 6-13 January (rescued 21st September), 1842.

Scinde War. Battle of Meanee. Annexation of the Province by Sir Charles Napier, 1843.

Gwalior captured, 1843.

Danish Indian possessions purchased, 1815.

Sikh War. Lahore and Mooltan taken, and the Punjab annexed. Dhuleep Singh pensioned at £40,000 per annum, 1845—9.

Burmese War. Pegu annexed, 1851-2.

Nana Sahib (nephew of the ex-Peishwa of the Mahrattas) is refused continuance of his uncle's pension of £80,000, 1851.

First Indian Railway (Bombay to Tannah), 1853.

Nagpoo territories fall to the East India Co., on death of the Rajah, 1853.

Oude annexed, 1856.

Mutiny of the Native Army. In three months 30,000 men disbanded or deserted. Fearful outrages committed. Delhi seized from May to September. £433,620 collected for the widows and orphans of nine massacred garrisons and others. East India Company's government ceases, and the Queen proclaimed throughout India, 1857-8.

Guerilla disturbances under Tantia Topee and Nana Sahib finally suppressed, 1859.

Awful famine in N.W. Provinces, £114,807 raised by Mansion House Fund, 1861.

Great increase in Cotton cultivation, 1862.

Orissa famine, 1,500,000 persons perish. Official Report: the authorities blamed, 1866.

Assassination of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy (8th Feb.) £20,000 granted to children, and £1,000 a year to Lady Mayo, 1872.

Bengal famine. £125,000 raised in London. £6,500,000 expended on relief works by Government, and the famine kept under, 1874.

Queen proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi, 1st January, 1877.

Madras famine. Loan of £5,000,000 authorized. 919,771 persons employed, and 1,326,971 gratuitously relieved. In London £515,200 raised by fund, 1877.



Native troops sent to Malta and removed to Cyprus, 1878.  
Afghan War. The passes finally occupied, 1879.

## **I.—The Indian Balance Sheet (Revenue and Expenditure) for 1884-85.**

REVENUE. Accounts, Revised Estimates, 1884-5. 1885-86.  
REVENUE. Accounts, 1884.85. Revised Estimates, 1885.86.

## **II.—Indian Revenue, Expenditure, Surpluses, and Deficits for 46 Years.**

(In millions and decimals of millions, 0,000 being omitted. Values taken at 2s. the Government Rupee).  
Revenue. Expenditure Official Years ended. Land Revenue Opium. Taxes. Public Works. c Tributes and other Receipts Total. Direct Claims on the Revenue, Charges of Collection, &c. Civil Administration. g Interest. Army Public Works. h Famine Miscellaneous Total. Surplus of Income. deficit of Income.

Indian Revenue, Expenditure, &c.—Continued. Revenue. Expenditure. Official Years ended. land revenue.c Opium. Taxes.d Public Works.c tributes and other receipts.f Total. Direct Claims on the Revenue. Charges of Collection, &c. Civil Administration.g Interest. Army. public Works.h Famine. Miscellaneous.i Total. Surplus of Income. deficit of Income.

## **III.—Indian Debt, Imports and Exports (values), Railways, and Productive Works for 46 Years.**

In millions and decimals of millions, 0,000 being omitted. Values taken at 2s. the Government Rupee).  
Imports. Exports. Official Years ended. Debt Total Guaranteed Capital raised by Railway Companies to end of Year. Total Outlay of Capital on other Productive Public Works to end of the Year. † Miles of open railway. ‡ Merchandise. Merchandise. Net Exports of Total Trade.

Total Guaranteed capital Raised by Railway Companies to end of Tear. Total Outlay of Capital on other Productive Public Works to end of Year. † Miles of open Railway. ‡ Imports. Exports. Merchandise, Merchandise.

NOTE.—The total of all religions here given differs from the total population in the previous Table, owing to the exclusion of Aden and Port Blair.

## **VI.—Statistics of Education in India, 1881.**

## **VII.—Distribution of the Religious Denominations of the Population under Education.**

## **VIII.—Seven Years' Imports (Quantities).**

Official Years ended 31st March. Principal Articles. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

## **IX.—Seven Years' Exports (Quantities).**

Official Years ended 31st March. Principal Articles Exported. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

## **X.—Taxation, Income, and Expenditure of Municipalities in the several Presidencies and Provinces.**

## **XI.—Principal Sources of Income of Municipalities.**

Years ended 31st March. Sources of Income. 1878. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

## **XII.—Principal Heads of Expenditure of Municipalities.**

Heads of Expenditure. Years ended 31st March. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

## **XIII—The Indian Import Tariff.**

Articles liable to Duty. Tariff Valuation. Rate of Duty. Gross Amount of Duty received in Year ended 31st March, 1885. Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores—

### **The Export Tariff.**

Gross Amount of Duty Article liable to Duty. Tariff Valuation. Rate of Duty. Year ended 31st March, 1885. Rs. Ans. Rupees. Rice, whether husked or unhusked..... Per Indian maund of 82½ lbs. avoirdupois weight. 0 3 58,83,936 dupois weight. Note.—All articles hitherto liable to Customs duty when imported into or exported from British India, were declared free by Sir Evelyn Baring's Indian Tariff Act, which received the assent of the Governor General (Lord Ripon) on 10th March, 1882, with the exception of the articles enumerated above.

## **XIV.—Statement showing one Year's Gross Expenditure in England of the Government of India.**

The above, however, represents only a portion of the resources of India expended in England. The pay of the English troops in India—officers and men—is, part of it, sent "home;" the pay of civilians is, to a large extent, similarly dealt with.

From a Parliamentary return moved for by Mr. John Bright, which has not yet been published though it has been laid upon the table of the House of Commons, the following facts relating to the number, and salaries, pensions, and other allowances to persons in the employ of the Government of India, who are resident and non-resident in India, are taken:—

Combined Totals, £11,013,537 19s. 3d., nearly the whole of which is paid to Europeans and Eurasians, and only a small portion to natives of India.

## **Average Annual Consumption of the Principal Imported and Exciseable Articles per Head, for the Total Population of the united Kingdom,**

AT QUADRENNIAL PERIODS, FROM 1840 TO 1880 INCLUSIVE, AND THEN ANNUALLY. Compiled from STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS. N.B.—The Articles printed in capital letters are those still subject to Customs duties on Importation. The reader will not fail to notice how slow and almost stagnant has been the course of trade in these few commodities, although in every case they are objects of common demand. Compared with the rapid and enormous increment of the duty-freed articles, they tell their own tale of the folly and suicidal absurdity of a revenue system based on Customs and Excise.

Statement showing the total quantities of British, Foreign, and Colonial Spirits, Foreign Wines, Beer, Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa, retained for Home Consumption in certain years, and the quantity of each consumed per head of population.

## **The Suez Canal.**

Projected by Hons. Ferdinand de Lesseps in 1852, opposed by Lord Palmerston, but assented to by the French, Austrian, Russian, Turkish, and Egyptian governments. Cutting commenced in 1858 by Sir Daniel A. Lange. First craft passed from Mediterranean to Red Sea on 15th August, 1865, laden with coals; but the first vessel of any considerable tonnage which ran through was the "Primo," on 17th February, 1867. French and English vessels entered in November of the following year; and in February, 1869, the course was declared suitable for the mail steamers. The official opening took place in November, 1869. Do Lesseps was entertained by English cities in July, 1870.

In April, 1873, the Canal Company increased their dues by 50 per cent., and the British Government moved for an international Conference, which met at Constantinople in November and December of that year, and

accepted certain proposals of the Porte, against which M. de Lesseps in vain protested for a while (attempting even the closing of the Canal for four days in April, 1874), and then gave way.

There are about 884,000 shares in this commercial undertaking, and in 1876 the British Government bought from the then Khedive of Egypt 176,602, or one fifth of the whole. A premium of 12½ per cent, was given upon them, the price being £3,976,000, but the actual cost was £4,076,565, an immense commission being paid to Messrs. Rothschild. The coupons had previously been cut off and pledged elsewhere by the impecunious Ismail, who accordingly entered into an engagement binding himself and his successor to pay us the interest until 1892. Such interest was not paid in 1885, but the amount made up in following year. The sums received thus far are below given:—

Additional expense upon the shares has been necessarily incurred by the purchase of ordinary shares for the qualification of British Representative Directors, and in the maintenance of these officials, £21,055 having thus far gone upon such items; moreover to raise the money for the original purchase, it became requisite to issue Exchequer Bonds bearing interest at 3£ per cent, for £4,000,000. These were made payable half-yearly up to the year 1912, and on 31st March, 1885, there had been paid upon them (Capital and Interest) £1,749,916, a liability of £3,439,300 still remaining, subject of course to interest. The quoted price upon the Stock Exchange for ordinary shares in the Canal was in 1885 somewhere about £80—a large increment in value, but this, being for shares actually yielding the increased dividends, is not easily comparable with the position of the British Shares, which for a while (in 1885) stopped payment—being now reduced to per cent.—and have earned for us a good deal of hostility from our French neighbours. The Capital of the Suez Canal Company is £16,867,000—only £8,000,000 being in Shares and the rest in Debentures. Dividends, which were only 5 per cent, in 1874, 5 7/10 per cent, in 1876, and 6 per cent, in 1879, have immensely advanced since the British occupation of Egypt. They became 92/3 per cent, in 1880, 133/5 per cent, in 1881, and 161/3 per cent, in 1882. In 1884 the ordinary shares yielded about 87¼ francs, and delegations

1163/5 francs, having fallen from 88 12/30 and 118 7/10 respectively paid in the preceding year, owing to the reduction of dues and abolition of the pilotage tax.

During the following years the traffic returns have been as under:—

The proportions of Canal against Cape voyages are about as 104 to 60. 76 per cent, of the tolls are from British vessels, 9½ per cent, from French, 4 per cent, from Dutch, and 10½ per cent, of all other nations.

One-seventh of our foreign commerce now passes through the Canal, which was 13 years in construction, is 92 miles long and 26 feet deep, and has shortened by one-third all voyages to the East. The British Government, in May and June 1877, claimed for the Canal international neutrality.

## The Bank of England Monopoly.

"The Act cannot stand as it is. I cannot consent that the law shall be suspended at intervals to meet these continually recurring crises. The Act of 1844, damaged in 1847, was utterly shattered in 1857."—*Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.*

[Since which deliverance there have been in 1865, 1866, and 1870 three more panics and another suspension of the Peel Act, but no real reform attempted.]

Money is the measure of all other commodities. A monopoly of money, therefore, must be the worst of all monopolies, whether men realize it or no.

Banking (or dealing in credit) is one form of trade. It should, therefore, on the face of things, be as free as any other form of trade : law and custom to the contrary, notwithstanding.

It is well to nail these, the true colours of the political economist, to the mast, before going into action on what are wrongly supposed to be the abstruse and complicated questions of banking and currency.

Under the Bank Act of 1844, as passed by Sir Robert Peel, England—the financial centre of the world—is still in durance, though her shipping has increased six-fold, and her commerce eight-fold, in the interval of 42 years since elapsed.

The provisions of that Bank Act are so contrived that in this country, with all its immense accumulations—

Its 642 million pounds' worth of annual imports and exports,

Its 5,511 million pounds of annual money transactions through the clearing-house,

Its 631 million pounds of profits yearly charged with Income Tax,

Its 134 millions of money annually paying death duties,—to say nothing of landed property—any foreign country may, almost any month, by arranging the weekly withdrawal of 2 millions of bullion, run up the rate of discount from three per cent, to four per cent., from four per cent, to five per cent., from five per cent, to six per cent., and so on, until credit—on which British trade lives and moves and has its being—is strangled, the trade and commerce of the whole world stunned, and irretrievable ruin inflicted upon multitudes of the most

deserving and honest citizens, not to say taxpayers.

The principal provisions of this Bank Charter Act are briefly these :—

- That after 1844 no new bank should be permitted to issue bank notes, and that no bank whatever should issue a note in London, or within 65 miles of London. There is monopoly with a vengeance.
- That banks enjoying the right of issue previously to 1844, should be forbidden to extend it, whatever might be the future expansion of business. Even James I. granted no monopoly to be matched with that.
- That a fixed amount of £14,000,000 in notes might in future be issued by the Bank of England, against a like amount lent to government by the Bank. All further issues to be covered by bullion in the Bank's coffers, of which bullion not exceeding one-fourth may be silver. (This last proviso has proved of none effect, as millions of silver may not pay one £5 note.) It will be seen that the Bank note, then, depends for its validity upon the validity of the Exchequer note. What a waste, then, is the payment of large sums annually to the Bank by Government for use of its notes! It is surely evident that the notes of the Exchequer, guaranteed by the whole realized property of the United Kingdom, must be superior to those of a small corporation whose paid-up Capital and Reserve funds do not altogether aggregate 20 millions of money.
- That beyond this limit the Bank should at all times enjoy the right of issuing to any further amount for which it held bullion specially reserved in its cellars. Perronet Thompson says: " It is a semi-barbarous notion of policy which cannot conduct a paper currency without saying 'Take these 20 million pounds' worth of gold and see them well casked and marked and lettered, and then let them be stowed away in a dry cellar, and only looked at now and then, to see that nobody has run away with them and that the casks have not gone to decay;' "and he further dryly remarks that deposits of that character are impolitic in a country that desires to hold out no encouragement to invasion or civil commotion, for 20 millions would be £100 a piece to 200,000 men, the finest prize-money offered since the Creation. The bullion reserve the Bank can always increase by raising the rate of discount, and as this process, costly and often ruinous to the trading public, is generally very profitable to the Bank (and to all bankers and capitalists), the directors resort to it freely on slight pretext. Witness the following record:—

## Movements of the Bank Rate and Price of Consols.

5. Under government supervision the Bank was divided into two departments; one of issue, the other of banking; and a certified statement of the transactions in both such departments was to be published weekly by the government.

6. That all notes of the Bank should be legal tender except at the Bank's own counter.

7. For the facilities and monopoly thus conceded, the Bank should pay to the government annually £180,000 and the profits upon all issues above £14,000,000. How these profits are estimated does not appear. While in consideration of the Bank undertaking the entire management of the Public Debt, government agreed to pay the bank annually a percentage amounting then to £248,000, but now only to £201,594.

8. In case of private banks ceasing to issue notes, the Queen in Council may authorize the Bank to increase its issues by two thirds of the amount so withdrawn. In 1855 this power was exercised, and further note-issues of £475,000 against stock were sanctioned—such being two thirds of the amount of then discontinued private issues.

Let us review the operation of the first four of these stipulations, premising that a somewhat similar arrangement followed with regard to the Bank of Ireland, and special provisions were permitted for Scotland; but in both countries the amount of circulation was closely restricted. No new banks of issue were permitted, and in consequence no new bank has been established in either country since, as far as we know.

1. Since 1844 the extension of joint stock enterprise, and the growth of confidence in the limited liability banks having become great facts, we find, forty years later, the following anomaly, viz.: that while the Bank of England has a subscribed paid-up capital of £14,553,000, with a reserve fund of £3,022,492, some 73 banks founded since 1844 have a subscribed capital of £75,100,000 (£33,030,000 of it being paid up), and a combined reserve fund of over £10,000,000, but these banks dare not issue a single £5 note, though all of them should unite to guarantee its payment. As a sample of the wisdom and of the motives of those who framed the Peel Act, we might here quote the words of Lord Overstone in the House of Lords on 3rd. December, 1857. Speaking then upon the subject of Joint Stock Bank facilities this prominent upholder of Monopoly in Credit said,—“There had grown up in this country, and had been rapidly developed within the last ten or fifteen years, a new system of credit and of holding deposits at call carrying interest, a system which had grown up to an enormous extent, and which was still growing, and if that evil was not corrected, it would certainly overturn our monetary system altogether. That was not an isolated opinion of his own; but there was scarcely a man, of enlarged views and experience, in the city of London, who did not entertain the same views. It was indispensable that the attention

of Parliament should be directed to that subject."

2. That the number of English banks enjoying the petty right of a fixed issue in 1844 has become small by degrees and beautifully less, until in 1885 their combined note issue was  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions, while 42 years ago it was  $9\frac{3}{4}$  millions. On the other hand the Bank of England, whose note issue was  $15\frac{3}{4}$  millions in 1840 (*i.e.*, 6 millions above theirs), was  $24\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1885 (*i.e.*,  $21\frac{3}{4}$  millions above theirs). The following table traces the progress of these changes, and shows the facts concerning Scotland and Ireland.

3. On three occasions, viz., 1847 (when the issues were not exceeded), 1857 (when they had to be exceeded by two millions), and 1866, the operation of the Act of 1844 has been illegally suspended by government—not to relieve commercial distress, but—to save the Bank from stopping payment. Immediate relief and cessation of panic has followed in every case, showing that the crises were artificial and unnecessary: created, in fact, by a bad law badly administered.

4. To ascertain the practical working of this portion of the Act the following table will be useful. Note especially the column headed "Bullion,"

## "Convertibility."

The following table shows how far the Bank of England can contribute support to the fiction of a metallic currency when her last sovereign and her last shilling have been exhausted. The figures may be filled in from the official Bank Return of any date latest to hand. As an instance we give that issued for the week ending 23 Sept., 1885.

Now, no monopoly, excepting, perhaps, the Post Office, ever yet operated beneficially to the public, and this monopoly of the Bank of England, which is the foundation of a gigantic Trades Union of Money Lenders, is the most trade-destructive combination in existence. There will be no "fixity of tenure" in business until such an abomination is made an end of, and how to do this with safety to the public credit has been often suggested by sound economists.

Under the 1838 Banking Law of New York every bank was allowed to issue as many notes as it pleased on first depositing (with the Comptroller of the State) Stocks of the American Government, or of the State of New York, at not exceeding par value. Receipts for such deposits were stamped on the face of each note before it went into circulation, the breach of this proviso incurring heavy penalties. The notes were payable in hard money under all circumstances, and in case of any being dishonoured the public officer was required to sell Deposited Stocks to the full amount, and make good the payment.

For the United Kingdom we recommend a modification of this law, viz., perfect freedom of issues by anyone who first deposits (at the Mint) Bullion or Consols for the full amount, the Government receipt for the same being stamped upon the face of the note previous to issue, under heavy penalties. In case of failure to pay any note according to its tenor, the Master of the Mint to be required to sell securities by auction and pay the note within three days. On the other hand the securities and the interest thereon remain the property of the depositors, and may be reclaimed at any time on returning an equivalent number of notes.

One disadvantage incidental to the present restricted system has been that under its operation there is but one Gold Reserve, that one becoming unduly sensitive upon slight pressure. Under such a freed and improved system as is here advocated, many banks would be compelled to keep reserves, and the security for safe currency, no less than for extended facilities in trade, would be proportionately increased.

*But no note must be compulsorily made legal tender.* Joint notes of two, three, or six banks would speedily come into use (fully as safe security as any notes yet issued by this monopolist bank, with but three millions of reserve fund), and credit—rescued from the hands of a class—would expand far and wide, on a secure and ever-improving basis, to the untold benefit of British commerce and industry. How much credit has to do with our commerce may be gathered from figures already cited. How little actual coin or money is needed for it can be surmised from the following as from other of our statistical tables:—

## The Cheque System.

About the year 1772 the Banks of London discontinued the issue of promissory demand notes payable to Bearer, and thenceforward advanced to their customers by crediting in their books. To facilitate this reform they gave to such customers books containing a number of bills of exchange, drawn upon the Banker, payable to Bearer on demand. To obviate difficulties arising from the absence of any acceptance upon this new form of Bill, and to make the Cheque as like a Bank Note as possible, it was established as a custom among Bankers that possession of a customer's funds by a Banker should be equivalent to acceptance. Cheques became, therefore, a substitute for Bank Notes.

Now, according to Macleod ("Mechanism of Banking," c.vii., "Principles of Economics,") everyone who

really understands the subject has declared that banking advances practically augment the capital of a country—a doctrine, by the way, which Mill considered a doctrine of robbery—and if it be true, judge how far retching must have been the benefits of the Cheque System by means of which the ordinary business of London and other Banks has been simplified with "the daily creation of millions of promises to pay."

Mulhall, in his "Dictionary of Statistics," states that in 1839 the ratio of Cheques to Notes and Coin was 93.2 as compared with 6.8, but that in 1881 the proportions were relatively 98.9 to 1.1, This is, of course, for London only.

## The Clearing House.

The new system had but been three years in operation before the Cheque-issuing Banks found the advantage of periodically adjusting their debts by mutual Releases, as had been done in the sixteenth century by the French Merchants, whose bills were all made payable at the Fair of Lyons, and as had already been practised in 1775 by Banks in Edinburgh. What is called the Clearing House was thus established, and until 1854 consisted merely of a meeting of private Bankers who exchanged Cheque claims with one another daily, and paid only the net differences in Cash or Bank Notes. In 1810 the thirty-six private banks that "cleared" had a total duly average of £4,700,000, and were able to settle all their balances by some £220,000 in notes. In 1854 the Joint Stock Banks, rigidly excluded thus far from the Clearing House, were preparing to organise one of their own, when suddenly some half dozen of them were admitted to its benefits, from which, however, the Bank of England was shut out until 1864. It was stated in evidence to the House of Commons that, prior to the admission of Joint Stock Banks, the London and Westminster used to be compelled to keep £150,000 in notes to meet its daily "Bankers' charges" alone. What must have been the aggregate waste of trading capital forced thus upon the community?

We proceed to summarise the transactions thus daily settled without the intervention of a single Bank Note:—

## Summary of Banking Statistics, 1870-1880.

The following statement is calculated from a series of voluminous Returns published by the Board of Trade, and which were furnished to that Department by the Bank Managers of the United Kingdom. A few Banks refused to furnish information, including the Bank of Ireland and three other Irish Banks. Such English and Welsh Banks as did not send Returns, only represented, in 1880, a total of £4,000,000 Paid-up Capital. The Scotch figures are in every respect complete.

1870. Paid-up Capital Reserve. Deposits and other Liabilities not including Note Issues. Discounts and other advances. Investments. Other Assets, including Cash and Deposits at call or short notice. England and Wales..... (Including Bank of England.) £35985,993 £11,110,293 £205,500,940 £164,245,609 £60,437,072 £59,849,927 Scotland ..... 9397,000 ... 2,697,329 ...67,922,238 ... 59,776,667 ..... £120,280,999 20,702,197 Ireland..... 2590.207 531,592 .....12,033,920 .....13,413,932 ..... 3,818,547 £51,973,199 £14,339,214 £285,517,098 £237,436,208 £150,807,743 1880. England and Wales..... £48,874,108. ... £17,922,505 .....£293,945,780 .. ... £207,861,242 .....£42,300,991 .....£88,384,168 (Including Bank of England.) — " — and £53,605.863 £130,685,159 Scotland..... 9,040,500 .... 4,134,910 82,776,228 ... 62,998,158 ..... 39,453,191 Ireland..... 3,124,766... ... 1,164,868 ..... 17,722,536 .. ... 17,693,483 ... 6,503,192 £61,015,374 £23,222,283 £394,444,544 £288,552,883 £176,641,542 and 53,605,863

## Movements of Bullion and Specie

# Amount Received and Paid by Trustees of Savings Banks; and Computed Capital Invested at the End of Each Year from 1841 to 1885.

## Trustees' Savings Banks.

## **Post Office Savings Banks (Commenced 1863) and Trustees' Banks.**

The following Table shows the amount of capital invested in both banks year by year, from 1863 to 1885. In a note to the Post Office return it is stated that the amount "Received" includes "Interest," which would seem to come more properly under the head of "Paid," unless it is left to fructify, and included in "Capital," as in the case of the Trustees' Banks. From this table it will be seen that in 1885 the Post Office Banks have at length outdistanced their competitors in the favour of the public, but that with all their advantages it should have taken the Government Banks 23 years to accomplish this speaks volumes for the prudent and enterprising management of the rival Trustee Banks.

### **Capital Invested.**

## **Average Annual Gazette Prices of British Wheat, Barley, and Oats, per Imperial Quarter.**

## **The Land Question.**

### **Landholders of the United Kingdom.**

In the House of Lords on the 19th February, 1872, during the first Administration of Mr. GLADSTONE, the Earl of DERBY wished to know whether Government intended to take any steps for ascertaining accurately the number of proprietors of land and houses in the United Kingdom, observing, in reference to statements made by the late Mr. J. S. MILL and Mr. JOHN BRIGHT (but without naming those gentlemen), that, out of doors, and from time to time, there was a great outcry about what was called the "monopoly of land," the wildest and most reckless exaggerations and mis-statements being made as to the number of persons who were the actual owners of the soil, who were estimated at not more than 30,000, whilst his own impression and belief was that there were at least ten times as many. The suggestion met with the approval of Government; a Return, including rentals and other particulars not mentioned by his lordship, was ordered; and the result appeared in the shape of two huge Blue Books, relating to England and Wales, and two others, of minor dimensions, devoted to Scotland and Ireland. As to Rentals, it is officially stated in the Preface that they were taken from the Valuation Lists of the localities, as arranged by Boards of Guardians and Assessment Committees or their clerks; and anything differing more widely from the system on which the original "Domesday Book" was compiled can scarcely be imagined, for that was done by sworn Government assessors, fully empowered to ascertain, on oath, the extent and value of each man's holding, whilst in its supposed successor we have no better assurance than the vague estimates of local functionaries and their clerks.

### **General Summary of Holdings and Rentals.**

Hence it would seem that instead of the 30,000 persons or less who were proprietors of the soil of the United Kingdom, as estimated by Mr. JOHN STUART MILL and Mr. BRIGHT, and instead of the "ten times as many" guessed at by the Earl of DERBY, on whose suggestion the Land Returns were ordered, chiefly, if not entirely, to settle the point in dispute, we have no fewer than 1,173,724 "owners of land" in the Three Kingdoms, holding 72,119,961 acres, and having a gross estimated rental of £131,470,360, exclusive of such parts of the counties of Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey as are included in the "Metropolis," an exclusion which very much resembles that of "Hamlet" from the play, and is the more anomalous, seeing that, whilst we have no information as to the holdings and rentals of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, and other magnates, who have become virtually the owners of a great part of the "Metropolis," such diligence has been shown in raking together the holders of minute portions of land in all other parts of the Three Kingdoms. For how is the list made up? Leaseholders are reckoned as owners, if their leases are reputed to be for 99 years, which (as Mr. Kay, Q.C., remarked) was very like calling hired horses the same as owned horses. Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, who and which hold land in almost every county, are counted as so many single

owners; "Crown Property " also swells the list; War Office and other Departments figure for many separate counties; each Railway Company (the sums set opposite to which represent not "rental " but rated traffic) is counted according to the number of counties through which its lines may pass; and hosts of Almshouse, Asylum, Charity, Poor, and other Trustees, Churchwardens, parish and police officers, &c., none of whom come under the description of "owners of land" as officially defined.

The extent of Commons and Waste Lands is so untruthfully stated in the Return as of itself to form an impeachment of the whole of the figures (see next page but one). Also the vast area of woods, plantations, wastes, and unenclosed commons over which Manorial rights extend, is not added to the estates of the great owners, or at all noticed in the Return.

The following are very interesting specimens of one way which helped to manufacture 972,836 "Owners of Land" in England and Wales, "exclusive of the metropolis:"—

Results still more extraordinary than the multiplication of "owners" may be extracted from the foregoing General Summary. For example, of the reputed 1,173,724 "owners of land" (including, by the way, 6,459 who have no acres, and 124 who have no rental) 852,438 have less than an acre each, and only 188,413 acres in the aggregate; but their "gross rental" is estimated at £36,294,173, which is £14,936,517 more than 252,725 persons with 4,910,723 acres receive; £10,198,891 more than 51,090 with 15,133,057 acres receive; and only £8,586,880 less than 10,888 holders of 51,885,118 acres receive. Of course the explanation as to the enormous sum set down for the fractional acre people must be that it is not rental, but the rated value of factories, workshops, houses, and other buildings which have little or no land beyond that on which they stand. Of the 6,459 "owners of land" who are not credited with any land, but who are said to have a "gross rental" of £2,842,191, there are 59 in Lancashire, whose "gross estimated rental" amounts to £214,878. On the other hand there are great numbers of persons who must be very clever managers indeed, seeing that they contrive to extract very large rentals from very small fractions of land. In the *Financial Reformer* for May, 1876, we published a list of 222 of them in Lancashire, holding altogether 534 acres, and credited with "gross rental" of £283,130—an average of about 2¼ acres, and "rental" of £1,050 for each, which would be an average of £466 13s. 4d. per acre!

A question of great importance, which has attracted but little attention, if any at all worth mentioning, is the necessity for a re-valuation of the landed and other real property of the country, conducted on a system widely different from that on which this modern "Domesday Book" was concocted; and again, in reference to assessments to the House Duty. The list of holders of 5,000 acres and upwards, in one or more lots, having been enlarged by the late Mr. Macqueen so as to show, in each instance, extent and rental separately, the vast disparity between them suggested to him the probability that fraud on the revenue might thus have been perpetrated, and wrong inflicted on millions of the landless people. Accordingly, with great labour, he set about a thorough analysis of the list, including the whole United Kingdom, and the result is here presented.

The totals do not exactly correspond with those in the other summary, but they come sufficiently near for the purpose. To arrive at this classification every holding, large and small, was taken out separately, and calculated, according to the rate of letting, to produce the rental specified. Of the items constituting Class 1, 1,534,377 acres thus appear to be let for less than sixpence an acre, the average being only twopence and about the thousandth part of a farthing per acre; 1,534,880 acres more to be between sixpence and a shilling, average 10¼d.; 3,087,474 acres more to be between one and two shillings per acre, average 1s. 5¾d.; 3,407,108 acres, average 2s. 4¼d.; 1,901,690 acres, average 3s. 4¾d.; and 1,524,156 acres with average of 4s. 7½d. per acre,—the whole making up the totals stated in the first line of the above classification. Making every allowance for mountain, flood, forest, and bog and waste land of every kind, it is quite impossible to believe that more than a third part of the 38,675,977 acres at the foot of the first column is let at rates under five shillings, and more than half under ten shillings an acre. The fact that it appears to be so suffices to show the necessity for such a thorough revision of the "Domesday Book" as is above recommended.

Nevertheless these "Domesday" returns, although of "no authority," and "a mere compilation from the ratebooks" (as Mr. Sclater-Booth, President of the Local Government Board, under whose auspices they were compiled, told the House of Commons), serve to demonstrate two very striking, if not startling, facts,— 1st. That landed and other real property must be most grossly under valued in the ratebooks, especially in the case of great and rich owners in the country districts, who have persons anxious to please them on the assessment boards.

The Financial Reform Association are preparing a list of such cases (of the undervaluation of great mansions, castles, and country houses), and invite information upon the point from readers of the Almanack who hear of or can suggest any instances in their own neighbourhoods.

2ndly, that 2s. in the pound on the income attributed to 955 individuals, who hold over 10,000 acres each, would produce £1,789,933, which is £727,000 more than the yield of the Land Tax of *four shillings* in the pound on what is still called in the statute-book "the full annual rack-rent value" of the whole land of the



kingdom, in the financial year 1883-4. This, too, "exclusive of the metropolis," from large possessions in which the Dukes of Bedford, Norfolk, and Westminster; the Marquises of Camden, Northampton, and Salisbury; Earls Cadogan, Craven, Dartmouth, and Somers; Lords Kensington and Portman, many commoners, the City Corporation, and the City Companies, derive princely revenues. Nevertheless, the landed nobility and gentry, who, according to Richard Cobden and according to fact, have "robbed and bamboozled the people for ages," still complain of being heavily and unfairly burdened in the matter of taxation; and, having succeeded in throwing many charges to which they themselves were properly liable on the public generally, *i.e.*, on the Imperial Exchequer, are now clamouring to do the like with other and heavier items.

It is to be hoped that exposure may serve to check this leech-like disposition of theirs, or, at all events, to prevent its further gratification; to call public attention efficiently to the need there is for a reform of laws relating to land, eminently calculated, as they were obviously intended, to make and perpetuate its possession a monopoly in the hands of as few individuals as possible; and also to the necessity of a thorough revision of the Land Tax.

## Holders of 5,000 Acres and upwards.

In our issue of 1883, an Alphabetical List of these is printed, giving the total acreage of each, total rental of each, and average rental per acre.

In our issue of 1882, a list appeared, giving particulars same as above, but with each county specified in detail, and without the calculated average rentals. Back numbers for either of these years may be had on application to the Financial Reform Association.

## Ancient Land Tenures.

The Land system of England in Anglo-Saxon times was complicated, inasmuch as there was not one and the same law for every plot of land. But it is important to note that *private ownership*, such as now exists amongst us, was entirely unknown. Of the four leading divisions of Landed property before the Conquest

We say four *leading* divisions, because there were indubitably other and more involved forms of tenure, most of which, for instance, laid the foundations for what later became known as Copyholds. These are in rapid process of extinction under an Act of 1841 and its later extensions, giving power to commute manorial rights and enfranchise properties. In 43 years ending 31st December, 1884, no less than 15,174 such enfranchisements had been effected through the Copyhold Commission, which is now called the English Land Commission.

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Folk Land was that belonging to no person or community, but to the nation as a whole. It is surmised to have been land remaining over after the invaders (or first settlement) had allotted sufficient plots to each of their freeman comrades. In shires exposed to invasion the Sovereign power occasionally granted such land to secure the aid of the holder, or to reward the military services of some other person.

Common Land was that held by organized communities, and not by separate individuals. The latter might have its use allotted for a time, but the property remained in the community. Here, however, was round the element that led to dispersion, for lands thus marked off from the common stock became by natural transition private property, the order of change being thus described by Professor Pollock ("The Land Laws": Macmillan)—of whose excellent synopsis we have also otherwise made use:—

- No Alienation, but only inheritance.
- Alienation within the family, but with consent of the community and of possible heirs.
- Consent of the community reduced to a mere form.
- In times of warfare and distress the wealthiest and strongest member of the community acquiring commanding influence, the others falling into dependence.
- Grants of public jurisdiction, &c., from the King to one so pre-eminent.
- The Lord of the Manor acquiring the powers of the community, and exacting dues and fines for consent to alienation.
- The Common Land coming to be looked on as the Lord's Land, and the public courts as the Lord's courts, long before the Conquest of 1066.

Bocland (or Book-land) was that of later origin than the other two, and granted by a written instrument or book, as it was then called. At first such grants were only made to religious houses, or by the King, with consent of the Witan or Parliament; but it is clear they must have come from the stock of either Folk Land or Common Land, and the balance of evidence strongly tends to the former supposition.

With the advent of William the Norman came the change to military feudalism. Folk Land became the King's Land, and, along with such other soil as came by confiscations and forfeitures, was registered in the

Domesday Book as Terra Regis. And with the disappearance of Folk Land there went Bocland, which had been made out of it. The religious houses, it is true, were not dispossessed by William, but their instruments of grant became void, and under the feudal regulations they received tenures of "Frankalmoigne" instead, that is to say, "free alms," or of "Divine Service," that is to say, "free masses for the grantor and his heirs." (See Section on "The State Church.")

## The Feudal System

was simply a territorial organization for military purposes. Prior to its establishment, and from time immemorial, the tenure of Land had involved the obligation to pay for defensive warfare. Feudalism made its tenants not only pay, but in person *fight*: this was "the essence and condition of the landholders' titles." They could not alienate their lands or dispose of them by will, or even inherit them by descent as a matter of right (see description of the military tenures pp. 186-7); but the custom of Primogeniture, previously established in Continental feudalism, rapidly asserted a foothold, and from the feudal estates spread even to socage land (or that portion of the soil which was independent of military tenure).

## Appropriation of Common Lands.

Why prosecute the man or woman  
Who steals the goose from off the common,  
But leave the greater felon loose  
Who steals the common from the goose?

The abuse of Manorial Lordships indicated in a foregoing paragraph rapidly thinned down the area of commons and commonable lands. The term "Common Lands" generally indicates lands that are in a state of nature in waste, the severalty of which is not in any individuals. Commonable lands are those portions which during a certain time each year are in severalty, viz., "Lammas Lands" (which from seedtime to 12th August are divided among occupiers that each till their own portion); commonable bay-fields (which are thrown open after hay harvest); &c. The village greens are most probably remnants of old unappropriated common field lands. From returns made to Parliament in 1873 the following would appear to be the

Total Estimated Acreage of the Commons and Common Field Lands in each County in England and Wales.

And this was not a complete return, being based upon the tithe documents. As evidence of their imperfection, a Parliamentary report states that on an investigation of some 917 enclosures, it was found that 104 had taken place in parishes where the tithe documents made mention of no common lands at all. A return of 1843 (including only land upon which commutations of tithe had taken effect) specified 1,800,000 acres of common and waste out of 8,600,000 so far commuted. Proportioning this to the whole area of England and Wales, the Tithe Commissioners estimated that there would be altogether 8,000,000 acres of common and waste. This included wastes not subject to common (a very large item), but did not include Lammas lands (a considerable one).

Between the two authorities it seems fair to assume that probably four million acres (or over a tenth of the entire acreage) of England and Wales are still subject to common rights. Prior to 1800 some 1,600 or 1,700 Enclosure Acts had been passed, and from 1800 to 1845, 2,000 more were enacted—altogether 3,600 or 3,700 separate measures for the robbery of the poor by the landed rich. Sir James Caird (who understates the number of enclosures as 2,500) reckons the amount of land thus enclosed as 2,142,000 acres, but adds significantly that "besides this, a very large extent of country has been reclaimed without the intervention of Parliament." We might suggest to Sir James the more Shaksperian word "conveyed," which would be far more expressive and appropriate altogether.

In 1845 the reformed Parliament found time to pass an Act dealing with these private enclosures and with the cognate subject of the reclamation of wastes. On the evidence of a committee almost entirely composed of great landowners, and presided over by Lord Worsley, it was decided to encourage and cheapen enclosures in the interest of the great landlords, who, it appears, had to pay about £1,500 legal charges in getting their filching bills through. The specious plea that these lands were comparatively unproductive was used to blind the public into assent to an Act that validated and perpetuated the ancient frauds upon the people. True that clauses 30 and 31 allowed a proportional quantity of the lands to be appropriated according to population for purposes of recreation and amusement, and of a certain portion for allotments to the labouring poor, moreover clause 15 protected such of the village greens as were left; but the main object of the Whig and Tory magnates

in this 1845 Act was made transparent, for it laid no hand upon offenders who had notoriously encroached, and by clause 50 it gave perpetual and unchallenged right of ownership in every case of 20 years' possession.

Under this Act 614,800 more acres were enclosed between 1845 and 1869, in which year Mr. William Cowper, M.P., and Mr. Vernon Harcourt rendered great service to the people by carrying a Select Committee "to inquire how far the provisions relating to the labouring poor were being carried out, and whether in order properly to protect the interests of the public the Act required amendment in respect to its provisions for places of public recreation and for allotments for the labouring poor." Under the vigorous cross-examination of these two gentlemen, one of whom is now a Peer and the other an Ex-Cabinet Minister, it was elicited that out of 368,000 acres which were subject to the provisions regarding playgrounds and cottage allotments, only 2,223 acres had been set apart for the former and 1,742 for the latter. Also that none but agriculturists were reckoned in calculating the population of "the labouring poor." Moreover that in a large number of the new enclosures, extending over 89,791 acres, no allotments whatever had been made—the Act leaving the Commissioners an option which they had improperly exercised for the deprivation of the rights of the poor. In other cases, one of which Sir W. Harcourt succeeded in stopping before it received the seal of the Commissioners, as much as 1,904 acres of common were enclosed and but one acre reserved for the people, that one acre (save the mark) to be used as a school playground only. Of course—as in all cases of Parliamentary enquiry—the officials were whitewashed and the finest excuses made for them in the report, such gentlemen being traditionally allowed to steal horses while those who pay their salaries must not so much as "look over a fence." However, following on the report of the Select Committee, a new Bill was passed, making many improvements upon the state of things, extending power to make half-acre allotments (instead of quarter-acre each) to the labourers, and preventing the extortionate rents that allotment wardens had been permitted to exact: these in many cases being three or four times the amount of the "fair agricultural rent." These rents and others were being applied in reduction of highway and poor rates (a splendid idea of the landlords in their Act of 1845), but it was now ordered that all residue should be employed in improving or fencing the recreation and allotment lands, or in hiring or purchasing land to add thereto. The final paragraph of the Select Committee's report of 1869 was as follows:—

*"24. The general question of the action of the Inclosure Commission has necessarily come before your Committee in the course of their inquiries. Since the passing of the Act of 1845, the large increase in the population of the country, the increased value of land, the acknowledged need for maintaining public rights of way, the still greater necessity for providing recreation grounds and garden allotments for the labouring poor, taken with the large decrease of waste lands, have evidently very much increased the responsibility of this Commission. Your Committee believe that the alterations in the law which are suggested in this Report would affect beneficially the action of the Commission. At the same time they are of opinion that the constant attention of Parliament will be required on the annual introduction of the Inclosure Bill."*

And undoubtedly such constant attention is still necessary. From 1845 to 1875 the general results of the Inclosure Commission were as follows—

EXTENT OF LAND allotted to Lords of Manors:—

- One-fifteenth of the wastes, 414,000 acres, 27,600 acres, divided among 620 Lords, at an average of 44½ acres to each.

EXTENT OF LAND allotted to Common-right Owners:-

- 526,890 acres divided among 21,810 common-right owners, at an average of 24 acres to each.

EXTENT OF LAND SOLD:-

- 34,450 acres to 3,500 purchasers, at an average of 10 acres to each.

NUMBER of Separate ESTATES thus created out of Commons; by which it will be seen that an appreciable addition has been made to the number of small Landholders.

Of whom 4,836 were farmers, 3,456 tradesmen, 3,168 working-men, 2,624 esquires, 2,016 widows, 1,984 gentlemen, 1,280 clergymen. 1,067 artisans, 800 spinsters, 704 trustees of charities, 576 peers and baronets, 512 professional men, &c., &c.

In 1871 a further Select Committee reported that the veto invested in Lords of the Manors was being employed to impose terms not consistent with the spirit or sometimes even with the letter of the Inclosure Acts, and that the officials representing the Crown Manors had frequently stipulated that the nomination of valuers should be left absolutely to their discretion, in spite of the provisions of Section S3. The Committee demanded refusal of assent to such conditions and the prevention of a mis-use of the Lords of Manors' veto. Moreover, they recommended the appointment of a Special Committee for the consideration of each annual Inclosure bill, and laid down emphatically the dictum that "It rests with those who ask the assistance of Parliament and seek its authority, in order to procure for themselves advantages which, without that, they could not obtain, to make out a clear case of public advantage."

Since the Commons Act of 1876, 89 applications for Regulation and Enclosure of Commons have been

made to the Land Commission, embracing together some 113,774 acres in all. Of these  
All the remaining cases have been refused or withdrawn.

## Free Trade in Land. Why it is Needed.

Summarized from the argument of Mr. Kay, but with considerable additions.

From the Domesday Returns of 1874 (which, as we have pointed out, very greatly understated the facts as to the size of the Targe landed estates, having altogether omitted London, and unenclosed woods, &c., and leases reputed to be for 99 or more years,) the main facts appeared to be that in ENGLAND and WALES—

- 12 persons own 1,038,883 acres.
- 66 persons own 1,917,076 acres.
- 100 persons own 3,917,641 acres.
- 280 persons own 5,425,764 acres. (or about one-sixth of the enclosed land).
- 523 persons own one-fifth of all England and Wales.
- 710 persons own one-fourth of all England and Wales.
- 874 persons own 9,267,031 acres.
- 10,207 persons own two-thirds of the whole of England and Wales.

In Northumberland County, which contains 1,220,000 acres, some 26 persons own half the county.

In SCOTLAND, where the total area is 18,946,694 acres—

In IRELAND, where the total area is 20,159,677 acres—

In the UNITED KINGDOM there are altogether 77,799,793 acres of Land, and out of 72,119,961 acres included in the returns it appears there were 12 great owners who possessed 4,440,467 acres. Well may the late Mr. Kay, Q.C., in his excellent letters on the Land Question [Kegan Paul & Co.] exclaim: "*We have been cutting away the baste of our social pyramid, while nearly all other civilized countries have been pursuing an exactly opposite policy!*" In France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and Italy feudalism has been suppressed, and in all these countries small estates long since began to multiply. Here, not only are they decreasing, but the very class of yeomen is all but extinguished. What were the laws by the abolition of which on the Continent the people broke up the Landed Monopolies? They were the same laws which now in this country allow Owners to make deeds and wills that for many years prevent the land from being sold, or the estate from being divided, no matter how expedient it may be that it should be sold, or no matter how foolish or extravagant the owner may be.

The operation of Lord Cairn's Settled Land Act of 1882 has only provided a slow and very partial remedy for the main evils here alluded to. We give a full description of this Act on the next page.

They were the same laws which now in this country (if a landowner leaves no deed or will) give all his land without diminution or charge in one undivided estate to his next heir. The same laws which here allow leases of 99 to 999 years, subjecting land to all kinds of antiquated covenants that go on affecting society for generations after the death of the grantor, and after all the circumstances have been changed. The consequence of such laws, leases, deeds of settlement, and wills are manifold, being every way unjust.

- They prevent the sale of estates which would otherwise come into the market.
- They lessen due parental control.
- They induce careless Landowners to be tenfold more careless than they otherwise would be about the education of their sons.
- They maintain in influential positions men unworthy of those positions.
- They deprive many Landowners of the means of properly managing their estates.
- They tend very greatly to retard the progress of agricultural improvements.
- They render it necessary to make deeds and wills very long and expensive.
- They render it often very difficult and costly for a purchaser to ascertain the state of title to a plot of land he may wish to purchase.
- They often leave actual titles to large plots of land uncertain, in spite of all the labour and expense bestowed on their careful investigation.
- They deprive the small farmers, the shopkeepers, and the peasantry of almost all chance of buying land.
- They aggravate all these evils in Ireland by the additional curses of Absenteeism and Agent-management.
- They create and perpetuate a class of Land Monopolists so strong and united as to be able to control both Houses of the Legislature, the result being that all our laws are tinctured with some concession or other to them—be the concession just or unjust.
- They drive out and decimate the rural populations, forcing these to emigrate to foreign soil or take refuge in already overcrowded towns, congesting the labour markets, aggravating social evils, and lowering the moral and physical stamina of the masses generally.

- They are a main cause of the oppressive taxation of the trading and operative classes, for, by means of the Parliamentary power secured by ages of undisturbed monopoly, the Landholders have shaken off their own liabilities to the Crown, and devolved nearly every fiscal burden upon those beneath them in social position.
- They give a short, easy, and summary right of seizure to Landlords, to the unjust deprivation of other classes of creditors, who have to be content with what the Landlord chooses to leave of a debtor's estate, and in most cases have legal charges to pay which he has escaped the necessity for.
- They confiscate the property of tenants by giving fixtures to the Landlord. Even trade fixtures were for centuries appropriated in this way. Agricultural improvements were only admitted to consideration a year or two ago, and then in very partial fashion.
- They lead to the Game Laws, which sacrifice the productive powers of the soil, rob the agriculturist of results rightfully earned by the sweat of his brow, and drive into crime thousands of men and boys that in any other country would rise to honourable careers. Moreover, the judicial power in such cases is retained for the game-preserving class of county magistrates, the most prejudiced and incompetent administrators of justice in the country.
- They encourage an ingrained selfishness of views as to the rights and duties of landed property which leads to the curtailment of public rights of way and of common, to the immuring of nature generally, and thereby grievous loss to the national taste and appreciation of many pure and exalting pleasures.
- They create a class of men fabulously rich, the effect of which stimulates a striving to be at rich in the next classes, and so on until it has come to be the case that in England, where the necessaries of life are cheapest, the cost of living is unduly increased. It is much more expensive to educate children, to start them in careers, to provide them with a home—than in any country where such land laws as ours do not exist.

From the Consular Reports of 1869, upon the tenure of land in Europe, it appeared that in 1858 there were in Prussia 800,000 day labourers (working for wages) who *owned* plots of land and were cultivators of vegetables and fruit; that only 108 landowners had estates sufficiently large to be rated at £1,500 a year, and that in the whole kingdom there were but 18,197 properties exceeding 400 acres each, while there were

These figures do not include residential sites or house-gardens.

In Belgium there were in 1846 only 758,512 landowners. In 1865 these had increased to 1,069,326, under the operation of a land system only partially free.

In the Channel Islands, under a free system and peasant proprietary, the average rent of middling land has risen to £4 and £6 per acre. The same figure in Switzerland. Whereas in England 30s. an acre would be thought a fair and rather a high rent.

In France, according to M. Lavergne's "Economic Rurale,"

- 50,000 proprietors hold an average of 750 acres each.
- 500,000 proprietors hold an average of 75 acres each.
- 5,000,000 proprietors hold an average of 7½ acres each.

## The Settled Land Act of 1882.

This measure of the late Earl Cairns makes no change in the law of settlement, and under its provisions a testator has all his old liberty of tying up his landed property. The difference introduced briefly amounts to this,—that after his death his successor may, under certain conditions, convert the land into money or securities, if content that the limitations should still apply. This is to lock up property in consols and debentures, or in freshly-acquired land, and it is but a tinkering reform after all. The scope given by this measure for the discharge or redemption of incumbrances affecting the inheritance of settled land has not been largely availed of, but some 183 applications have been made in the first two years under its improvement clauses.

## Other Facts and Figures Bearing on the Land Question.

### Expenses of Legal Transfers.

(From a list of Purchasers' expenses prepared by the conveyancer to the Commission for Registration of Titles.)

Average cost of transfer  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent., and the Stamp Duty  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., makes it 3 per cent. Imagine this on any other commodity than land.

#### Deer Forests.

In Scotland much more than 2,000,000 acres have been depopulated and cleared of thousands of sheep to make room for deer forests: homes, farms, and food destroyed, that wealth may sport. There are now in

Well may Professor Blackie remark that "we have made Laws enough to preserve the Landlords and the Game, and it might seem wise now to make a few laws to preserve the people."

According to the *British Almanac* for 1885, the total area of the four counties of Scotland which are Highland counties *par excellence*, and in which are situated the chief deer forests of the country, extends to 8,030,190 acres; the extent of land under cultivation being only 419,385 acres, there is thus left for deer and other wild animals an enormous tract of country, much of it, of course, unfit for life of any kind, inaccessible mountains and rocky promontories upon which nothing can live.

The exact rental yielded by deer forests is not known, but estimates founded on the assessments for taxation, which have been made, place the rent at about 2s. per acre, which would yield a total sum of about £216,000 per annum. More than sixty of the Scottish deer forests are let, or retained by the owners, at rents ranging from £1,000 to £4,000 sterling; there is one gentleman, however, who pays for the land he has leased as a forest in two or three of the Scottish counties considerably more than £8,000 per annum!

The tenants of these vast stretches of land obtain nothing in return for the large amounts paid but the privilege of shooting the deer and such other wild animals as they may be able to find on their ground, and it has been calculated by economists that each stag slain is killed at a cost of not less than fifty guineas, whilst the price of a brace of grouse to the lessee of a moor has been reckoned at a pound. These are "fancy" figures, of course, and must be taken for what they are worth, as plenty of miscellaneous game is found in some of the forests which helps to furnish the table; but by rule of thumb it is assumed that any deer forest which is capable of yielding a hundred stags per annum is worth from £4,000 to £5,000 a year. Mr. J. G. Bertram has estimated that in the ten counties above named, 4,377 stags will be expected yearly, and this at £50 apiece would represent a rent-roll of £230,000. But some 50,000 to 60,000 hinds are also kept, and the contingent expenditure for servants, watchers, gillies, &c., is at least equal to the sum paid in rent. The protection of all trees from the deer, the erection of shooting lodges, &c., building of dykes, fences, &c., and various forms of "improvements" in connection with the Highland shootings and stalkings, are estimated to have cost £5,000,000.

#### Home and Foreign Agricultural Produce.

The relative proportions annually consumed in this country were thus stated by Sir James Caird in 1880:—

The relative values are also summarized in this manner by the same authority:—

#### The Dangers of Foreign Food Supply.

The nonsense often talked by military and naval authorities, by reciprocitarians, and by alarmists generally as to the danger of obtaining supplies of food from abroad, the peril of being starved into submission in case of war, and "*hoc genus omne*," will be amply discounted when it is remembered:—

- That it is not only unlikely, but impossible, that the whole world will be against us at once—a pass, however, which a Tory Monarch and Tory Ministers nearly brought us to in the reign of George III.
- That obtaining as we do so large a proportion of our food from the foreigner, it is inconceivable that the corn producers, &c., of any country would permit their best market to be long closed to them.
- That the slight rise of price ensuing from war or the stop-page of supplies from one country would immediately bring about additional production in the other parts of the world to meet our needs, not to speak of what our own farmers would be only too glad to do.
- That without any strain at all upon our present agricultural system, the Corn Land of the Kingdom might, by the application of nitrate, be made to produce an additional wheat crop, instead of the usual four-course system of wheat, turnips, barley, and clover. If only a twentieth part of our Corn Area were thus sown, the effect of the loss of Russian supply would not be felt. If all Europe were closed to us, One-tenth of such double cropping would suffice to neutralise the effect.
- That the Corn Lands as now sown, producing an average of but 26 bushels to the statute acre, might with improved tillage be easily rendered more productive. The average crop of Mr. J. B. Lawes is well known to be 36 bushels, and Canon C. W. Stubbs states the Allotments average at 40 bushels. Then the maximums under each system are not to be forgotten, being respectively 60, 55, and 57 bushels to the acre.
- That apart altogether from the Corn Lands, covering as they do bit 10 millions of acres, we have pasture lands extending over 25 million acres, which form a most immense reserve of cereal production, and more than sufficient to keep us for generations in the event of altogether impossible calamities.

# Sir James Caird's Tables of Comparative Agricultural Values and Comparative Harvests.

Comparisons taken from the Books of a Dairy Farm, situate between Lancaster and Garstang.  
Land Assessments.

Farmers.

Produce of Wheat per Acre.

The above table is based upon 28 bushels as an average crop, and reckoning 28 bushels=100. The figures of this and other tables are from Sir James Caird's valuable works on "The Landed Interest" (Cassell and Co.), and "English Agriculture" (Longmans).

From another authority—(*Times*)—the Harvest estimates, being differently based, appear as follows:—

*"The large farm system embraces nearly twice the proportion of corn, and half the proportion of green crops and grass. In other words, it is doubly dependent on the price of corn as compared with the middle class farm system, which relies to a far greater extent on its dairy produce, its fat cattle, its vegetables, and its hay. The result is, that the latter pays more rent or surplus for the use of the land, and a higher rate of wages to the labourer.....A man who has regular employment at wages finds an immense advantage in a good garden allotment beside his cottage, and that is vastly increased when that cottage is on the farm, away from the temptation of the beer shop, and where, as part of his wages, he receives the keep of a cow. This is the system in the border counties, where agriculture is in the most prosperous state, and the agricultural labourer the best fed and clothed, the most educated and intelligent of his class in any part of the three kingdoms."—SIR JAMES CAIRD (Statistical Society's Journal, March, 1869.)*

*"To far too great an extent we have been accustomed to measure the so-called 'harvest' generally, and even the entire agricultural position, by the success or failure of the wheat crop alone. When it is remembered that the proportions devoted to this cereal vary so enormously in different parts of the country, and reflect on the fact that though a bad harvest usually means loss on all our grain crops, it by no means follows that all suffer equally, I think I may be allowed to plead for greater prominence being allowed to the records of the yield of our other crops."—MAJOR P. G. CRAIGIE, Sec. Central Chamber of Agriculture (Statistical Society's Journal, March, 1883.)*

## Acreage under each Crop, Fallow, and Grass; and Number of Live Stock in Great Britain and Ireland, including the Isle of Man and Channel Islands.

### Statistics of Agriculture.

Small Holdings.

Sir James Caird estimates that in England 390,000 out of 550,000 are holdings of 50 acres and under.

Indebtedness of the English Landed Gentry (by way of Mortgage and otherwise).

Estimated at over £250,000,000.—(*Manchester Guardian*.)

Losses of Farmers' Capital.

Those of the years 1875-1883=£150,000,000.

Annual Expenditure of Landlords of United Kingdom on their Land.

Estimated by Sir James Caird, in 1885, to have been for the last 30 years at the rate of £2,000,000 per annum, a large portion of which for mere renewal of buildings, roads, and drains. And as the total rental of lands is 67 millions, it appears that the total sum spent in 30 years on improvements is less than one year's rental.

Capital Value of Soil of United Kingdom.

Estimated by the same authority at £2,000,000,000. Hence it has been argued by Mr. Fyffe, that if ever since the Norman Conquest the Owners of Land had spent the 2 millions per annum on improvements, they would not yet have parted with a capital sum equal to what they now receive rent on.

Extraordinary Tithes.

In Kent these amount on hops to 2s. to 22s. per acre; fruit, 6s. to 10s.; market garden, 5s. to 12s. In Sussex, on hops, 7s. to 20s.; market garden, 3s. 6d. to 13s. 4d. In Surrey, on hops, 30s. In Hampshire, on hops, 20s.; and in Worcestershire and Herefordshire, on hops, 4s. to 7s.—(*From Report of Select Committee on Extraordinary Tithes, 22nd July, 1881, which recommended commutation on a 7 years' basis where a Landowner applies, or that on his joint application with the Titheowner a fixed addition to the ordinary Tithe Charge might be made in lieu of extraordinary Tithes*).

## The Irish Land Question.

In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 24th July, 1885, Mr. Michael Davitt published the following

### Table,

## Showing increase of Rents and their amounts at different periods, on the estates of the most model Landlords in Ireland.

Owners. Past and Present. Rental in 1691. £ Rental In 1782. £ Rental in Domesday Return of 1874.

The figures of rental represent Poor Law Valuation only, the actual rental in most cases being much higher.

In our Almanacks of 1884 and 1886 very copious particulars may be found of the operation of the Land Act; also of each landlord's reductions as enforced by the courts, and striking instances of the rack-rents exacted from unfortunate tenants prior to the Gladstone Government's measure. We cannot repeat from year to year this very valuable series of tables—which trenched too far upon our limited space—but content ourselves this year with a summary of results up to the most recent date available, and which will be found at another part of the book (see Index).

## "Promotion by Merit" in the British Public Service: and how it Works or is "Worked."

A Table suggesting where some of those Taxes go of which the Landed Aristocracy evade payment.

Relations of Peers in the Public Pay, 1850—1885

28 33 198 59 202 (520) Dukes. Marquesses. Earls. Viscounts. Barons. Total

## Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act.

This Act enables the Government to give free grants of one year's rent for the discharge of arrears where the valuation of the holding was under £30. Tenants whose holdings were valued at a sum not exceeding £50 could, however, conjointly with their landlords, apply for advance to be made to the landlord, in discharge of arrears, under the 16th section of the Act. Advances so made become a rent-charge for 35 years, charged upon the holding, and declared to be so by Order of the Land Commission. Only 1,090 such applications were made, of which 994 were granted. The number of joint applications under the 1st section of the Arrears of Rent Act (free grants) was 95,452. The number of separate applications was 40,545. In all, 135,997. The number granted was 129,952, and the number disallowed, or withdrawn, 6,045. The amount ordered to be paid was £812,821 4s. 6d. Under sub-section 1, section 1 of this Act, it was necessary (to be entitled to a grant) that a year's rent, in respect of the year 1881, should have been paid or satisfied not later than the 30th November, 1882. Here, then, an arrear of £1,624,262 9s. 0d., two years' rental from the suspense ledger of bad debts, was paid up in full by an Act for the Relief of the Poor —of the Irish Landlords I We quote from the Report: "There were two classes of applications to be dealt with; under the 1st section of the Act, joint applications by landlord and tenant, and



separate applications by the tenant alone. Joint applications were, of course, the easiest, to dispose of, but in the beginning of November it became evident that in a great many *separate* applications it was necessary to use the utmost exertions, so that we might be enabled to make orders discharging arrears without delay. The most pressing cases were those where the tenant having been evicted, the time for redemption was running out. Cases, also, in which tenants had to apply for writs of restitution were of great urgency." And yet landlords speak of the *felony* of Mr. Gladstone's Irish legislation!

## Griffith's Valuation.

The most minute, exact, and authoritative basis of equitable taxation and of fair rents as applied to the relations of landlord and tenant in Europe, if not in the world. Of this General Valuation of Ireland, which is in the main the authority for the equity of the adjustment of rents under the Irish Land Act, and of which the amount is stated in every published case in the reports of the Land Commission, we think it of importance to give a short sketch dealing with its origin, and the manner of its successful completion. In 1825 the Government undertook to make an accurate survey of Ireland, to be followed by an engraved plan showing the exact area of every townland, the outlines of every field, the heights of every hill, the levels of rivers, lakes, valleys, and the contour lines at 50ft. of difference of level. This was mainly conducted by Major-General Colby, to whom it was entrusted by the Ordnance Department. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Griffith, preceded the surveyors as Boundary Commissioner to determine the boundaries of town-lands, and in cases of conflict of evidence to hold a court of inquiry. The boundary survey completed, Sir Richard was then commissioned to make a general valuation of every townland, upon a general and scientific basis, for all Ireland, so that the county taxation for every barony should be assessed on equitable principles. The *modus operandi* was as follows :—Every separate townland was separately described by the valuator—the constituent or general characteristics of its soil, the geological formation of the district, proximity to or remoteness from market towns, roads, climate, &c., and then, in detail, each 20, 30, 100 or more acres, as the diversity of soil or other circumstances warranted difference in value. In the neighbourhood of cities or large towns, a suburban circle was drawn, with a radius of one, two, or more miles, greater or less radius as the influence of the more important large centres of population might require. Houses were all reassessed, and their values determined first by a scale priced A1, A2, A3, &c., as the materials and the construction might determine the class. This being fixed *pro tem.*, the valuation was subsequently submitted to a Board of Appeal (large farmers), the elect of the baronial ratepayers, who, with the concurrence of the Commissioner, or his delegate, altered, added to, or made reduction in the valuation, after which it became the basis of assessments for roads, police and other rates, in the administration of the Grand Jury of each county. The valuation thus made on the basis of uniform scientific detail, and of appeal to the evidence of practical skilled farmers, agents, and proprietors of land, prepared the public mind for an extension of its details to the tenement value of every farm, cabin, house, or homestead assessed to the payment of poor rates and rates municipal over all Ireland.

In the absence of the Parliamentary return, we cannot in exact terms state the actual cost of establishing Griffith's valuation, including (as that should) both Ordnance and Boundary surveys, as well as the valuation procedure; but we know the price per acre for valuation from the contracts made by professional valuers at the time of the tithe commutation. This was, on an average, say *twopence per acre*. Now that the Ordnance is publishing the plans of the English survey on a scale of six inches to the mile, there remains but to organize a competent staff, and the valuation of the rural districts of Great Britain would not, we are bold to say, exceed one penny per acre. This, for some 36 million acres, would be £300,000, say some £50,000 per year for six years. The cost of the yearly revision of the valuation and survey of Ireland is now £20,000 to £24,000, for there are changes of boundaries, partition and consolidation of farms in every union. To all of these, on notice of any change from the Clerks of Unions, revisors are sent down, and both the plans and the values are made to show, *pari passu*, the yearly changes in the formation of new streets or houses in towns, and in the partition of the land in rural districts.

## The Uncultivated Areas of Ireland.

Assuming the valuation of the 38 boroughs (Dublin, Cork, &c.), with other towns not boroughs, to be, say 2 millions, the valuation outside the civic assessment would be 11 millions. Add 5½ millions (50 per cent.) to this, the rental of Ireland in 1882 = 16½ millions. Our Summary of the Land Court Returns showed in Ulster 58.24 per cent, of addition, in Munster 57.49 per cent., and so of the other Provinces. In fact, the rental of Ireland in 1882 must have reached even 17 millions or more. What a tax on the industry of an impoverished people!

In six counties—Cork, Kerry (Munster), Donegal, Tyrone (Ulster), Galway, Mayo (Connaught)—there were as follows:—

1.—These six counties contain one-third of the holdings, one-third of the arable land, and more than one half (5-8ths) of the waste land of Ireland. In these counties also—"the congested districts"—is to be found the major part of the destitution and misery perpetual in that country. One million acres at least of these wastes are reclaimable. The reclamation would give employment, would give food, *pro. tem.*, and by the establishment of a peasant proprietary on the lands reclaimed, would give, not a precarious or casual, but permanent relief. Nimmo and Griffith's bog reports, a survey authoritative and exhaustive, are in the hands of the Government. The means are there suggested whereby many may be redeemed from misery, have the property of their own holdings, and become conservators of order and of law.

2.—It is to be remarked that the most prosperous counties of Ireland—Armagh and Down—have the smallest average acreage per holding. Armagh, 1882, 14¾ acres; 1861, 14 acres. Down, 1882, 20.10 acres; 1861, 20 acres. There is no change in the average since 1861. But in Kerry—1882, 59.80 acres; 1861, 44 acres. Donegal—1882, 85.78 acres; 1861, 22 acres. The prosperous counties have average; the poorest districts from 44 to 60, from 22 to 36. And, stranger still, the rents have a higher increase over the valuation—in Donegal, 68.19 per cent.; in Kerry, 87.73 per cent. A higher rate of rent, but a deeper depth of misery. Does not this suggest irresistibly the cause of the poverty?

## **Sales in the Encumbered Estate Court—First 20 years, 1849-1869.**

Of the seven years' sales—1862-69, £8,950,839—the net rental was £508,749, an average of 17½ (17.6) years' purchase. The earlier sales were at a less purchase. On an average of 16 years' purchase, the net rental of the estates sold in the 20 years would be 2½ millions = about one-sixth the rental of Ireland! The mortgagees received their money, but the result to the tenants was ruinous. Attorneys, petty money-lenders, tradesmen, hucksters bought with a view to profit, and they raised rents without stint: they reeked not, for the Law gave facilities to the law of greed, and "they joined house to house, and field to field, and ground the faces of the poor."

## **Irish Landholders, Resident and Absentee.**

To the supplementary Return of the Landholders of Ireland, obtained on the motion of Mr. Butt, in 1877, and arranging them in twelve classes, from possessors of "under 25 acres" to those of "20,000 acres and upwards"—there was appended an account of the number of resident, partially resident, and absentee proprietors, with the extent and valuation of their Holdings, first in counties and next in provinces. The following was the summary for Ireland:—

According to the Domesday Return there were in Ireland 68,758 owners of land, 20,159,678 acres in extent, and valued at £13,419,258; and of these 32,614 had an acre and upwards each, and 20,150,612 acres in the aggregate, with total valuation of £12,052,809.

## **Crown Lands.**

In no other country can it be so well ascertained as in this, what lands were allotted in early times to the Crown, the authentic "Domesday Book" giving 1,422 manors or lordships to the Crown, besides lands and farms in three counties.

## **Ancient Demesnes.**

These descended from the Kings of the Heptarchy to Edward the Confessor, and were added to by many quit-rents payable from other manors. All these parts of the Crown Property it was held impious to alienate.

## **Acquired Demesnes.**

By escheat, forfeiture, and feudal delinquency, other landed estates came to the Crown, and of these by common understanding the Sovereigns might dispose at pleasure.

## **Alienation and Resumption.**

The Legislature has always had undisputed right to make void any kingly alienations of property, when thought exorbitant, and seldom failed in olden times to resume such property. William Rufus dissipated most of

the Conqueror's vast settlements, but he was forced to an act of Resumption, as indeed were every one of his successors to the end of the fourteenth century. Henry IV. was compelled by the House of Commons to resume and annex for ever lands granted away by Edward III. and Richard II. So in the reigns of Henry VI., Edward VI., and Henry VII.

## **Seizure of the Monastery Lands.**

Henry VIII., by an Act of Resumption, added to the Crown Estates these broad domains, whose annual rental was then £273,000. Had they remained intact, it has been officially calculated that these lands alone would have yielded £6,000,000 per annum in 1792, and we may estimate their worth in 1884 at fully 100 millions or more. Where have they gone?

## **Enrichment of the Aristocracy.**

Henry himself alienated to Court favourites the greater part of the religious houses' confiscations. The ministers of Edward VI. gorged themselves upon further pillage of the Church estates. Queen Mary gave back to the Church the parsonages, glebe-lands, impropriate tithes, and other good things, and Elizabeth sold off large areas to avoid the unpopularity of taxing her subjects. James I. went to unbounded lengths in his grants to the aristocracy, and by sale of lands for his own benefit realized £775,000. A valuation made about the year 1609 shows the rental then coming from Crown Lands to have been as follows:—

Charles I. sold much of this goodly property to pay his government expenses. At one time he gave the Crown estates to the City as security for a loan of £320,000. Under the Commonwealth almost all the Crown Lands were sold, their yearly value then being £120,000. At the Restoration in 1660, Resumption was of course made of the whole of such property, but by connivance, favouritism, and concealment, large portions were still left in private ownership. At this time the yearly revenue had risen to £263,598, but three years later Charles II. had whittled it down to £105,000 by grants and sales, and later still he sold the fee-farm rents to help pay his accumulating debts. In 1695, William III. drew on himself the chastisement of the House of Commons for a wholesale land-grant made to the Duke of Portland, and recalled the grant so made, but the next year he gave the Duke several other manors and £24,000 of fee-farm rents to boot.

At the close of this lavish monarch's reign only £15,000 a year remained of all the Crown Property, and this sum was inclusive of £9,000 from the Duchy of Cornwall.

The Scotch Land Revenues were until 1882 managed by the Barons of the Scotch Exchequer, but since that year they have been combined with those of the United Kingdom under the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. At the time of transfer they were bringing in £15,589 yearly, and were loaded with temporary and permanent grants to about the sum of £4,660 per annum.

In 1702, on Queen Anne's accession, the Crown was for ever restrained from further alienations, and then for 84 years the subject of the Crown Lands never came before Parliament. In 1786, however, Commissioners of Enquiry were appointed, who brought to light a state of gross and wasteful mismanagement which even in that day was hard to match. For instance, of the Welsh Lands they found that so great had been the neglect that the revenue no longer sufficed to meet the fixed charges upon it, arrears unrecovered amounting to £31,314, and in some counties the bulk of the rents were totally lost. This arose from the Welsh Receiverships being treated as sinecures, and jobbed away by the Crown, and even with such criminal negligence proved against its aristocratic officials, the nation had patiently to wait till 1819 that their posts might become vacant by death and resignation. One intelligent and active Receiver was then appointed for Wales, who in three years' time trebled the revenues and recovered vast arrears.

The Irish Lands were transferred to the Commissioners in 1827, at which date it appeared that there were insolvent arrears of £83,980, solvent arrears of £29,168, and fixed charges of £64,777 per annum burdening the revenue. This delightful state of things had come about under the management of the Irish Commission of Excise.

The revenues of Alderney and of Man were included in the functions of the Woods and Forests Department in 1827-8.

In 1832 the administration of Public Works and Royal Parks was added to their duties, but in 1851 transferred to a separate department under a First Commissioner, as at this day.

## **The Nature of Crown Land Property and Revenues.**

**FEB-FARM RENTS.**—These are annual sums paid to the Crown for lands held in perpetuity. They cannot therefore be either increased or improved.

**DEMISED ESTATES.**—These are lands held by lease from the Crown, and as it is often urged by the

ill-informed that the Civil List of the Sovereign is a poor exchange for Crown Land Revenues surrendered, we commend to such critics a passage in the preamble of the Civil List Act of Queen Anne:—

*"And whereas the necessary expenses of supporting the Crown, or the greatest part of them, were formerly defrayed by a Land Revenue, which hath from time to time been impaired and diminished by the grants of kings and queens of this realm, so that her Majesty's Land Revenues at present can afford very little towards the support of her Government. Nevertheless, from time to time upon . . . reversions and remainders . . . and by such lands . . . as may hereafter descend, escheat, or otherwise accrue . . . the Land Revenues of the Crown . . . may hereafter be increased, and consequently the burden upon the estates of the subjects of this realm may be eased and lessened in all future provision to be made for the expenses of the civil government."*

It may be noted, however, that although this very Act forbade the Sovereign to alienate any of the demised estates or other landed property, estates were (within twenty years afterwards) alienated of a yearly value of £17,306, besides reserved rents of £1,606 per annum.

WOODS AND FORESTS.—These revenues, according to Blackstone, originally arose from fines for offences against the Forest Laws, no court of which kind has sat for now 250 years. The annual sale of wood and bark in 1797 was £12,655, and the expense of management £18,192. Fifty years later things had but slightly improved, 114,521 acres of Royal forest yielding a net return of only £465, while in 1849 the principal official declared that there was a deficiency of £8,193. Steps taken by Parliament to institute reforms then led to a rapid improvement, and in 1861-2 (13 years later) there was a net revenue of £8,800.

NOTES ON THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS (OPPOSITE).—From this balance sheet there is great extravagance still manifest, if not incompetency. Take the cost of collection and the salaries included among "other payments," then add to these the £26,000 cost of the official staff at headquarters, and you get some £45,000 spent in management, *i.e.* nearly 10 per cent, of the gross income. Two aristocratic Commissioners at £1,200 a year each to supervise this petty department. The Dukes of Cambridge and Grafton and Lord Churchill paid and perquisites to put their names down as Wardens of this, that, or the other, and an overplus of officials everywhere, to say nothing of 6,000 and 7,000 deer kept for no business purpose but to destroy the young trees. Also a considerable percentage of revenue handed over for the endowment of a religious body. Are these things what the nation has a right to expect and demand from the controllers of its property? Look at the net outcome of some of these Forests, as calculated in 1881, particulars of which would seem to show that they are anything but profitable possessions of the Crown, whatever they may be for the administrators or their clients and customers:—

Delamere, Hazelborough, and Salcey Woods, which were included in the list of "Royal Forests and Woodlands," in the Report for 1876-6, as yielding £3,424 1s. 10d., and costing £1,596 16s. 5d., were omitted from the Report for 1877, as they are also from those for 1878, 1879, and 1880; but they seem to be still existent, for from other parts of the three Reports we find that the receipts from them in those four years were £5,634 17s. 1d., and the disbursements £11,635 16s. 6d.

## Present State of the Land Revenues.

Changes in the mode of keeping accounts as well as of administering the various estates, transfer to the Consolidated Fund of many hereditary charges formerly placed on the Royal revenues, and, not least, the general and rapid advance in the value of landed property, have brought about some improvement in the net yield of the united revenues from fee-farms, demised estates and woodlands. These being now rendered in one joint account, appeared as follows in the finance accounts of 1885.

With some of Arthur Young's remarks on Royal Forests we conclude this head of Public Revenue:—

*"There are but two principles on which a Royal Forest can be converted to national use. First, by absolute sale and alienation and consequent trust in private interest to produce whatever crops are wanted. Second, by retaining them in the hands of Government, and trusting to officers and officers' deputies for the cultivation. The first is the only effective and honest proceeding. It insures to the public the cultivation of the waste tract. It saves all the roguery, expense, and patronage of officers for doing what centuries of experience tells us they never will do."*

## The Cost of the Royal Family.

*"The power of kings and magistrates was and is originally the people's, and by them conferred in trust only to be employed to the common peace and benefit; with liberty therefore, and right remaining in them to reassume to themselves if it be abused, or to dispose of it by any alteration as they shall judge most conducing to the public good."—Milton (1649).*

*"If the throne of England be filled with so much dignity and so much purity as we have known it in our time, and as we know it now to be, we hope that the venerable monarchy may be perpetual."—John Bright*

(1858).

It has been customary since the Revolution of 1688 to enter into arrangement with the Sovereign at the commencement of each new reign for the surrender of the Crown Revenues. In exchange for these an equivalent life-annuity is provided, but it will be seen on examination that material changes have been brought about in the last three reigns which have been of doubtful public advantage. From 1804 to 1811 the yearly expenditure of George III.'s Civil List was £1,102,683, inclusive of £255,768 for various payments as under:—

In 1812 the Prince Regent assumed control of the Royal Civil List, which in the four years ensuing expanded to £1,371,000 per annum (an increase of £268,317 over George III.'s expenditure). To meet this profuse outlay Lord Castlereagh transferred all the items above cited to the Consolidated Fund, thereby of course granting the Regent a quarter of a million more than his predecessors.

In 1820 George IV.'s new Civil List was fixed at the amount thus augmented by 25 per cent., and a simultaneous rise of 33 per cent, in the purchasing power of money enormously added to the comparative value of the grant, which now, therefore, stood at £100 for every £42 granted in the previous reign, but with this important difference—that whereas in George III.'s time debts of £3,500,000 had accrued and been liquidated by the nation, the new Civil List of 1820 availed to prevent such recurrences.

In 1831 William IV.'s allowance had to be settled, and again the Civil List was relieved of a large number of charges, which now were transferred to the Consolidated Fund, to the amount of £400,000 yearly. This would have left a balance of £657,000 as compared with the List of George IV., but the Whig Ministry of Earl Grey would not recommend more than £510,000, and this was adopted by Parliament with a very important limitation, viz., that the expenditure should be classed as follows:—

In the section relating to Civil List Pensions the reader will find mention of many important points in connection with the subject now dealt with, and under the head of Miscellaneous and Hereditary Revenues of the Crown much information bearing upon the Royal expenditure has been embodied.

In 1837 Queen Victoria's Civil List was settled, on the recommendation of the Whig Cabinet of Lord Melbourne (after report by a Select Committee of the House of Commons), at the following amount:

Against the lavishness of this endowment Mr. Joseph Hume protested in vain. He declared that the grant would prove more than had been given in the most extravagant times, and that the course of ministers was highly impolitic, and not friendly to the Queen.

Let us now turn to investigate the value of the Hereditary Revenues surrendered by each of the sovereigns in question, premising that in each reign a larger portion of these was handed over, and that in the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and the department of woods and forests, there still remain valuable and extensive properties not yet surrendered unreservedly to parliamentary control.

From a return moved for by Sir R. H. Inglis, in 1837, it appeared that the Crown Revenues enjoyed by George II., and surrendered by George III. to Parliament, amounted (for the fifty-nine years' reign of the latter) to an annual average of £1,271,823.

From the Blue Book of 1869 on Public Income and Expenditure we ascertain that the Crown Revenues surrendered by George IV. averaged £1,955,383 per annum, and those of William IV. £3,130,484 per annum.

It is certain that the major part of these successive increases in value had been brought about by public administration, and, looking at the fate of all properties hitherto left in Royal Stewardship, it is pretty certain that but for the surrender of one after another to the nation these Hereditary Revenues would have grown small by degrees and beautifully less, until not only the whole current income had gone but probably all future benefits been mortgaged millions of pounds deep. It remains to insist that the surrender of Hereditary National Revenues shall be completed on the accession of any future sovereign, and public supervision and control extended to every branch of public revenue.

The increase of Crown Revenues, however, has not kept pace with the increase of expenditure in those items formerly chargeable to the Civil List, but in recent reigns transferred to the Consolidated Fund.

Take, for instance, the payments to junior members of the Royal family. In 1816, at the time these were removed from the Civil List, their total amount was only £35,000 per annum, now in 1886 it is £158,000.

Take the diplomatic charges, the legal and judicial expenditure,

The Judges' salaries now are ten times what they were in the aggregate in 1804.

the cost of furniture for public offices, of repairs of public buildings, of outlay for the parks and roads, of superannuations and pensions in the higher departments of State—the burden of all which expenditure fell largely upon the Civil Lists of George II. and III.—and it is impossible to suppose that the benefit of the surrender has accrued to the nation; the Crown has gained every way, and probably to the extent of several millions of money.

Since Her Majesty's accession a considerable number of charges upon the Hereditary Revenues have been taken over to the Consolidated Fund, many of them also have been commuted or are in process of commutation.

A point in controversy upon the subject of Royal grants is as to what was the exact nature of the understanding with Her Majesty in 1837. It has been asserted by very eminent authorities that the Civil List then voted was guaranteed to provide for the whole Royal family. It is very certain that the estimates upon which the List was based provided a lavish margin for savings. £50,000 a year is but an outside estimate of the gains that must have accrued to the Privy Purse from ascertained savings, whilst the privacy of the Civil List Accounts conceals much that is—in spite of such secrecy—matter of public notoriety. The late Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., are entitled to much credit for prominently directing public attention to the grave constitutional question involved in the appropriation of Civil List savings to the private purse of the sovereign. Mr. Gladstone in 1873 passed a bill to secure to Her Majesty certain properties acquired out of those savings, and it is doubtful whether in the controversy then waged the right hon. gentleman was not too pliant to court and aristocratic influences in Cabinet and Parliament. Certain it is that whereas on 31st July, 1871, he told the House that there was never the slightest expectation that savings to provide for the junior branches of the Royal Family could be made (and moved a vote of £15,000 a year for the Duke of Connaught), it was announced only a few years afterwards that Her Majesty had purchased Claremont for £74,000, and it is now said that she has bought Birk Hall from the Prince of Wales for a very large sum. The Civil List might be reduced to £200,000 or £150,000 without loss of comfort, dignity, or even of splendour to the Crown. It is significant to observe that one-third of the £385,000 now granted goes in salaries and pensions to officials: and although the whole expenditure upon Royalty is a matter of minor importance (so long as we fling away greater sums in warfare, in departmental mismanagement, and in our wasteful revenue system), it is proper to remember that even £50,000 a year misapplied for one reign means to the nation a loss of many millions of money that might have gone in reduction of debt or taxes.

Reference to the Financial Reform Association's tracts on the Civil List and the Royal Household will be found extremely interesting by all who care to study the details of Royal expenditure. In these tracts (which may be had post free for 7d. each from the offices, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool) there will be found minute details of a host of sinecure offices held mostly by scions of the aristocracy in connection with the Royal Household: of the method by which too large a grant was secured in 1837: of the sinecures, &c., of the late Prince Consort: and a suggested model for a Queen's speech that would live long in the hearts and memories of Her Majesty's subjects, could the sovereign be prevailed upon to deliver it in person.

*[The detailed figures apply for the most part to the financial year 1884-5.]*

Her Majesty the Queen—in dealing with whose income it is important to note that she is "free from all taxes, assessments, and charges," and that although Sir Robert Peel, when Prime Minister, stated on 16th March, 1842, that Her Majesty had declared to him her own voluntary determination that her own income also should be subject to a similar deduction (*i.e.* Income and Property Tax,)" which announcement was received with loud and loyal cheering by the House of Commons, Her Majesty is supposed to have referred only to certain portions of her income, not the whole Civil List, nor her receipts from Stock or Dividends of the Bank of England. The latter indeed were expressly exempted from contribution some weeks after the statement of Sir R. Peel was made.

The Duchy of Lancaster is in part subject to Land Tax and Property Tax, and contributed last year about £1,400 to the Revenue; £1,258 of which was Property Tax allowed to tenants and only £61 Land Tax.

The Royal Estates escape all Probate Duty, nor have any of the Royal Family to pay Legacy and Succession Duties. They are also freed from liability to pay Establishment Licenses.

a) Civil List Charges on Consolidated Fund—£

Brought forward .....	£9,799	£154,079	Windsor Royal Kitchen Gardens .....	858
Brought forward.....	£489,321	(d) Royal Yachts and Naval Charges—	"Victoria and Albert"	
		(2,470 tons, 2,980 horse power.)	Original cost £136,441...	"Alberta," tender (370 tons, 1,298 horse power.)
		Original cost £27 000.....	"Elfin," tender (93 tons, 181 horse power.)	Original cost £6,168
		.....	"Osborne," (1,850 tons, 3,360 horse power.)	Original cost £105,919 .....
				34,658
				Our estimate of these in 1883 proved remarkably correct, in fact £5,000 under the actual cost. By a Parliamentary Return procured on the motion of Mr. Gourley, M. P. it appears that the average annual cost of these 4 yachts for 10 years has been £34,656. We had put it at only £29,674. Sir Charles Dilke estimated it several years ago at £100,000, when building was going on. Escort and Salutes (say) .....
				2,000
			Conveyance by Sea of Her Majesty's House-hold .....	1,433
			Naval and Marine Aides-de-Camp.....	1,643
			39,732 (e) Royal Escort, Military Charges and orders—	Military Aides-de-Camp.....
			1150	Household Troops (proportion of cost of Household Cavalry, &c.)
			.....	30,000
			31,150	Total payments on account of the Sovereign .....
				£560,203

N.B.—The lines in italic have been estimated.

Notes.—With reference to the late Prince Albert: On the Marriage of the Queen in 1840, the Ministry proposed to grant £50,000 a year to the Royal Consort, but a spirited opposition of Conservatives, led by

Colonel Sibthorp, resulted in the defeat of the proposal, and thereafter a sum of £30,000 per annum was made payable to His Royal Highness for life. This allowance, of course, terminated in 1861. The Prince's will has never yet been proved.

With reference to the late Mr. James Camden Niell : In the year 1852, this gentleman died and bequeathed to Her Majesty the large sum of £250,000 personalty, besides real estate, for her private use and advantage.

With reference to the late Mr. C. M. Newhouse, of Heywood, Lancashire. By the death in a railway accident of this gentleman (who had no heir), Her Majesty, as Duchess of Lancaster, became the inheritor of over £10,000. A portion of this windfall was invested in 20 acres of land, and presented as a public park to the town of Heywood, in 1877.

It is to be noted that where, through intestacy and failure of heirs, any property reverts to the State, the Crown gets no benefit whilst holding a Civil List in lieu of surrendered Hereditary Revenues, but in the Royal Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall an exception to this rule prevails.

The private landed estates of Her Majesty are believed to be as under :—

The Crown Estate of Windsor extends over 10,203 acres, and is valued in the Domesday return at £22,434 per annum.

In 1882 the Queen purchased Claremont from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for £74,000. This estate had been bought by the nation in 1816 for £69,000, at the time of Princess Charlotte's marriage to Leopold of Belgium. The mansion alone cost Lord Clive from £100,000 to £150,000, and the domain covers 464 acres, besides which there are manorial rights over certain wastes.

Her Majesty possesses also property at Coburg, and the villa at Baden, left her by Princess Hohenlohe.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal (Crown Princess of Prussia).

*Note.*—On the occasion of Her Royal Highness' marriage a further money grant of £40,000 was voted her out of supply for the year, and £5,000 was paid for fitting up the Chapel Royal for her wedding.

The Reigning House of Prussia draws immense Revenues from private property, castles, estates, and woods, in various provinces. From this revenue the expenditure of the Court and Prussian Royal Family is defrayed, but His Majesty the Emperor-King is voted a Civil List of about £611,000 a year

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

This is about the average yearly revenue of the last ten years. The nation pays an annual sum of £16,216 15s. to the credit of the Duchy Revenues as compensation for the abolition of certain ancient dues on Tin Coinage. The Duchy Lands are 74,113 acres in extent, the rentals and royalties exceeding 82,000l. per annum. Coal, tin, and lead mines are worked upon the property. The invested and cash balances of the Duchy also amount to about 130,000l.

At the time; 1838) when the Compensation Annuity was voted, the entire revenue of the Duchy was only 11,536l.

His Royal Highness also enjoys the use of this Royal Palace as a Residence, by consent of the Queen.

*Notes.*—On the Marriage of the Prince in 1863 a sum of £23,455 was also granted to him out of supply for the year. Prior to that event His Royal Highness had, on attaining his majority, come into the enjoyment of the accumulated revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounting to £601,721. Of this sum about £220,000 was invested in the purchase for him of the Sandringham Estate in Norfolk, and portions of the remainder were expended on building the mansion there, and on the outfit of the Prince and his Household. Since that time the Prince has inherited from his father an estate at Birk Hall, and his private property appears now to stand as follows:—

In the event of His Royal Highness's death, a sum of £30,000 per annum would become payable to the Princess Alexandra by Act of Parliament, should she survive.

The outlay in connection with the visit to India of the Prince of Wales in 1875 was £142,000, of which £60,000 was voted as pocket-money and for the exercise of generosity.

His Royal Highness Alfred Duke of Edinburgh.

*Notes.*—His Royal Highness enjoys the use of the royal palace of Clarence House, allotted him by Her Majesty the Queen. A large sum was expended by Parliament in altering and fitting up this residence for his use.

As heir to the Duchy of Saxe-Cobourg, His Royal Highness will shortly inherit the princely estates and wealth of his uncle, the reigning Duke, and a royal income of fully £30,000 a year. Since his majority in 1866, the Prince has had £1,800 a year allowance from Saxe-Cobourg.

Some idea of the Duke of Edinburgh's wealth may further be gathered from the fact that his wife on her marriage brought him a private fortune of £90,000, a marriage portion of £300,000, and her life annuity of £11,250 a year. At her death these sums pass to her children. Should she outlive the Duke, Her Royal Highness is to have £6,000 a year from the British Consolidated Fund besides.

In 1874 Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Geo. Anderson, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Muntz strenuously opposed the

additional grant to the Prince "for marrying the richest heiress in Europe," but were defeated by 162 to 18.

Her Royal Highness Helena, Princess Christian (of Schleswig Holstein).

*Note.*—On the occasion of her marriage the further sum of £30,000 was voted to Her Royal Highness out of supply for the year.

Her Royal Highness also enjoys the use of Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Park, as a residence. See charges under the head of Royal Palaces.

Prince Christian, as Ranger of Windsor Home Park, receives from Her Majesty a salary of £500 a year, besides grazing profits pertaining to the office. The item is included in the expenses of the Royal Household. Also as Ranger of the Great Park and Forest he may receive further emoluments.

Her Royal Highness Louise, Princess (Marchioness of Lorne).

*Note.*—A grant of £30,000 was also made to Her Royal Highness on the occasion of her marriage, and was paid out of supply of that year.

The Annuity Bill was divided against in Parliament, but Messrs. P. A. Taylor, Dilke, and Fawcett were the only members who went to the vote for the amendment.

By allotment of the Queen, Her Royal Highness enjoys the use of rooms in Kensington Palace.

Her (Late) Royal Highness Princess Alice (of Hesse)

Received from the time of her marriage in 1862, to the date of her decease in 1878, an annual grant of £6,000 from the Consolidated Fund. Also a dowry of £30,000 was voted her by Parliament.

His Royal Highness Arthur, Duke of Connaught.

*N.B.*—The lines in italic are estimated.

*Note.*—The Duchess brought His Royal Highness a dowry of £15,000. Should she outlive him she will be paid £6,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund. The Duke has settled £1,500 a year on her. On the occasion of the marriage. Mr. Gladstone was excluded from the list of invitations, though he had just before supported the Annuity Bill of the Prince. Messrs. Plimsoll, Burt, Dilke, and others opposing it were defeated by 151 to 13. His Royal Highness has rooms assigned him by the Queen for use in Buckingham Palace, and Bagshot Park mansion was built for him at a heavy expense, the administration of its estate being in the hands of the Woods and Forests Department.

His (Late) Royal Highness Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany,

Received from 1874 to 1882 an annual grant of £15,000. On his marriage in 1882, a further £10,000 a year was voted him, with a provision for £6,000 annuity to the Duchess in case of his death. By His Royal Highness's will £46,000 personalty (the whole) accrued to his widow.

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany.

*Note.*—It is generally understood that the Palace and Estate of Claremont were assigned by Her Majesty rent free to the late Duke, and they are still tenanted by his family and household.

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

*Note.*—Her Royal Highness also enjoys by favour of the Queen the use of rooms in the Royal Palace of St. James, and has Cambridge Cottage, Kew Green, as her residence. The Duchess is very rich, the largest part of her fortune being the accumulations of her husband during his residence in Hanover.

Her Royal Highness Augusta, Princess (Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz).

His Royal Highness George, Duke of Cambridge.

*Note.*—When the Duke's Annuity Bill was before Parliament in 1850, Joseph Hume moved the reduction of the amount to 8,000*l.*, but was defeated by 111 to 53. John Bright then moved another amendment to limit to 12,000*l.* the Duke's income from all sources. This step (the wisdom of which has long ago been made apparent) was negatived by 108 to 89. His Royal Highness has a private estate near Wimbledon occupying 1,355 acres, and assessed at 4,088*l.* rental. Gloucester House, Piccadilly—formerly the residence of the Queen's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester—was assigned him as a town residence.

Her Royal Highness Mary, Princess of Teck.

*Note.*—Her Royal Highness also enjoys, by favour of the Queen, the use of the White Lodge in Richmond Park.

Her Royal Highness Frederica, Princess (Baroness Pawel-Rammingen), Daughter of Her Majesty's Cousin, the late King of Hanover.

Enjoys, by favour of the Queen, the use of rooms in the Royal Palace of Hampton Court as a residence.

Her Majesty's Distant Relative his Serene Highness Prince Edward (of Saxe-Weimar).

Her Majesty's Nephew—his Serene Highness Prince Leiningen.

Her Majesty's Nephew—prince Victor of Hohenlohe Langen-Urg (Count Gleichen).

## Deceased Sovereigns.



## Recapitulation.

Taking together the whole of the sums paid to the first 13 individuals on this list (and to 3 others deceased) from Parliamentary Grants, the following enormous total is reached :—

In this computation only grants of Parliament are included, no account being taken of Sinecures, of Military and Naval pay, of Residences which have all been not only rent free but rates and taxes tree to boot, nor of many other items.

## Royal Public Parks and Pleasure Gardens (Expenditure Upon).

## Statistics of Europe.

## Military and Naval Summary of Europe in 1886.

Notes:—Navies.—The War Ships here given do not include many hundreds of Sailing Vessels, Steam Ships, &c., out of Commission.

Reserves.—Many States have organized a sort of levy "*en masse*," with fixed periods or conditions of military training; this, of course, is not included in the above figures.

## The Hereditary Revenues.

The ancient Hereditary Revenue? of the Crown are derived from the following sources :—

- Hereditary Excise
- Hereditary Post Office Duties
- First Fruits and Tenths of the Clergy
- Fines for Writs of Covenant and Entry
- Post Fines
- Duchy of Cornwall
- Land Rents and Fines of Leases
- Rents and Quit Rents in the Colonies
- Revenue of Wine Licenses
- Process and Composition Monies in Exchequer
- Seizures of Contraband and Illicit Goods
- The 4½ per cent. Duties
- Receipts from Hanaper
- Criminal Fines and Forfeitures
- Droits of the Crown and Admiralty
- Casual Revenues

The CROWN LAND RENTS, &c., have been elsewhere alluded to. We shall here glance briefly over some of the remaining items on the list.

## Hereditary Post Office Duties.

Charles II. vested the Postal Revenue in perpetuity upon his brother James, Duke of York, and his heirs male, but when this brother became James II. Parliament fortunately altered the terms of the grant, vesting it in the KING and his heirs male.

William of Orange gave Schomberg (his Dutch favourite) a perpetual pension of £4,000 a year on postal revenue for his heirs male, and in 1702 it was discovered on the death of this corrupt monarch that similar concessions to the tune of £54,400 yearly had been charged upon the Post Office.

In 1710, a sum of £36,400 per annum, together with a third of all overplus postal revenue beyond £111,462, was reserved by Act for the public disposal.

In 1784 and 1787, farther reservations were made by Parliament, bringing up the total to £154,508 per annum, which sum was ordered to be carried yearly to the Consolidated Fund.

## First Fruits and Tenths.

For an explanation of these imposts see pages 151-2 of this Almanack, under head of "The State Church."

## Wine Licenses.

James I. created for himself a monopoly tax by licensing Inns and Alehouses. This was annulled for illegality and reimposed by a proper Act of Parliament a few years later. In 1663, Charles II. conferred this hereditary revenue upon his brother, and, eight years afterwards, Parliament bought it back from that grasping individual for—a perpetual pension of £24,000 a year on the hereditary excise. In 1757, George II. transferred the licensing monopoly to the Revenue Department, receiving as an equivalent the annual grant of £7,003 for himself and his heirs and successors.

## Seizures of Contraband and Illicit Goods.

Of old a moiety only of the value of these became forfeit to the king, the other moiety accruing to whatever person or persons seized the articles; but frequent changes have left the Crown—at one time two-thirds, at another but one-tenth of the value. From the "king's net share" certain deductions were always payable for various charges of management, maintenance of cruisers, &c., and incidental expenses, so that in 1784 an account of this branch of revenue ran as follows:—

In 1790, 1814, and 1823 modifications alike of the Royal Right and of the Customs Law reduced this Revenue to the vanishing point, so far as it was an appanage of the Crown; and it has now for 60 years been embodied only in the ordinary Customs accounts.

## Four and a Half per Cent. Duty.

This was a grant in perpetuity by the Assembly of the Island of Barbadoes, made in 1663, and levied upon all exported produce of the island. It was to be applied to defray the charges of Government in Barbadoes, but down to this day it has been and is grossly perverted, being applied as a pension fund for clergymen and the heirs of favourites of dead sovereigns. £1,620 was last year so bestowed, though it is 46 years since the duties themselves were abolished. But if we go back to the five years ending 1830 we find that from an average gross produce of £45,000 brought in by this duty yearly there had to be paid £27,500 in Court Pensions.

## The Hanaper Office.

Here revenue accrues from fees payable on the issue of appointments to certain offices, and on grants and other patents passing under the Great Seal. Its proceeds were chargeable with the maintenance of certain legal and judicial offices. In 1833 the office was abolished, its functions transferred to the Clerk of the Crown, and all fees made payable to the Consolidated Fund.

## Casual Revenue.

This included treasure-trove, waif, wreck, chattels of felons, outlaws, persons executed, &c., &c., and up to the time of its surrender to Parliament, on William IV.'s accession, in 1830, had realized £100,000 to £300,000 yearly.

## Droits of Crown.

Blackstone enumerates amongst these the rights to Royal Fish (*i.e.* whales and sturgeons); the right to unclaimed shipwreck, (not including jetsam and flotsam); the Royalty of Mines—which, having its origin in the coinage prerogative, is only applicable to mines of silver and gold. Waifs and Strays (*i.e.* goods stolen and abandoned, or animals wandering unclaimed); Deodands, or whatever chattel immediately occasions the death of any reasonable creature, to be applied to pious uses—Deo dandum—and Escheats of lands on failures of heirs. There may also be recounted Forfeitures for Treason.

## Droits of Admiralty.

These revenues being principally derived from the seizure of enemies' shipping which, through stress or accident, might be driven into British or Colonial Ports, it is needless to say have disappeared from public ken.

But in what are called the "Good old days" our Sovereigns profited largely through these droits whenever the nation went to war. For instance, take the Parliamentary Return of 1818, showing 25 years' proceeds under George III., and amounting in total to £8,494,719 12s. 7d. This and much more of Casual Crown Revenue was applied without any control of Parliament, to defray the debts of Sovereigns, or further the political aims of their ministers, until 1830, when William IV. surrendered the whole of the Crown Revenues for his Civil List. Perhaps it would be a suitable termination to those remarks on Miscellaneous Hereditary Revenue if we give a copy of the following :—

Account of the Total Produce of all Funds at the disposal of the Crown, and deemed not to be under the control of Parliament—from the accession of George III. to the year 1820:—

## Duchy of Cornwall.

This valuable estate vests in the Sovereign only until the birth of a son, who is Duke of Cornwall only while Prince of Wales.

## Duchy of Lancaster.

This branch of Crown Revenue derives originally from Henry IV. Like other Landed Property of the Crown it is now under the control of Parliament, but unlike others the *net* revenue pertains still to the Sovereign. The Lands are situate in 22 different counties. To show the increment of value we may simply compare £12,000, the annual net yield to Her Majesty from 1838-45, with £43,000, the yearly average from 1877 to 1882.

## Other Items.

The remaining items of Miscellaneous Income do not require explanation.

# Total Real Value of Imports and Exports

Into and from the United Kingdom.

(Exclusive of Bullion and Specie, for which see Pages 122, 123.)

From and to British Possessions and Foreign Countries.

It will be observed that the several amounts and totals of this table largely differ from those cited elsewhere, and which are taken from the *Colonial* Abstract. For such differences there are many good and sufficient reasons, as for instance :—Values leaving this country are incremented on arrival in colonies, so are Colonial values on arrival here, the freight and profits being in each case added. Moreover, the totals being for the Calendar year at each end, the results are incomparable, since it is evident that the January imports of Australia cannot be the January exports of the Home Country to that colony, nor the February arrivals in United Kingdom from Ceylon and Singapore the January exports from those possessions.

## From and to British Possessions.

1855. 1865. 1875. 1880. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

## Colonial Tariffs.

For some account of the manner in which these possessions of Great Britain cut off their own noses to spite their faces (by tariffs) in successful attempts to diminish their trade with the Mother Country, we refer our readers to another section of this Almanack.

## From and to Foreign Countries.

1855. 1865. 1875. 1880. 1882. 1883. 1885.

Total Real Value of Imports and Exports—Continued. 1855. 1865. 1875. 1880. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885.

The foregoing Table is exclusive of Imports and Exports of Bullion and Specie, which are given elsewhere. It shows a decrease of 13 millions sterling in our Foreign, British, and Colonial trade since 1875, about 90 millions as compared with 1883, and of 43½ millions upon 1884, but the figures being only those of *value*, it is necessary to bear in mind that since 1870 the price level has so greatly fallen as to render comparisons fallacious. (See table below.)

\*Wallachia and Moldavia to 1878, and Roumania from 1879.

# Average Prices of Imports and Exports, 1875 and 1885.

(As calculated from the declared Quantities and Values.)

The following figures give some indication of the extent of fall in values alluded to above, taking only a very few articles as tests :—

It is calculated that £87 will now buy as much in England as £152 in 1864, or £100 in 1841-50, and the price-level of our Imports in 1881-4 being 30 per cent, less than in 1861-70, whilst that of our Exports had only fallen 25 per cent., the effect must have been vastly in favour of our people, since we import much more than we export.

## The State Church.

*"The property of the Church belongs to the State, and the Legislature has the power and the right to deal with that property according to the circumstances of the times."*

—Lord Palmerston.

*"The Church of England has continued for more than 150 years to be the steady enemy of public liberty."*

—Lord Macaulay.

The connection of the State with the English Established Church is evidenced in three leading points:—

- The Royal Supremacy. It is required by the Act of Settlement, "that whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of the Crown, shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established;" and in the Coronation Service, the Sovereign promises to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law, and to preserve to the Bishops, Clergy, and Churches of that body, all such rights and privileges as by law do appertain unto them.
- The Lords Spiritual in the House of Lords—two Archbishops and 24 Bishops, altogether 26 Spiritual Peers—constitute an Estate of the Realm, "whose assent is in theory required to give validity to Acts of Parliament."
- National Endowments, and the consequent subordination of the Church to Parliamentary control.

To trace the history of State Establishments of Religion in this country is not the function of the "Financial Reform Almanack," but so far as it is intermixed with the history of the National Endowments, we may briefly allude thereto.

According to Cobbett—"The Aristocracy having got rid of Henry VIII. resolved to make a new church by law and a Protestant one, in order that the Pope might never come and instigate the people to restore those landed estates and titles which they had got into their possession by grants from Henry. It would be wise in parsons never to direct our eyes back to the origin of this church by law established. The Catholics assert that their church originated with Christ and His Apostles; yours originated with the Aristocracy of England."

The Church of England, as now known, dates back to Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign the Prayer Book and Articles, aided by Acts of Supremacy, Uniformity, and Assurance, first defined in clear lines the limits of a Protestant State Establishment. But it was an Establishment from which nobody might dare to differ without loss of Civil Liberty, and every inch of ground towards the Religious Liberty now enjoyed in these kingdoms, has been won by hard fighting against Pre-lates, Clergy, and the powerful Landed Aristocracy, whose pliant agents they have ever been. Not until the Revolution of 1688 (and then only as a sop to induce their alliance) was the public worship of Dissenters at all tolerated. Even thus they were required first to take certain oaths and subscribe the 39 Articles, to publicly register their places of meeting, and to keep every door unlocked during Service time. At the end of Queen Anne's reign, it was made a crime for any public official (from Prime Minister to Bell-man) to enter the Meeting Houses. In 1714, the prohibition was extended to all tutors and school teachers, and Nonconformists were made indictable if they dared to educate their own children : all the latter were compulsorily to attend some Church school, or be under some Schoolmaster of the privileged sect. In 1772, and 1787, the Lords threw out a Bill for relieving Dissenters from the hardship of subscribing the 39 Articles; while so late as 1810, at the instigation of the Bishops and Clergy, Lord Sidmouth (Home Secretary) brought in a Bill to further oppress them and restrict the Toleration Act, by placing all Nonconformist Ministers under the direction of Quarter Sessions (whereon were over 1,300 Clerical Magistrates at the time). A parliamentary return (1812) shows that in 1,881 parishes containing upwards of 1,000 population, there were

3,438 Dissenting Chapels, to 2,533 Churches of the Establishment, making plain the object of the Sidmouth Bill. Another return (1810) shows that 5,840 Beneficed Clergy were absentees from their Benefices in the matter of residence.

Since 1810 the political influence of the Establishment may be traced in the following table :—

## Votes of the Bishops in the House of Lords.

Bills. Date. Voted for Voted against Remarks.

BILLS. Date. Voted for Voted against Remarks. The Burials Question (motion to permit in churchyards "Christian and orderly" funeral services other than that of the Church of England) 1876 1 16 Rejected by 148 to 92. Ditto ditto ditto ... 1877 1 15 Rejected by 141 to 102 (April). Ditto ditto ditto ... 1877 3 11 Rejected by equal div., 102 (May). Ditto ditto ditto ... 1877 4 8 Carried agst.. Gov. by 127 to 111 (June). Burials Bill of Mr. Gladstone's Government..... 1880 10 6 Second reading carried by 126 to 101. Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Bill..... 1883 0 22 Car. on sec. read., 165 to 158 (June 11). Ditto ditto ..... 1883 0 17 Rej. on third read., 145 to 140 (June 28). Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill (to abolish pigeon shooting) 1883 .. .. Rej. on sec. read, by 30 to 17 (None of the Bishops spoke or took part in the div.)

How true appear the words of Joseph Hume with regard to these mitred legislators 1 " Have we found Bishops standing between the Government and the people to prevent the exercise of arbitrary power? No, they have been aiders and abettors of every tyranny and oppression which the people have been compelled to endure. When did they rise to oppose an Act intended to abridge liberty? They have been always the political tools of a designing ministry, and ready to sacrifice every principle in the support of arbitrary power." Possibly the following servile oath which these successors of the Apostles have all taken—kneeling before the Sovereign—may go far to explain the spirit in which both their legislative and other functions are performed:—

*"I do acknowledge and confess to hold the Bishopric of . . . and the possession of the same entirely as well as the spiritualities and temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty and of the Imperial Crown of this your Majesty's Realm."*

## Church Property the Property of the State.

We pass now to the subject of the Ecclesiastical Property and Revenues, and it is important to observe that these are not held by the Church as a corporate body, but are simply in the trusteeship of numerous individuals and corporations, sole and aggregate, such as Bishops, Chapters, Rectors, Vicars, &c. The Church as a single body has no property whatever.

An utterance of Lord Brougham may be picked out as representative of the opinion of great legal authorities upon the national character of Church Endowments. Contrasting these with private property, his Lordship said (in 1825):—"How does the property of the parson at all correspond? He can neither sell it nor transfer it, nor leave it to whom he pleases; but it passes from him to a successor of whom he knows nothing, and who, perhaps, has been his mortal enemy. If private property were taken from an individual, the State would rob not only him but his children, or next heirs; but if the Law says to a clerical Incumbent, 'the profits of this living shall cease after your death,' who in whom that clergyman has any interest is in the smallest degree damnified? Besides, is it not clear that private property is income, for the receipt of which the holder has no duty to perform ? The clergy are officers of the State, and like other officers of the State may be got rid of in proportion as they are no further wanted."

Another quotation may be given from the present Lord Chief Justice Coleridge (1870):—"If men give property to the Church and the Church takes it, the property is given and taken subject to State control on State terms, upon conditions laid down from time to time by the State, and liable to be altered by the power which has laid them down. If men dispute or deny this, and talk of the sacredness of Church property and of the sacrilege of State interference with the conditions on which it is held, I do not understand the construction of such minds."

The authority of J. S. Mill, of Lord Macaulay, of Sir James Macintosh, of Melbourne, Althorp, Palmerston, Russell, and a host of others has attested the same fact, *i.e.*, that the property of the Church is the property of the State, to be dealt with as Parliament in its wisdom may direct for the general good.

## Nature of the Ecclesiastical Revenues.

Tithes—the tenth part of all increase from land—devoted to religious purposes—estimated to produce over four millions per annum. These form no part of the Constitution: their payment not being enacted by any constitutional law of King, Lords, and Commons. According to Blackstone, the first written mention of them is

in A.D. 786, when their payment was *recommended* by a Synod. Next in the Code of Agreement between Alfred and the Danes in A.D. 900, a penalty is imposed for the non-payment of tithe. Even thereafter and up to A.D. 1200, persons could give their tithe to what priests they pleased. On the division of Dioceses into Parishes the Tithe Revenues were divided into four portions—

- For the use of the Bishop. (This was abolished when the Sees became thereafter more amply endowed from other sources.)
- To maintain the Fabric of the Church.
- The portion of the Poor.
- To pay the Priest. (This was in lieu of all perquisites, no surplice fees, but free marriages, christenings, and burials!)

It is thus seen that the poor have equal right with the clergy to the benefit of Parochial Tithes—their claim now amounting to a full third—and it is time more were heard of this from the payers of Poor Rate and the Parliamentary advocates of aid to Local Taxation. At present these Tithe Revenues of £4,054,000 a year are collected by some 11,784 clergymen of one church, who thus receive an average benefit of £342 each.

**APPROPRIATE TITHES.**—The Norman monks originated the practice of "appropriating" benefices. Finding that a very small portion of the tithe income of each parish sufficed to keep an officiating priest, they begged and bought, for masses and money, all the advowsons possible. These becoming common property, the monastery received the full tithes of each living, and after paying one of its own fraternity a small stipend to perform the requisite services, had a more or less rich balance over for the acquisition of further lands, benefices, &c. It is easy to account for the enormous accumulations of these religious houses, a subject that will be found elsewhere dealt with (p. 152). They had appropriated in 300 years one-third of all the benefices in the kingdom, and those the richest of all. The remnants of these appropriations are still found where Colleges, Universities, Chapters, Bishops, &c., have presentations to benefices, and allow only part of the tithe to the Vicar.

**IMPROPRIATE TITHES.**—Henry VIII. having seized all the property and revenues of the monks endowed a few Colleges and Bishoprics, and gave away slices to all his Court favourites. Abbey Lands, with tithes and benefices attached, thus came into the possession of laymen amongst others, and these, tainted with sacrilege, are termed Impropriators, because the tithes owned by them are improperly diverted from religious uses. There were 3,845 of these lay impropriations, and they still take a million a year of public money. Bad enough that the poor should have been robbed of their third part of all tithes, but worse that both poor and church and parson should be robbed for the benefit of squires of the parishes or lords of the manors.

**COMMUTED TITHES.**—Under the Act of 1836 the mode of collection and assessment of the Tithes was altered, and a fixed Rent-Charge was imposed in lieu of an annual or periodical collection of tenth sheaves, tenth pigs, tenth day milkings, and a horde of minor plagues which the rising enlightenment of our people could not brook. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Tithe is there, all the same, hidden under a specious name, for, as Mr. Miall pointed out, "the adoption of the term Rent-Charge materially contributes to the spread of the notion that these payments to the Clergy are analagous to the Rent-Charges voluntarily imposed by individuals on their landed Estates." A farther remark of the same able writer is worthy of note, viz., that whereas the Tithe Act of Edward VI. brought reclaimed wastes under contribution, and three-fourths of all the now cultivated land in the Kingdom then lay waste, the idea of lay liberality in the matter of Tithe grants flies to the winds. Since 1836, then, the increment of tithe (at least £2,000,000 a year) has been stopped, and the land having risen 50 per cent, in value and more, all that immense fund which would have accrued to the public (through the Church) has gone into the pockets of the Landowners, the fine people who are always talking about Mr. Gladstone's robberies of the Establishment.

The system of charge now adopted for the Tithe Commutation is as follows: The average income in each parish for ten years prior to 1836, having been fixed by a Commission, on this basis a half-yearly calculation is made of what quantity of wheat, barley, and oats, in equal shares, at 1837 prices, would result. This result is then carried out at present existing prices of the cereals, so that the tithe increases and diminishes only as they do. The official prices are published.

**EXTRAORDINARY TITHES.**—Lands coming under hop or fruit plantations and market-garden cultivation are further subject to the fixing of what is called an extraordinary rent-charge, in addition to the fixed tithe-charge. (For rates see page 19).

**PERSONAL TITHES** are not commuted; *i.e.*, wherever established custom for forty years prior to the statute of 2 and 3 Edward VI. o. 13, had fixed payments of tenths of gain of commerce, of wages, of hunting, of fish taken in the sea, or of the nett gain from corn mills.

**TEINDS** in Scotland are similar to tithes, having been commuted, under Charles I., from payments in kind to one-fifth of the rental. Laymen there, as in England, have become widely possessed of the right to levy the impost for their private benefit.

In passing from this head of Ecclesiastical Revenue we remark with the Hon. A. Elliot, M.P. ("The State and the Church:" Macmillan.) (a) That at the time of instituting Tithe, Agriculture was much more exclusively the business of the nation than it has since become, the Tithe thus representing a large proportion of the annually produced wealth of the whole country; while in the present day the tithe commutation, falling almost entirely upon agricultural land, leaves uncharged the most valuable land in the Kingdom; *i.e.*, Town Land and Mines. The owner of 1,000 acres of some country lands often finds them burdened with what (compared with rental) is a heavy charge to support the National Church, but there are very large country districts entirely free of Tithe, for instance, the Crown Lands and districts that in ages past were Crown Lands, also the Church Lands and large traete that before the dissolution of Monasteries were Church Lands. Roughly, the proportions of Tithe-free and Titheable Land in England and Wales are respectively £8,000,000 and £20,000,000 of annual value, (b) That for Rating purposes some £8,000,000 per annum of value are freed by Tithe from liability to Local Taxation, the Tithe being a first charge in favour of the Tithe *Owner*, and he generally a Landowner or a Clergyman, (c) That Ricardo and others fell into great error in supposing that the incidence of Tithes fell wholly on the consumer of produce. Tithes, like rent, are a *share* of the produce. They do not alter supply or demand, so cannot alter price. They simply mean in Economies that instead of two persons, Landlord and Tenant, sharing the produce, a third party, the Parson, comes in to share that produce, so that there is less left than ever for the farmer and the labourer.

First Fruits and Tenths.—These imposts were levied by the Popes upon all Church property in this country, to support the Crusades; First Fruits being the payment by Archbishops and Bishops of their whole first year's income after appointment; Tenths being a tithe of the entire annual yield of all clerical benefices. Henry VIII. abolished First Fruits in 1533, and the next year re-enacted them in his own favour instead of that of the Pope, providing further that they should be an income of the Crown for ever, and every spiritual living should contribute as well as Archbishoprics and Bishoprics. Under the same monarch it was enacted that from and after 1535, Tenths should yearly be paid to the King AS SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, a different form of words to that having respect to First Fruits.

In 1540, these dues brought in an average of £16,000, taken together. In 1655, Queen Mary entirely repealed them. In 1559, Elizabeth's first statute reimposed both. Charles II. conferred on the Duke of Grafton's heirs for ever the superintendence of this branch of the Exchequer, hence one of the costly pensions still payable to that family.

QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY.—Queen Anne, in 1704, after permission given by Parliament, surrendered (and thus alienated) the entire revenues from First Fruits and Tenths to augment perpetually the stipends of the poorer clergy, hence the term Queen Anne's Bounty, under which name these taxes are now collected and applied.

The record of yearly value of all benefices had been made in the Liber Regis of Henry VIII., and on that valuation the royal revenues from First Fruits and Tenths had been all along based. The Act of Anne made the assessment perpetual at that ancient valuation, by which cunning trick the rich clergy, whose tithes were increasing yearly, exempted themselves from the liability to contribute to the augmentation of poor livings. Witness the effect of this in the following figures, the places for comparison being selected at random, and to show in relief the values in the time of Henry VIII. :—

But a more striking exposé is found in the following return by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1835, before the readjustment of Episcopal incomes:—

This being for first fruits alone, the inference, of course, is that annually the *Tenths* paid were only £1,115, while *they* should at least have realized £15,772 a year.

A somewhat unfortunate commentary upon the way in which State-Established Bishops have in the past performed their duty to their poorest class of Clergy!

REVIEW OF THE OPERATIONS OF QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY.—Here, then, is a State Revenue, realizing £14,000 net per annum (or £17,000 gross), and which for 180 years has been applied absolutely to the advancement of one religious sect, the wealthiest in the country, whether we have regard to its private endowments, its voluntary liberality, or its tens of thousands of wealthy adherents. But the amount (£14,000 per annum, or even its aggregate of £2,520,000) conveys an utterly inadequate idea of the nature of endowment and contingent benefits placed by Queen Anne's Bounty at the disposal of the State Church.

The operations of the Governors were, in the commencement, restricted to the relief of the revenues of the First Fruits and Tenths from various encumbrances, and to the augmentation of poor livings, by money to be laid out in land. Poor livings were successively raised to the annual value of, first £10; then to £20, £30, £40, £50, and finally to £60. The method adopted was that of placing the names of the un-augmented poor livings in a box, and dividing the sums in hand among such as might be drawn out the first. Each donation, or lot, was limited to the sum of £200. Any poor living was allowed to receive more lots than one till it was raised to the yearly value of the above-mentioned sums. Above that amount no living could receive an additional lot till all

the other livings on the Bounty list had been in their turn augmented.

Another method of augmentation was, and is, by meeting benefactions. In this way, poor livings, at first those not exceeding the yearly value of £35, and afterwards, successively, those not exceeding the yearly value of £45, £50, £80, £120, and, finally, of £200, were, and are, augmented with the sum of £200, where any person or persons, in order to obtain the Bounty, contribute £200, or a greater sum in money, or the value thereof in lands or tithes, or a clear yearly rent-charge or annuity of [*unclear*: £15].

Advances on mortgage were next made to Incumbents towards the acquisition or repair of Glebe Houses. Between 1809 and 1822 the taxpayers were resorted to, and a Parliament which spurned from its doors the Jew, the Catholic, and the Protestant Nonconformist, extracted £1,100,000 from these (among other contributors) to make up the deficiency caused by the under-assessment of the Bishops and richer Clergy to First Fruits and Tenths. This capital sum being added to the Bounty Fund, a wider scheme for tempting voluntary benefactors was launched. Populous parishes were now to have the benefit of State nursing in order that the spirited voluntary efforts of Nonconformity might be counteracted at the public expense. An average flow of benefactions to the tune of £13,365 per annum had been secured up to 1837, and this had increased to £22,000 in 1847, and £30,000 in 1857. In 1831, defalcations of £11,500 were discovered on the death of the Treasurer of the Bounty, and the acting Governors (the Archbishops and Bishops) were so severely criticised that they recouped the amount by contribution among themselves.

In 1867 the progress of endowment had been so rapid under the concurrent action of the now much greater body, the Ecclesiastical Commission, that the annual rate of benefactions to the Bounty fund fell to £11,500 (not reckoning gifts of land). Their income from investments was now however large, and nearly all livings under £60 had been levelled up to that figure. In 1877 the donations and benefactions had again reached £28,000, in 1880 they were £39,250, and in 1883, £20,200. In the year 1884 the Governors had £4,398,159 trust funds invested, £1,088,836 out on mortgage for Clergy residences, and their total Revenue had reached £166,304.

Landed Possessions of the Church.—Hallam explains the enormous landed possessions of the monasteries in this fashion :—"The Kings of England had set hardly any bounds to their liberality, though many of their donations were of uncultivated and unappropriated tracts. The Monasteries acquired legitimate riches by the culture of these deserted tracts and by the prudent management of their revenues. Their wealth, continually accumulated, enabled them to become the regular purchasers of landed estates, especially in the time of the Crusades, when the fiefs of the nobility were constantly in the market for sale or mortgage. But they derived their wealth from many sources, and some of these were less pure. Those entering a Monastery frequently threw their whole estates into the common stock, and the children of rich parents were expected to make a donation of land on assuming the cowl. Some gave their property to the Church before entering on military expeditions, others made gifts to take effect after their lives, and many signed bequests in the terrors of dissolution. Above all, the clergy failed not to inculcate upon the wealthy sinner, that no atonement could be so acceptable to Heaven as liberal presents to its earthly delegates. To die without allotting a portion of worldly wealth to pious uses was accounted almost like suicide or the refusal of the last sacraments; hence intestacy passed for a sort of fraud upon the Church which she punished by taking the administration of the deceased's effects into her own hands."

The Bishoprics of Peterborough, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford and Westminster (now a Collegiate only), the Deaneries and Prebendaries of Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Rochester, Ely, and Carlisle; the Colleges of Christ Church, Oxon, and Holy Trinity, Cambridge, the Chairs of Divinity, Physics, Law, Greek, and Hebrew, in both Universities, the School of Grey Friars, and Hospital of St. Bartholomew, in London, were foundations of Henry VIII. from the Monastery plunder. The older Bishoprics of York, London, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Llandaff, Salisbury, St. Asaph and St. David's, Canterbury, Durham, Carlisle, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester retain possessions held in more or less unbroken continuity since the Norman Conquest, and even long before. This was not effected without a marvellous plasticity as to creeds and oaths of fealty and submission at given periods, for which ample credit must be given.

## The Establishment in Wales.

Of the entire population of 1,574,000 some 1,100,000 are known to be Protestant Nonconformists, so that, after due allowance for Roman Catholics and about 250,000 of no religion, there remains the salient fact that only one-seventh (or, according to the Church herself, one-fourth) of the Welsh people are in any way claimable by the Episcopal Church, which is still allowed to hold public property of the value of £300,000 a year. It may or may not be significant that in Wales, where the State Religion has had least success, crime has the most rapidly decreased : in fact the duties of Judges of Assize have become almost *nil*. The proportions of



crime are 44 per cent, less than in England, and among 4,417 convictions at Welsh Assizes the nationality particulars prove still more striking, viz. :—Natives of Wales only 2,323, of England 1,006, of Ireland 846, of Scotland 78, of other countries 164. With regard to illegitimacy, the average of Wales is only 6.9, while Bedfordshire is 7.1, Oxfordshire 7.3, Suffolk 7.9, Herefordshire 8.7, Lincolnshire 8.9, Notts. 9.1, Westmorland 9.2, North Riding 9.6, Shropshire 10.1, Norfolk 11.3, and Cumberland 12 per 100 births.

The voluntary system has secured notable triumphs in this Principality, where in 1883 there were found to be 4,361 Dissenters' places of worship, 4,503 regular preachers, 45,000 voluntary teachers, and 463,000 attendants in the weekly Sunday schools.

## The State Church of Scotland

Is Presbyterian and not Episcopalian: the Queen is therefore head of two distinct State Churches, and now and then the nation beholds the spectacle of certain organs of the Church of England attacking Her Majesty for attending the ministrations of the Scottish establishment. The national revenues of the latter (including manse and glebes) are about £385,000 per annum, while on its own showing it has but 42 per cent., and on other estimates only 36 per cent., of the population. Since 1845 some £2,000,000 of voluntary endowments have come in to this "Kirk," which has 1,432 Churches to 2,312 of the non-established bodies. In the Highlands (Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness,) only 2,300 out of a population of 140,750, communicate in the State establishment (*i.e.* one in 61), and as typical of the worst extremes we may mention five parishes where the average number of communicants is only (the average endowment of living £210 per annum, and the average population 2,493 per parish), and one parish where the minister has £400 a year for preaching to the Laird and his boy. In the counties above mentioned the total endowment is £21,000 a year for 2,300 members, or £9 per member. Under the voluntary system the free Presbyterians have in nine years raised £8,224,132 for religious objects, while the State Church Presbyterians have only raised £2,588,702 in same interval. There are also about a quarter of a million of Roman Catholics in Scotland, and these, though the poorest portion of the community, provide liberally for their own religious requirements. In 1874, the Conservative Government passed an Act to buy up private patronage in the Scotch Kirk, and vest the right of election in each congregation. This was done by paying in each case the amount of one full year's stipend to these Peers and gentlemen, and deducting the same in four annual instalments from the ministers themselves.

Mr. Thomas Shaw, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, of Edinburgh, in a recent essay on Ecclesiastical Endowments of Scotland (Elliot, Edinburgh), gives the following carefully compiled figures :—

## A Method of Disendowment for England and Wales.

The following practical suggestions have been issued by the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, and are here embodied (in a curtailed form) simply for information to those interested in the question :—

- Fixing of some date, on or after which the Church "shall cease to be established by law and new appointments to office prohibited."
- Dissolution of every ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate.
- Abolition of Ecclesiastical Courts and Law.
- Exclusion of Spiritual Peers from the House of Lords.
- Granting of no faculty or charter which would re-create a privileged Ecclesiastical body (as in the Irish case), but simply leaving Episcopalians to organize themselves in whatever way may seem to them best for the management of their affairs.
- Personal Compensation of bishops, clergy, patrons, and other individuals who have a special beneficiary interest in the Establishment, but not to any officials or others dispensing *Public* Patronage.
- Release of all such individuals from further obligations, and (this being taken into account) a varying scale of annuities for each—for instance, to aged Incumbents their present net income for life; to those of 35 or younger age, one half their income; to those older than 35, a proportionately larger amount; to Curates, gratuities in cases where deemed entitled.
- To facilitate commutation of annuities—the issue of Bonds for their payment, such bonds being legalized for sale or transfer. These the clergy would be free to hand over to any Church if they so chose.
- The grant of borrowing powers to a commission, charged with the duty of disendowment.
- Cathedrals, Abbeys, and other national monuments to be under the control of the Board of Works and maintained for such uses as Parliament might determine.
- Retention for public purposes (or for disposal) of the Episcopal Palaces and of Buildings appended to Cathedrals.

- The educational endowments and charities of Cathedrals to be separately dealt with for the National benefit.
- All burial grounds of the Churches to be transferred to Burial Boards for the continued use with equal rights of all parishioners.
- Proprietary Churches to be at the disposal of the present proprietors.
- All Churches existing at the date of the passing of the first of the Church Building Acts [1818] should be deemed to be ancient parish Churches.
- Ancient Churches should be vested in a parochial board, elected by the ratepayers—which board should have power to deal with them for the benefit of the parishioners. The power of sale, under proper regulations, should also be given.
- Churches erected after 1818 and built at the sole expense of any person who may be living should, on his application, be vested in him, or as he may appoint.
- Churches (other than parochial churches re-built) erected after 1818, by voluntary subscriptions exclusively, and also churches not claimed, should become the property of their congregations in trust. If, within a given time, such churches be not accepted they should vest in the parochial boards.
- Churches built after 1818 and erected partly by sub-scriptions and partly from parliamentary grants and public sources, should be offered to the congregations; but the amount from public sources should be a charge upon the building, to be paid in accordance with regulations.
- If an endowment—including parsonage or not—has been created by a private individual, and he be living, the Commissioners should, on his application, vest the same in him, or as he may appoint. Any parsonage so reconveyed should be subject to the provision hereafter stated in Section 24.
- Where endowments have been created by voluntary subscriptions exclusively since 1818 they should become the property of the congregations, and be held for their use. Endowments not reconveyed should become the property of the congregations.
- Where endowments have been created partly by sub-scriptions and partly from national sources, the amount of the latter should be deducted, and form part of the surplus.
- The endowments dealt with under Sections 20, 21, and 22, should be charged with the annuities paid as compensation to the clergymen.
- As the annual value of the parsonages and glebes would be Included in the estimate of incomes of the clergy, the pecuniary interest of the clergy in them would cease, and this property could be dealt with by the Commissioners in the same way as other surplus property. Existing incumbents, however, to be allowed to occupy their parsonages so long as they continue ministers of the churches in which they now officiate, on payment of rent, according to the valuation adopted in settling their compensation. Whether an incumbent should continue a minister of the church in which he was officiating would depend on the congregation, acting as such, or in connection with any religious organization with which it might connect itself.
- Provision for the sale of tithe-rent charge to the owners of land on the payment of 22½ years' purchase.
- The power of levying church-rates, in any form, to cease; provision being made for extinguishing debts, or meeting other claims, for which compulsory rates may now be levied. Easter dues and other ecclesiastical impositions, which are either small in amount or vexatious in character, to be abolished. Special arrangements would also be required to relieve the Inhabitants of Liverpool,\* Marylebone, and other places which have to pay large sums out of municipal or parochial rates to maintain churches and clergy.
- There may be no considerable surplus available for years to come. When that surplus becomes a reality, the nation will decide on its appropriation with reference to the wants and feelings of the period. The surplus may be devoted to education—to the maintenance of the poor—to effecting great sanitary improvements—to the reduction of the national debt, or to other objects beneficial to the whole nation. Inasmuch, however, as a large portion of the property now devoted to ecclesiastical purposes belongs to the parishes, much should be applied to local objects, and be administered by municipal and local authorities.
- The succession to the Crown, under the Act of Settlement, the laws relating to Sunday observance, the appointment of army and gaol chaplains, &c., need not be imported into the discussion.

### Table I.

Showing the *net* amount taken from the Liverpool Borough Fund (1836-1875) for the five principal "Corporation Churches," with sundry other particulars.

### Table II.

Showing the *net* amount taken from the Liverpool Borough Fund and Parish rates (1830-1875) for five other churches, none of which are included in Table I.

### **Table III.**

Showing the *net* amount taken from the Liverpool Borough Fund (1836-76) for five other churches, none of which are included in Tables I. and II.

### **Table IV.**

Showing other payments from the Liverpool Borough Fund (1836-1875) to or for churches of the State Establishment.

## **Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church.**

On January 1st, 1871, the Episcopal Church in Ireland ceased to be a State Church through the operation of the Act 32 and 33 Vict., c. 42. Prior to that date its income from public sources was £618,984, and its endowments from the State about £14,000,000 in value. With all this wealth at its command, the following state of things was found to exist in 1861. Out of 2,428 parishes there were 199 where the Church drew total revenues of over £13,400 per annum, but had not one single adherent, although in these parishes the population was over 98,000. Out of 1,510 benefices there were 107 drawing a revenue of £20,000 yearly, and with the following average population: one Dissenter, thirteen Anglicans, and 1,156 Roman Catholics. In none of these 107 cases were there more than 24 Anglicans in the parish. The average of all the benefices of Ireland showed 459 Anglicans, 395 Dissenters, and 2,983 Roman Catholic inhabitants. By Mr. Gladstone's measure, above alluded to, the Ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, were dissolved, the Ecclesiastical Courts were abolished, and with them their code of laws, the Bishops were withdrawn from the House of Lords, Crown rights of patronage and appointment were surrendered, owners of advowsons were compensated; an incorporated Church Body was formed by election of the bishops, clergy, and laity, to which the custody of 1,628 churches, with their school houses and burial grounds was transferred, with all liabilities on the same from 1871, save that for 14 or 15 years they had no necessity to pay bishops, clergy, clerks, or sextons. Building charges and a debt of £198,704 on the Glebe Houses had to be paid by the Church Body, also 10 to 12 years' purchase for these residences themselves (carrying with them the garden and curtilage in each case). About £8,000,000 were paid by the State to such clergy as desired to commute, and £500,000 were handed to the Church Body in lieu of private endowments. Some £819,000 went in compensations, &c., to officials, and £780,000 to lay patrons, 137 ecclesiastical structures were vested in the Commissioners of Public Works for safe custody, and £30,000 handed to them by Government for maintenance. £765,813 were paid to Presbyterian ministers and their college in Belfast, as compensation for the *Regium Donum*; £372,331 to the Maynooth College, for extinction of the Parliamentary Grant. After all these and many other payments, a surplus of some £6,500,000 is estimated to accrue ultimately to the State, which became the beneficiary owner of immense areas of land, considerable house and mining properties, and some £9,000,000 of capitalized tithe charge. A portion of the latter has been re-sold to land-owners at 22½ years' purchase, and £4,716,747 realized thereby. Much land and other property has also been sold, realising thus far about £2,200,000. Tenants had the first right of purchase of their holdings, and more than 6,000 availed themselves of the opportunity. Lastly, up to 1882, some 900 of the Glebe Houses had been paid for by the Church Body, realising about £500,000 to the surplus funds.

From the Irish Church Surplus the following grants have already been made by the House of Commons:—

The prospective annual income of the fund is stated as under:—

The entire property and management of the Church Fund was in 1881 vested in the Irish Land Commissioners.

This article would be incomplete without mention of the facts that since 1871 the Freed Church of Ireland has received nearly £3,000,000 in voluntary endowments, and with £4,500,000 of the funds paid for dis-endowment still in hand, her poverty may be said to be particularly "genteel."

## **Statistics of Nonconformity.**

In 1884 the results of an inquiry into the number of nonconformist places of worship in England and Wales showed 16,000 of these to be in operation, with about 9,000 stated ministers in charge. The weekly attendance at their services was millions, and the amount of voluntary offerings, apart altogether from stipends, chapel maintenance, and interest on debts, was £906,430 per annum. These figures are altogether irrespective of what is done by the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1883 a Religious Census of most of the great towns was recorded in our Almanack., whence it appeared that in some ninety selected towns and villages of England, with total population of 3¾ millions, the following state of things prevailed :—In the matter of church accommodation the Establishment Churches had 514,260 sittings, the Dissenters 824,459, and the Roman Catholics 65,000. In the matter of actual attendance, the Church secured—morning 248,408, afternoon 23,751, evening 271,179; while the Dissenters had—morning 311,206, afternoon 29,139, and evening 431,419.

## Other Facts and Figures Bearing on the Church Question.

### Comparative Statistics of the Church and Voluntary Bodies.

[*Official Year Book of Church of England.*]

#### FOREIGN MISSIONARY AGENCIES, 1883.

Church of England Societies.....	£491,647	Joint Societies of Churchmen and Nonconformists	182,085	English and Welsh....	£341,046	Nonconformist Scotch and Irish.....	193,208	534,254
Roman Catholic Societies .....	8,544	£1,216,530						

[*Canterbury Diocesan Calendar.*]

#### RELIGIOUS PROVISION MADE IN LONDON, 1851 to 1884.

Sittings. Church of England .....	677,645	Nonconformist Congregational.....	172,547	Baptist.....	136,178	Wesleyan.....	96,410
Primitive.....	17,785	Methodist Free Church....	17,100	Presbyterian.....	32,221	Salvation Army .....	35,180
51,190	Total Sittings.....	1,236,256	["Nonconformist" Supplement.]				

#### NUMBER OF CHURCHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1883.

Church of England.....	14,573	Nonconformist Wesleyan.....	11,514	Congregational .....	2,603	Baptist.....	2,243
Calvinist.....	895	Friends.....	375	Presbyterian .....	201	Jewish.....	60
Various.....	2,628	20,519	Roman Catholic.....	1,188	Total... 36,280		

[*Mulhall.*]

#### Patronage and Sale of Livings.

Lay and Private Patronage, which system led to the disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843, continues unchecked, with all its attendant abuses, in the English Establishment. Over 8,000 benefices are private property, bought and sold systematically, and one-fourth of the number are always in the market, as many as 1,497 having been publicly advertised at a time in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*.

Legislative sanction has been given to the system. In 1836 an Act of Parliament compelled the sale of all livings held by Municipal Corporations: in 1863 another Act ordered the disposal of a large number of poor livings in the Lord Chancellor's gift, with a view to enhance their value by the addition of the funded purchase-money. In the first case the Liverpool Borough Fund alone received £20,000 for some 18 Advowsons; in the second case £250,000 has been paid over by the purchasers of about 200 livings.

#### Landmarks in the Struggle for Religious Liberty.

- 1688. The Toleration Act, exempting Protestant Dissenters from penalties.
- 1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
- 1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
- 1830. 1836. Dissenters' Marriages Act.

- 1852. Withdrawal of the English Regium Donum.
- 1852-56. Public Provision for Dissenters in Burial Grounds.
- 1858. Admission of Jews to Parliament.
- 1800-69. Opening of the Endowed Schools to Nonconformists.
- 1866. Abolition of the "declaration" (or muzzle, as Lord Derby called it) on taking office.
- 1867. Lord Chancellorship and other offices in Ireland opened to Roman Catholics.
- 1868. Abolition of compulsory Church Rates.
- 1871. Universities thrown open, to Dissenters by the abolition of tests.

Fuller particulars of all the above measures, and ample information upon other branches of the Church and State question, will be found in the ably-compiled "Case for Disestablishment" (price one shilling) published by the Liberation Society of London.

## Pecuniary Benefit of the State Connexion.

It is frequently stated by ill-informed advocates of Establishment that the Church of England receives no grants of public money, has had no State funds or property placed at her disposal, and owes nothing in the shape of pecuniary benefit therefore to Parliament or the Tax-payer. For the convenience of any who may encounter such mis-statements, we take the opportunity to recite here a few facts in contradiction thereof.

- As will be seen in the preceding account of the Tithe Revenues (£4,000,000 per annum) these are Public Property.
- In the section relating to Queen Anne's Bounty it is further shown that First Fruits and Tenths are a State endowment of the Church (£14,000 a year).
- In the same section, grants of £1,100,000 from taxation are proved—in aid of the Bounty.
- In the same and other sections it is shown how by a utilization of public resources to that end, large voluntary endowments have been brought in which otherwise would not have come. These are pecuniary benefits mainly resulting from the State connexion.
- Landed Possessions of the State yielding more than £1,000,000 per annum are in her stewardship.
- In 1818 £1,000,000. in 1824 £500,000 and £89,406, of public money were given by Parliament to Churches then building. [See Acts 58 Geo. iii., c. 45; 5 Geo. iv., c. 103; and Parliamentary Paper 572 of 1843.]
- Building materials for Churches and paper for Prayer Books were free of taxation, whilst such taxes were in vogue, and the exemption was no small pecuniary benefit either, about £750,000.
- Church Rates were authorized by law, and realized nearly £400,000 per annum down to 1868.
- Parochial and Corporation endowments in many cases were by private Act derived from Rates, and an instance of their working is seen in the tables relating to Liverpool.
- A benefit of about £2,000,000 a year of Public Property (in the shape of cathedrals and churches, &c.) is allotted to her use.
- In the *Financial Reform Almanack* for 1883 (pp. 85-6), particulars will be found of some £2,200 a year of perpetual charges on the Consolidated Fund for the benefit of Church Clergy.
- Up to 1868 about £80,000 per annum were exacted by the Clergy for compulsory Easter Offerings and Oblations, &c.
- Prior to 1836 all Dissenters and other persons (save Jews and Friends) were compelled by law to go to a Church Clergyman if they would be married. The Bill authorizing solemnizations of marriage at Nonconformist Chapels took £50,000 per annum in fees at once from the Clergy of London alone. A pecuniary benefit is here shown to have been enforced by law in favour of the Establishment up to that date, and the same might be proved with regard to burial and christening fees, registrations of births, &c., in the era before reform.
- The paragraph relating to the London Coal Duties for Church-building will be found to describe another form of endowment from public sources.

A writer in the *Preston Guardian* (under the signature "Felix") showed in 1877 that altogether the Established Church had been enriched by law to the extent of £1,580,000,000, and the following calculations will throw light upon the actually existing position of things.

Funds at the Disposal of the State in the event of Disendowment

Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P., estimated these as follows in the *Nineteenth Century* for April. 1878:—

And "The Case for Disestablishment," commenting upon the figures, remarks they make no reference to the value of the Ecclesiastical edifices of the country. To arrive therefore at the gross

Value of Property appropriated to the Church, the writer includes these, reckoning them at £2,000,000 a year, and thus bringing the annual subsidy of the Establishment to £9,500,000, and the capitalized value of its

property to more than £220,000,000.

## Necessary Cost of Disendowment.

Mr. Gladstone, in 1873, estimated this at 90 millions. Mr. Arnold, M.P., puts the items thus, bringing out a much less figure :—

## Church Building and Restoration.

To form an idea of the vigorous development of the Church of England since the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appeared upon the scene, we may summarize the following particulars from official sources. The dates are not continuous, and the first column (which is Lord Hampton's Return), is known to have been understated by at least £500,000, owing to the omission of many items, and the entire exclusion of all restorations under £500.

## Import and Export Statistics.

(Continued from page 148.)

N.B.—The Statistics of intermediate years—omitted from this and other tables in the present Almanack—may be had from previous issues, copies of which still remain on sale at the Financial Reform Association Offices, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.

NOTE.—The plan adopted in 1882 and subsequently for obtaining the value of Coal produced does not permit of a comparison with former years, but the new system is more correct than the old.

## Progress of Foreign Trade.

In the year ending January 5, 1841, the gross produce of Customs and Excise duties was £38,258,866; the gross revenue, which for the year ending the 31st March last was £89,581,301, was then only £51,684,766. The Customs tariff then comprised some 1,200 articles of import subject to duty; the total number of articles and subdivisions of them is now about 20. The Excise tariff included many articles now happily liberated, such as bricks, glass, candles, leather, soap, paper, &c., &c. In the interim Customs Duties have been repealed or reduced to the net amount of £24,385,289; Excise Duties increased, in consequence of transfer of assessed taxes, &c., to that department, by that of £1,623,684, leaving on Customs and Excise a net reduction of £22,976,404. The produce of both in the year ended the 31st of March last was £45,287,000, an increase of £7,028,134 compared with their yield in 1840, showing an actual recovery of £30,004,538 from the partial liberation of trade, and affording the greatest possible encouragement to further progress in the same direction, of which proofs may be gathered from the following tables :—

The increase of Imports was therefore 145 per cent., that of Exports 5 per cent., and that of Imports and Exports 55 per cent, in the first 10 years; that of Imports 239 per cent., of Exports 49 per cent., and of Imports and Exports 117 per cent. in 20 years; that of Imports 563 per cent., of Exports 160 per cent., and that of Imports and Exports 305 per cent. in 40 years. In face of such facts it is nothing less than marvellous that shipbuilders, shipowners, merchants, manufacturers, and traders generally, of all political parties, are so blind to their own interests as not to demand with one voice the abolition of CUSTOMS and EXCISE, and the establishment of perfect FREEDOM OF TRADE.

## Progress of British Shipping.

In 1849 the Protective Navigation Laws were in full force. They were repealed by an Act passed June 26, 1849, which came into operation on the 1st of January, 1850. The following is an account of the total number of British Vessels engaged in the Home and Foreign Trade (exclusive of River Steamers), registered at the two periods, and subsequently, with the number of men employed, exclusive of masters. The total number of vessels, including River Steamers, registered as belonging to the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands in 1885 was 23,662, and the tonnage 7,430,045.

Hence it appears that in 1885 there is a decrease as compared with 1849 in the number of sailing vessels by 4,032, and of men in them of 53,197; but an increase in the number of steamers by 4,602, and men in steamers by 99,367; or an aggregate gain of only 570 vessels (sail and steam), but of 4,112,821 tons, and 46,170 men. The following is an account of the tonnage of British and Foreign Vessels, sailing and steam, entering and clearing, with cargoes and in ballast, at ports in the United Kingdom from and to Foreign Countries and British

Possessions :—

Hence it appears that the increase in British Tonnage in 1885 compared with 1840, has been 39,898,570 tons, or 614 per cent.; that in Foreign Tonnage, 14,943,405 tons, or 506 per cent.

## Memorandum.

The Statistics of intermediate years—omitted from these and other tables in the present Almanack—may be had from previous issues, copies of which still remain on sale at the Financial Reform Association Offices, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.

## Quantities of Wheat, Wheat Flour, and other Grain Imported into the United Kingdom.

At Triennial Periods, from 1840 to 1885 Inclusive; and Aggregate in 46 Years.

In this Table are shown the quantities of Grain, Flour and Meal imported during *nine* years under the old Corn Laws; during *twenty-one* years under the Shilling Duty, and most onerous restrictions on the Trade, which were calculated, if not intended, to discourage the importation of foreign food; and during *sixteen* years from the time when the Corn Laws were really repealed, some four and twenty years after the dissolution of the Anti-Corn-Law League—in consequence, it may most confidently be said, of the persistent denunciation of the Tax by the *Financial Reform Association*.

## Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported.

At Triennial Periods from 1840 to 1882 Inclusive, and for 1883, 1884, and 1885.

(Compiled from Various Numbers of the STATISTICAL ABSTRACT.)

## Customs Revenues (1884) of British Colonies and Possessions.

For every pound of which large sum another pound or two at least must have been taken from the pockets of the Colonists and thrown to waste on cost of collection, intermediate profits to more or less monopolist trades, losses to the retail purchaser, adulteration, and, in the case of the masses, frequent scarcity of employment.

## Proportionate Values of British Trade with Colonies and with Foreign Nations.

In parallel column with these interesting tables we place the following record, referring our readers at same time to the long lists we gave in previous Almanacks of the Colonial Import Tariffs. These are levied principally upon articles of English Manufacture, upon yarns, woven fabrics, metals, earthenware, glass, leather and oils.

In several of the Colonies administered from Downing Street (called Crown Colonies) tariffs upon com, flour, butter and fish, meat and rice are in vogue, our West Indian fellow-subjects especially being oppressed by heavy Customs Duties upon these food materials, whilst the self-governing Colonies of Australia all tax rice, butter, tea, and sugar, and shut out bacon and hams with heavy duties.

Our Home Government (directed hitherto by Parliaments dominated by the Landed Interest) sets the example for all this folly by exacting Customs Duties upon the produce of almost every country of the globe.

The declared value of the whole of the British Imports which in 1885 had to pay Customs Duties was £28,893,295, and they came from the following countries:

## Under Foreign Rule.

## Under British Rule.

### Summary.

It thus becomes clear that the Free Trade sermons so constantly preached to foreign nations and to her colonies by Great Britain, are all spoiled by the practice not agreeing with the precept. It is the old case of "Don't do as I *do* but do as I tell you," and every people under the sun (as is seen by the epitome) must realize our hypocrisy in posing as a Free Trade Nation while taxing their products.

As some gauge of the extent of Colonial retaliation for British Import duties we ask attention to the statement on foregoing page. Though not based on any comparable ground (the statistics for such comparison not being available), it will enable our readers to form some estimate of the mischief done to the Mother Country's Trade by "our kin beyond the seas," between whom and ourselves there should at least be no tariff hostilities.

## Total Imports and Exports of Merchandise, Bullion, and Specie.

The statistics of Exports and Imports of Bullion for 1855 were not obtained.

## The Pension List.

### Total Expenditure on Pensions and Gratuities in the various Departments of Government.

Department or Service. No. of Pensioners. Superannuation Allowances. Compensation Allowances. Compassionate Allowances.

*In the few cases marked \* we have had to estimate the number of the recipients, no official information being available.*

Over a million of increase has come since 1882-3 from the Army estimates in consequence of the Wars in North and South Africa, *apropos* of which John Bull will do as well to notice that in these last five years of bad trade he has had to pay an Army Corps of over 100,000 Pensioners (military, naval, and civil,) for doing nothing, and that their drawings, amounting to *nearly eight millions*, swallowed up the whole of the Income Tax laid on the national profits for last year, *e.g.*, Schedules B, C, D, and E.

The great pressure upon our space this year, consequent upon 20 pages being required for the new House of Commons and poll figures,—to say nothing of 18 pages for the valuable treatise on the Land Tax (pp. 183 to 200)—has rendered it necessary to omit 12 pages of Alphabetical Pension List specially compiled for the present issue. The following selections are made from its contents:—

### Civil List Pensioners.

On the Queen's accession in 1837, she was empowered to grant in every year of her reign new pensions in conformity with certain resolutions of the House of Commons passed 18th February, 1834, provided that the total should not exceed £1,200 in new grants yearly: that sum being calculated as equivalent to £19,871 perpetual annuity. The result must speak for itself.

Our Almanack for 1884 (which may still be had) contained the full list of Royal Pensioners, with amounts and the reasons assigned for each grant. The following are the subsequent recipients:—

### Hereditary Pensions.

Nearly the whole of these have been commuted during recent years, but the funds ought in some cases to be reclaimed for the nation, and interests made terminable with the lifetime of the present holders. The entire list (with ample details) will be found in our Almanacks of 1884, 1885, or 1886. There are a very large number of



these Pensions, and arrangements have been artfully made to conceal both names and amounts from public cognizance. Reference to our 1883 Almanack will show how some 250 payments, principally to clergy, have been hidden away, and that those highly moral nursing-fathers of the church, Henry VIII. and Charles I., were originally the grantors. Amongst the Hereditary Pensioners are the following:—

Recipient. Granted. Net Annually. Commuted for Cash. In years Exchanged for Government Stock. 1 Richmond, Duke of ..... 1676 £19,000 £490,833 1801-25 £633,333 2 Grafton, Duke of ..... 1673 6,870 135,569 1808-16 229,000 3 Grafton, Duke of ..... 1673 7,191 193,777 1855-6 (?) 4 Grafton, Duke of ..... 1673 3,384 91,182 1856-7 (?) 5 Grafton, Duke of ..... 1674 843 Compensation annuities for extinguished sinecures. 6 Grafton, Duke of ..... 1674 62

Hereditary Pensions.—Continued. Recipient. Granted. Net Annually Commuted for cash In years Exchanged for Government

All the above pensions (Nos. 1 to 30) are perpetual; those which follow are limited to certain defined numbers of lives as particularized :—

The following are a very few of the leading Life-Pensions existent (those marked \*only apply when the holders are not filling cabinet office):—

## List of Taxes And Imposts

From which the IMPERIAL REVENUE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM is raised, showing the Gross Amount of Revenue yielded by each Tax or Impost in the Year ending the 31st day of March, 1885.

### Excise.

Name of Tax or Impost. Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxed. Gross Amount of Revenue Received.

Excise.—Continued. Name of Tax of Imposts. Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxed. Gross Amount of Revenue Received.

### Stamps.

Name and Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxes. Gross Account of Revenue Received.

Stamps.—Continued. Name and Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxed. Gross Amount of Revenue Received.

### Taxes.

Name and Rate of Tax or Impost. LAND TAX. Gross Amount of Revenue Received. On Lands and Tenements—

### Customs.

Name of Tax or Impost. Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxed. Total Gross Sum produced.

Customs.—Continued. Name of Tax or Impost. Rate of Tax or Impost. Quantities Taxed. Total Gross Sum produced.

## The Inhabited House Duty.

(Imposed by Sir Chas. Wood in 1851, in lieu of the old Window Tax, and not extending to Ireland or to houses below £20 rental.)

In the ALMANACK for 1876, and previous years, five pages were devoted to a compilation from Mr. LOCKE KING'S Return No. 384 of Session 1872, giving an "Account of the Number of Dwellings assessed to the House Duty in each County, Division of a County, City, Borough, and Parliamentary District of Great Britain, the Kates of Assessment, and the Amount paid in each in the year ending April 5th, 1871," to which were added the

entire number of Dwelling Houses, inhabited and uninhabited, assessed and unassessed, and building according to the Census of 1871. For these five pages there was substituted in the Almanack for 1877 the following Summary:—

Houses Assessed At £20 p. an. Between £20 and £30. Between £30 and £50. Between £50 and £100. Between £100 and £150. Between £150 and £200. Between £200 and £250. Between £250 and £300. £300 and up. Total No. Assessed. Amount of Duty. £ Total No. of Inhabited Houses. No. of Houses. Uninhabited. Building. England 85,299 188,762 240,373 150,103 37,500 12,548 6,729 3,268 8,950 733,532 1,114,896 4,311,564 247,677 35,664 Wales 3,137 3,952 5,385 2,755 462 83 39 27 33 15,863 20,055 245,745 13,665 1,639 Scotland 4,180 14,258 15,351 9,653 2,385 549 180 55 134 47,057 76,808 419,365 23,381 2,108 Totals, Great Britain 92,922 206,972 261,109 162,511 40,347 13,180 6,954 3,350 9,117 796,452 £1,211,759 4,976,674 284,723 39,411 Ireland (Exempt)

A Parliamentary Return of 1883 enables us to compare the figures with those of the last Census, and with the assessments of 1882.

Among the exemptions are 16,740 charity premises, 17,990 places used solely for business purposes, and 4,375,280 houses below the £20 limit of assessment. Of the houses below the £20 limit in 1882, it is important to note that 3,124,115 were even below a £10 limit.

In Ireland there were, by the Census of 1881 some 914,108 inhabited houses; but the following Statistics show that 40,665 of these were *single rooms built of mud*, a description of inhabited house that we certainly do not consider a fitting vehicle of taxation:—

Such facts shew the room there is, and the necessity, for a thorough revision of the House Duty, preparatory to a proper system of Taxation. At present the duty is evaded in many thousands of instances by fixing the rental just below the £20 limit; assessments in numberless instances are defective, and not seldom grossly collusive. In the great towns there is many a single building assessed at a higher figure than a dozen or score of palatial country mansions. Duke, Baron, or Squire has his steward or his bailiff, and his tenants on the Board of Guardians, or other rating authority, and all are naturally anxious to "make things pleasant" for their superiors.

## Duties and Taxes-Repealed or Reduced, Imposed or Increased—from 1840 to 1885 Inclusive.

Customs. Excise. Income Tax. Stamps. Other Taxes. Totals.

The effect of these Tariff Reforms may be gathered from the following pages of this ALMANACK, viz.:—

- Page 175.—Where may be seen the growth of Rent in the assessments to Schedule A of the Income and Property Tax, as well as the growth of *Profits* in Schedules C and D.
- Page 117.—Where are recorded the figures of Food Consumption per head of the population. This table, telling of the gradual incoming of plenty to the once-starved labourer, is perhaps the most eloquent within our covers.
- Page 104.—Where the reader may see the reduction of Crime by 63 per cent., though population has increased by nine millions.
- Pages 101—102.—Where the reduction of Pauperism is strikingly set forth.
- Page 159.—Where the figures of Wheat and Flour Importation since Corn Law Repeal are recorded.
- Page 171.—Where the same particulars are given for all kinds of Food Imports.
- Pages 158-9.—Where the effect of Abolished Duties on Trade and Shipping is shown to be marvellous.
- Pages 157-8.—Where another result of free trade is seen to be an enormous expansion of the staple manufactures and trades of the country—Cotton, Wool. Coal, and Iron.
- Page 122.—Where from the Clearing House Returns some notion may be gathered of the vastness of our National Monetary transactions.

And finally in the following record of national prosperity such as no other country in the world has ever been able to show:—

## Real Value of Imports & Exports of Merchandise (Exclusive of Bullion & Specie)

## from 1854 to 1885.

Imports. Exports. Exports. Imports and Exports Proportion per head of Population U.K. British Produce Proportion per head of Population U.K Foreign and Colonial Produce. British. Foreign, and Colonial Produce. Proportion per head of Population U.K. Years. Total Value. Total Value. Total Value.

## Food Imported in 1840 and in 1883, 1884, and 1885.

1840. 1883. 1884. 1885. Animals living, viz.—Oxen, Quantity. Value. £ Number and Quantity. Value. £ Number and Quantity. Value. £ Number and Quantity. Value. £

Sir Stafford Northcote's Return, No. 469 of Session 1863, from which the figures of 1840 are taken, includes pigs amongst the things prohibited in that year; but these interesting creatures are not mentioned, either in the *Finance Accounts or the Statistical Abstract*. All the articles above enumerated were duty free in 1870, excepting Cocoa, Coffee, Currants, Raisins, Sugar, and Tea. Sugar was liberated in 1874, and the sooner the other five articles are set free the better it will be for the country, and the nearer we shall be to real Freedom of Trade.

## The Customs Duties.

To trace to their origin the import and export tariffs of this country we must go beyond the time of Richard I., if not so far as the Roman occupation. A "prisage" on imported wine is recorded in Exchequer documents of the monarch just named, and in 1297 a grant of Customs dues on exported wool and leather was made to Edward I. in aid of his war with France. The wine duty being at so much per ton became known as "tonnage," and import duties on other goods being imposed at so much a pound of their supposed value these were termed "poundage." Hence the récurrent term "tonnage and poundage" in subsidies granted by Parliament to successive sovereigns. Poundage was at the rate of 5 per cent, from 1373 to 1787, which fact may be profitably contrasted with the exorbitant and barbarous percentages charged now-a-days under what is supposed to be an enlightened and popular Government. For instance, take the following principal articles of modern Customs :—

[The figures in the first three columns of the following Table are taken from the *Statistical Abstract*: the fourth is calculated thereon; the fifth is taken from the Finance Accounts for 1883-84; and the sixth shows the rate of duty on the articles named. The quantities being for the year ended December 31, 1883, and the revenue for that ended March 31, 1884, the calculations are not strictly accurate, but they are near enough for the purpose.]

These are only the percentages actually received by the Government from wholesale dealers, who take the goods out of bond for consumption. For profit and risk of capital so advanced, as also for loss of time, labour, and other expenses consequent on the system, wholesale dealers and retailers must make additional charges, all of which are concealed in the selling price of taxed goods, so that consumers are made to pay in this unconscious manner very much more than Government receives. If the people only knew how greatly they are pillaged and injured by this system of raising the revenue all the forces of the Government would not suffice to maintain it for a single year. For their better understanding of what they are paying in taxes when they suppose they are only paying for the goods they buy, it may be well to put the above rates per £100 into a more familiar shape by showing what they mean as to every supposed *shilling's worth* bought by retail. Thus: Out of every shilling paid over the counter for Cocoa, lid. is for the tax; for Coffee, 1½d.; for Currants, 3d.; for Raisins, 2½d.; and for Tea, 4¼d.. with fraction of a farthing additional in each instance. The Spirit duty makes the price of a nominal shilling's worth of spirits 4s. 4¼d. The Tobacco duty raises the price of the shilling's *worth* to 6s. 8¾ d., supposing both to be genuine and duty paid, *i.e.*, unadulterated and unsmuggled, whilst that on Wine takes only the fraction of a farthing more than 5d. from the shilling. As to Tobacco, it may be interesting to smokers of the common sort to know that of the 3d. paid for an ounce, 2½d. is for the Government, and a *halfpenny* only for the Tobacco. The charges beyond the Government extracts from the *shilling* amount to at least 25 per cent, on them, *i.e.*, to threepence on every shilling of duty, and to a farthing on every penny. The £45,164,224 raised by Government in the last financial year by means of Customs and Excise Duties, must represent a burden of at least double that amount upon the country, directly and indirectly, and probably very

much more in actual cost, to say nothing of the prevention of gain consequent on the system. The Sugar duties were happily abolished in 1874, and the sooner the rest of the relics of barbarous fiscal legislation are made to follow suit the better it will be for every man, woman, and child in the three kingdoms.

## Curiosities of the Customs.

Our persistent exposure of the wasteful abuses at the small Customs' Ports, has at length produced some result : the establishments at Campbeltown, Padstow, and Wisbech (*which Sir J. Lubbock's return of 1874 showed to be costing about 72,000 per cent, upon the amount of duty collected*), have now been "grouped" with the larger staffs at Greenock, Plymouth, and Lynn respectively. Those at Aberystwith, Kirkwall, Scilly, Beaumaris, Lerwick, Milford, and Borrowstowness (*which collected about a halfpenny per day a-piece*), have been "grouped" with Carnarvon, Wick, Falmouth, Llanely, and Grangemouth. With the last-named port has also been coupled Alloa (where £130 was annually collected for the Revenue, at a cost of £800, or 615 per cent.), and with Plymouth has been "grouped" Fowey (where £1,143 was spent on getting in £85—*i.e.*, 1,345 per cent.), with Greenock Ardrossan is bracketed, Ardrossan celebrated for collecting £116 at a cost of £721, or 622 per cent. The 56 gentlemen who lived in clover at these and other ports, collecting 3s. a man per day and writing one form and half a letter a-piece, have been whittled down to six we presume, or all pensioned off, which is more likely. Then again Skibbereen, with its roaring revenue of £281 costing £509 to get in, has been joined to Cork; and Grangemouth now that two other Lilliputian "Ports" have been "grouped" with it, may be expected to collect a little more than £921 for a little less than £2,486, or 269 per cent. Lastly, there are those 12 Harbours of bliss, where the 46 gentlemen filled up two forms a-piece per day and collected an average of £1 each before going home. What has become of them? Lyme, Youghal, Chepstow, and Woodbridge appear no more at all on the Customs' List. Runcorn and Fleetwood have been joined to Liverpool, Teign-mouth to Exeter, Faversham to Ramsgate, and Montrose to Dundee, &c., &c.

We part with these "curiosities," not without a sigh, for they have long given piquancy to our pages, helping our lecturers to point many a moral and adorn many a tale. And, in conclusion, we ask the reader to note that the frightful and wanton waste of public money by the Customs System has been so little heeded by Parliament that even these, the most glaring, instances were allowed to go on fully ten years after Sir John Lubbock's Return before application of a remedy. We suppose Mr. Courtney was the man who at length stopped this leakage of the taxpayers' money, for we believe he effected several similar reforms whilst at the Treasury.

## The Stamp Duties

Like other of our national fiscal errors, these date back to the ill-omened reign of William III.—the period that launched the National Debt, invented the sanguinary chimæra called the "Balance of Power in Europe," and loaded the trade of the country with every conceivable burden. The first Stamp duties of 1694 varied from 40s. to 1d. upon each sheet or skin of vellum, parchment, &c., used for certain legal processes, while simultaneously every London hackney-coach was charged with a 50s. licence, to be good for 21 years, on payment of £4 per annum in addition. Three years later, the Exchequer attacked the poor class of Pedlars and Hawkers, charging each of these £4 a year, and an additional £1 for every ass or other beast they might employ in the earning of their living. In 1778, it appeared that this duty on Pedlars, &c., realizing £8,000 a year, cost £2,800 (or 35 per cent.) to collect, whereupon the tax was handed over to the Hackney Coach Commission, and in 1831 this office was further amalgamated with the Board of Stamps, which body in 1856 became a Commission of Inland Revenue. But though offices are consolidated and expenses of collection reduced to a minimum, the main grievances imposed by such class taxes and imposts remain substantially unredressed, if indeed they are not yearly augmenting. For instance, take the following table showing the gross amount collected from what are called "Stamps," and the details of each head of revenue included in that term :—

## The Legal Deed Duties.

The heavy charges in Stamps on Leases, Conveyances, Agreements, and other legal documents, are here shown to produce about two millions per annum, or as much as an additional 1d. in the £ on the Income and Property Tax Schedules of the whole kingdom, and when it is remembered that 140,000 persons had to pay the £1,811,945, while ten times that number would contribute to a similar amount in Income Tax, it may be fairly pointed out that the unhappy 140,000 transferees of Land, Houses, &c., had to pay 10d. in the £ additional tax on their incomes, besides the 5d. in the £ which they parted with as payers of Income Tax. Now the Financial

Reform Association strenuously asserts this to be an injustice and a hardship. Why should men be taxed for selling a house or a field when no tax is imposed for selling a ship or a bale of cotton goods? There is no basis of equity in such taxation, and the only class that can benefit from it are the close corporation of lawyers, whose charges (sufficiently exorbitant in all respects) are further aggravated by these Government Stamps on legal deeds. And this is not all, for some of the house property may change hands many times a year, and is taxed afresh every time it is transferred.

## The Death Duties.

It will be seen from the table last given that these taken together constitute a heavy branch of the National Revenue. When compared with the Schedules of the Income Tax, for instance, we find that last year Probate Duty brought £4,103,644, Legacy and Succession brought £3,332,963; total £7,436,607, while Schedule A, at 8d. in the £ on all the Rents of the Kingdom brought in only £5,101,442, and Schedule D, at the same rate, on all the Profits of Trades, £7,502,109; and before we proceed to expose the anomalies in the incidence of the death duties, we deem it a public duty to affirm that the taxation of property at death and inheritance is taxation on a false basis. It is the system of the Robber chiefs of old, who stepped in after the death of a father and said to the son or widow :—"Now, you shall not have any of this man's accumulations unless you buy them from me,"—and that is what is called "*Black Mail*." Adam Smith long since pointed out that all taxes on the transference of property from the dead to the living fall *finally and immediately* upon the legatee. Ricardo said the same, adding that such taxes, like those on transfers and deeds, prevented the National Capital from being distributed in the manner most advantageous to society. There is an entire series of fiscal anomalies in the operation of these death duties, but we may point out only a few, viz.:—

- Many corporations who own real estate escape paying altogether. Several Municipal and Ecclesiastical Corporations hold great landed estates, and the Charity Trusts alone (of which there are 50,000) hold 524,000 acres of land, with a gross rental of more than one and a half millions per annum.
- The heirs of the great landlords pay but a trifling percentage, and that percentage is levied *only on an estimated life-interest* capitalized, instead of on the full value of the freehold. The Ducal Estate of £50,000 a year, and which is worth £1,500,000, descending to an heir-at-law aged 64, pays three per cent., or £12,800, Succession Duty but a merchant or manufacturer leaving personalty of the same value would have to pay £45,000 Probate Duty, and another £45,000 Legacy Duty—in all £90,000!
- Small legacies of money are oppressively mulcted as compared with large fortunes.
- Grossly unfair advantage is taken of intestacy, mainly to the vexation and detriment of persons of small means.
- Foreigners holding personalty here escape Legacy Duty, but Englishmen leaving personalty abroad become liable to pay.
- The scale based on consanguinity acts with cruel hardship upon many of our struggling people! A millionaire's child pays nothing to Legacy Duty for personal estate, but the adopted child of a mechanic pays ten per cent. A man marrying his deceased wife's sister would only pay three per cent, on any property she might bequeath to him, but if he died first she would be charged ten per cent, on anything he left to her. A legacy *from* a stepmother pays ten per cent., but a legacy to a stepmother pays nothing—and so on.

## Legacy and Succession Duties.

Amount paid at each Rate in the Year ended 31st March, 1886.

Mr. Joseph Dodds, M.P. (a Vice-President of the Financial Reform Association) has persistently attacked and exposed the inequities of the system upon which the Death Duties are and have been assessed. To his agitation has been mainly due the reforms carried out in 1880 and 1881 (by successive Ministers) in the collection of Probate Duty, which reforms have palpably relieved the burden upon small personal estates, and in a pamphlet Mr. Dodds has dealt exhaustively with the whole subject in view of further simplifications and reforms.—["Death Duties," by Joseph Dodds, M.P. Published at Financial Reform Offices.] It may be mentioned, as showing the extent of benefit conferred by Mr. Gladstone's alteration of this duty in 1881, that the total number of estates exempted by it from Legacy Duty amounted to 32,915 in the first twelve months.

## How Land Escapes the Death Duties.

This Table, of itself, affords a sufficient answer to the clamours of the landed gentry and others, who complain that Real Property is sadly overburdened in the matter of Taxation. It shows that from 1797 to 1886, Personalty paid, in the shape of Probate, Administration, and Legacy Duties, *from which Realty is wholly*

*exempted*, no less a sum than £230,000,000. And this is only part of the case; for of the produce of the Probate Duty for 111 years in England, i.e., from 1694 to 1805, for 26 years in Scotland, and for 31 years in Ireland—as also of the produce of the Legacy Duty for 17 years in Great Britain, and for 32 years in Ireland—we have no account at all. Furthermore, Real and Personal Property were both included in Pitt's Legacy Bill of 1780. Its division into two Bills was deemed expedient, and the Commons passed both; but the Lords only adopted that relating to Personalty, rejecting the other; so that for upwards of 70 years Realty enjoyed entire exemption from these duties. Yet again: the Succession Duty imposed in 1853, as some sort of palliation for this gross injustice, has been frittered down to one on the Succession valued as a life annuity, and made payable by easy instalments, so that its annual yield, instead of the £2,000,000 anticipated by Mr. Gladstone, or the £8,000,000 by Lord Cairns, is only something between £600,000 and £800,000. Once more : what if the successor die before the instalments are paid? Considering these and other matters of the like nature, are not the Landholders somewhat imprudent in disregarding Mr. Cobden's warning not to put the people upon inquiring into Taxation, lest they should discover how "they have been robbed and bamboozled for ages by the Aristocracy."

## **The Marine Insurance Duty.**

It is surely unnecessary to do more than indicate the self-evident absurdity of a financial system that has abolished taxes on fire insurance, but leaves them still to be exacted upon the insurers of property and goods by sea. A stamp of trifling amount, like that on Life Policies (for the rate of which see page 167), would answer all necessary purposes of Registration.

## **The Duty on Bills and Notes.**

These being taxes on persons who need to borrow money are unjust and oppressive. Every time the bill or promissory note is renewed the tax is relevied, and it thus, in thousands of cases, becomes more than trebled and quadrupled in its incidence. It is a petty system to single out in this way one class of the people and make money for the State out of their exigencies. The mercantile and trading community of the country are heavily enough handicapped by Customs and Excise, and by the exactions of the Probate Law and of Schedule D, without the Exchequer nibbling at their pockets for this £777,000 a year for bill-stamps. About nine and a half millions in number of these bills pay Stamp Duty yearly, but the quarterly amount being almost exactly one-fourth, shows how regular are the renewals and how frequent the re-taxation of each person.

## **Receipt Stamps.**

In 1853, this duty, hitherto of variable amounts, and on a graduated scale, was reduced to a uniform penny rate on all receipts over £2 in amount, the result being a great increase in the produce to the revenue. In 1852 it realized £154,696; in 1872, £648,843; in 1886, £967,260.

# **The Income Tax.**

## **Pitt's Income and Property Tax.**

In 1797-8, extreme pressure upon the Exchequer drove Pitt to desperate expedients to raise money. He had virtually abolished what was left of the Land Tax by perpetuating it at the valuation of 1692, and offering to sell it at 18 or 23 years' purchase for cash.

At the same time he told Parliament that the measure would not preclude that or any other Parliament from imposing another Land Tax, or from augmenting or re-assessing the existing one.

Moreover, in lieu of such re-adjustment, he there and then imposed a Property and Income Tax to realise £6,500,000 in the following proportions of assessment:—

All the £49,000,000 was upon items of the old realty schedule of the land tax, and the £53,000,000 was upon items in the old personalty and salaries schedules. The character and extent of that attempt may be seen from the figures that follow, and it should be remembered that this tax (like the Land Tax which it supplanted) did not apply to Ireland :—

In the year last mentioned, this tax (which had always been regarded as a war tax) was repealed, and, in 1842, re-imposed by Sir Robert Peel, not as a war tax, but for the purpose of meeting an increased expenditure. Subsequently it was retained as a substitute for the abolished duties upon commerce and manufactures, and has been, in this respect, truly a grand "lever" for the enfranchisement of labour and industry, especially during the

chancellor-ships of Mr. Gladstone, who, in 1854, extended the operation of the Income Tax to Ireland. [For Statistics of Income Tax see following pages.]

## Income and Property Tax Assessments.

Years ending April 5 SCHEDULE A. SCHEDULE B.\* SCHEDULE C. Years ending April 5 Annuities and Dividends from Public Revenue. Lands. Tenements, Tithes not commuted, Manors, Fines. &c. Occupation of Land. Tenements, and Hereditaments. England and Wales. United Kingdom. England and Wales. United Kingdom. United Kingdom. Scotland. Ireland. Scotland. Ireland.

## The Decrease in Land Assessments (Schedule A).

The valuation of 1882, the first that followed the depreciation in value of English Landed Property, showed the following decreases of Land Values in the English Counties:—

And a Parliamentary Return of 1884 showed that in the year 1881-2 repayment was made for 99,521 acres of farms thrown on hand, and in the year 1882-3 for 51,617 acres.

The total decrease of valuation in the triennial interval was for England £3,389,772, and for Scotland £196,052, since which period both amounts have been greatly augmented, and now are shown by Income Tax records to total £5,265,000.

## Income Tax.

Amount of Duty charged and realized in each year from the 5th day of April, 1842, the rate in the pound at which such Tax was levied in each year, and the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer imposing or continuing such Tax.

## United Kingdom.

Year ended 6th April. Total Income Tax Charged. Net produce after allowing or sums discharged or returned if default and for repayments of Duty. Receipt in addition for unassessed Duty and for recoveries from Default Schedules. Rate of Duty on Incomes of Name of Chancellor of the Exchequer imposing or continuing Income Tax. Incomes wholly Exempted. Annual Income in respect of which an Abatement was allowed. Amount of Abatement. £100 and under £150 a year. £150 a year and upwards.

## Income Tax, 1884-85.

A Statement showing the Gross Amount of Property and Profits assessed, and the Net Amount charged to Income Tax under each Schedule for the Year ended 5th April, 1885.

England. Scotland. Ireland. United Kingdom. Amount of Duty charged at 6d. in the £ Gross Assessment. Net Amount charged to Duty. Gross Assessment. Net Amount charged to Duty. Gross Assessment. Net Amount charged to Duty. Gross Assessment. Net Amount charged to Duty.

## Deductions and Exemptions.

The deductions, &c., subtracted from the gross assessments give the net amount. These sums, amounting in 1883-84 to £17,789,341, are thus accounted for:—

There were 7,702,354 separate properties assessed under Schedule D in the United Kingdom in 1883-84. of which 1,268,670 were exempted, and 40,935 were abated.

## Evasions of the Income Tax.

*"The exemption of one man means the extra Taxation of another."*  
—MR. GLADSTONE (1883.)

The study of the Annual Reports of our Inland Revenue Board is not calculated to exalt one's opinion of the Income Tax as far as Schedule D is concerned. The following extracts from these official documents are offered as a warning to any who are inclined to prefer systems of taxation based on the assessment of Income to those much stabler systems based on Rental.

*12th Report* (1869). "The claims to compensation which have arisen out of a recent extensive demolition of houses by the Metropolitan Board of Works, have given the usual evidence of the frauds which prevail in returns under Schedule D. The total number of these claims for compensation was 200, and on examination by our officers 80 surcharges had to be made, which were all sustained on appeal. In other words, the Revenue had been defrauded in 40 per cent, of the cases enquired into. The aggregate incomes returned by the parties was £73,642, and the amount ultimately found correct was £171,370, being 130 per cent, in excess of their returns. This naturally suggests the question, what must be the amount of loss to the Revenue in the assessments to Schedule D throughout the United Kingdom? and we think that the information furnished by this instance of compensation on a large scale does really give us the means of forming a rough but approximate estimate of the deficiency in returns. Of course if this were a solitary instance of the kind, it would be eminently illogical to build any argument upon it, but it is an invariable consequence of claims for compensation, where the actual profits of trades or professions are divulged, that we find the Income Tax Returns largely deficient. And this is not confined to any particular class, trade, or profession; we find the same when on abolition of some particular court the legal practitioners make good their claims; we find it on all occasions of large demolition of shops and warehouses for public purposes, in every variety of Trade; and we find it in great Public Companies, and in firms whose business is almost a national concern from its magnitude and world-wide reputation. We therefore think that we may venture to generalize upon the facts which the most recent occasion of compensation cases has furnished.

"These facts are that 40 per cent, of the persons assessed had understated their Incomes 130 per cent. Let us see what additional Revenue Schedule D would yield if the same proportion of deficiency prevails throughout. In 1864-5 the number of persons assessed under D was 350,512,40 per cent. of which is 140,204. Taking these at the average assessment of the whole Kingdom we thus assume:—

"We see no reason to distrust this estimate, at all events no reason to consider that it errs on the side of excess rather than otherwise. We have already stated that we have found every class of contributors to Schedule D liable to the same shortcomings in Returns. We are far from saying that in all cases there has been wilful attempt to defraud the Revenue. In many cases no doubt the errors are unintentional, but what we are chiefly concerned with is the effect on the Public Income . . . . If Schedule D gave its due quota to the Revenue, we might be relieved of many an unpleasant impost."

## **Specimen of Public Companies' Returns of Income.**

### **Deficient Returns under Schedule D.**

*Selected cases of one year (1868-9).*

The following cases, selected from a large number, will afford some idea of the great loss sustained by the revenue by reason of deficient returns.

It is impossible to expect any practical steps from aroused public opinion and criticism in these matters so long as the names of the parties are screened from exposure. The Inland Revenue officers are not allowed to divulge the names of even parties detected in the grossest frauds. In the Reports of the Department they have to carefully avoid giving any clue that might identify these respectable criminals, and even in the worst cases ready payment is made of £100 fine, and appeals to court are avoided thereby.

### **Conscience-Money Payments.**

These frequently give startling evidence of Government inability to obtain a correct knowledge of taxable incomes. Often £10,000 or more has been paid in one sum for Conscience-money in unpaid Income Tax.

## **Lands and Property in Mortmain.**

### **An Important Exemption from the Death Duties.**

According to Sir Arthur Hobhouse ("The Dead Hand"—Chatto and Windus), the number of charitable foundations in the United Kingdom can only be guessed at, and their income baffles calculation. Mr. Gladstone, in 1863, placed the latter at £3,000,000 per annum, varying from a few shillings up to £55,000 a year, but *none of it subject to ordinary taxation*. Lord Brougham's Commission reported on 29,000 endowed charities discovered by them, but an immense number escaped the commission. Sir A. Hobhouse puts the present



number at not less than 40,000 foundations.

The so-called Statute of Mortmain, passed in 1736, did not apply to many classes of institutions or to all property. It dealt with a single abuse, the re-endowment of religious bodies with the lands of the kingdom which had been stripped from them in 1535-1540. In the former year it is somewhat significant that the first Poor Law was found necessary, though Hallam denies that the Dissolution of Monasteries and the enactment of Poor Laws stood in the relation of cause and effect. Bequests for merely religious uses were forbidden, but anything that could call itself charity seems to have been favoured, not only then but all along by the judges of the land.

ABSTRACT OF PARLIAMENTARY RETURN (1882) of all REAL PROPERTY held in Mortmain, or for Charitable, Public, or Perpetual Uses, or in any such way that no SUCCESSION DUTY is payable thereon.

The only means by which the Inland Revenue Department could furnish the above Return was by examining the last Assessments under Schedule A of the Income Tax Acts, and extracting therefrom the particulars of all real property in each district apparently held in mortmain, or for charitable, public, or perpetual uses by corporations, trustees, and other such persons.

The Return includes all lands and tenements, and hereditaments, described in the assessments as belonging to any of the undermentioned bodies, viz:—

- Any university or college.
- Any dean or dean and chapter.
- The Ecclesiastical Commissioners of England and Wales.
- Any London livery company.
- Any inn of court.
- Any corporation, municipal or otherwise (not including property of incorporated trading companies, such as railway, banking, mining, gas, water, canal, and other joint stock companies; but where gas or water works are the property of public corporations, and the profits are applied in aid of the rates, their property is included, as also the property of boards of health, burial boards, and such like).
- Any vestry, churchwardens, or trustees, for church purposes, or in ease of the rates, or for charitable or public purposes.
- Any trustees acting on behalf of any religious body, the rents being applied for the purposes of such religious body.
- Any trustees or managers of any public school.
- Any board of guardians of the poor.
- Any friendly or industrial and provident society.
- Or any other bodies of a like character *having a perpetual succession and existence*.

It does not follow that the full annual value is in all cases the sum payable for rent to the owners, inasmuch as the assessment may include the value of beneficial occupation by the tenant.

The "estimated extent" of land has been inserted as a part of the description in cases where such information is available, but some Poor Rate assessments do not contain the quantities of land, which could not therefore be given in this Return. The value stated is not the value of the lands only, but includes the annual value of buildings, if any, upon the lands.

Glebe lands and parsonage houses are included in the Return, but not tithe rentcharges, neither are cathedrals, churches, chapels, and places of public worship, which are not rated.

Leasehold properties belonging to public bodies and corporations, but rated and charged in the Income Tax assessments in the names of the lessees, are not included in the Return, as the assessments do not contain the means of identifying such properties, and the value of their ground rents, &c., is not known.

By successive Royal Commissions, on Charities, on Poor Laws (1834), and on Education (1861), these endowed Charities have been denounced as a public evil, but it is characteristic of our semi-aristocratic Parliaments and Governments that nothing efficient has yet been done to stop or even check their wide-spreading mischiefs. Meanwhile, not only do vast sums of money run to waste that might be applied to educational and other beneficent purposes, but masses of people and entire districts are pauperized by the compulsory doles of dead and gone fanatics. These Charity Trusts should be taxed, nationalized and removed from what Hobhouse calls the "sport of 40,000 chance-medley wills," and their property finally declared to be "not the property of the dead but of the living." To quote Lord Bacon, "Gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt, but the painted sepulchres of alms which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Defer not charities until death, for he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than his own."

## Other Loopholes and Defects in the Income Tax.

With reference to the table at foot of last page it is pointed out by that valuable work "Burdett's Official

Intelligence," that the large decreases shown in the assessments, some of which are undoubtedly due to a *bonâ fide* diminution in the amount of Foreign Stocks held by residents of this country, are probably due in other cases to evasions of the tax. That authority further remarks that incomes (of over £3 a week) if received weekly, although clearly chargeable under Schedule D, are not attempted to be included by the revenue authorities, so that whilst a clerk at £200 a year is assessed, his fellow-employé at £4 a week or upwards is exempt.

Stocks are exempt if standing in the names of Her Majesty, or any foreign Ambassador here resident, also of Friendly, Industrial, or Provident Societies, Savings' Banks, Charities, and Trusts for the repair of places of worship.

Out of a population exceeding 36 millions, less than a quarter of a million persons now come under Schedule D, as will be seen by a previous table. The serious character of the exemptions below £150, and partial exemptions between that and £400 is evidenced by such a fact, as also by the further statement that only about 1 in 5 of the present payers would come under assessment if incomes below £400 were entirely (instead of partially) made exempt.

According to the Inland Revenue Commissioners some 240,000 persons were relieved by Sir S. Northcote in raising the level in 1876 from £100 to £150 of non-liability. It is fair to assume that in ten years their numbers have reached 300,000. Let us suppose only £100 of net assessment for each (=£30,000,000). Then there is an amount of Revenue thrown away that would have sufficed to free Coffee, Cocoa, and Dried Fruits from taxation. The latter reform would have affected millions of taxpayers of all classes most favourably; but the Cabinet of 1876 were truthfully caricatured as fishing for the votes of the few.

Similarly a handful of individuals were benefited by the same government's grant of £40 additional abatement in certain cases: and the House Duty has all along been weighted with mischievous and sweeping exemptions (as elsewhere shown).

If instead of playing to the gallery with such grants of exemption, our rulers had possessed sufficient wisdom, courage, and honesty to maintain the old level of £100 Income Tax liability (with £80 abatement up to £300), or to apply the House Duty below £20 rental, they could have far more really and generally reduced taxation by abolishing the customs duty on tea; as we believe it was Mr. Gladstone's original intention to do. Better trade and more constant employment (to say nothing of improved profits in commerce) would have resulted, and the exchequer would have richly shared this general improvement. But whilst free trade is hated by one of the great parties in the State, and only half understood or believed in by many leaders of the other, everybody loses, and the majority thus far appear content to lose, unnumbered benefits.

## The Land Tax.

In lieu of much matter having reference to Land Tenures and the Taxation of Land we this year reprint and embody in the Almanack a valuable and authoritative pamphlet on the Land Tax, published originally by the Anti-Corn-Law League in 1842, and of which, though a re-issue took place in later years at the expense of Mr. James Beal, it has long been impossible to obtain copies. Readers of the Almanack will find this pamphlet specially useful in the controversies now pending with regard to Land and to Local Taxation, not to mention its high importance in discussion of the national Revenue grievances, and these considerations have induced us to allot a large part of our present issue to the aforesaid Anti-Corn-Law League pamphlet, which will be found on pages 183 to 200. For its arguments, facts, and conclusions, we bespeak the earnest consideration of men of all parties, convinced that a wide circulation under cover of our Almanack is the best course available for securing public attention and perusal.

## Statistics of Land Tax

Amount of Land Tax charged, per Act 38 Geo. III. cap 5 (1798) :—England, £1,989,673; Scotland, £17,954. Total for Great Britain, £2,037,627.

NOTE.—The duties on Offices and Pensions, repealed per Act 39 Vict. cap. 16. In the year 1798 they amounted to £125,964, but in 1875 the amount payable prior to the repeal was only £737.

Hence it appears that on the assessments of 1877-8, and on the produce of the Land Tax under Schedule A in 1881, in only one instance, that of Middlesex, did the quotas of the several counties of Great Britain reach more than 1s. in the £, all the rest being under 6d. Several were below a 1d., and some less than a farthing in the £. Thus, Cumberland and Lancashire figure for less than a halfpenny; Yorkshire was only good for threehalfpence, Scotland for 3/16ths of a penny, and the general average for Great Britain was only a penny and three farthings. This is a pretty account to give of a Tax which is called by Act of Parliament one of 4s. in the £ on the full annual value, even though the valuation be only that of 1692. But this is not all. The

assessments in question were exclusive of Mines, Quarries, Ironworks, and other descriptions of real property which were declared subject to the Tax by the Act of 1798, and which were transferred from Schedule A to Schedule D in 1866. From the 33rd number of the *Statistical Abstract* we learn that the gross annual value of property, exclusive of Canals, Gasworks, Ironworks, Mines, Quarries, Railways, and other Profits, &c., in Great Britain, assessed under Schedule A, in 1885, was £180,906,830, a real 4s. in the £ on which would yield £36,181,366 instead of £1,023,196, the paltry produce of its phantom namesake in 1886. Finally—these two facts seem worthy of consideration : in fourteen years of the reign of William III. the whole public income from all sources, *including* £51,946,621 2s. 8d. *raised by creation of debt*, was £107,437,540, to which the Land Tax contributed £20,776,865, *i.e.*, more than a *fifth part* of the total amount, loans included; whereas in 1885-6 the public income from taxes and ordinary receipts amounted to £89,581,301, towards which the Land Tax yielded £1,023,196 only, which was not quite an *eighty-seventh part* of the total ordinary income, *exclusive of money raised by the creation of debt*.

*The total amount of capital stock cancelled for redemption of Lund Tax was £28,905,641 up to 1869, with an annual saving of dividend of £867,166: since then the stock cancelled has amounted to about £1,300,000, with an annual saving of £40,000, and; further stock has been cancelled by the application of surplus land tax amounting to £250,000 with an annual saving of £7,500. j No Land Tax is levied in Ireland.*

*A person who wishes to redeem his Land Tax must apply to the clerk to the Land Tax Commissioners for the division in which the property is situated for a certificate of the amount to be redeemed. The clerk thereupon certifies the assessment, and attests the declaration of the redeemer. The certificate and declaration are then sent to the Registrar of Land Tax at the Inland Revenue Office, in order that a contract for redemption may be made. Notice is then given of the amount of consideration money payable, and of the time and place of payment.*

## The Constitutional Right to a Revision of the Land Tax.

It having been urged by Sir Robert Peel and other defenders of the corn-law, that the landholders have a just right to be protected from the importation of agricultural produce on account of the peculiar and heavy burdens imposed on land in this country, the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League considered it their duty to institute an enquiry into the nature and extent of those alleged burdens, and the land tax having been found *the only peculiar burden* to which land in England and Scotland is subjected, it was considered of paramount importance that the origin and nature of the land tax should be carefully investigated. It being therefore determined to take a legal opinion on the subject, a case was submitted to counsel, and an opinion requested on the following points:—

- Whether the State had not a *constitutional right* to an *equitable equivalent* in lieu of the profits of the feudal tenures abolished by the Statute 12 Car. II. c. 24.
- Whether the *excise* can be considered as such *equitable equivalent*.
- Whether the *present land tax* can be considered as such *equitable equivalent*.

The opinion received being to the effect that there was a constitutional right to such equitable equivalent; and that neither the excise nor the land tax could be considered as being such equitable equivalent; a further opinion was then requested on the following points :—

- Whether the land tax has always been levied in a legal manner.
- Whether a Constitutional Right now exists to a revaluation of the land, for an assessment for the land tax by a pound rate on the full yearly value at the time of assessing thereof, as appears to have been the intention of Parliament at the revolution.

The first of these questions was answered in the negative, and the second in the affirmative; and the reasons for these opinions form the groundwork of the argument contained in the following pages.

George Wilson,  
Chairman of the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League.

Manchester,

March 1st, 1842.

### 1.—The Ancient Revenues of England.

By the fundamental constitution of England there were two principal sources of public revenue; the first,

the income or produce of the lands, the whole property of which was vested in the king

The Saxon word *cyning*, of which king is an abbreviation, appears to have meant the offspring or creature of the community. See Allen's Enquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England, 8vo., 1830.

or nation; the second, the emoluments arising from certain services annexed by way of conditions to the grant of such lands as were granted out to individuals

Mad. Exch., chap. x., p. 202 et seq. 1 Sinclair, Hist. of the Revenue, 25. 1 Blackstone's Comm., 286-7.  
. Of both these great sources of revenue the nation has in process of time been deprived.

## The Crown Lands, or Folcland.

### 2.—Saxon Land Tenures.

There was a distinction as to land in England before the Conquest too important to be passed over; the division, viz., of land into "folcland" and "bôcland." When the Saxons had obtained possession of a territory, after appropriating certain portions to individuals, they considered what remained as belonging to the State, or community at large, and called it "folcland" which is translated by Spelman "terra popularis," that is, the land of the public

Spelm. Gloss., in voc. Folcland. Watkins on Copyholds, 5, 6. Wright's Tenures, 6,7.

. When a particular portion of land was severed from the folcland and appropriated, it received the name of "bôcland," provided the conveyance was made by a written instrument. At the same time it is to be borne in mind that these two kinds of land, distinguished by the respective names of "folcland" and "bôcland," did not comprehend all the land of the Anglo-Saxons, since at an early period conveyances were made by the delivery of a staff, a spear, an arrow, &c.

Allen's Enquiry, p. 153. The conclusions of another very eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, Mr. John M. Kemble. formed without any knowledge of Mr. Allen's line of argument, entirely coincide with Mr. Allen's views on this point. See the introduction to the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*. Mr. Kemble's results have been adopted by Dr. Müller in his *Lex Anglorum*, &c.

### 3.—The Terra Regis of Domesday.

When the kings began to be considered as the representatives of the State, the term terra regis, or crown land, took the place of the word folcland; and the bôcland, or private estate of the king, came to be mixed up with it. This is the terra regis of Domesday Book

Allen's Enquiry, pp. 160-1.

"The terra regis of Domesday," observes Mr. Allen, "was derived from a variety of sources. It consisted, in part, of land that happened at the time of the survey to be in the king's hands, by escheat or forfeitures from his Norman followers. It was constituted, in part, of the lands of Saxon proprietors, which had been confiscated after the Conquest, and had not been granted away to subjects. But it was chiefly composed of land that had been possessed by the Confessor in demesne, or in farm, or had been held by his thegns and other servants. Of the last description part was probably the private bôcland of the Confessor, which had belonged to him as his private inheritance But if we compare the number of manors assigned to him as his demesne lands in Domesday, with the estates of bôcland possessed by Alfred, it seems incredible that the whole should have been his private property. A great part must have been the folcland, or public property of the State, of which, though the nominal proprietor, he was only the usufructuary possessor, and, with the license and consent of his wit an, the distributor on the part of the public. The land which is called terra regis in the Exchequer Domesday is termed, in the original returns of the Exon. Domesday, demesne land of the king belonging to the kingdom"

Ibid, p. 160.

### 4.—Crown Land Public Property, and Unalienable.

It appears from Domesday Book that the crown acquired the entire property of 1,422 manors. To these are to be added 68 royal forests, 13 chases, and 781 parks in different parts of the country

Spelm. Gloss., in voc. Foresta.

. Although this, as has been seen, included what had been the private bôcland of the Confessor, that is, had

belonged to him as his private inheritance, the greater portion of this land appears to have been viewed by the fundamental laws of the kingdom as the property of the whole nation, and therefore strictly inalienable. On this last point the language of the common law is very strong and unambiguous. Fleta's words are, "Antiqua maneria vel jura coronæ annexa regi non licebit alienare sed omnis rex coronæ alienata revocare tenetur"

Fleta, lib. 1, cap. 8 1 fo. 3. "Ancient manors or rights annexed to the Crown it is unlawful for the king to alienate, and every king is bound to resume the alienated property of his crown." See also Bracton, lib. 2. cap. 5 & 7 fo. 14.

. And he repeats the same doctrine in his third book, and adds, "nec valebit deforciantibus longi temporis prescriptio : diuturnitas enim temporis tantum in hoc casu magis injuriam auget quam minuit, cum constare debeat singulis, quod hujusmodi libertates de jure naturali vel gentium ad coronam tantum pertineant"

Fleta, lib. 3, cap. 6 5 3 fo. 183. "Nor will prescription of length of time avail the wrongful holder of this property, for length of time only in this case aggravates rather than lessens the injury, since it ought to be clear to all that such things by the law of nature and nations belong only to the crown."

. And Noy, Attorney-General to Charles I., says (Rights of the Crown, 50), "The king may raise money and improve the revenue of the crown by lands, as by selling that which hath been often and usual, and if they were not of the ancient lands which our forefathers held impious for to alienate from the crown, and those were such lands as go under the title of terra regis, and were the lands of Edward the Confessor." But by the statute 21 Jac. I. c. 5 (amended and rendered more effectual by 9 Geo. III. c. 16) it was enacted that a quiet and uninterrupted enjoyment, for sixty years before the passing of that act, of any estate originally derived from the crown, should bar the crown from any right or suit to recover such estate, under pretence of any flaw in the grant or other defect of title.

In regard to lands acquired by the crown by escheat or forfeiture the rule was different, for these the king might alienate, and, in regard to them, time ran against the king as against any other person

Fleta, lib. 3, cap. 6 3 fo. 183; and see the statute 47 Geo. III. sess. 2 c. 24.

On this point Sir John Sinclair, in his History of the Public Revenue, has the following important observations:—

*"Among the various measures taken by this monarch (Henry II.) after his accession, perhaps the boldest and most important was the resumption of such of the crown lands as had been granted by his predecessor Stephen, and even by his mother, the Empress Matilda. And here it is necessary to take notice of a very material distinction in regard to the royal demesnes. The ancient patrimony of the crown, called in Domesday Book terra regis, was held to be so unalienable, that if any portion of it was given away, either the king by whom it was granted, or any of his successors, could at any time resume the donation. Whereas lands which escheated to the crown, in consequence of a default of heirs, or any feudal delinquency, it was in the power of the sovereign to dispose of in any manner he thought proper"*

*Sinclair, Hist. of Revenue, 84. See also 5 Cru. Dig., 36,43, 3rd Ed. See also Statute 47 Geo. III. sess. 2 c. 24, as to lands acquired by the crown by escheat or forfeiture.*

## 5.—Folcland granted away to Royal favourites.

By a natural enough confusion of ideas, however, the kings of England were apt to jumble together their bôcland, or private estate, and the folcland, or land of the nation, which they held as the stewards and governors of the nation. In other words, they confounded the ideas of property and sovereignty. Accordingly the folcland, the public, the national property, has been almost entirely granted away to private subjects. At last after William III. had greatly impoverished the crown by making large grants to Dutchmen, an act

1 Anne, st. 1 c. 7. By the 34 Geo. III. c. 75, Crown Lands may under certain conditions be let on building leases for 99 years. By the Statutes 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 88, a distinction is drawn between the Crown Lands and such lands as are to be considered as the king's private property, and it is enacted that none of the provisions and restrictions contained in the Acts of 1 Anne and 34 Geo. III. shall extend to the latter; and by the 47 Geo. III., sess. 2 c. 24, certain powers are granted to the king over lands acquired by escheat or forfeiture.

passed at the commencement of the succeeding reign, whereby all future grants or leases from the crown for any longer term than thirty-one years, or three lives, are declared to be void; except with regard to houses, which may be granted for fifty years. But this act, as Blackstone observes, was made too late, after almost every valuable possession of the crown had been granted away for ever, or else upon very long leases. From the result Blackstone draws the following conclusions, on which it will be necessary to make one or two observations:—

*"The public patrimony being got into the hands of private subjects, it is but reasonable that private contributions should supply the public service. Which, though it may perhaps fall harder upon some*

*individuals, whose ancestors have had no share in the general plunder, than upon others, yet, taking the nation throughout, it amounts to nearly the same; provided the gain by the extraordinary should appear to be no greater than the loss by the ordinary revenue. And perhaps if every gentleman in the kingdom was to be stripped of such of his lands as were formerly the property of the crown, was to be again subject to the inconveniences of purveyance and preemption, the oppression of forest laws, and the slavery of feudal tenures, and was to resign into the king's hands all his royal franchises of waifs, wrecks, estrays, treasure trove, mines, deodands, forfeitures, and the like, he would find himself a greater loser than by paying his quota to such taxes as are necessary to the support of government"*

*1 Bl. Comm., 307.*

## **6.—The Injustice resulting to Taxpayers.**

From these propositions laid down as premises, Blackstone thus proceeds to draw the following further conclusions :—"The thing *therefore* to be wished and aimed at in a land of liberty is by no means the total abolition of taxes, which would draw after it very pernicious consequences, and the very supposition of which is the height of political absurdity." Between the premises and the conclusion there is no connexion whatever. It may be true or it may not, that the total abolition of taxes is "by no means to be wished in a land of liberty;" but the truth or falsehood of that proposition has no more connexion with the proposition "that every gentleman in the kingdom would find himself a greater loser by being stripped of such of his lands as were formerly the property of the crown, and again subjected to all the feudal tenures, than by paying his *quota* to such taxes as are necessary to the support of government," than it has with the proposition or axiom, that the whole is greater than its part, or that four is greater than one. Unfortunately for the conclusiveness of the learned and accomplished commentator's reasoning, and for a very large proportion of those whom the result of his reasoning concerns, there is a considerable number of persons in these kingdoms who pay their *quota* of taxes without possessing any lands that were formerly the property of the crown, or any lands that were formerly subject to feudal services. If all the tax payers of Great Britain and Ireland were gentlemen possessed of such lands as Mr. Justice Blackstone describes, nothing could be more just, more sound, more conclusive than the learned judge's reasoning. But his conclusion is entirely based on the hypothesis that the said tax payers are identical in every respect with the said land-holding gentlemen, and that hypothesis having not the slightest foundation, the superstructure raised upon it must of necessity fall to the ground.

## **7.—Privileges of Crown Tenants in Ancient Demesne.**

Those estates, which are called in Domesday *terra regis*, are called the Ancient Demesnes of the crown; and the tenants of such portions of them as were granted out on a species of socage tenure, the services reserved on which were to cultivate the land and supply a certain quantity of provisions for "the king's household," were called tenants in ancient demesne

4 Inst., 269. 1 Cru. Dig., 44. F. N. B., 16 D. Com. Dig. Ancient Demesne (A).

. These tenants had six privileges:—

*1. They could not be impleaded for their lands, &c., out of the manor. 2. They could not be impannelled to appear at Westminster or elsewhere, upon any inquest or trial. 3. They were free and quiet from all manner of tolls in fairs and markets, for all things concerning husbandry and sustenance. 4. And also of taxes and talliages by Parliament, unless specially named. 5. And also of contribution to the expenses of the Knights to Parliament. 6. If severally distrained for other services, they might all join in a writ of monstraverunt*

*4 Inst., 269. Com. Dig. Ancient Demesne (F). 1 Cru. Dig., 44.*

These privileges did not extend to those who held such manors by knight service. But though in course of time most of those manors were granted by the crown to subjects, the socage tenants preserved their ancient privileges, even though the services were commuted for money rents

1 Cru. Dig., 45. The Author of the Dialogus de Scaccario says that this change took place in King Henry the First's time. Mad. Exch., 186.

. The manor itself, and such parts of it as were held by knight service, were not considered as ancient demesne, but as frank-fee

Com. Dig. Ancient Demesne (B). 1 Cru. Dig., 45.

. The above privileges were annexed to the tenants of those lands for the same or a similar reason that certain privileges are annexed to the persons of Peers, or Members of Parliament, viz., for the public good. It seems unreasonable to demand that the privilege should remain when the public is no longer benefited by it

As to the effect of the abolition of fines and recoveries, upon the tenures of Ancient Demesne, see the Stat.

## 8.—Resumptions of Alienated Crown Lands.

I have already mentioned the resumption of the crown lands by Henry II. A similar measure was resorted to in subsequent reigns. Such a plan for increasing his revenue having been hinted at by Edward IV. in a speech from the throne, was readily agreed to by his Parliament, 1468

1 Sincl., Hist. Reven., 155.

## 9.—Enquiry and Partial Restitution both prevented by the Aristocracy in 1688.

In the reign of Queen Anne, some endeavours were made to examine into the value of lands, and of all grants made by the crown since the 13th February, 1688, with a view of resuming the same, and applying them to the relief of the public necessities. A bill for that purpose was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords

2 Sincl., Hist. Reven., 19.

. A resolution, also of the Commons, to lay a tax upon all grants from the crown since the 6th of February, 1684, of one-fifth part of the value of the grant at the time it was made, had been previously evaded; "the leading men," observes Sir John Sinclair, "in both houses being too deeply interested in grants of that nature to suffer such a bill to pass into a law"

Ibid.

## 10.—The Grants and Alienations of Queen Elizabeth.

Great dilapidations of the crown lands took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who preferred this mode of raising money to making any demand upon her Commons. In the 42nd year of her reign, commissioners were appointed with full powers to confirm the possession of the crown lands to such as hold them by titles liable to be disputed. In the following year an act was passed ratifying all the grants and alienations made by Elizabeth, since the 25th year of her reign, whether for value received or in consideration of a discharge being granted of any of the crown debts

43 Eliz. cap. 1.

. "It is said, however," adds Sir John Sinclair, "that her grants in general contained this proviso, that in default of issue male they were to revert to the crown. A clause of which the public at this time might probably avail itself"

1 Sincl., Hist. Reven., 205-6.

## The Feudal Tenures.

### 11.—The Feudal Tenants and the King.

Whatever name may be given to the title by which William I. possessed himself of England, it is beyond a doubt that, soon after the battle of Hastings, it became a fundamental maxim of the law of England that all the lands in the kingdom were held either mediately or immediately of the Crown, on consideration of certain services to be rendered, and of certain payments to be made by the tenants

Co. Litt., 65a, and Hargrave's note (1). 2 Inst., 501. Wright's Tenures, 63 et seq. and 136 et seq. 2 Hale's Hist. of the Com. Law, by Runnington, 101-2, 5th edit. 2 Bl. Comm., 60. 1 Cru. Dig., 32, 3rd edit.

. At first all the lands were held immediately of the king; but from time to time the king's chief tenants (tenants *in capite* as they were called) granted out a portion of their estates to other tenants, to hold of them instead of the king. This practice was put a stop to in the reign of Edward I., by a statute commonly called the statute *Quia emptores*

18 Ed. I., A.D. 1290 (Westm. 3).

. Those estates, however, which had been created before the passing of that statute continued, but no more could be created.

## 12.—Feudal Sub-Tenancies and Copyholds.

It is important here to remark, that in the feudal system, from the top to the bottom, all was shaped after the same model. Thus, those who held lands of the king's tenants *in capite*, held them in the same manner as the king's tenants held of him. As the latter were the peers of the king's court, so the lord's tenants or vassals were the peers of the lord's court. As the king's steward presided in the king's court, and was the leader of his vassals in war, so the lord's steward presided as register of the lord's court, and was the leader of his vassals in war. And, as we shall see, when the king's tenants performed services, or made payments to their lord the king, they demanded similar services or payments from their tenants. The same system, or at least its similitude, communicated itself, as Blackstone observes, to copyhold. But what is rather more curious, as we shall also see, when the military tenants voted the abolition of all services and all payments due from them to the king, they quite forgot to remit the services and payments due *to* them from their copyhold tenants

2 Bl. Comm., 54 and 367. Butler's note to Co. Litt., 330b, n. 1.

## 13.—Knight-service Tenures.

The most general species of tenure by which lands were held in England from the time of William I., commonly called William the Conqueror, down to that of Charles I., was that by knight service. To make a tenure of this kind, a certain quantity of land called a knight's fee was necessary. What the precise quantity in value of land that constituted a knight's fee was is not clear, there being a diversity of opinions on the subject. According to some a knight's fee contained 800 acres, according to others 680

Co. Litt., 69a.

. Lord Coke was of opinion that a knight's fee was to be computed by the quality, and not by the quantity of the land. He says it appears by the act or writ

A.D. 1307. Lord Coke says that the 1 E. II. *de Militibus*, though called a Statute, was only a writ granted by the king in time of peace, and therefore entered of record. See 2 Inst.

1 E. II. *de Militibus*, that a knight's fee was measured by the value of £20 *per annum*, and not by any certain content of acres

Co. Litt., 69a.

, Mr. Selden again insists that a knight's fee was estimable neither by the value nor the quantity of the land, but by the services or number of knights reserved

Seld., Tit. Hon., 2nd edit., part ii. c. 5 s. 26.

## 14.—Character of the Rents then Exacted.

But whatever might be the exact value of a knight's fee, he who held a portion of land so denominated was bound, if called upon, to attend his lord to the wars on horseback, armed as a knight, for forty days in every year, at his own expense; which attendance was his rent or service for the land he held

Litt., § 95. Wright, Ten., 140. 2 Bl. Comm., 62. 1 Cru. Dig., 27.

. And he who held half a knight's fee was only bound to attend twenty days, and so in proportion  
Lit., § 95.

## 15.—Introduction of Scutage.

It appears that very early the feudal tenants began to compound for personal attendance in knight service, either by sending others in their stead, or by sending a certain sum of money

The following records, cited by Madox (Exch. 438 et seq.) will exemplify the progress of the thing :—

- "De Scutagio Baronum qui nec abierunt cum Rege in Yberniam nec Milites nec denarios illuc pro se miseruat." Mag. Rot., 18 H. 2. Rot. 2a. Not. et Derb.
- "De Scutagio Militum qui nec abierunt in Hyberniam nec denarios nec milites pro se miserunt." Mag. Rot., 18 H. 2. Rot. 2a. Berchsc.
- "De Scutagio Baronum Angliæ, qui non abierunt cum rege in exercitu Galweix." Mag. Rot., 2 R. 1. Rot. 5a.
- "De Scutagio Militum qui ron abierunt cum rege in exercitu Galweix." Mag. Rot., 33 H. R. Rut. 9a. War et Legrec.



- But the most complete evidence is afforded as to this subject by the Writs relating to Military Service, the Writs of Summons, Scutage Writs, &c., printed from the Rolls in the Tower by the Record Commissioners. The Writs addressed to the Collectors of the Scutage are either empowering them to inflict amerciaments and to recover the money due to the king for default of service or directing them to exonerate the parties named for some cause therein specified; or they are Writs addressed to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, commanding them to compel those persons who had neither performed their service nor made fine, to appear in the Exchequer to make satisfaction for the same. See "Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons," printed under the direction of the Record Commissioners, 2 vols., folio.

. When this pecuniary satisfaction came to be levied at so much for every knight's fee, it acquired the name of *scutagium* or scutage, in Norman French *escuage*, so called not because it was properly speaking, *servitium scuti*, but as *pertinens ad scutum*, and because *nomine scutorum solvitur*

Wright, Ten., 125 note (1). Henry II. is thought to have taken the first scutage. Wright, 131 n. (u). Mad. Exch., 431-435.

. It is to be observed, however, that according to the opinion of Sir Martin Wright, which seems founded on good authority, this meaning of *escuage*, viz., a fine or commutation for a service, was a sort of secondary meaning of the term, its primary meaning appearing to be a service itself. It seems to have meant 1stly: not (as Littleton intimates)

Ss., 95, 96.

a direct personal service of attendance upon the king in his wars, and due upon all military occasions as knight service was; but a pecuniary aid or contribution, reserved by particular lords in lieu of personal service, the better to enable them to bear the expense of their own attendance upon the king in his wars. 2ndly: But it was more generally understood to denote a mulct or fine for a military tenant's defect of service, which fine, from the time of King John, whatever it was before, was not uncertain and at the will of the lord, but was to be fixed and assessed by Parliament

Wright, Ten. 123-128. Mr. Justice Coleridge thinks this account clears up the apparent confusion in Littleton and other writers of authority on this subject. 2 Coleridge's Blackst., 75 n. (13).

. I say whatever it was before, for *since the non-performance of the feudal services or duties was in itself a forfeiture of the feud*

Wright, 43.

, the lord, having the tenant or vassal completely in his power, might make the composition or fine as large as he pleased, for it was in his option whether he would take advantage of the forfeiture or not

Wright, 129, 130.

## 16.—Scutage Levied only by Consent of Parliament.

By statute 25 Edwd. I. cc. 5 and 6 (1297), and several subsequent statutes, it was enacted that the king should take no aids or tasks but by the common assent of the realm. "Hence it is held in our old books," observes Blackstone, "that *escuage* or scutage could not be levied but by consent of Parliament; such scutages being indeed the groundwork of all succeeding subsidies, and the land-tax of later times"

2 Bl. Comm., 75.

. We shall see presently how far the land-tax of modern times can be considered as an adequate representative of *escuage*.

## 17.—The Seven Feudal Incidents.

Such was the primary element of the tenure on which the bulk of the lands of England was held. But besides this fundamental condition on which these lands were held, this tenure of knight-service had seven incidents or consequences inseparably attached to it, viz., aids, relief, primer seisin, wardship, marriage, fines for alienation, and escheat.

## 18.—(I.)

Aids.—Aids were principally three: 1st, To ransom the lord's person if taken prisoner; 2ndly, To make the lord's eldest son a knight; 3rdly, To marry the lord's eldest daughter by giving her a suitable portion

Mad. Exch., 396 et seq. 2 Bl. Comm., 63. 1 Cru. Dig., 30.

. By the statute of Westm. I. c. 36

3 Ed. I. c. 36 (1275). 2 Inst., 231.

(1351-2), the aids of inferior lords, and by the statute 25 Ed. III., stat. 5 c. 11, those of the king's tenants *in capite*, were fixed at twenty shillings for every knight's fee, for making the lord's eldest son a knight, or marrying his eldest daughter. The aid for the ransom of the lord's person was never ascertained, and was not capable of being so.

## 19.—(II.)

Relief.—Relief which originated while feuds were only life estates, consisted of a fine or composition, paid to the lord by the heir, if of the full age of twenty-one years, when feuds became hereditary, for taking up the estate lapsed by the death of the ancestor or last tenant. In the time of Henry II. the relief for a whole knight's fee was fixed at 100 shillings, which, if the value of a knight's fee be understood to be land of £20 yearly value, would be at the rate of a fourth part of the yearly value

Glanville, 1, 9 c. 4. Litt., § 112. Co. Litt., 76a, 83b. 2B1. Comm., 65-66. Mad. Exch., 216 et seq.

## 20.—(III.)

Primer Seisin.—Primer Seisin, which was only incident to the king's tenants *in capite*, was a right which the king had, when any of his tenants *in capite* died seized of a knight's fee, to receive of the heir, if of full age, one whole year's profits of the lands, if in possession, and half a year's profits if they were in reversion, expectant upon an estate for life

Co. Litt., 77a. 2 B1. Comm., 66. 1 Cru. Dig., 31.

## 21.—(IV.)

Wardship.—The above payments were only due if the heir was of full age. If the heir was under the age of 21 being a male, or 14 being a female, the lord was entitled to the wardship of the heir, which consisted in having the custody of the body and lands of such heir, without being accountable for the profits, till the age of 21 in males, and 16 in females

Litt. § 103. 3 Ed. I. c. 22, (Westm. I.)

. When the male heir attained the age of 21, and the female that of 16, they might sue out their livery or *ousterlemain* (the delivery up of their lands out of the hand of their guardian), for which they were obliged to pay half a year's profits of the land by way of fine

Co. Litt., 77a. 2 B1. Comm., 68.

. An idea may be formed of the value of this branch of revenue, from the magnitude of the sums which the king received for the wardship of a rich heir when he sold it. Thus Simon de Montfort paid Henry III. 10,000 marks, an immense sum at that time, for the wardship and marriage of Gilbert de Umfreville

Mad. Exch., 223.

. For the purpose of ascertaining and levying this branch of revenue, writs were directed to the escheators of each county or district, requiring them to make inquisition by a jury of the county (commonly called an *inquisitio post mortem*). This inquisition was instituted upon the death of every man possessed of an estate in land, to inquire into the value of his estate, the tenure by which it was held, and who, and of what age, his heir was, thereby to ascertain the value of the relief and primer seisin, or the wardship and livery accruing to the king

The records preserved in the Tower, intituled *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, commence with the early part of the reign of Henry III. and go down to the reign of James I. They were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators (sec post § 25) of each county or district, to summon a jury on oath, who were to enquire what lands any person died seized of, by what rents or services the same were held, who was the next heir, and of what age the heir was, that the king might be informed of his right of escheat or wardship. These records likewise show the quantity, quality, and value of the lands of which each tenant died seized, : also whether the tenant was attainted of treason, or was an alien, &c. See the "*Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetarum*,"—printed under the direction of the Record Commissioners 4 vols, folio. It was formerly supposed that these records only came down to the reign of Richard III., but upwards of 3,000 documents have been discovered by the Record Commissioners, relating to the several reigns from Henry III. to James I. inclusive. These have been chronologically arranged, and a calendar of them is printed, as an appendix to the 4th vol. of the "*Inquisitionum Post Mortem Calendarium*." The Commissioners have also printed in 3 vols, folio, a Calendar of the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* in the Duchy of Lancaster, which comes down to the 18th year of King Charles I., 1642.

. By the statute 32 H. VIII. c. 46 a court of wards was established, to which the jurisdiction of the liveries was annexed by the statute 33 H. VIII. c. 22, and then it took the style of the Court of Wards and Liveries  
See 4 Inst., 188-203.

## 22.—Empson and Dudley's Offences.

It is easy to see what a powerful instrument of annoyance and oppression this inquisition might become in the hands of a monarch disposed to stretch the prerogative to its utmost limits. It was one of the main accusations against Empson and Dudley, the instruments of Henry VII., that by colour of false inquisition they compelled many persons to sue out livery from the crown who were not tenants thereunto

See the statute 1 H. VIII. c. 12, an Act concerning untrue inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley; and 4 Inst., 197-8.

. This consideration enables us to perceive and appreciate the exact nature of the transaction by which the holders of land substituted, for this inquisition, which fell entirely on *them*, another in the shape of the modern excise, which, with all its vexatious and oppressive incidents, fell chiefly upon people who had no land, nor anything else but the labour of their hands or of their heads.

## 23.—(V.)

Maritagium.—The lord or guardian in chivalry had also the power of disposing of his infant ward in marriage, that is, of tendering him or her while in ward

There was a difference between the cases of heirs male and those of heirs female, the statute of Merton not applying to the latter, and also between the cases of marriage under fourteen and those of marriage above fourteen. See stat. Merton c. 6; 2nd Inst., 90-92; Co. Litt., 82. The result is clearly stated in Mr. Justice Coleridge's note to 2 Bl. Comm., 71 n. (10).

a suitable match, which, if the wards refused, they forfeited to their guardian the value of the marriage, that is, so much as a jury would assess, or anyone would *bonâ fide* give to the guardian for such an alliance, and if the wards, after refusal of a suitable marriage made to them by the guardian, married themselves without the guardian's consent, they forfeited double the value of the marriage

Stat. Mert. cap. 6. Litt., § 110. Co. Litt., 82. 2 Inst., 90-92.

. The following example, which is cited by Madox from ancient records, with numerous others to the same effect, will convey some idea of the value of this branch of the revenue. Geoffrey de Mandeville paid to Hy. III. 20,000 marks, that he might have to wife Isabell, Countess of Gloucester, with all her lands and knights' fees

Mad. Exch., 322.

. Hume computes that this sum would be equivalent to £300,000—perhaps £400,000—in our time  
Hist. of England, App. II.

## 24.—(VI.)

Fines for Alienation.—"It is very certain," says Sir Martin Wright

Wright, Ten. 153. "The true reason," he adds in a note, "is given by Plowden" (Arguendo Mo., 172), viz., "Quia les confidences del Tenure (cest) le Homage, Fealty, Service, &c., fueront mutualment appropriate al Person del Roy et le Tenant per le Original done, issintque il ne puissoit estoyer ove reason de eux transferrer ou severer sans gree, &c."

, "that our fees or estates could not at common law be aliened without the license and consent of the lord." Also, from the reciprocal nature of the feudal obligation, as stated by Plowden in the note below, the lord could not alienate his seignory without the consent of his tenant, which consent was called an *attornment*

Com. Dig. Attornment (A).

. It is curious and instructive to observe what has taken place in regard to this relation, as between the Kings of England and their tenants *in capite*. This restraint upon the tenants' alienation gradually, wore away. For whereas, anciently, alienation by the tenants *in capite* without license involved a forfeiture

Wright, 153-4 and note (w). 2 Bl. Comm., 72. Upon which passage of Blackstone Mr. Justice Coleridge has the following note: "With respect to the question of forfeiture it is curious that Lord Coke should be cited apparently in support of the opinion that alienation by the tenants *in capite* without license involved a forfeiture, for at 2 Inst. 66, stating both opinions, he declares his own to be in the negative, and, as Sir M. Wright thinks, page 154, erroneously. This gives me occasion to say that it is of the utmost importance in discussing any point relating to the feudal system to determine the *time* which is spoken of; thus, according to

feudal principles, and *white* those principles were *Strictly* maintained, alienation without license must have involved forfeiture, for the tenant, of course, could not have compelled the lord to receive the homage and fealty of a new tenant, and by his own act he had renounced his own holding. But it is obvious that there was always a struggle in the advancing spirit of the age to loosen the bonds of feudal tenure, and it may not be possible to fix the period at which the practice of alienation became too strong for the law, and being first winked at, was finally legalized."

, these tenants *in capite* were, by the statute 1 Ed. III. c. 12, permitted to aliene on paying a fine to the king; which was settled at one-third of the yearly value for a license of alienation, and a full year's value for alienation without license

2 Inst., 67.

; and finally these fines for alien-action were, in all cases of freehold tenure, entirely abolished by the statute 12 Car. II. c. 24 (1660). On the other hand the doctrine of *attornments* continued till the passing of the statute 4 and 5 Anne c. 16, which from the first day of Trinity term, 1706, rendered all grants and conveyances thereafter to be made of any manors, rents, &c., good to all intents and purposes, without any attornment of the tenants

Com. Dig. Attornment (L). 2 Bl. Comm., 290.

. But it is to be observed, that in the case of the king and his tenants, while the tenants enjoy all the fruits of the feudal compact, discharged from all the obligations, the lord is still subject to the obligation, that is, the doctrine of *attornment* is still substantially in force as regards him.

## 25.—(VII.)

Escheat.—Where the tenant died without heirs of his blood, or where the descent of the lands to such heirs was impeded by the extinction of the inheritable quality of the tenant's blood, which might be by commission of treason or felony, or generally *propter delictum tenentis*, i.e. by a failure in the performance of some duty or condition inseparably annexed to the tenure, the lands escheated, or fell back to the lord who gave them

Co. Litt., 13a. 2 Bl. Comm., 72-3, 245-6. 3 Cru. Dig. 453 4. Mad. Exch., 202 et seq.

. On this subject Sir Martin Wright has the following important observations, more particularly with reference to the legal distinction between Escheat and Forfeiture :—

*"Strictly speaking, according to the legal notion of an escheat, it imports something happening, or returning to the lord upon a determination of tenure only; and in this sense all escheats, even to the king, are properly feudal, and such lands or tenements as are not held immediately of the king, and yet happen to him upon the commission of any treason, are not escheats, but forfeitures, which were given to the king by the common law, and do not depend upon the law of Feuds or Tenures, but upon Saxon laws that were made long before the introduction of Tenures, and which prevail even to this day"*

Wright, Ten. 117. 8, 9. He observes in a note (117note x) that the statute 25 Edw. III. c. 2 plainly makes this distinction between escheats and forfeitures.

The officers to whom it belonged to enquire into the escheats, wards, and other casualties that fell to the crown, were called escheators. There were by the common law two principal escheators, the one *ultra Trentam*, the other *citra Trentam*, who had under them sub-escheators

Com. Dig. Escheat., (C.) Co. Litt., 13b, 92b.

. In the reign of Edward II. several escheators were made in every county for life

Co. Litt., 13b.

. By the statute 14 Ed. III., stat. 1 cap. 8, it is enacted that there should be as many escheators assigned as when King Edward III. came to the throne, and that, says Lord Coke

Co. Litt., 13b.

, was one in every county, and that no escheator should remain in his office above a year. And the act declares that the same escheators were to be chosen by the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer. By the statute 1 Henry VIII. cap. 8, intituled "The act of Escheators and Commissioners," he that was once escheator should not be made escheator again within three years after the aforesaid whole year ended. The preamble of the last mentioned act throws light upon the grievous nature of these feudal services :—"Forasmuch as divers of the king's subjects lately have been sore hurt, troubled, and some disherited by escheators and commissioners causing untrue offices to be found, and sometimes returning into the courts of record offices and inquisitions that were never found, and sometimes changing the matter of the offices that were truly found, to the great hurt, trouble, and disherison of the king's true subjects." And other statutes contain evidence to the same effect

See 1 Hen. VIII. c. 10, and 1 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

## 26.—Binding nature of the Feudal Contract.

Such were the conditions upon which the feudal tenants held their lands. Those conditions were the price they paid for those lands; and a breach or non-performance of them, or any of them, much more a total sweeping away of them all without an *equitable equivalent*, would, by the fundamental principles of contracts, have the same effect as if a purchaser of lands, or anything else, were to get possession of the thing contracted for, and then put the money which had been agreed upon as the price of it into his own pocket, instead of handing it over to the vendor. At the same time some of the conditions on which lands were then held in England, wore of a nature sufficiently disagreeable to make it natural and reasonable for the tenants to wish to exchange them for others, which might be of a less objectionable character. Accordingly in the reign of James I., a plan was in agitation for commuting these conditions or services into a "competent yearly rent, to be assured to his Majesty, his heirs and successors." Of this plan Lord Coke has, in the fourth part of his Institutes, given an account which bears so remarkably upon the present question that I shall transcribe it here entire.

## 27.—Proposals for its Relaxation or Variation.

"At the Parliament holden 18 Jacobi regis, it was moved on the king's behalf, and commended by the king to Parliament, for a competent yearly rent to be assured to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that the king would assent that all wardships, primer seisins, reliefs for tenures *in capite*, or by knight service, should be discharged, &c. Wherein amongst certain old parliament men, these thirteen things did fall into consideration for the effecting thereof:—

- That it must be done by Act of Parliament, and otherwise it cannot be done.
- That all lands, tenements, rents, or hereditaments, holden of the king, to be holden by fealty only, as of some honour, and such rent as is now due.
- That all lands holden of subjects, bodies politick or corporate, by knight-service, to be holden by fealty, and such rent as is now due; for if lands should be holden of them by knight-service the same might come to the king.
- All subjects, bodies politick and corporate, to be disabled to take any lands, tenements, rents, or hereditaments of the king, his heirs or successors, by any other tenure than by fealty only, and yearly rent, or without rent of some honour.
- No subject, bodies politick or corporate, to create by any license, or any other way or means, any other tenure than by fealty and rent, or without rent upon any estate in fee-simple, fee-tail or otherwise.
- In respect of the said discharge and freedom of the subjects and their posterities, and that they shall be also discharged thereby of fines and licenses of alienations, respect of homage and reliefs : a competent rent to be assured to the king, his heirs and successors, of greater yearly value than he or any of his predecessors had for them all, which rent is to be inseparably annexed to the crown, payable at the receipt only.
- A convenient rent to be assured to the lords for every knight's fee, and so ratably.
- Commissions for the finding out of the tenures of the king and the subject, to be returned, &c.
- Idiots and madmen to be in the custody of some of their kindred, &c., and not of the king, his heirs or successors.
- The court of wards to be dissolved, with pensions to the present officers.
- Provision to be made for regulating of gardien in socage, and that the ancestor may appoint gardiens, &c., and that no gardien shall make a grant to the king.
- Provision to be made that Bishops shall continue Lords of Parliament, notwithstanding their Daronies be holden in socage.
- That the act shall be favourably interpreted for discharge of all wardships, &c.

"Which motion, though it proceeded not to effect, yet we thought good to remember it, together with these considerations; hoping that so good a motion, tending to the honour and profit of the king and his crown for ever, and the freedom and the quiet of his subjects and their posterities, will some time or other (by the grace of God) by authority of Parliament one way or other take effect and be established").

4 Inst., 202, 203.

## 28.—Oppressive Incidence of the Tenures.

The amount of the rent-charge which it was in contemplation to substitute for the king's feudal rights, was £200,000 a year

1 Sincl., Hist. Reven., 233.

; and since it appears from the account which has been published of James's revenue, during the first fourteen years of his reign, that his ordinary income did not exceed £450,868

1 Sincl., Hist. Reven., 244.

, it follows that at that time those feudal rights of the crown were equal to nearly one-half of the whole revenue of the kingdom.

It is to be observed that in the plan given by Lord Coke the rent charge proposed to be substituted in lieu of the feudal profits and services was to be of "*greater* yearly value than his Majesty or any of his predecessors had for them all." The reason of this will be apparent when it is considered that the benefit to the king's tenants would not be measured by the actual amount paid by them under this head into the king's coffers, but would be considerably greater in this way. There was, from the nature of the thing, almost inevitably a great deal of waste, and not unfrequently a great deal of hardship and oppression, which only ended in the utter ruin of the tenant. This is forcibly described by Sir Thomas Smith in the following passage of his Commonwealth; and this description, it is to be remarked, is not merely applicable to the earlier times, but to those of the writer, who was one of the principal secretaries of state to King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

*"When the father is dead, who hath the natural care of his child, not the mother, nor the uncle, nor the next of kin, who by all reason would have most natural care for the bringing up of the infant and minor, but the lord of whom he holdeth his land in the knight-service, be it the king or queen, duke, marquis or any other, hath the government of his body and marriage, or else who that bought him at the first, second or third hand. The prince as having so many, must needs give or sell his wards away to other, and so he doth. Other do but seek which way they may make most advantage of him, as of an ox or other beast. These all (say they) have no natural care of the infant, but of their own gain; and especially the buyer will not suffer his ward to take any great pains, cither in study or in other hardness, lest he should be sick and die, before he hath married his daughter, sister, or cousin, for whose sake he bought him, and then all his money which he paid for him should be lost. So he who had a father which kept a good house, and had all things in good order to maintain it, shall come to his own, after he is out of wardship, woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands let forth and ploughed to be barren, and, to make amends, shall pay yet one year's rent for relief, and sue ouster le maine, besides other charges, so that not of many years, and per adventure never, he shall be able to recover, and come to the estate where his father left it"*

Commonw., b. 3 c. 5.

Mr. Justice Blackstone's summing up of the whole matter will further support the above proposition, viz., that the amount received by the lord would be an adequate measure of the amount paid or lost in one way or another by the tenant.

*"Besides the scutages to which they were liable in defect of personal attendance, which, however, were assessed by themselves in parliament, they might be called upon by the king, as lord paramount, for aids, whenever his eldest son was to be knighted, or his eldest daughter married; not to forget the ransom of his own person. The heir, on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the first emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of relief and primer seisin; and if under age, of the whole of his estate during infancy. And then, as Sir Thomas Smith very feelingly complains, 'when he came to his own, often he was out of wardship, his woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands let forth and ploughed to be barren,' to make amends he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for suing out his livery, and also the price or value of his marriage; if he refused such wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for, and imposed upon him, or twice that value if he married another woman. Add to this the untimely and expensive honour of knighthood, to make his poverty more completely splendid. And when, by these deductions, his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that perhaps he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not even that poor privilege allowed him without paying an exorbitant fine for a license of alienation"*

2 Comm., 76.

## 29.—The Commonwealth Assessments.

In the following reign, that of Charles I., the feudal rights of the crown were strictly insisted on, and great dissatisfaction was occasioned by the attempt to revive the ancient laws of the forests. A court was held almost every year by the Earl of Holland, as chief justice in eyre, and as no prescription could be pleaded against the king's title, the resumption of lands which had formed part of the royal forests made great havoc with private property

Hallam's Const. Hist., vol. ii. c. 8, pp. 13,14.

. This severity naturally renewed the public desire to obtain a commutation, which is one of the means

recommended in a treatise bearing the name of Noy, the attorney-general, for permanently improving the revenue of the crown

Noy's *Rights of the Crown*, 55, 56. But Sir John Sinclair says that this work, printed in a small 12 mo. volume in 1715, under the title of "A Treatise of the Rights of the Crown, collected out of the Records in the Tower, the Parliament Rolls, and Close Petitions, *Anno X. Car. Regis*, 1634. By Wm. Noy Esq., then Attorney-General," was certainly written in the reign of James I., and most probably by Sir Robert Cotton. 1 Sincl., *Hist. Rev.*, 239, note (e).

In the civil contest which followed between the King and Parliament, it became necessary for each party to raise a military force, without respect to knight-service, from among their own partisans. And as knight-service, or military attendance, was a condition which attached to the holders of land, assessments were imposed by Parliament on all real and personal property to defray the expense of the military and naval force, which was continued during the Commonwealth. A different system of raising and maintaining a military force having been adopted, knight-service was abolished, whilst the profits of wardship, fines of alienation, and other feudal prerogatives, were collected during the whole period of the Commonwealth,

Sinclair, vol. i. p. 279.

The monthly assessments on land, and property tax, varied according to the exigencies of the times from £35,000 to £100,000 a month; the proportion of the latter being £70,000 a month on England, £18,000 on Ireland, and £12,000 on Scotland; and as these were partly in the nature of a commutation for knight-service, and partly of a subsidy, or extraordinary tax, it is important at the present time to direct attention to the mode in which these assessments were levied. One of these enactments for 1656 is preserved in Scobell's Collection, Part II., p. 400, from which it will be seen that the sum required was raised by a pound rate on real and personal property, or "on all lands, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, rents, profits, parks, warrens, goods, chattels, stock (farm), merchandises, offices, or any other real or personal estate whatsoever, according to the value thereof; that is to say, so much upon every 20s rent or yearly value of land and real estate, and so much upon money, stock, and other personal estate, by an equal rate, wherein every twenty pounds in money, stock, or other personal estate, shall bear the like charge as shall be laid on every twenty shillings yearly rent, or yearly value of land, as will raise the monthly sum or sums charged on the respective counties, cities, towns, and places aforesaid." From the best information that can be obtained, it appears that during the Commonwealth, in the short period of nineteen years, there was raised in England about £83,331,198, or one year with another, £4,385,850, which was nearly five times the amount levied in the reign of Charles I., the half of which was obtained by various contributions from the land

Sinclair, vol. i. p. 286.

### **30.—The Tenures at the Restoration in 1660.**

Immediately before the restoration of Charles II. the convention parliament passed an ordinance (in the absence of the king) for an assessment of £70,000 a month for three months. This ordinance was confirmed after the arrival of the king by the statute 12 Car. II. c. 2, intituled, "An act for putting in execution an ordinance mentioned in this act"

Rot. Par. 12 Car. II. p. 1, nu. 2. The preamble recites the circumstances under which the act was passed: "Whereas in the absence of His Majesty an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament was made, intituled: An ordinance of the Lords and Commons for an assessment of £70,000 by the month, upon England, for three months, for the supply of the present occasions of the King's Majesty, and for ana towards the payment and satisfaction of the armies and navies continued for the defence of this Kingdom, and of other the necessary and urgent occasions thereof. Now therefore, &c., be it enacted," &c.

This assessment was continued for three months longer by two subsequent statutes, viz., by 12 Car. II. c. 20, which granted £70,000 a month for two months, and 12 Car. II. c. 21, which granted £70,000 a month for one month. The preamble of the last mentioned statute, the 12 Car. II. c. 21, recites, that "the assessment is granted in consequence of your Majesty's urgent occasions whilst your Majesty's revenue stands unsettled, and your just rights and prerogatives in point of tenures, and the use of the court of wards, are forborne"

12 Car. II. c. 21 s. 1.

This is sufficient evidence of the intention of parliament to re-establish the monarchy, with all its feudal incidents, as it existed previously to the parliamentary rebellion against Charles I.

### **31.—Suggestion to fix a Rent-charge in Lieu.**

It appears from the journals that the original intention was to raise the sums to be granted by way of compensation for the proposed abolition of the feudal revenues by an assessment upon the lands which had previously paid those revenues. "The main question being put, it was resolved (in a Committee of the whole House) that the sum of £100,000 a year, to be settled on the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, in lieu of taking away the court of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite* and by knight-service, be generally charged upon all lands "

Comm. Journal, May 25, 1660.

The apportionment had actually been made out. A paper containing an apportionment of £100,000 per annum

This undoubtedly was very much under the true value; £400,000, or rather £600,000 would have been nearer that, if it was £200,000 in the reign of James I. There seems great probability that this was the reason why the court came so easily into the scheme of the excise, for if a nearly equal income could have been procured by the king from a rent-charge on the land, there is little doubt but he would have preferred it. See Hampden's pamphlet, cited in the note to 4 Parl. Hist. 149-50.

, to be settled on his Majesty in compensation for the court of wards (being brought in by the Committee to whom the same was referred) was this day read, and is as followeth, viz.:—

&c., &c., &c.,

Comm. Journal, Nov. 8, 1660.

On the 13th of November several members moved to raise money by a land tax, and Mr. Eyre moved to raise £800,000, half by the excise, and the other half by a land rate

4 Parl. Hist., 144.

. And again on the 19th November, many members spoke strongly against the excise, and in favour of a tax on land; "which, they said, ought to pay, and not to charge it upon the poor people, by way of Excise"

4 Parl. Hist., 146.

## **32.—Coke, Noy, and Blackstone approve the Rent-charge.**

To the statement already given of the plans for the commutation of the feudal services, sanctioned by the authority of the Lord Chief Justice Coke, and Mr. Attorney-General Noy

The treatise on the rights of the crown may be considered as of nearly equal authority whether it was by Noy or Sir Robert Cotton.

, it may here be added that Mr. Justice Blackstone has characterized the proposal of an annual rent-charge, or fee-farm rent, as "an expedient seemingly much better than the hereditary excise, which was afterwards made the principal equivalent for those concessions"

2 Blackst., Comm., 77.

## **33.—The Convention Parliament votes an Excise.**

In the opinion, then, of three of the most eminent lawyers that have ever appeared in England, and in the opinion of 149 members of the Convention Parliament, being only fewer by two than those who were of a contrary opinion, the proper and equitable equivalent for these feudal services was an annual rent-charge, bearing a fixed proportion to the true yearly value thereof, a minimum rate to be levied in time of peace, and a maximum rate in time of war, or according to the exigence of the state, as had been the custom from the foundation of the monarchy. But 151 members of the Convention Parliament, which met on the 25th April, 1660, were of a different opinion, for they voted that instead of a rent-charge upon their lands the people of England should pay a tax of 15d. per barrel upon all their boor and ale, and a proportionable sum upon other liquors *sold* (and as a large proportion of the beer and ale consumed by those who voted would be home-brewed, the tax would not touch them) in the kingdom

19 Car. II. c. 24 ss. 14,15.

. It was calculated that this tax, together with the profits of wine licenses, would produce from £200,000 to £300,000 a year, which was considered to be an ample compensation

1 Sincl., Hist. Rev., 300-1.

## **34.—The Debate Described.**



From the following debate, which took place on the occasion of passing this extraordinary measure, it will be seen that it was carried only by a majority of two, and that several members delivered their opinions as to the equity of the transaction in very unequivocal terms:—

*"Nov. 21, 1660. The Commons went again on the business of the Court of Wards, when Sir Heneage Finch opened the debate by moving, 'That the annual income to be settled on the king in lieu thereof might be raised by an excise on beer and ale, and to take away purveyance also. And that half of this excise might be settled for the king's life, and the other half for ever on the crown.' This motion was seconded by Mr. Bunckley and Mr. Pierepoint; but Sir John Frederick, Mr. Jolliffe, Sir Wm. Vincent, Mr. Annesley, and some others, spoke against it. The last-named gentleman saying, that if this bill was carried, every man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow must pay excise, to excuse the court of wards, which would be a greater grievance upon all than the court of wards was to a few. Sir A. A. Cooper spoke against the court of wards, and for the excise. Mr. Prynne against the excise, saying, it was not fit to make all householders hold in capite, and to free the nobility; and inveighed passionately, says the Diary, against the excise; adding that those lands which ought to pay, being held in capite, should pay still. Mr. Bamfield said, he was against an everlasting excise, and for laying the tax on lands in capite. Mr. Bainton also was against an excise, saying, if it was carried so, they might expect that one time or other there would be some strange commotions by the common people about it; that he was rather for keeping the court of wards regulated in its proceedings, than submit to an excise, which, if it was kept up, an army must be so to sustain it. Sir Thomas Clarges was against the excise, saying that the rebellion in Naples came from impositions and excises. This debate was ended by Sen. Maynard and Mr. Trevor, who both spoke for an excise, though the last said, that nothing but the court of wards taking away should have moved him to it. At last, the question being called for, the House divided, the numbers 151 against 149, when it was resolved. 'That the moiety of the excise of beer, ale, cider, perry, and strong waters, at the rate it was now levied, shall be settled on the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, in full recompense and satisfaction for all tenures in capite and by knight-service, and of the court of wards and liveries, and all emoluments thereby accruing, and in full satisfaction of all purveyance'"*

*Parl. Hist., vol. iv. p. 148-9. Comm. Journ., Nov. 21, 1660.*

## **35.—Copyholders and Feudal Sub-tenants denied Relief.**

In pursuance of the resolution, an act was passed, intituled "An act for taking away the court of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite*, and by knight-service, and purveyance, and for settling a revenue upon his majesty in lieu thereof"

12 Car. II. c. 24.

. It is rather singular that, notwithstanding the superintendence of so able a lawyer as Sir Heneage Finch, who was then Solicitor-General, and appears to have taken an active part in carrying through the measure, this statute should have been so loosely and inaccurately framed as it is. "The title of the act," observes Mr. Hargrave, "expresses that it was made for taking away tenure *in capite*; and the first enacting clause proceeds on the same idea. But had the act been accurately penned, it would simply have discharged such tenure of its oppressive fruits and incidents, which would have assimilated it to *free and common socage*, without the appearance of attempting to annihilate the *indelible* distinction between holding *immediately* of the king and holding of him through the medium of other lands"

Hargr., Co. Litt., 108a. n. (5).

. And Mr. Madox says

Exch. 432, note (b).

, "It was intended by the statute 12 Car. II. c. 21 to abolish tenure by knight-service, whether of the king or of a subject, with the fruits and appendages thereof." "But," he adds, "there are some clauses in that statute relating to tenures which, if I don't mistake, are worded in terms so complex and indistinct, that, like a two-edged sword, they cut both ways."

It may have been partly owing to this indistinctness, and partly to the supposition that as the convention patriots were so anxious to relieve the landed property of the kingdom from its oppressive incidents, they must have intended to be impartial in their benevolence; that at first it was imagined that the statute also discharged copyholds from their oppressive fruits and incidents, but in a case

Clench v. Cudmore, in C.B. in 3 W. & M.; Lutw. 371, 3 Lev. 395, Comb. 253.

which occurred soon after the revolution, it was solemnly resolved that the statute 12 Car. II. c. 24 does not extend to copyholds, and the reason given is that "*it might be very prejudicial to lords of manors.*"

## **36.—Extent of Revenue from the Feudal Tenures.**

It is observable that, whereas in the reign of James I. the value of these feudal profits had been estimated at £200,000, they were now estimated by the promoters of the commutation at only £100,000. It is difficult to account for this, on any other principle than that the Convention Parliament, feeling the weight and influence which they then possessed, were disposed to obtain as good a bargain as they could

See ante § 31, note (d).

. And it is to be remarked that the revenue, viz., the excise, which they substituted for that which was withdrawn, amounted to much nearer £300,000

1 Sincl., Hist. Rev., 302.

than £100,000, which, together with the revenue arising from the crown lands, would not bear so large a proportion to the whole public revenue at that time, as the revenue derived from land did to the whole revenue in the time of James I. But if the amount of revenue derived from land in the shape of various assessments, or land tax, imposed during this reign be taken into account, the proportion of the taxation falling upon land cannot at this time, I apprehend, be considered as smaller than it was in the reign of James I

See 12 Car. II. c. 1; Rot. Par. 12 Car. II., p. 1, nu2, an ordinance for an assessment of £70,000 a month for 3 mos. Also 12 Car. II. c. 20, for raising £70,000 a month for 2 mos.; 12 Car. II. c. 21, £70,000 for one month; and 12 Car. II. c. 26 for levying arrears. Also 12 Car. II. c. 27 granted £70,000 a month for 6 mos.; also 12 Car. II. c. 28; 13 Car. II. stat. 2 c. 3; 15 Car. II. c. 9; 16 & 17 Car. II. c. 1; 17 Car. II. c. 1; 17 Car. II. c. 9; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 1; 19 Car. II. c. 13; 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 3; 25 Car. II. c. 1; 29 Car. II. c. 1.; 30 Car. II. c. 1; 31 Car. II. c. 1. Of the statutes above enumerated, the 12 Car. II. c. 1, c. 20, c. 21, c. 27; 13 Car. II. stat. 2 c.3; 16 & 17 Car. II. c. 1; 17 Car. XI. c. 9; 17 Car. II. c. 1; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 1; 19 Car. II. c. 13; 25 Car. II. c. 1; 29 Car. II. c. 1; 30 Car. II. c. 1; 31 Car. II. c. 1, were on the same principle as the monthly assessments during the Commonwealth—the principle, viz., of *fixing the specific sum or amount* to be levied—whereas the 12 Car. II. c. 28, the 15 Car. II. c. 9, and the 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 3, were more on the principle of the ancient subsidy, *the rate per pound being fixed, the whole amount not fixed*.

. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the exact proportion of the amount of these assessments which was raised from land, there cannot, I apprehend, be a doubt that the proportion of that amount which was derived from land was considerable; indeed sufficiently large to make, when taken together with the crown lands revenue, and the revenue substituted for the feudal profits, the proportion of the whole public revenue derived from land quite as large as it was in the reign of James I.

## 37.—Gravity of the Constitutional Change Effected.

The above act (12 Car. II. c. 24), which abolished the court of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite*, and by knight-service, &c., completely altered the fundamental element of the constitution of this country. The Government of England, previously to that act, was a feudal monarchy, the very essence of which is, that the public expenses of the Government, both in war and peace, shall be defrayed by the various feudatories, the deficiency, if any, being provided for out of the public property in land vested in the monarch for the time being, and by taxes or subsidies granted by Parliament, and levied on the land and personal property of the kingdom. This act gave to the feudatories of England a complete discharge, as the lawyers are in the habit of very correctly wording it, from the *oppressive* fruits and incidents of their tenure. It confirmed to them their rights, discharged from the correlative obligations; and thus created the moral and legal anomaly of rights without obligations—an anomaly which cannot exist without a legal and logical absurdity, and a moral fraud.

## 38.—The feeling of Landholders towards Wars.

In fixing the ordinary revenue in the reign of Charles II. at £1,200,000 a year

It is important to observe that this amount of revenue was equal to the twelve monthly assessments on property as fixed by the Commonwealth.

Parliament made no provision for the maintenance of a regular naval or military force. The army was looked upon with apprehension or jealousy, affording a constant subject of complaint and remonstrance from Parliament, and of suspicion to the public

Hallam, Con. Hist., c. 11.

. But as at that time it had not been determined to exempt the land from all taxation, the charge for the support of the various levies of troops, and the building of ships, during this reign, was still defrayed by monthly assessments on real and personal estate, on the principle established during the Commonwealth, already explained (29); and on three occasions only by an attempt to revive the ancient method of subsidy

See ante § 30, note (x).

, which was resorted to for the last time in 1073, and discontinued from having become so unproductive

that estates from £3,000 to £4,000 a year did not pay above £16 for all the four subsidies. And as these burdens were borne almost entirely by the landholders, it made them always most desirous to terminate the various wars which were entered into, whilst, when the naval and military expenses of the State were in the subsequent reigns defrayed out of the general revenue, principally raised on articles of consumption, it is found that the landholders were the zealous supporters of wars of long duration.

### 39.—Change of Fiscal Methods at the Revolution.

It was impossible that the abolition of the feudal services without any equitable equivalent, which amounted to the abandonment of about one-half of the public revenue, without any compensation whatever therefrom, should not have been most grievously felt by all classes of the community, except the landholders. Accordingly we find that during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., not only the system of taxation was complained of, but also that the amount was greater than the country could bear; and the partizans of William III. having held forth the alteration and reduction of taxation as a strong motive for a change in the Government, it became necessary, when the Revolution was accomplished, to return to the principle of a direct assessment on property, and to gratify the people with the abolition of the obnoxious duty of hearth money

1 Sincl., Hist Reven., 406,407.

The Convention Parliament assembled February 13th, 1689, and on the 18th resolved to grant a *present* aid of 6 monthly assessments (on real and personal property), at £68,820 19s. a month, making together £412,925, to be levied according to the proportions in 31 Car. II. c. 1, 1679, which received the royal assent March 21st, and became the Statute 1 W. & M. c. 3. And as a further proof that it was again intended to raise the revenue chiefly from property, Parliament next proceeded to frame a new principle of assessment that for the first time exempted *stock on land* from being rated as other chattels personal, which sufficiently exhibits the influence of the landed interest at that time. By the Statute 1 W. & M., Sess. 1 c. 20, ss. 1, 2, an *aid* was granted of 12d. in the pound on the yearly value of all personal estate ("except debts and the *stock upon hinds*, and such goods as were used for household stuff")

Sect. 1.

, and also upon offices or employments (except offices in the army or navy)

Sect. 2.

; and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments were charged for one year with the sum of 12d. for every 20s. of the true yearly value, " And all and every person and persons, bodies public and corporate, guilds, mysteries, fraternities and brotherhoods, whether corporate or not corporate, having or holding in his, her, or their actual possession any manors, measures, lands, tenements, or other the lands or premiss, shall yield and pay unto their majesties the sum of 12d. for every 20s. by the year, which the said maors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, aid other the premises are now worth to be leased, of the same were truly and *bonâ fide* leased or demied, at a rack rent and according to the full true yearly value thereof, without any respect had to the present rents reserved for the same, if such rents have been reserved upon such leases, or estates made, for which any fine or income hath been paid or secured, and without any respect had to any former rates or taxes thereupon imposed"

Sect. 3, Record Comm, edition of the Statutes.

The Commissioners appointed for putting the act into execution were directed to issue warrants "to two at the least of the most able and sufficient inhabitants of each parish township, or place within their respective districts, thereby appointing and requiring them to be assessors of all and every the rates and duties by the set imposed and the said assessors were "to ascertain and inform themselves, by all lawful ways and means they could, of the true and full rate and valuation of the true yearly rents and profits of all manors, messuages, lands, and tenements, as also all quarries, mines of coal, tin, or lead, all ironworks and salt works, allom mines or works, parks, chases, warrens, woods, underwoods, and coppices, fishings, tithes, tolls, and other hereditaments of what nature or kind soever, situate, lying, and being, happening and arising within the limits of those places with which they should be charged; and being so thereof ascertained," they were "to assess all and every the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and premises before appointed to be charg'd after the rate of 12d. for every 20s. of the true yearly value, as the same were let for or were *worth to be let for at the time of the assessing thereof as aforesaid*"

Sect. 5.

And by the 1 W. & M., Sess. 2 c. 1, an aid of 2s. in the pound for one year was granted. This grant was in the same terms and words as those quoted above of the Stat. 1 W. & M., Sess. 1 c. 20, only with the substitution

of 2s. in the pound for 12d. or one shilling in the pound, and in the first-mentioned act the names of the Commissioners for putting the act in execution are not inserted, only they are to be persons resident, having real estates to the value of £100 a year, in the counties or shires for which they should be nominated Commissioners  
1 W. & M., Sess. 1 c. 90 s. 5.

, whereas in the latter, as in most, or all subsequent acts, they are inserted at full length, and it may be added that they are usually very numerous, forming apparently a majority of the wealthier landholders of each county.

By the 1 W. & M., Sess. 2 c. 5, an additional aid of 12d. in the pound was granted in the same terms as the last mentioned aid of 2s. in the pound.

The above three aids, then, together would amount to a tax for the year 1689-90 of 4s. in the pound on the true yearly rental of real property, and 24s. for every £100 of personal property (except debts, *stock on land*, and household goods); or 4s. in the pound on £6, the then legal interest of money, thus rating both descriptions of property alike, which produced £2,018,704

5 Pari. Hist., Appendix xix.

## 40.—The Landed Interest oppose a Land Tax.

The landed interest, having succeeded since 1660 in throwing off entirely the old feudal burdens of the State from their own shoulders, were determined to use every exertion to keep those or any similar burdens from being laid on them in lieu thereof; they procured an instruction to the Committee of Supply that no money should be raised upon land without the special leave of the House

1 Sincl., Hist. Keven., 411.

; but notwithstanding the government persisted in the measure.

On the 31st of March, 1690, the House went into a Grand Committee on the Supply.—Upon Sir W. Strickland's motion (April 2), "that the Supply be not raised upon land tax," Mr. Swynfin said, "*as to the arguments against land tax, I have been here the best part of twenty years, and all the projects would never do; the way of our ancestors has always been upon land, and they abhorred excise and all other projects. I wish we prove wiser than they. We had a war with the Dutch, as now we have with the French, and it was carried on no other way but by land tax. I am not for saving our lands to enslave our persons by excise*"

5 Parl. Hist., 562, 570, 571, 572.

; and King William, in his speech to both Houses on the 25th Nov. of the same year, intimated something very much to the same effect as the above. "It is high time," observed his Majesty, "to put you in mind of making some provision for the expense of the Civil Government, which has no funds for its support since the excise, which was designed for that service, and also the other branches of the revenue have been applied to other public uses; and therefore I earnestly recommend it to your speedy consideration"

5 Parl. Hist., 652.

. Again, in his speech on opening the Session of 1695, his Majesty said, "The funds which have been given have proved very deficient. The condition of the Civil List is such that it will not be possible for me to subsist unless that matter be taken into your care"

5 Parl. Hist., 964.

. And pursuant to this part of the King's speech, the Commons settled funds for the supply of the deficiency alluded to by his Majesty, of which funds the principal was a land tax of 4s. in the pound

Ibid, 967.

## 41.—Effect of their Manoeuvres in 1690-1.

In 1690, by the Statute 2 W. & M., Sess. 2 c. 1, an aid is granted to their Majesties of the sum of £1,651,702 18s., which is directed to be "assessed equally by a pound rate upon all lands, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, rent charges and other rents, parks, warrens, goods, chattels, stock, merchandises, offices (other than military offices and offices relating to the navy, under the command of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and officers within their Majesties' household), tolls, profits, and all other estates both real and personal"

Sect. 5.

In 1691, by Statute 3 W. & M. c. 5, another aid of £1,651,702 18s. is granted to their Majesties in precisely the same words as those of the last-mentioned Statute.

It will be perceived that these two last Statutes are a departure from the principle of the three immediately

preceding ones, and that a less sum was granted than had been raised under them, viz., the 1 W. & M., Sess. 1 c. 20; the 1 W. & M., Sess. 1 c. 1; and the 1 W. & M., Sess. 2 c. 5; by which a rate of 4s. in the pound is to be levied on the full *bonâ fide* rental of the land in the kingdom; whereas in the two latter, viz., the 2 W. & M., Sess. 2 c. 1, and the 3 W. & M. c. 5, a *fixed* sum is to be made up out of the annual profits of all the property, real and personal, of the kingdom, including stock on land, as by 1 W. & M. o. 3, whilst another principle, a sort of modification of this last, was, as we shall see, introduced afterwards, by which stock on land is exempted and the *rate* on other personal property is *fixed*; but that on land and other real property is not fixed, being made to depend (at least by the words of the act, though it appears the practice was otherwise) on the proportion of the whole amount specified that remained to be made up after personal property had paid its *quota*.

## 42.—The Land Tax Act of 1962.

In 1692 Parliament again returned to the principle of the three statutes above specified, of the 1 W. & M., sess. 1 c. 20, sess. 2. c. 1, and sess. 2. c. 5. The statute 4 W. & M. c. 1 granted an aid of 4s. in the pound on the true yearly value of real property, and 24s. for every £100 personal property (except debts, stock upon land, and household stuff), or 4s. in the pound on £6, the legal interest of money at that time. The following words of this act, 4 W. & M. c. 1, show that the tax was intended to be a *bonâ fide* tax on the full yearly value at the time, "According to the full true yearly value thereof, without any respect had to the present rents reserved for the same, if such rents have been reserved upon such leases or estates made, for which any fine or income hath been paid or reserved, or have been lessened or abated upon consideration of money laid out or to be laid out in improvements, and without any respect had to any former rates or taxes thereupon imposed, or making any abatement in respect to reparations, taxes, parish dirties, or any other charges whatsoever" ; and the Commissioners who were appointed in every district by the act for the more effectual putting of the act in execution, were ordered to direct warrants to two of the most sufficient inhabitants of each parish, &c., requiring them to be assessors, and the said assessors were required to inform themselves by all lawful ways and means of the true and full yearly value of all real property lying within the limits of those places with which they should be charged; and being so thereof ascertained, they were to assess all the said real property "after the rate of 4s. for every 20s. of the full yearly value as the same were let for *or worth to be let at the time of assessing thereof*" .

The act does not say "the full yearly value *at the time of the passing of this Act*" but, "the full yearly value at the time of assessing thereof."

As far then as the words of their laws enable us to judge of their meaning and intention, the framers of no inconsiderable portion of that system of Government which is generally understood when we say the English Constitution, certainly intended that the tax which the land was to pay was to be a certain proportion of the "*full true yearly value thereof at the time of assessing thereof*," not a proportion of a nominal yearly value thereof.

## 43.—Obvious intention of this and later Acts as to Assessments.

In 1693

5 W. & M. c. 1.

, 1694

6 and 7 W. & M. c. 3.

, and 1695

7 and 8 W. & M. c. 5.

, the same enactments were made as in 1692. In the 5 W. & M. c. 1, the Commissioners under the 4 W. & M. c. 1 were reappointed. The words above cited from the Act 4 W. & M. c. 1, were again used in this Act, 5 W. & M. c. 1, viz., "of the full yearly value, as the same are let for *or worth to be let at the time of assessing thereof*"

5 W. & M. c. 1 s. 8.

. In the 6 and 7 W. & M. c. 3 the names of the Commissioners for putting the act in execution are again inserted; and the 8th. section again contains the important words "of the full yearly value as the same are let for, *or worth to be let*, at the time of assessing thereof"

6 and 7 W. & M. c. 3 s. 8.

. The statute passed in the following year, the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 5, likewise contains the same words, "after the rate of 4s. for every 20s. of the full yearly value as the same are let for, *or worth to be let*, at the time of assessing thereof "

It is quite clear, from these *data*, that it was not the intention of the framers of the original land tax acts, the legislators who made and passed the Act of Settlement, and the other acts that form the principal parts of the present fabric of the English Constitution, that the land tax should be levied to all time on a valuation of the land made in 1689 or 1692. On the contrary, the words of the successive acts in 1689, and from 1692 to 1696, declare, as plainly and unequivocally as words can be made to declare, that the valuation upon which the rate of 4s. in the pound of yearly rent should be levied should be the *full true yearly value at the time of making the assessment*.

## 44.—The Tax an equivalent for the abolished Revenue from Tenures.

This conclusion is further supported by the probability that this land tax was intended as some adequate compensation for the withdrawal of the feudal profits from the service of the State. In which case, as the feudal profits, from the very nature of them, were *growing* profits, it could never have been intended to substitute a scale of compensation based on stationary, not growing profits, the effect of which would be to substitute a nominal in the place of a real compensation.

The assessment of a fixed rate on the true yearly value of real and personal estate at this time, without fixing a limit to the amount in any one year to be raised therefrom, would certainly appear to have had reference to the establishment of a new and permanent annual revenue from land and other property, as a compensation for the exemptions which had been made by the 12 Car. II. c. 24, without any equitable equivalent having been granted; and the more especially as a land tax has been granted annually from 1689-90 to the present time. The six monthly assessments granted at the commencement of the reign of William and Mary

1 W. & M. sess. 1 c. 3.

were evidently granted as an extraordinary aid on account of the then exigencies of the country; but the property tax of 4s. in the pound was undoubtedly a reimposition of the peace establishment assessment, which had been levied in the latter years of the Commonwealth, in lieu of knight service, and the other feudal incidents, which had been abolished. We have no means of ascertaining the rate in the pound at which the various land and property tax assessments were levied in England and Ireland during the Commonwealth, but as the official valuation on which the quota for Scotland was levied has been preserved, we can speak with certainty on that point. The valuation of Scotland is considered by Sir John Sinclair and other inquirers to have been fairly and *bonâ fide* made at the time, according to the true annual value. The land rental was returned at £317,018, and as the Royal Burghs were rated at one sixth, the rateable value of property would be £369,851. Thus the maximum assessment of £12,000 a month for 12 months was equal to 38 per cent.; and as £6,000 a month, or £72,000 a year, or 19 per cent., was the ordinary peace establishment contribution from Scotland, it follows that, allowing for the expense of collection, at least 40 and 20 per cent, or 8s. and 4s. in the pound had been levied under the respective circumstances. From this it would appear that 4s. in the pound was considered the minimum commutation in lieu of the exemption from the performance of the feudal conditions on which the land had been held. And considerable as that may now appear, it is undoubtedly trifling to the benefit conferred on landholders for the relief from so many onerous and vexatious obligations.

(l) Sect. 4; but sect. 3 in the Record Commissioners' edition of the Statutes.

(m) Sect. 8; but sect. 5 in the Record Comm, edition of the Statutes. In the common printed editions of the Statutes this is the only one of the land tax acts of which more than the title is printed, a circumstance which favours the common notion that it forms the basis of the present land tax.

## 45.—Alterations of the Act in 1696.

In 1696, alterations were again made in the land tax act. The statute 8 and 9 W. III. c. 6 granted 3s., and the statute 8 and 9 W. III. c. 24 an additional 1s. in the pound on the true yearly value of real estate, which together made the same rate as in the four previous years, and in 1689. The statute 8 and 9 W. III. c. 6 imposed first a poll tax of 4s. 4d. on all persons "of what estate, degree, age, sex or condition soever"

Sect. 1.

, not receiving alms "of the parish where they dwell;" then over and above the said poll tax an additional personal tax of from 13d. in the pound to 4s. 4d. in the pound, according to the respective conditions of the parties

Sects. 2, 3, 4. 5.

. Then personal estate, over and above the said personal duties, was to pay £15s. for every £100

Sect. 6.

. The next two sections (ss. 7 and 8) relate to wholesale and retail traders, and farmers and graziers, &c., and make an instructive distinction between these respective classes of employers of labour and capital; for wholesale and retail traders, over and above the said personal duties, were to pay £2 10s. for every £100 of stock in trade

Sect. 7.

. while farmers, graziers, &c., over and above the said personal duties, were to pay 12s. for every £100 of quick (live) stock upon land

Sect. 8.

. And then the 10th Sect., after the following remarkable recital, viz., "to the intent the injustice and partiality which hath been manifestly practised in former taxations upon land may be avoided and remedied in the assessments upon lands, tenements, and hereditaments, intended to be made by virtue of this Act," enacts that all manors, lands, quarries, mines, parks, fishings, &c., annuities, rent charges, &c., as well within ancient demesne as without, shall be charged with the sum of 3s. in the pound

Sect. 10.

; and the same minute directions are repeated to ascertain the actual value at the time of levying the tax. But in one clause, which has been before quoted, the words somewhat vary, "and the said assessors being so ascertained of all and singular the premises aforesaid, they are to assess all and every the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and premises before appointed to be charged after the rate of 8s. for every 20s. of the full yearly value, taking care (where it can conveniently be done) to describe the names of the manors, farms, or other entire things that shall be so charged"

Sect. 14.

It is to be observed here that the words which in the previously cited acts followed the words "every 20s. of the full yearly value," viz., "as the same are let for or worth to be let at the time of assessing thereof," are omitted, and other words, merely enjoining exactness of description as to the names, are substituted in place of them.

## 46.—New Valuation not taken in 1697.

In 1697 a totally different plan was adopted by the Statute 9 W. III. c. 10, a fixed sum, as in the case of the assessments before mentioned, was granted, viz., £1,484,015 1s. 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. And first, personal estate (except desperate debts, stock on land, household goods, and loans to his Majesty), and employments of profit (except military and naval) were to pay 3s. in the pound

Sect. 2.

. Then lands, tenements, &c., were to be "charged with as much equality and indifferency as was possible, by a pound rate *for or towards the said several and respective sums of money by this Act set and imposed*"

Sect. 3.

. Instead of the precision with which the former acts required the real property to be rated according to its true and full value at the time, in the present act (which has been made the precedent for all succeeding ones) all reference to the actual value of the property was avoided, by the clauses being framed in the following words: "Which said assessors are hereby strictly enjoined and required, with all care and diligence, to assess the full sum given them in charge respectively, upon all ready money, debts, personal estates, offices and employments, according to this Act, and by an equal pound rate upon all manors, lands, tenements, rents, hereditaments, and other the premises within the limits, circuits, and bounds of the respective parishes and places for which they shall be so appointed assessors as aforesaid "

Sect. 7.

. That is, after the levy of a fixed rate has been made upon all personal property any deficiency there may then be in the amount specified by the statute is to be made up by what is termed a "pound rate" on real property, but nothing is said respecting the valuation of the real property on which such rate is to be levied; consequently the *last* valuation made must be referred to, which valuation continued the *last* from that time to the present.

## 47.—The neglect stereotyped.

In the following year (1698) the same sum of £1,484,015 1s. 11d. was voted, and ordered by Parliament to be raised in precisely the same manner; and the only exception that I have observed for the hundred years from

1697 to 1798, when the amount then levied was made perpetual, to the mode now adopted, is in the 1st Anne (1702), which specified the amount; but I do not find that any rate is to be levied on any personal property except public offices—which shows that the principle of the enactment of 1697 has continued to be approved of by a majority in Parliament: thus depriving the State of a growing revenue in proportion to the increased value of property, which undoubtedly was the intention of Parliament in repeatedly enacting that the rate should be levied on the full true yearly value at the time of making the assessment.

The following table presents at one view the amounts annually levied in England from the Revolution to the present time, on lands and other real and personal property by various acts in the nature of and under those commonly called the Land Tax. In addition, since the union with Scotland in 1706, for every sum of £1,997,763 contributed by England the quota of the latter has been £48,000, and in like proportion for any greater or lesser sum. Thus by—

## Synopsis of Land Tax Acts and Their Annual Product.

1 W. & M. c. 3, 1089. 1. Real and personal estate to contribute £68,820 a month for 6 months, as by 29 Car. II. c. 1, to be assessed equally by a pound rate on all lands, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, rent charges, and other rents, parks, warrens, goods, chattels, stock, merchandise, offices (other than military or naval), tolls, profits, and all other estates both real and personal. Personal estate being rated not on the value but on £0 per £100, the interest thereof, thus rating both descriptions of property alike, produced ' £412,925 1 W. & M.c. 20, 1689. 1s. per pound on real estate assessed on the bona fide rack rent, and personal estate 6s. for every £100 of value thereof, or 1s. in the pound on £6 the then legal rate of interest (debts, stock on land and household goods exempted), produced † £496,108 1 W. & M. Sess. 2c.1. 2s. per £, on real estate, and personal estate 12s. per £100 as above, produced † £1,015,732 1 W. & M. Sess. 2 c. 5, 1689. 1s. per £1 on real estate, and personal estate 6s. per £100, as above, produced † £507,866 2W. & M. Sess. 2 c. 1, 1690. 3. Real and personal estate, including stock on land, to contribute by an equal pound rate, as by 1W. & M. c. 3, the specified sura of ... .. £1,651,702 3 W. 8c M. c. 5, 1691. Ditto, ditto ... .. £1,051,702

4 W. & M. c. 1, 1692. 4. 4s. per £1 on real estate, assessed on the bona fide rack rent, and personal estate 24s. per £100, or 4s. in the pound on £6 the annual value thereof, stock on land and household goods exempted, produced † ...

## 48—Personalty under the Land Tax Acts.

Altogether it seems very strange that this tax, which was voted every year from the 9th of William III. to the 38th of George III., that is, from 1697 to 1798, a period of a hundred years, should have received the name of "THE LAND TAX," it being in fact a tax compounded of a general property tax and a special income tax, i.e., a tax first on all personal property except stock on land and a few other trifling articles; 2ndly, on public official incomes, except military and naval; 3rdly, *in the event of the specified mm not being made up from the above two sources, a tax on real property was to make up the residue or deficiency*. It is quite clear that when the personal property of the kingdom became very considerable, as it did towards the latter part of the above-mentioned period, the sum, of £2,000,000 would be easily raised from that at even the lowest of the above-mentioned pound rates, without having recourse to the land or real property j at all. In all these acts the principal fund for raising the tax is personal property, the real property is only an accessory or subsidiary fund

This is reversing the ancient and constitutional order. When contributions were first made to the service of the State from personal property they seem to have been termed sub-sidia, or subsidies, because they were merely subsidiary to the regular ancient source of taxation, the land. See 4 Inst. 28.

It is not usual certainly to bestow a name from the accessory rather than the principal. There must, one should think, be some reason for the anomaly in this case, but nobody seems to know anything about it, not event those most likely from their official situations to know. In the select Committee on agricultural distress in 1836, John Wood, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Stamps and Taxes, and William Garnett, Esq., Register of the Land Tax, in the course of their examination, being asked whether some instructions would not be given to the local commissioners as to the species of property on which they were to levy, replied,—“The Commissioners undoubtedly ought to regulate themselves by the Act of William and Mary and the subsequent Acts; but we have never been able to discover why their practice deviated therefrom”

Agric. Rep., 1836, question 9098.

; and to the question whether it was ever levied on any other species of property the answer is—

“To a certain degree it was levied on penonal property; and also on offices; but the amount latterly was very inconsiderable. The personal estates have been relieved of tbe taa from 1833. *Mr. Garnett*: The produce was



under £6,000 a year latterly"

Q. 9099.

. Sir Robt. Peel, after reciting the 2nd Section of the Statute 4 W. & M. c. 1, asks

Q. 9118.

, "Is not the effect of that to make what is commonly called personal property of all descriptions, even debts due from foreigners, after deducting bad debts, and after deducting the debts of the party upon whom the claim of land tax was due—all personal property—equally subject with what is called land ? *Mr. Wood*: I entertain no doubt that was the intention of the Act. (9113) Is there any record of the mode in which the contribution on personal property was originally levied ? None, so far as we have made discovery. I have looked into the Journals of the House of Commons; I have not concluded the search I had intended to make, but I have not been able to meet with anything on the subject. In the Committees of Supply directions are sometimes found as to the particular mode in which the levies were to be made and treated. (9114) Do you believe that immediately after the passing of that act personal property was made chargeable in the same proportion as land? I think it was made chargeable, but my conjecture is that practical difficulties arose, and the Commissioners were very soon satisfied with laying a rate on the more tangible property, the land. (9115) Do you think that the land not only paid its own contributions, but also for the default of those who had personal property ? It is very possible that it might." And again (9131), "*Sir Robt. Peel*: The county of Rutland is bound to pay £5,525 by the 38 Geo. III. c. 5; the next act provides That towards raising the sum of money hereby charged in the County of Rutland, any person shall for every £100 of ready money pay the sum of 20s.' Suppose a person in the County of Rutland possessing no land, out receiving a legacy of £10,00 (from some near relative, and therefore liable to contribute towards raising the sum for which the County of Rutland was chargeable, at the rate of 20s. in the £100, would that person, on account of that personal property have paid anything? In practice I believe not. (9132) On what principle was it in respect of the enactment so recent as that of 1797, where the clauses seem to express that the personal property should be answerable for a certain amount, that that was not carried into effect? The working of the act depends entirely upon the local Commissioners, and we know nothing of the assessments which they make, or the description of property they choose to assess; and I suppose it never had been the custom to assess personal property generally; but that they found that the quota was easily raised within the county, and that they did not choose to disturb the assessment which had been before made. We find that in most districts there was a small charge made for the duty on personal estates, but it was very small indeed. I think latterly it was only

between £5,000 and £6,000 a year; and an act passed in the year 1833

3 W. IV. c. 12.

, doing away with that duty on personal estates hereafter. (9133) *Mr. Cayley*: The same amount has been charged on the Duke of Marlborough's pension ? *Mr. Wood*: All pensions and offices stand on different footing. (9134) Four shillings in the pound has fallen on many lands, has it not? I believe there are instances in the table I have given in to-day; there is one case in which the rate is 3s 11½d. (9135) Will you endeavour to reconcile the discrepancy in the wording of the act with the practice; the wordii; of the act being 20s. in £100, and the practice being in many cases 4s. in the pound ? I believe the 20s. refers to personal estates, and the 4s. to real estate. The taxes are imposed by two clauses, one enumerating personal property liable to 20s. in the £100; the other real property, manors, hereditaments, fisheries, tithes, and so on, and offices and pensions; the 4s. tax applies only to those. But taking the legal interest at 5 per cent., which interest is in fact the annual value of £100. the tax of 10s. per £100 is at the rate of 4s. in the pound; and when the legal interest was 6 per cent., we accordingly find this tax was 24s. in the £100 on the annual value. (9136) *Sir Robert Peel*: In the County of Essex and in the County of Devon the land tax presses with particular severity, does it not? In the County of Devon the sum raised by the land tax is £7,875, and in the County of Essex £85,563; are those the amounts now raised upon those counties respectively ? In the County of Devon £82,583, and in Essex £89,397. (9137) Taking the case of Essex, for instance, by the same act which makes that County liable to the sum of nearly £90,000 it is expressly provided, That to the end the full and entire sum by this act charged upon the several counties, &c. So that, notwithstanding that express enactment made personal property in the County of Essex subject to this contribution, the land in the County of Essex has borne it practically? *Mr. Garnett*: Not solely, I believe; there was in most counties before the passing of the Repeal Act, an assessment, but a small one, on personal estate. (938) If any person possessing land had been called on to contribute more than his share towards raising this £90,000, might he have appealed against that decision of the Commissioners, and referred to this Act of Parliament, which states that personal property shall be rated ? I apprehend he might, if he had discovered that any personal property, liable under the act, was omitted. (9139) Would not a bequest of £100,000, under the act, have been chargeable, and would not the person receiving that have been liable to contribute rateably towards the raising that £90,000 as much as if he had received an estate of £100,000?

I should have thought so under the act, but that has not been so in practice. (9140) *Sir James Graham*: Can you produce a return showing what proportion of the £90,000 was levied on real estate, and what proportion on

personal in the County of Essex? Yes. (9141) *Sir Robt. Peel*: Will you refer to the County of Middlesex, in which the sum of £107,602 occurs; of the £107,602 that the County of Middlesex raises annually, do you find part to be personal property? A part was charged on personal estate, but the sum that was actually assessed can not be stated, as the assessment probably amounted to a larger sum than is returned into the Exchequer; indeed, we know the fact to be so, that there was a surplus which did not come into the accounts returned into the Exchequer. (9142) Do you think that they affixed a larger sura on the County of Middle-sex, thinking there was a large sum which might have been raised from personal property, and hence on the presumption that personal property would be taxed? It is very likely the county did contribute a considerable sum from personal estate. A portion of the charge in the County of Middlesex was certainly imposed on personal estate, but I forget the exact proportion. *Mr. Wood*: There is mixed up with that a considerable charge for offices in the County of Middlesex. (9143) Take the City of London, the charge upon that is £123,399; can you ascertain how that sum was practically raised; was it at all on profits on trade? Not at all on profits of trade, but partly on stock in trade; we have no means at hand of making the distinction, but the charge on offices and personal estate must have amounted to about £36,000 in the City of London."

## 49.—A Question needing Reply.

It appears that the Bight Honorable and Honorable Members of the Select Committee on agricultural distress in 1836 considered the landed interest to have been somewhat hardly dwelt with; though how that came to pass, nobody, not even the Chairman of the Board of Stamps and Taxes, nor the Registrar of the Land Tax, seems to have Any accurate knowledge whatever.

This again is very strange; and we are naturally led to ask the question, what reason was there for framing a law in such a state that it appeared to be one thing and was in fact another? The acts which I have cited above, viz., the 1 W. & M. sess. 1 c. 20, the 1 W. & M. sess. 2 c. 1, the 1 W. & M. sess. 2 c. 5, the 4 W. & M. c. 1, the 5 W. & M. c. 1, the 6 and 7 W. & M. c. 3, the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 5, the 8 and 9 W. III. c. 6 and c. 24, imposed a *bonâ fide*, an actual, a substantial tax on real property, a *real not a nominal land tax*, at the rate of 4s. in the pound, to be raised in each of these six years on the full and true annual rental at the time of assessing thereof of all the real property in the kingdom. But as we have seen by statute 9 Wm. III. c. 10, and all the subsequent statutes called "Land Tax Acts" down to the 38 Geo. III. c. 5, the frame of the law was totally changed; a certain specified sum was then to be raised by a certain specified rate imposed on the personal property of the kingdom "according to the true yearly value thereof"

38 Geo. III. c. 5 s. 3. The words are preserved unaltered from year to year for a century: they were used also in the clauses relating to *real* property till the 9 W. III. c. 10, after which they never occur as applied to real property, but always to personal.

. Now a rate of 4s. in the pound on all the personal property of the kingdom, even at the time of the last annual Land Tax Act (the 38 Geo. the Third c. 5), much more at the present time, would amount surely to much more than the whole sum specified by the act: therefore there would be no residue or deficiency to be made up from the pound rate ordered to be levied upon the lands, tenements, &c., of the kingdom with so much "equality and indifference."

## 50.—An Error Combated.

It is sometimes said that in levying the Land Tax the principle of the statute 4 W. & M. c. 1 is observed. But this is not the case; the principle of that statute was to tax real property according to its full, true, actual value. I imagine that the mistake of supposing that the principle of the statute of the 4 W. & M. was preserved in the subsequent statutes, commonly called the Land Tax Acts, arose from the circumstance that the *proportion* in which the various Counties, Towns, and Districts had contributed towards the assessment made under that Act was recognized by the Legislature as the *proportion* to be adopted in future assessments. This sufficiently appears from the following recital towards the end of the reign of Anne, "and whereas the sums which were assessed by virtue of the Act for the former aid of 4s. in the pound, which was made and passed in the 4th year of the Reign of their said late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, do not only govern the proportions set upon every County, City, Riding, Town, or other place hereby charged, with a certain sum in this Act set down and expressed, but are also to regulate the proportions of the half parts thereof in every Hundred and Division respectively, &c,"

13 Anne c. 1 s. 116.

## 51.—Reply to the Question in Section 49.

The conclusion to which I am led by a careful perusal of the acts themselves, as well as of the opinions of those most likely to have been well informed as to the true construction of them, is that the statute 9 W. III. c. 10, 1697, of which all the subsequent statutes by courtesy called Land Tax Acts are merely copies, was skilfully framed for the purpose of protecting the land and other real property from paying a tax in proportion to *the growing profits* thereof, and to transfer the principal part of the burden on personal property. The rates upon personal property are to be levied on the *growing profits*, "*according to the true yearly value thereof*," and any unlettered man, being quite unable to penetrate through the successive *strata* of words under which the true meaning in this, as in most Acts of Parliament, lies hid, would suppose that the same would be the operation of the clauses relating to real property. This would make the full effect of the contrivance escape the observation of many of those most interested in detecting and opposing it at the time when it was first brought forward; and so from time to time till the form grew into a habit and acquired some of the attributes of "venerable antiquity," by which old abuses came to be considered as laws of nature, a portion of the "order of the universe;" and the only intelligible reason for making the tax press so lightly, contrary to the provisions of the statute, as the evidence before cited shows it to have done upon personal property, seems to be the fear that if the law had been put in force according to the letter the pressure thereby occasioned upon the owners of personal property would have led to a discovery, and a remonstrance against the deviation from the original principle of the Land Tax.

## 52.—The Land Tax Illegally Levied.

Another thing that is perfectly clear from a careful examination and comparison of the statutes, and the evidence as to the manner in which those statutes have been carried into execution, is that the tax called the Land Tax has been levied in an illegal manner, and that the statute 38 Geo. III. c. 60, by which the so-called Land Tax is made perpetual, being grounded on an erroneous construction of former statutes, and on illegal proceedings arising out of such construction, requires immediate revision upon this ground, independently of the other grounds for such revision.

## 53.—Also Illegally Assessed.

Moreover, the words, as above observed, were, "of the full yearly value at the time of assessing thereof." Now I apprehend that these words may be considered as having some application to all the years in which this tax was levied, at least down to the passing of the Act 38 Geo. III. c. 60, which made the specified amount as then levied perpetual on certain terms. In all the acts, down to the 38 Geo. III. c. 5 inclusive, the Commissioners are directed to appoint "assessors "

Sec 38 Geo. III. c. 5 s. 8.

for the purpose of assessing all the property, real as well as personal. Now if there be any meaning in all this, it surely is that there was to be every year a *new* assessment, for otherwise what need would there be of assessors for the real estates? *Collectors* of the monies to be levied would be sufficient, whereas there is always a distinct and separate clause for the appointment of "*Collector* of the monies which shall be assessed as aforesaid"

See 38 Geo. III. c. 5 s. 8.

. What was to be the *valuation* of the real property on which the pound rate was to be levied? It is true the words "according to the true yearly value thereof" are omitted after 1696; but there are no express words to exclude the implication of them; I have met with no clause expressly declaring the will of the Legislature to be that the *valuation* made in the fourth year of King William and Queen Mary shall prevail in future years. I have met with a clause declaring that the proportions shall be used; but the proportional rate of contribution means something quite different from the real rate—4 units bear the same proportion to 2 that 2 do to 1; and also the same that 2,000,000 of units do to 1,000,000 of units. This being the case, and the acts after the 7 and 8 W. & M. c. 5 being obscure as to the manner in which the rate was to be levied upon real property, why should not the previous acts, though expired, and therefore no longer law, which would tend to clear up that obscurity, be applied for that purpose? If we adopt from these acts the words "of the full yearly value at the time of assessing thereof," we find some meaning given to the clauses in the subsequent acts ordering with such minuteness the appointment and marking out the particular duties of "assessors." Nor is this construction repugnant to the *specifying* the total amount to be levied by the act of the year. As the rate is not fixed at which the assessment is to be made on real estates; the magnitude of the amount on which the rate is to be made would only have the effect of diminishing the amount of the rate itself, since, where a specified sum is to be raised on a certain quantity of property at a rate of so much in the pound, the amount of the rate will of course be in the inverse ratio of the amount of the fund from which it is to be taken. This seems to me further confirmation of the

opinion that the Commissioners of the Land Tax, as they are called, have been all along proceeding in an illegal manner, and affords an additional argument in favour of a total revision of a measure such as the present Land Tax, which professes to be, and is entirely grounded on those illegal proceedings.

## 54.—Therefore Inequitable and Unconstitutional.

In saying that the Land Tax was for a century illegally levied, and consequently that the present Land Tax, being founded on that mode of levying the tax, is founded on illegal proceedings, I do not say in terms that the present Land Tax is *illegal*; since undoubtedly those who have the power of making the laws can make anything they please *legal*. Thus they may make a thing legal which is not only at variance with the notions of justice or equity which are universally received among all the tribes or communities of men making the slightest pretensions to civilization, but in direct opposition to what has been for many ages the settled course of law in the community for which they are legislating. The two primary rights which the law of England is commonly understood to confer upon every man are the right to the liberty and security of his person and the right to his property; yet a law made by those who have the power to make it, imposing a tax upon one class of persons which ought to be borne by another class, though in natural equity a downright robbery, it would evidently be a contradiction in terms to denominate "illegal," but it may most correctly be denominated "inequitable" and "unconstitutional." To put a still stronger case, if the same law-making persons were to think fit to pass a law enabling them to sell a certain number of Englishmen for slaves, and put the money in their pockets, undoubtedly such a proceeding, being founded on an Act of the Legislature, would be *legal*; but though there are probably few words used more vaguely and loosely, with less precise and definite meaning than the words "constitution" and "constitutional"—nor indeed am I aware of the existence of any tolerably clear and precise definition of the words—yet I do not think that any man, in England at least, would be found, who would term such an act constitutional; who would not on the contrary term it unconstitutional; and it appears to me that the term has about an equal right to be applied to the Land Tax in its present state. Between a *constitutional right* and a strictly *legal right* there exists also, I apprehend, this important distinction, that the former neither fails within the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals nor within the ordinary statutes for limiting the time in which the legal right may be recovered; in the case, then, of the legal right, the right is, for all practical purposes, barred after a certain fixed time, by the remedy's being gone; but in the case of a constitutional right the remedy is always open, the Statutes of Limitation not applying thereto. Consequently, in that Court, viz., the High Court of Parliament, which is the proper tribunal for the determination of constitutional as distinguished from legal rights, those who may feel themselves aggrieved by the loss of certain constitutional rights in the present instance must seek for the recovery of those rights.

## 55.—The Redemption difficulty Met.

In reference to the objection that the statute 38 Goo. III. c. 60, 1798, which made the then payment on account of the Land Tax perpetual, subject to redemption, has cut off all further right to increase or alter the *modus* then established, the answer to that argument is that all that was done by the above act was to guarantee to those who were willing to purchase a perpetual annuity secured on the Land Tax that a *less* sum should not be levied by way of Land Tax, thereby providing a security for the payment of the annuity they had purchased. But this is a totally different thing from securing to them the payment of a larger annuity than they had contracted and paid for, which would be the effect of holding that there could be no increase of tax laid upon the land on which the former Land Tax had been redeemed. In fact this view is supported by the provisions made in Section 37 of the Act itself

33 G. III. c. 60 s. 37.

, for the case of any person redeeming the Land Tax who has not an estate of inheritance. By that section of the act it is provided, that any person not having an estate of inheritance, but nevertheless being entitled under Section 35 of the Act to redeem the Land Tax, redeeming the Land Tax out of his own estate, and declaring his option to be considered as a purchaser, shall hold the Land Tax redeemed as an annuity issuing out of the lands (subject to the reversioner's right of redemption under Section 18); and when any such person shall not at the time of entering into the contract for the redemption of such Land Tax, whereby such lands, &c., will be exonerated from the tax, have declared his option as aforesaid, such lands, &c., shall become chargeable for the benefit of such person, his executors, administrators, or assigns, with the amount of the 3 per cent. Bank Annuities transferred as the consideration, with interest equal to the Land Tax redeemed.

## 56.—Unjustifiable position of the Landowners.

The nature and peculiar difficulties of the subject have compelled me to go into the evidence at a length

which must have appeared tedious, and to enter into investigations, some of which may appear to be rather curious in an antiquarian point of view than of any practical utility at the present day. It must be borne in mind, however, that to perform inquiry with any degree of completeness, it was necessary to carry it back to the very foundations of the monarchy, since, in fact, the foundations of that and the foundations of the present argument are one and the same. It is not pretended that any fresh conquest of the country has been made since the time of William I.; consequently every acre of land in these kingdoms is held under a title derived from William the Conqueror. The very complicated, as well as dry and uninviting, nature of the subject, involving at once legal subtleties and financial calculations, must be viewed as the cause why a change in the constitution of this country, by which a class of its inhabitants, at the expense of all the other classes, secured to themselves advantages such as might have been supposed attainable only by the sword of a conqueror, was at first permitted, and has been so long endured by a nation of men who have shown, on many occasions, such capacity to redress grievances and to rid themselves of oppression. In a certain sense the Restoration of 1660 and the Revolution of 1688 may be viewed as conquests. For an act by which certain valuable immunities which had been secured to one class of British subjects, by a course of settled law that had continued for 660 years, were at once, without compensation, taken from them and conferred upon another class, though it may not have the name, has all the operation of a conquest. If the landholders can make out, to the satisfaction of their fellow countrymen, that they conquered the Island of Great Britain, and acquired the same *to them ami their heirs for ever discharged* of all conditions at the Revolution of 1688, my argument in a constitutional point of view falls to the ground. But if they fail in establishing that conclusion, I apprehend that all the consequences for which I contend inevitably follow.

## 57.—The Purchase-money of their Estates unpaid, and still owing to the State.

The foregoing argument may be recapitulated shortly thus:—The land was held on certain well defined conditions; which conditions were in the strictest sense the *purchase money* of that land. That purchase money may be very accurately described to have been made payable as a perpetual annuity to the State, *increasing in value as the land increased in value*, just as tithe is payable to the parochial clergy or copyhold profits and other rents to the landholders, with this similarity as compared with these, that the feudal profits bore a fixed proportion to the annual value at the time the payment became due. But in the year 1660 a body of individuals who were holders of a considerable portion of the land in question, calling themselves a Convention Parliament representing the whole nation, voted, at least two more than half of them voted, that they should be totally exonerated from the future payment of this perpetual annuity which was the purchase money of their estates: and that the said annuity, or purchase money, should for the future be paid by other people who had no share in the land for which they were thus made to pay. However, about 30 years after, the Parliament laid a tax upon land, which served, when first imposed, as *some* equivalent for the perpetual and variable annuity, the payment of which had been shifted from the shoulders of the landholders. This tax upon land, which was continued for several successive years, was a tax of 4s. in the pound upon the actual yearly value of the land at the time of assessing thereof, and was consequently, like the perpetual and variable annuity of which it may be considered as intended to be the substitute and representative, to increase with the increasing value of the land. But in the year 1697 they contrived to frame the tax (9 W. III. c. 10) in such a form that it should not be an annuity increasing with and in proportion to the increasing value of the land, but a fixed annuity that should not increase in value. The consequence of this is that the said annuity remains at the amount at which it was when the value of a large proportion of the land was only a very small fraction of what it is at present. Another consequence is great unfairness in the apportionment of the sum actually levied

It appears from the evidence of Mr. Wood, already referred to, that at present there are some Parishes which actually contribute a land tax at nearly the full amount of 4s. in the pound fixed by Statute; whilst in others, as Marylebone and Liverpool, the quota is less than one farthing in the pound, and in other localities at nearly all the intermediate rates. The argument, however, to be drawn from this inequality rather concerns those landholders themselves who suffer by it than those taxpayers, not landholders, on behalf of whom I am now advising.

. The fact that the imposition of a property and land tax, to be levied by a pound rate on the true value of property, was the first fiscal act after the Revolution—that it was annually voted and levied on that principle for several years—proves that property according to its *full* value was recognized by the constitution as a fit subject for taxation. It has also been shown from the practice which prevailed in Scotland, after the abolition of the feudal tenures in that country, that 4s. in the pound on the true yearly value was the *minimum*, and 8s. in the pound the *maximum* assessment during the Commonwealth. It is difficult to estimate with exactness the burden of the feudal tenure on landholders: but as it is not found that the rates of 8s. and 4s. in the pound imposed by

the Commonwealth on the land rentals of the feudal landholders of Scotland were complained of, those rates may be taken to have been considered as a favourable commutation for military service and the feudal profits.

The property or land tax acts have been examined from year to year, and the attempts to defeat their *bonâ fide* operation have been fully explained. It has been shown that the success of those attempts prevented the assessment from being treated as a VARIABLE RENT CHARGE, of which nature were the feudal profits; and that thereby the State from that time to the present has been defrauded of the growing revenue which it had precisely the same right to collect that a landholder under the laws of England had to receive an increased rent from his tenants. It has been shown by a minute examination and analysis of the property or land tax acts from the Revolution down to that under which it is now collected, and a comparison of those acts with the evidence of Mr. Wood, Chairman of the Board of Stamps and Taxes, given before the Agricultural Committee in 1836, that the principle clearly laid down in the statutes has not been acted upon, but that in fact the Commissioners, appointed from time to time for the purpose of carrying the said acts into effect, have acted in a manner not authorized by the acts under which they were appointed, nor by any law recognized in England—consequently, that they have exercised their powers in an illegal manner; and that therefore the whole of the present land tax machinery is grounded upon proceedings, not only unconstitutional, but also illegal in the strictest sense.

## Table showing the proportion of Taxation borne by Land from the foundation of the Monarchy to the present time.

### REVENUE FROM LAND. CROWN LANDS. FEUDAL TENURES.

- It is at least doubtful whether this was not merely a tenth of all the property (*real* and personal) of the *Clergy*. (See Com. Dig. Tenth (A), Spelm. Gloss. Docimæ Salad.)
- The tenth and fifteenth were originally those parts of chattels personal, as corn, cattle, and other moveable property. In 8 Edward III., 1334, every district of England was valued, and a tenth and fifteenth of the whole fixed at £29,000, which was never afterwards varied [1 Sincl. 44]. The subsidy was an aid granted by Parliament on real and personal property, occasionally at 4s. in the pound, on the income from lands, and 2s. 8d. upon goods, but the valuation of the property of districts was so low that the rate was merely nominal: a lay subsidy contributing about £70,000, and a clerical £20,000. The valuation was never varied from its first imposition in the reign of Richard II. [1 Sincl. 44]. In the reign of Henry VIII. subsidies were levied by an uniform rate of *income* from real property, and on the estimated value of the personal property, but as cattle, corn, hay, &c. were rated by that mode, the impost would fall principally on the land (See 5 H. VIII. c. 17; 15 H. VIII. c. 15). During the Commonwealth, when Knight Service was abolished, an alteration in the mode of assessment took place. It appears to have been considered that property should contribute the greater part of the revenue, leviable by monthly assessments to be granted according to the necessities of the State—a twelve month's rate being fixed at £840,000, or £70,000 a month, for England; £144,000, or £12,000 a month, for Scotland; and £216,000, or £18,000 a month, for Ireland: together for the 12 months £ 1,200,000, which was a revenue considerably greater than had been enjoyed by Charles I. These assessments, as previously explained (29), were levied by an uniform rate on the *income* from real property, and on the estimated annual value of personalty, that is, £20 of personalty, or £1 the annual value thereof at 5 per cent. was rated exactly the same as £1 of income from realty.
- Four Parliamentary and Clerical Subsidies (averaging about £60,000 per annum) only were granted during this reign, the crown lands and feudal tenures contributing at least .60, or 3/5ths, of the ordinary revenue [1 Sincl. 237, and Colquhoun, "Resources of British Empire" 52].
- Colquhoun, p. 157; 1 Sincl. 244, 1 Sincl. 271.
- 8 Comm. Jour., p. 1150. From the manner in which the Government was conducted in this reign it is difficult to ascertain the real amount levied from land.
- Excise was at first, during the Civil War, levied on liquors only, but afterwards on other articles; and it was then solemnly declared that at the end of the war all excises should be abolished [1 Sincl. 278-9].
- There was granted during this reign, in addition to the ordinary revenue of £1,081,710, various assessments on real and personal estates to the extent of £18,414,868, of which at least £12,000,000 was contributed from real property, or £500,000 a year during the 24 years from 1660 to 1684 [1 Sincl. 302, 306].
- Excise taxes, which even during the Commonwealth were declared to be unconstitutional, were now imposed as a substitute for the feudal rents due by the landholders to the State.
- James II. only obtained an aid of £400,000 to be levied from property [1 Sincl. 823].
- The Crown property was nearly wholly granted among, or leased to, those connected with Government shortly after the Revolution, under the *pretence* of rendering the Crown dependent on Parliament. These leases are still renewed at merely nominal fines, when, under a different management, considerable

revenue would arise as the leases fell in.

- Tho Land and Property Tax has been granted annually since the Revolution, and the various modifications which It has undorgone, as a means to exempt property from contributing its equitable proportion towards the expenses of the State, have been fully explained. In the amounts given under the name of Land Tax there undoubtedly are included certain rates levied upon persons and peraonal property, but they were inconsiderable in amount. (See Mr. Vood's Evidence § 48.)
- This oun includes the Revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, £9,869, and tho Principality of Wales, £6,857, the remainder from fines and profits of the Crown Lands (9 Sinel. 21).

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